

**LAND**  
**THE CENTRAL HUMAN SETTLEMENT ISSUE**

*H. Peter Oberlander*

**Human Settlement Issues 7**

*Published in association with  
The Centre for Human Settlements  
at the University of British Columbia*

1985  
UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA PRESS  
VANCOUVER

Land: The Central Human Settlement Issue  
©The University of British Columbia Press 1985  
All Rights Reserved

**Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data**

Oberlander, H. Peter, 1922-  
Land, the central human settlement issue

(Human settlement issues ; 7)

"Published in association with the Centre for Human Settlements  
at the University of British Columbia."

Bibliography: p.93  
ISBN 0-7748-0235-9

1. Land use. 2. Land use - Government policy. 3. Human settlements.  
I. University of British Columbia. Centre for Human Settlements. II. Title.  
III. Series.  
HD156.023 1985 333'.001 C85-091386-1

International Standard Book Number 0-7748-0235-9

Printed in Canada

## CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	viii
List of Tables	viii
Preface	ix
1 Land for Human Settlements	1
2 Demographic Overview and Forecasts	18
3 Development Context	36
4 Land Policy Issues	46
5 Public Control of Land	61
6 Policy Initiatives for Action Planning	71
7 Epilogue	89
Bibliography	93
Acknowledgements	102
Photo Credits	103

## PREFACE

Land is a unique resource, limited in its supply but endless in the variety of its use. Its capacity to grow food and all other essential commodities is circumscribed by natural conditions and man's stewardship of this resource. Land also is the basis for all development; it causes development, is affected by it, and participates actively in the development process. For the purposes of this book, the principal themes emphasize that land as location is a critical element in the processes of production, consumption and exchange.

Throughout this book, the discussion focuses on policies for land and its use. Every private decision or public action affects land, and therefore every policy may in some sense be construed as constituting land policy. The concept of land policy that emerges from such a broad viewpoint is, however, too all-embracing to be operationally useful, although an holistic awareness is essential. The challenge is to conceptualize policies for land in such a way as to strike a balance between a comprehensiveness that is excessive for pragmatic purposes and a narrowness that allows the intrusion of too many confounding externalities. The point of balance and the degree of exclusivity implicit in any chosen policy for land necessarily varies with social, cultural, economic, and environmental conditions and the nature and relative urgency of the problems extant in such conditions.

Because all human activities occur on and are dependent upon land, the extent and natures of such activities are reflections of the land's diverse physical characteristics and of myriad complementary and evolving human interests and abilities. This complexity leads to a correspondingly wide variety of definitions of land policy that range from all-inclusive statements almost indistinguishable from development policy to closely focused statements related to "single-purpose" planning. Therefore, to construct a universally valid definition of what constitutes a policy for land seems impractical. Attempts to arrive at exclusive definitions, whilst perhaps of theoretical interest, are fraught with the problem of imposing limits that implicitly deny the fluidity and ambiguities of a diverse "reality." Attempts at closed definitions are eventually confounded by

the synergistic complexity of the real world that cannot validly be discretely compartmentalized.

Furthermore, a specific definition of land policy ought to be predicated upon an accepted theory of human behaviour that is predictive of urban and rural dynamics. Such a theory does not exist, and therefore neither do satisfactory theories of urbanism or "ruralism" which would be the necessary foundations for an internationally acceptable definition of land policy. Therefore it seems more useful to advocate evolving policies for land and its uses that allow the scope and meaning of such policies to develop in relation to the particular characteristics of specific situations and which take into account the various interests, both public and private, that promote, oppose, and affect the results of given policy measures. Consequently, land policy is social policy and subject to public management.

All governments pursue *de facto* land policies, whether by omission or commission, or, more commonly, a mixture of the two. There is a continuum from an unrestricted market economy with private ownership to all-inclusive planning and control policies with public ownership. The demonstrable results that arise from the unfettered "free" market forces are now generally accepted as leading to unjust concentrations of income and wealth and the increase of poverty which seriously hampers desired "progress" and "development." The inherent need of market economies to expand and extend commercialization into all domains of human existence leads to the concept of land as a commodity and a high rate of future discounting that is at odds with the ethic of land as a resource:

Land...cannot be treated as an ordinary asset, controlled by individuals and subject to the pressures and inefficiencies of the market...the pattern of land use should be determined by the *long-term* interest of the community.<sup>1</sup>

The lack of incentive for market oriented enterprise to provide for socially just levels of infrastructure and social overhead is recognized in most societies. Similarly, externalities such as pollution, resource depletion and social costs are receiving increased attention, although most government responses are as yet more retrospective and reactive rather than normative and substantive. Such realizations provide the rationale for government intervention and management in the land markets of most countries and their concern for the poor. It is the author's hope to shed some light upon these issues and to stimulate further lively discussion.

<sup>1</sup> United Nations, Report of Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (A/CONF. 70/15, 1976): 61.

# I

## LAND FOR HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

*Land, because of its unique nature and the crucial role it plays in human settlements, cannot be treated as an ordinary asset, controlled by individuals and subject to the pressures and inefficiencies of the market. Private land ownership is also a principal instrument of accumulation and concentration of wealth and therefore contributes to social injustice; if unchecked, it may become a major obstacle in the planning and implementation of development schemes. Social justice, urban renewal and development, the provision of decent dwellings and health conditions for the people can only be achieved if land is used in the interests of society as a whole.*

*Instead, the pattern of land use should be determined by the long-term interests of the community, especially since decisions on location of activities and therefore of specific land uses have long-lasting effect on the pattern and structure of human settlements. Land is also a primary element of the natural and man-made environment and a crucial link in an often delicate balance. Public control of land use is therefore indispensable to its protection as an asset and the achievement of the long-term objectives of human settlement policies and strategies.<sup>1</sup>*

The purpose of this book is to analyse the role of land as the central issue in human settlements. Particular attention is paid to urban conditions in the developing countries and to ways of making land available to the urban poor. The processes for supplying land for housing these groups are being increasingly constrained as settlements grow and expand, with the result that most land is being made available to low-income and disadvantaged groups through informal processes. Throughout the book, the thesis that land lies at the heart of the settlement problem is developed, and while it is recognized that the problems of poverty cannot be solved by dealing with land issues alone or in isolation, the provision of appropriate secure land to the poor and its management to meet their needs are essential components of an answer to poverty.

Our principal concern is with the problems faced by the urban poor in their attempts to find affordable appropriate land to settle on, to be secure in their occupancy, and to be able to use land for appropriate shelter and economic activity. While the prevailing situation of the rural poor may be worse in many ways — with regard to housing conditions and water supply, for instance — it is

in the cities that the problems of land use and supply are greatest. In 1976 the U.N. Conference on Human Settlements, Habitat, officially pronounced the purely formal sector approaches insufficient. The need for formal acceptance and assistance to the informal sector was pointed out, and appropriate measures that should be taken to meet the settlement needs of the poor were outlined. The Habitat '76 principles continue to be widely supported in theory and have been found appropriate when put into practice. Tragically, the overwhelming problems of urban growth, inflationary and depressed world economies, self-serving power, concentrated wealth, and incapable administrative systems have resulted in too little of the Habitat spirit being translated into action. The present situation requires not only re-affirmation of the Habitat principles but also a deeper understanding of the problems and a more active search for solutions that are feasible and effective. There are several reasons for the severity of the problems, among them the difficulty of acquiring land. Many countries encounter problems in establishing that housing is a priority area and a sufficient reason for the compulsory acquisition of land. As our analysis reveals, low-income and disadvantaged groups have been excluded from legitimate housing in part because of their inability to pay for even the cheapest legitimate housing on legitimately acquired land. Furthermore, public housing has not reached the low-income and disadvantaged in the great majority of the developing countries. Governments are reluctant to allocate substantial public funds for housing, assuming that improvements in living conditions will encourage rural-to-urban migration, thereby exacerbating the problem rather than alleviating it.

Evidence is presented to show that the land market is becoming increasingly commercialized and consolidated. Small landowners previously willing to rent and entrepreneurs willing to subdivide illegally to provide for the needs of this sector are now unwilling to do so. Seeing that land prices increase more quickly than the cost of living, such people are holding on to their land. In many settlements, land is being held vacant either because of lack of financial and managerial resources for developing it or because of the desire to hold it for future sale for profit. Indeed, market pressures act toward the displacement of low-income people from attractive locations, even where they have been resident for decades. New middle-income or even high-income groups move in and pay more for the same plots and houses. Thus, the poor are no longer able to house themselves, for the informal arrangements which once provided them with land and housing are under increasing pressure.

It is our contention that the formal sector faces more fundamental problems than were apparent in 1976. It needs not only to support the informal, but also to draw on and integrate with that sector to create the basis for a social development approach. Specific actions that can be taken within this perspective are identified and recommended. These address the issues of land use, national

settlement patterns, the technical aspects of land management, the price of land, allocation of land and related resources with special attention to the needs of the poor, location, the roles of the formal and informal sectors, security of tenure, and the public control of land. It is essential to underline the links and complementarity between formal and informal mechanisms for allocating land to the poor:

Land issues are always bound in the historical traditions of societies and the distribution of land tends to mirror the political and economic structure of those societies....the circumstances of each parcel of land are unique, as are the circumstances of people seeking land. Therefore, it is only possible to present a wide and varied array of possibilities for making land accessible to low-income and disadvantaged groups, in order to trigger and provoke fruitful and precise ideas to suit each specific set of circumstances.<sup>2</sup>

The discussion throughout the book focuses on the generic issues relating to land for human settlements for the urban poor in developing countries, and is in no way meant to be a panacea for the particular problems affecting specific groups or individuals in any one or set of countries. Our analysis begins with an assessment of the increasing commercialization and consolidation of urban land.

#### *Commercialization and Consolidation of Urban Land*

In many cities of developing countries, the formalization of land management is leading to commercialization and concentration of ownership. The consequence for the poor is less accessibility to appropriately located serviced land. Observers of urban trends since Habitat '76 are concerned that large commercial operations are now becoming the dominant force in the land markets of many Third World cities. The increasing commercialization and consolidation of land holdings is significantly impeding the access of the poor to appropriate urban land. Notably, the first conclusion of a recent international seminar on land for housing the poor in Asian cities was that:

urban land markets are now becoming articulated and commercialized by increasingly powerful and integrated private organizations.<sup>3</sup>

#### CONSOLIDATION

The reasons for consolidation and vertical integration within the *existing* commercial land sector are located by a Latin American expert, Pablo Trivelli,



in the development of planning regulations, the pace of urbanization, working capital requirements, and changing construction technologies:

Public norms for land subdivision and for investment requirements on infrastructure and urban planning directions were almost non-existent in most Latin American countries until the decade of the sixties. As a consequence little working capital was needed to go into the real estate business, especially for land owners at the rural periphery of the cities.

Vertical integration of firms begins to take place later, along with the disappearance of small ventures, as a series of changes takes place in the urban context. Governments begin to develop urban planning norms, under which urbanization investments are required and enforced with increasing strictness. Demand for urbanized land picks up momentum as the urbanization process accelerates. The size of new ventures increases and the number of firms decreases. Financial requirements of working capital increase with legal norms (for) subdivisions and also because the strategies of commercialization adopt longer periods of time as prices rise (in real terms) for land because of the higher levels of services provided. The inclusion of the financial sector into the land market business is then inevitable.

Furthermore, technological changes take place in the building industry which allow for important economies of scale to take place. The housing activity evolves from a relatively "craftsmanship" type of activity, towards a mass production organization, thus requiring the necessary amount of land to develop projects.

The decrease in unit cost of massive construction eventually displaces from the market the more costly single house building, except of course, for higher income groups. The previous co-existence of two different but complementary markets, land and housing, are integrated into one final output, the residential market.

Trivelli's analysis is based on an extensive review of Latin American case studies. Evidence from Asia and Africa suggests that his description of the process of vertical integration holds true for these areas as well.<sup>5</sup>

#### COMMERCIALIZATION

The process of consolidation described by Trivelli applies to land already in the market. But not all land is a commodity for exchange or trade. Tribal lands (still an important component of the land base of many African cities) and state-owned lands are not typically in the market. A third type of land, that controlled by the informal sector, is also effectively removed from the market

because of the ambiguity of use rights. This land may be occupied by squatters or subdivided illegally by land-owners; in either case the occupation is unauthorized but *de facto* established. In recent years all three categories of non-market land – tribal, state and informally occupied – have been under increasing commercial pressure. The respective commercialization processes are discussed below.

i) Regularization of title in informal settlements

The process of concentration in the commercial sector can be augmented by the regularization of land titles through sites-and-services and upgrading projects and through general programs of property cadastration and title registration oriented to the collection of property taxes. Regularization of title may initially facilitate commercial transactions in land, and then result in consolidation by those with the most capital.<sup>6</sup> Attempts to thwart these outcomes appear so far to have been inadequate. Concern about the implications of tenure regularization has been expressed clearly in a recent paper by Doebele:

Ten years ago, the granting of tenure and provision of services seemed a paradigm that would be both efficient and equitable in serving the urban poor. The only question seemed to be establishing these policies on an appropriately large scale. Today there is less reason for optimism that sites-and-services and upgrading can ever be mounted at rates comprehensive enough to supply the needs of the coming decades in many countries. Land tenure, (therefore), is never an “either-or” situation. It is, at every historical moment, for every society, a question of striking a balance between the need for social control and fairness in access to land, and an equally pressing need for private initiatives to ensure efficiency, and satisfaction of the human yearning for territorial association.<sup>7</sup>

Professor Doebele points out that the regularization of titles has been encouraged not only by the desire to facilitate self-help housing improvement (which has proven to be a positive outcome of security of tenure), but also by the need of local governments to obtain revenue from property taxation to provide and maintain new urban services:

In recent years the fiscal problems of many municipal governments have rapidly increased. Paradoxically, a part of the fiscal pressures now being felt may be the result of another set of well-intentioned programs, namely: the tremendous investment in road, water and sewer, and other public services made in the last decade in almost all countries, often with strong encouragement and financial assistance from the major international development agencies. External aid helped provide the initial capitalization

for these extensive projects, but left the problem of their maintenance and repair to local governments....A number have looked to programs of property cadastration, title registration and the real property tax as the most convenient means to create new income. While the local property tax may have much to be said for it in LDC's, its secondary effect of adding to the out-of-pocket costs of living through the new tax burden may in some cases tend to dislodge the poor from the favorable central location they still enjoy, opening such areas to either "downward raiding" by middle income families, or becoming part of the overall consolidation of the land market.<sup>8</sup>

It is important to emphasize that although there can be problematic implications associated with tenure regularization, they are often the unintentional consequences of actions taken by people who are attempting to consolidate their vested interests. As the discussion at the end of chapter two indicates, land registration and cadastral surveys are essential preconditions to provide security of tenure for the poor.

#### ii) Commercialization of state land

Some governments are themselves becoming active participants in local markets as profit-seeking developers. "Public land" is thus becoming commercialized, with government seeing itself not as a custodian of the land (who ensures its use for the public, often non-profitable programs), but rather as another player in the land market. This is especially the case for urban, developable land. The Asian Conference on land for housing the poor came to these conclusions:

Government agencies have frequently tended to behave like private owners in holding land off the market for their own interest; in using land inefficiently for "status" or "prestige" projects; or simply for revenue.<sup>9</sup>

#### iii) Abolition of customary tenure on tribal lands

In Africa, the individualization of land title, with consequent commercialization of land, is particularly dramatic in areas where land has traditionally been held tribally, but where arrangements have now been "modernized." Professor Saad Yahya of Nairobi notes the commercialization and concentration effects of this modernization of urban land tenure:

The emergence of a new urban land-owning elite as a result of "modernization" has begun to worry some African governments and questions have been asked as to whether a ceiling should be placed on the amount of land that an individual can own.<sup>10</sup>

## SPECULATION AND RISING LAND PRICES

Discussing the impacts of commercialization and consolidation naturally includes the impacts of speculation. Speculation cannot occur without commercialization. Consolidation fuels speculative price increases by allowing the supply of serviced land to be set by the needs of a few actors who aim to keep prices high. Sidhijai Tanphiphat, a senior housing official in Thailand, makes this point clearly:

housing developers have in the past 15 years or so earned a good deal of know-how in the real estate “game”. They are without doubt the most knowledgeable and proficient in acquiring large supplies of land and holding them until the market is right or there is demand for housing by their target groups for those locations.<sup>11</sup>

Alain Durand-Lasserve, writing of the recent Bangkok land market in particular, but in a more general reference, states:

For housing developers it is essential to keep control over the price of land. The cost of housing, its price and consequently the developer's productivity and profit depend on land price control. In order to avoid the speculative strategies of other agents, housing developers from the very beginning of their activity tended to acquire the maximum of land reserves.... If we consider the investment policy of the private housing sector in other South East Asian cities, we note the same phenomenon (as in Bangkok), that is, the failure to put building land back on the market. This phenomenon results in an irreversible exclusion of the poorest section of the population.<sup>12</sup>

Pablo Trivelli in his paper on Latin American urban land uses, also refers to: “...the strategy of withholding land from the market as part of a speculative scheme.”<sup>13</sup>

Land commercialization, consolidation, and subsequent speculation affect the allocation of land to the poor in several respects: government programs oriented to the land needs of the poor (for example, public housing or land banking) become too expensive; the poor are displaced from their hitherto informally occupied sites; and land for new informal housing, if available, is too costly or poorly located. These impacts have been identified by several international observers and are outlined below.

## LAND FOR GOVERNMENT HOUSING PROGRAMS BECOMES PROHIBITIVELY EXPENSIVE

Land prices are rapidly becoming too high for effective government land banking, large-scale programs of sites-and-services, or, indeed, housing

programs for the poor of any type. The private market, once diffused and penetrable, is becoming integrated and accessible only to the rich and upper middle classes. (Doebele)<sup>14</sup>

#### THE POOR ARE DISPLACED FROM FAVOURABLY LOCATED SITES

In the early days of urbanization, the poor were often able to stake out well situated areas by invasion and squatting, which, in spite of their favourable locations were not attractive to the middle class because the cloudiness of title made investment risky. Indeed, with the passage of time, not only was the original title unsure, but a host of informal transfers and inheritances among the poor themselves confused claims even further, resulting in multi-layered possessory "rights" based on original "titles" of dubious validity. The regularization of such titles has been a serious problem for well-intentioned governments....With urban growth, all sites tend to become relatively more central, as locations once near the periphery are engulfed by further development. Moreover, with increasing urban size, the entire land value gradient tends to move upward, elevating the prices of more central locations. Therefore, when the "protection" of lack of legality is removed by registration, capital values may increase dramatically. This has the effect...of awarding large capital gains to those fortunate enough to be the nominees in the registration process. (Doebele)<sup>15</sup>

Speculation pushes the lower income groups towards the peripheral areas, stimulating segregation, by imposing high land prices in the closer potential development areas. These high land prices play a discriminating role that generates a dual phenomenon of social and ecological margination. (Trivelli)<sup>16</sup>

#### LAND BECOMES INCREASINGLY UNAVAILABLE TO THE INFORMAL HOUSING SECTOR

The poor, particularly new arrivals, are now often confronted with a rigid and oligopolistic set of land suppliers, oriented to selling to the middle and upper classes, as compared to the pluralistic situation of the past. (Doebele)<sup>17</sup>

In the past, informal mechanisms have absorbed the enormous increases of city population, including the pressures which have been placed on shelter. In recent years, however, there has been a consolidation process in the domain of the private real estate sector and the government sector in their ability to dominate the options through which house builders get access to building plots. (Asian Conference on Land for Housing the Poor)<sup>18</sup>

There are other impacts of commercialization that do not relate specifically to the allocation of land to the poor. For instance, speculation leads to leapfrog development, which creates inefficient urban development to the detriment of the poor as well as others.

More locally, commercialization can have social and personal impact on land users. Writing about the African experience with the abolition of customary tribal tenure and its replacement by formal, individual tenure, Saad Yahya has identified two additional, often overlooked, impacts of commercialization: social conflict and indebtedness:

#### SOCIAL CONFLICT

The traditional controls on the transfer of land are removed and any citizen, irrespective of tribal origin can buy land. Where this is desirable in the context of national unity and social integration, the incursion of a certain area by wealthy individuals from a different part of the country, with completely different language, customs and mode of behaviour, may cause social conflicts. The local inhabitants usually resent their land being bought and occupied by outsiders.

#### INDEBTEDNESS

Land demarcation and individualized titles usually result in the value of the land rising dramatically. Those owners who resist the temptation to sell and decide to develop their land resort to the banks and finance houses for the purpose of raising capital. Banks and money lenders are happy to lend money with a secure and registered title as collateral. There thus develops a high degree of indebtedness among land owners. Unless strict laws are passed by governments to protect the small landowners from unscrupulous money lenders a lot of hardship can be caused to individual families. The mortgage laws are usually based on European models and tend to favour the banks.<sup>19</sup>

Attempting to block the forces leading to the concentration of land by maintaining a more open market is not an adequate approach. In many nations it will be futile given existing political, economic, and demographic conditions. Even if it were to be successful, such action by itself would not solve the problems of the poor, since definitionally the poor are disadvantaged in the market. They can afford land only in the least desirable locations which in turn exacerbates their poverty. It is the commercialization of the land as much as the concentration which creates the current problems.

The solution to the commercialization of land does not lie simply in establishing public ownership. The management of state-controlled land can be as unresponsive as the market in meeting the needs of the poor. The administrative problems in public land management have overwhelmed many governments in their attempts to deliver appropriately located, serviced land quickly to the poor. The solution may well involve strengthening some of the community organization mechanisms developed by the informal sector.

One practical approach to meeting the local and evident needs of the poor in relation to land is based on the recognition of the legitimate and necessary roles of both the formal and informal sectors and the importance of synthesizing these into what may be called an “appropriate” land economy. Under this approach, the ordering mechanisms of the formal sector would be focused on supporting the productive energies of the informal sector, not only in the production of housing but also in the management of the relevant land.

*What is the appropriate function of the formal sector?*

The management of land has so many implications for the whole of a nation's economy in all its sectoral and regional interactions that it must be guided by national policies. All nations recognize this. Furthermore, the right of the community to use and manage its land can only be established by the nation. It is the national government that ultimately determines who has the right to land and how tenure is secured. The national government establishes formal mechanisms for implementing its policies. Although these mechanisms ought to include provision for community management and control, their design should reflect national goals and priorities. At the regional and local levels, the need for formal sector control reflects two facts. On the one hand, communities are interconnected and interdependent; this calls for some form of regional land management. Regional financial and administrative systems providing integrated urban planning, servicing, and pollution control are necessary. On the other hand, individuals within communities must be protected from arbitrariness and the possibility of internal tyranny. Thus, guidelines for the local management of land must be established reflecting national standards of representativeness, fairness, honesty, and accountability. But national standards and regional systems need not hinder the community from making decisions on the internal allocation of land and use rights; on the contrary, they can provide support and stability of context for these decisions.

*What is the appropriate role for the community in the management of land?*

An appropriate approach to land management would be based on the principle of devolution of some land management powers to the community level.

Nations facing rapid urbanization and a scarcity of resources, including administrative resources, have found that land cannot be managed for the general good through formal mechanisms alone. This is indicated by the very existence of squatting and illegal subdivision (that is, the informal land economy) and the problems that gave rise to these solutions: speculation, private and public hoarding of land, ineffectual national settlement planning and urban regional planning, and land delivery programs which are slower than expected and which often fail to serve the poor. Professor Doebele, in surveying the recent history of land management, found that "the problem of adequate land for the urban poor in developing countries is bleaker today than it was twenty years ago, and almost surely will become more bleak in the future." He concludes that "land is a subtle asset to manage, and governments are simply not very good at it." This is because "every piece of land is unique. It does not lend itself to the uniform procedures of bureaucracies. Its special value and scarcity has opened the doors to political favouritism and corruption."<sup>20</sup>

To create an appropriate land economy, it is necessary that the commercialization and concentration of land be checked not just through negative public controls on the operation of the market, but also through the positive action of creating institutions through which settlements of the poor can manage their land themselves within certain broad public guidelines. Here there is room for much creativity and refinement according to local and regional conditions.

Such an appropriate economy extends the Habitat '76 concepts of community self-help housing as an approach to meeting basic needs to the concept of community self-help land management. Habitat '76 pointed out the need for the formal sector to co-operate with the informal sector in the provision of shelter, but its recommendations on land did not deal specifically with the formal/informal relationship. It was recommended that land be publicly controlled for the benefit of all, but the form this public control was to take was not specified. While the objectives of the Habitat '76 land recommendations are widely supported, their effective implementation has been very slow — in fact, there is much evidence that the public is losing control of land as a result of concentrated commercialism. The loss of control is not to the informal sector but to the commercial formal sector. If, as it appears, the nation state is unable to manage land effectively by itself in the developing world, then public control must be shared with the user, the local community.

The assignment of more land management responsibility to formalized community organizations would allow many of the Habitat '76 land recommendations (for example, on information systems, land use planning, reclamation and even plus-value recapture) to be implemented locally and to a large extent informally. Devolution of control would give communities latitude to manage land in ways appropriate to their needs.

While community management involves in some regards a localization of the formal sector, in others it involves the operation of the informal sector insofar as



decisions are made not on the basis of universal rules (laws, bylaws, and so on), but on the merits of each individual case. Case by case decision-making is the antithesis of what the bureaucracy and the formal sector in general strive for, but in regard to the local management of land, it is often the more appropriate approach. (It is in fact the approach of the commercial corporation and part of the reason for its success.) In the words of Professor Doebele:

community land ownership on a continuing basis seems to be a very promising direction out of the present dilemma. It has most of the advantages of traditional land banking, but decentralizes the heavy handed and inefficient administration of land from national bureaucracies down to a level where the body in charge (community land bank or organization) can respond to the nuances of the actual situation.<sup>21</sup>

*The local community can manage land*

There is much evidence to suggest that the local community *can* manage land:

(i) First, there is the *general* evidence that communities of the poor are, or could be, well-organized social systems. This organization could be the basis not only for self-help housing, but also for self-help land management. Different kinds of communities are organized to different degrees, however.

On the one hand, squatter settlements are well documented as highly organized places. They have to be, to defend themselves against the threat of removal, but their social organization also extends to a wide variety of religious, political, social, athletic, and ethnic associations. On the other hand, illegal subdivisions generally seem to be much less organized. In the words of one expert, "they are not collective, much less communities."<sup>22</sup> Another states that:

Participation in local associations and activities, whether recreational, political, job, or communal is practically non-existent in quasi-legal subdivisions...it could very well be that rental-with-promise-of-sale contract (the usual tenure arrangement) permits large community control by the landlord through eviction, for instance, until full deed is obtained, effectively reducing the possibilities for strong community organization.<sup>23</sup>

In short, residents of illegal subdivisions are atomized by their individualized land tenure status. The people who settle in these areas are, of course, not intrinsically less willing or able to organize than squatters: a reorganization of their status would reduce the barriers to organized collective action. While residents of illegal subdivisions may not work collectively, they do invest a great deal of individual household energy into improving their houses. One Latin

American expert has concluded that “the greatest self-help labour inputs in the informal sector are in the quasi-legal subdivisions.”<sup>24</sup> This is probably because individually their security of tenure is greater than that of squatters, providing they follow the quasi-legal rules and can keep up their payments. These energies could be channeled into collective action if tenure were held more collectively.

Finally, renters whether of private or public accommodation have little incentive to organize or manage the development of their community. In fact, it has been observed that in public housing projects corruption and speculation by non-residents can lead to disorganization: “Morale is so low and the sense of impotence so intense that people are unable to come together even on local projects for their own benefit. A striking contrast with the (squatter) settlements from which they originated.”<sup>25</sup> The degree of social organization in communities of the poor thus reflects their tenure status: collective illegal tenure (squatting) leads to a highly organized community; individual illegal but publicly accepted tenure (in illegal subdivisions) leads to activity being organized at the household level only; renting can lead to disorganization, even though it may offer the immediate benefit of at least some shelter and some services.

The degree to which the level of organization in squatter communities is retained with legitimation depends on how that is effected. Case after case has shown that squatters are capable of organizing and participating effectively in the planning and implementation of upgrading projects, including the allocation of land use rights. But it has also been found that the organization can disintegrate if tenure is legitimated in the form of individual ownership. Individual tenure may possibly lead to gains or profit-taking by individuals who are bought out by the better off. Policies requiring certain individually owned land to be kept in the hands of the poor seem difficult to enforce.<sup>26</sup> In contrast, in the few documented cases of collective land tenure being granted to a community, the community has maintained its ability to organize itself and manage its land in the interests of the users.<sup>27</sup>

The degree of organization in communities of the poor is thus a dependent variable, with tenure status being an important causal factor. There is no inherent organizational impediment to the management of land by communities of the poor if they have an appropriate tenure arrangement. It is a matter of allowing the organizational potential of the community to be put to work.

The lack of community organization in illegal subdivisions and formal housing projects would likely be overcome if the tenure status of residents were protected, and even more so if the community itself held the tenure. Empowering existing communities to protect households from eviction and to retain land for use by the poor would also encourage and enable the community to organize for other purposes, including infrastructure development, shelter construction,

assigning land and space for social services (a notable lack in illegal subdivisions and remote housing projects), and determining what land uses are acceptable or unacceptable at the household scale.

(ii) There is also *specific* evidence that existing communities of the poor can manage their land, especially if given some assistance and structures to work within. Case studies from Botswana and Mozambique present such evidence in some detail. The communities were organized and became active participants in the process of allocating space for public purposes, establishing plot lines, designing their houses, and determining acceptable land uses. Techniques of mapping, surveying, and registering plots were simplified, suggesting that future projects could be left even more in the hands of the user community.<sup>28</sup> One guide to surveying and registration in squatter settlements offers information on procedures that have been tried and found to work in Dar es Salaam and Manila with significant effect, yet with a minimal amount of training required.<sup>29</sup> These procedures are applicable to any form of land tenure including communal ownership.

Finally, a recent review of literature on Latin American urbanization found that local government functions, including the administration of land, are already being carried out by local organizations of the poor. In the pre-regularization days of squatter settlements these organizations are informal but highly structured. Later, they may be constituted as local governments.<sup>30</sup>

#### *The Synthesis of the Formal and Informal Sectors*

Six years ago, at an Experts Group meeting organized by UNCHS, one participant asked:

whether it is possible and desirable to incorporate essentially spontaneous individual self-help (housing) activity into sponsored programs without destroying the vitality, ingenuity, and resourcefulness of the self-help; and without encumbering the programs with so much “irregular” and informal activity that program administration and sponsorship become unmanageable.<sup>31</sup>

Here we are asking if self-help *land* management can be usefully integrated with the formal land economy. The answer seems to be that it is possible and does offer hope to the poor.

Integration could be accomplished by the formal sector allocating land to the organized local community which should be mandated to make its own decisions regarding land use, occupancy rights, and development. More importantly, it should also be given a great deal of latitude in establishing its own procedures for making these land management decisions. The community would be seen as the land trustee, with individuals having use rights as determined by the community.

Such an approach to land management must take into account the nature of urban society, which is characterized by mobility and community interdependencies and which no longer bases its social organization on custom and kinship. Therefore, communities need to be organized and to function within general guidelines established by the formal sector. The formal sector will thus continue to play an important role. But this role will be oriented to facilitating community organization and intercommunity co-operation.

Whatever the specific form of their relationship, the local community and the state must play complementary roles in the management of land if the challenge posed by the rapidly growing numbers of urban poor is to be met. The extent of this growth and the implications for national settlement patterns are discussed in the qualitative and quantitative analyses in the following chapter.

<sup>1</sup> United Nations, Report of *Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements* (A/Conf. 70/15, 1976): 6.

<sup>2</sup> United Nations, Report of the Executive Director, "Land for human settlements: recommendations for national and international action" (HS/C/6/3/Add 1), 1983.

<sup>3</sup> *Conclusions and Recommendations of the International Seminar on Land for Housing the Poor: Towards Positive Action in Asian Cities*, Asian Institute of Technology, Bangkok, Thailand, January 1982, p.1. See also, *Land for Housing the Poor*, edited by Shlomo Angel, R.W.Archer, S.Tanphiphat and W.E. Wegelin (Select Books, 1983).

<sup>4</sup> Pablo Trivelli, *Access to Land by the Urban Poor: An Overview of the Latin American Experience*, Occasional Paper L7 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982), p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example: *Conclusions and Recommendations*, p.3.; William A. Doebele, *Emerging Concepts in Urban Land Tenure in Developing Countries*, paper prepared for Conference at La Napoule, Nice, France, 1982, p. 11; Alain Durand-Lasserve, *The Urban Land Issue and the Balance of Power between Public and Private Sectors*, and, Sidhijai Tanphiphat, *Immediate Measures for Increasing Land Supply for Urban Pools in Thailand*, *Land for Housing the Poor*; Saad Saleh Yahya, *Land for Human Settlements: A Review of the African Experience*, Occasional Paper L6 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982)

<sup>6</sup> Regularization, of and by itself is not at fault; on the contrary it forms the essential basis for security of tenure for the poor, as argued in chapter two.

<sup>7</sup> Doebele, "Emerging Concepts," p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> *Conclusions and Recommendations*, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Yahya, *Human Settlements*, p. 17.

<sup>11</sup> Tanphiphat, *Immediate Measures*, p. 13.

<sup>12</sup> Durand-Lasserve, *Urban Land Issue*, p. 17.

<sup>13</sup> Trivelli, *Access to Land*, p. 7.

<sup>14</sup> Doebele, *Emerging Concepts*, p. 13.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, p. 9.

<sup>16</sup> Trivelli, *Access to Land*, p. 7.

<sup>17</sup> Doebele, *Emerging Concepts*, p. 11.

<sup>18</sup> *Conclusions and Recommendations*, p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Yahya, *Human Settlements*, p. 15.

<sup>20</sup> Doebele, *Emerging Concepts*, p. 18.

<sup>21</sup> Elsewhere, Doebele has referred to a "very limited form of communal ownership" in Mexican housing projects for "moderate-income" families. William A. Doebele, "Selected Issues in Urban Land Tenure," *Urban Land Policy Issues and Opportunities*, Staff Working Paper No. 283 (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, May 1978), p. 146.

One form the proposed relationship between the community and the state could take would be for the formation of a community corporation free to make its own decisions and establish its own procedures within rules established by the state to protect individual corporate "shareholders" (members) and other corporations (communities).

<sup>22</sup> Anthony Leeds, "Lower-Income Urban Settlement Types: Processes, Structures, Policies," *The Residential Circumstances of the Urban Poor in Developing Countries* (New York: Praeger, 1981), p. 34.

<sup>23</sup> Alberto Harth-Deneke, "Quasi-Legal Urban Land Subdivisions in Latin America: A Solution of a Problem for Low-Income Families," *Residential Circumstances*, pp. 95-96.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>25</sup> Janice E. Perlman, "Strategies for Squatter Settlements: The State of the Art as of 1977," *Residential Circumstances*, p. 187.

<sup>26</sup> Susan Ekstein, *The Poverty of Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

<sup>27</sup> Doebele, *Emerging Concepts*, pp. 16-18:

One suggestion that exploits the advantages of public land ownership and land banking while avoiding their disadvantages recommends that title to urban land and infrastructure be held by a community unit with freehold tenure applying only to houses and other improvements. Building on the experience of Letchworth and Welwyn New Towns in Britain, which have had a fifty-year history of success, Shann Turnbull of Australia has made the most concrete recent proposals in this field. He proposes that tenure in residential areas should be in the form of "Co-operative Land Banks," in which families would have perpetual leases to individual units, but all common areas in buildings, as well as all land and infrastructure would belong to the co-op, a corporate entity in which all participants would [hold] shares. CLB's differ from existing condominiums and co-op apartments in three important respects: (1) CLB's would be complete neighbourhoods or communities, ranging from perhaps 3,000 to 50,000 persons, and would operate commercial activities, roads, gardens, clinics, and other public services appropriate to their size; (2) owners of perpetual leases would own shares proportionate to the area occupied by his or her leasehold improvements; and (3) the corporation would have no control over those to whom a leaseholder chose to sell at any time, but would set the price of the common areas transferred, although not the price of the improvements.

... Something very like [Turnbull's] community has, in fact, existed in a self-governing community located near the heart of Bogota (Barrio Policarpa) for more than a decade, and appears to have worked. Other pilot programs in Hyderabad, India "Habitat Hyderabad" and in Bangkok (Building Together) use some of the Turnbull principles in assembling land and installing infrastructure, but have not experimented with his ideas of permanent shared ownership in all land, infrastructure and common facilities. (In the Hyderabad and Bangkok projects there is sharing and co-operation until the project is complete, but individual plots are then allocated in freehold to individual families.)

The written literature on community ownership of land and private ownership improvements appears to be very sparse. However, at the U.N. Conference on Human Settlements, Habitat, (Vancouver, 1976), representatives of many countries from all

continents described small experiments being carried out informally along the lines of Turnbull's model (but independent of having read his work). Possibly one of the reasons that these are not reported is that their leaders, who understand their operations, are far too busy keeping day-to-day operations going to have time for writing articles.

*Conclusions and Recommendations*, p. 6.: "Positive experiments in community ownership and management of land need to be implemented."

Yahya, *Human Settlements*, p. 33.

African urban populations are becoming increasingly aware of their rights, responsibilities and powers. ... (one) result ... is the emergence of alternative land development models outside the official processes. The voluntary collectivization of land development efforts in the form of co-operatives, women's groups, tribal associations, savings groups and limited liability companies offers new possibilities for mobilizing popular resources for land preparation, servicing and development. These groups usually use short-cuts and loopholes in procedures to effect quick development. They also facilitate self-help construction methods. Overheads are minimal, unlike the statutory housing corporations which consume a large proportion of the nation's resources in salaries and overheads.

<sup>28</sup> Barry Pinsky in collaboration with Ingemar Saevfors, "Counting on Our Own Forces: The Mazaquene Upgrading Project, Mozambique," *Habitat News*, Vol. 2, No. 3, November, 1980; John van Nostrand, *Old Naledi: The Village Becomes a Town* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1982).

<sup>29</sup> Saad S. Yahya, *House Registration Handbook: A Model for Registering Houses and Plots in Unplanned Settlements* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, Urban Development Technical Paper, Number 4, 1982).

<sup>30</sup> Douglas Butterworth and John K. Chance, *Latin American Urbanization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

As we look further at the *barriada* organizations, we see that they begin to take on functions of a local government, although they operate with formal sanction of the inhabitants only. The organizations originate as demand-making entities formed to acquire land for housing. They then take on the function of defense against authorities wishing to remove the squatters from their house sites, while continuing to perform their demand-making functions ... the association leaders are chosen by the inhabitants of the settlement as their leaders and representatives. Association officials are elected at regular intervals, dues are collected to pay for the operations of the association, potential settlers are screened, land disputes negotiated, and self-help activities organized and administered. Contacts with the government proliferate through the activities of the association in their capacity as demand makers, and through the growth of interest and interaction in the association's election campaigns by members of national political parties. As the need for defense diminishes and the basic community needs are being met, the *barriada* association loses power. The community may increasingly become a part of the city. In Lima, older established *barriadas* have become joined together in new municipal districts with elected mayors and town councils.

See also, Kenneth L. Karst, Murray L. Schwartz and Audrey Schwartz. *The Evolution of Law in the Barrios of Caracas* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973).

<sup>31</sup> Janice Perlman, *Residential Circumstances*, p. 172.

## 2

### DEMOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND FORECASTS

#### *National Settlement Patterns*

Population and industrial pressures on the use of urban land often result in the inaccessibility of appropriately located land for the urban poor. These pressures reflect the fact that the urban population in the developing countries is currently (1980-85) growing at a rate of over 3.5 per cent compared to a 1.2 per cent growth rate for the rural areas. Because urban growth is caused by both natural population growth and rural-to-urban migration, one widely favoured approach to relieving the pressure on urban land, particularly in the largest cities, is to advocate rural development and to encourage people to live in less urbanized regions.

The first set of Habitat '76 recommendations "as a matter of urgency" called for national policies on human settlements, embodying the distribution of population and related economic and social activities over the national territory, and for policies "promoting a more equitable distribution of the benefits of development among regions."<sup>1</sup>

One recent review of subsequent experiences with national settlement policies in seventeen nations found that there have been

some government attempts to spread urban and industrial development more widely than has been the case in the past. But there are enormous contrasts as to the success of spatial strategies, to their realism, and their long-term effects.<sup>2</sup>

In fact, it concluded that more of the nations "fail" in their attempts to reduce social and spatial inequalities through national settlement policies.

The concern of this chapter with such policies is very specific. The questions are: how have national settlement policies actually had an impact on the availability of urban land for the poor and how might such policies be developed to do so?

The answer to the first question, from the evidence of the respective growth rates of rural and urban areas, is that national settlement policies have by no means eliminated the concentration of economic opportunities in the city and consequent rural-to-urban migration. As a result, the pressure on urban land, its use and reselling prices have continued to grow. In fact, the urban share of population growth in the less developed regions increased to 50 per cent over the decade of the 1970's from 43 per cent over the decade of the 1950's.<sup>3</sup> This does not mean that national settlement policies have had no impact at all, but it does mean that the policies have not prevented urbanization.<sup>4</sup>

From the qualitative evidence, it appears that whatever other impacts, good and bad, there have been from *rural development* projects, their impact on rural-urban migration has been minimal. In fact, one study concludes:

the evidence appears to suggest that rural-urban migration probably has been stimulated by previous development projects in rural areas. It is doubtful that future projects will be much different from past projects with respect to their impact on migration.<sup>5</sup>

*Regional development* policies, to the extent that they have been successful at all, have led to changes in the relative distributions of urban growth but not to changes in rural-urban patterns of growth. The continuing strength of urbanization stems from two factors: (a) nations are committed to economic growth, in particular, industrial models of economic growth, and urbanization is a concomitant of industrialization; (b) national governments and international agencies favour servicing urban areas over rural areas because of the dominant political strength of the former.<sup>6</sup>

It is unlikely that either of these forces will be significantly modified in the immediate future, although countervailing forces and alternative development strategies may lead to reductions in the relative rates of urban growth. One of the countervailing forces may be the very inability of the city to continue to deliver more opportunities than rural areas and towns. Another may be the increasing cost of capturing these opportunities, especially for the poor. This latter course is not to be welcomed. To attempt to limit urban growth by creating or even tolerating miserable, inequitable cities is not an appropriate solution to any problem. In any event, for the immediate future, nations are going to be faced with the urgent social and economic problem of making land and shelter available to large and growing populations of urban poor.

#### *Population Growth Forecasts and their Implications*

The qualitative aspects associated with urbanization also contain a fundamental quantitative dimension: urban population growth in relation to rural population



growth rooted in migration. By translating directly into pressure on land, this quantitative change sets the stage for many of the problems faced by the poor. This section is based on projections of the United Nations Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, which in turn used data which had become available by the middle of 1980.<sup>7</sup> In all cases, figures given are the "medium variant" projections, that is, those considered most likely by the department. The U.N. projections on which the section is based are primarily those for total population and percentage of population living in urban centres, for the years 1980 and 2000 in each case. From these projections, most other figures given in this section have been calculated. The calculations are oriented to determining: (a) how urban growth is expected to be distributed around the world; (b) the relative total twenty-year growth rates expected for each region; (c) the impact of urban growth on the nations as a whole in each region; (d) the impact of urban growth on existing cities.<sup>8</sup>

Analysis of projections for individual nations (not included) indicates a high degree of homogeneity among nations *within* each region in terms of growth rates and urbanization. This contrasts markedly with the large amount of variation *among* regions shown by the following data which is intended to show quantitatively not only the dramatic impact that urbanization will continue to have in this century, but also how different regions will experience this phenomenon.

#### *Growth of the World's Cities*

In the last two decades of this century, the world's population is expected to increase by one and two-thirds billion people. This is equivalent to the total 1980 populations of China and India. Three-quarters of the increase will occur in the cities. Over 90 per cent of the total increase will take place in the less-developed regions of the world: Africa, Asia other than Japan and the USSR, Latin America including the Caribbean, and the Pacific Areas of Melanesia/Micronesia/Polynesia. (See Table 1.)

The cities of the less developed regions will grow by over 1.1 billion people in twenty years. Even if the urban density should be a high eighty persons per hectare, growth of these cities will consume 14 million hectares or an area the size of Bangladesh.<sup>9</sup> Much of this land will be productive arable land, since most cities were originally located in agricultural areas to serve and organize these areas. Much of the remainder of the urbanized land is unsuited for settlement because of danger from hillside slumping, flooding, or pollution.

In the first quarter of the next century, another 1 billion people are expected to be added to the cities of the less developed regions. For example, China and India, although they are among the least urbanized nations, will themselves add one-half billion people to their city populations. Other less developed nations

**TABLE 1**  
*The World Regions in Order  
of Absolute Urban Population Increase 1980-2000*

	Total Population (MM)		Total Population Increase (MM) (b-a)	% Urban		Urban Population (MM)		Urban Population Increase (MM) (bd-ac)
	1980 (a)	2000 (b)		1980 (c)	2000 (d)	1980 (ac)	2000 (bd)	
<b>Middle South Asia</b>	944	1386	442	23	34	213	477	264
<b>China</b>	995	1257	262	26	39	256	492	236
<b>Tropical South America</b>	199	315	116	66	78	132	244	112
<b>Eastern South Asia</b>	361	520	159	23	35	82	180	98
<b>Western Africa</b>	141	267	126	23	36	32	97	65
<b>Northern Africa</b>	109	186	77	44	59	48	110	62
<b>U.S.S.R.</b>	265	310	45	63	74	167	230	62
<b>Western South Asia</b>	98	168	70	54	68	53	113	60
<b>Northern America</b>	248	299	51	77	83	191	248	57
<b>Middle America</b>	93	156	63	61	72	57	112	55
<b>Eastern Africa</b>	134	250	116	16	30	21	75	54
<b>Middle Africa</b>	53	91	38	34	52	18	47	29
<b>E. Asia (not China/Japan)</b>	63	88	25	59	73	37	64	27
<b>Southern Europe</b>	139	154	15	62	73	86	112	26
<b>Eastern Europe</b>	110	121	11	59	70	65	85	20
<b>Japan</b>	117	129	13	78	86	91	111	20
<b>Southern Africa</b>	33	58	25	46	58	15	34	19
<b>Temperate S. America</b>	41	52	11	82	88	34	46	12
<b>Caribbean</b>	31	43	12	51	62	16	27	11
<b>Western Europe</b>	153	155	2	78	84	119	130	11
<b>Northern Europe</b>	82	83	1	85	90	70	75	5
<b>Australia/N. Zealand</b>	18	22	4	88	92	16	20	4
<b>Melanesia/Micro./ Polynesia</b>	5	8	3	33	58	2	5	3
<b>More devel. regions</b>	1131	1272	141	71	79	803	1005	202
<b>Less devel. regions</b>	3301	4847	1546	31	44	1023	2133	1110
<b>World</b>	4432	6119	1687	41	51	1817	3121	1304

## Sources:

Columns a and b: United Nations, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, *World Population Prospects as Assessed in 1980* (ST/ESA/SER/A/78), 1981. (Medium variant projections.)

Columns c and d: United Nations, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, *Estimates and Projections of Urban, Rural, and City Population, 1950-2025, the 1980 Assessment* (ST/ESA/SER.R/45), 1982. (Medium variant projections.)

TABLE 2

*The 12 Nations with the Largest Expected Urban Population Increases 1980-2000*

Regions	Total Population (MM)		Total Population Increase (MM)	% Urban		Urban Population (MM)		Urban Population Increase (MM)
	1980	2000	1980-2000	1980	2000	1980	2000	1980-2000
	(a)	(b)	(b-a)	(c)	(d)	(ac)	(db)	(db-ac)
China	995	1,257	262	26	39	256	492	236
India	684	961	277	22	34	152	326	174
Brazil	122	187	65	67	79	82	148	66
U.S.S.R.	265	310	45	63	74	167	229	62
U.S.A.	223	264	41	77	83	172	219	47
Mexico	70	116	46	67	77	47	89	42
Nigeria	77	150	73	20	33	15	50	35
Indonesia	148	199	51	20	32	30	64	34
Pakistan	87	140	53	28	41	24	57	33
Bangladesh	88	148	60	11	22	10	33	23
Turkey	45	70	25	47	63	21	44	23
Iran	38	65	27	50	65	19	42	23

Sources:

Columns a and b: United Nations, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, *World Population Prospects as Assessed in 1980* (ST/ESA/SER.A/78), 1981. (Medium variant projections.)

Columns c and d: United Nations, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, *Estimates and Projections of Urban, Rural, and City Population, 1950-2025: the 1980 Assessment* (ST/ESA/SER.R/45), 1982. (Medium variant projections.)

Other columns: calculations based on figures in columns a, b, c and d.

that will add large numbers of people to their cities are Brazil, Nigeria, Mexico, Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Turkey, and Iran. (See Table 2.)

In just the ten cities with the greatest absolute population increases, almost 100 million more people will have to be housed. These large cities, which will almost double their population during the last twenty years of this century, are in India, Brazil, China, Mexico, Indonesia, and Pakistan. Mexico City and Sao Paulo, with populations growing by half a million each year, will reach 31 million and 26 million respectively in 2000, and will replace New York and Tokyo/Yokohama as the world's largest cities. (See Table 3.)

#### *National Growth Rates*

For any one nation or region, it is not the absolute size of the population increase that is important but the increases relative to the size of existing

TABLE 3

*The Cities with the Largest Expected Population Increases 1980-2000*

City	Population (MM)		Population Increase	Population Increase
	1980	2000	(MM) 1980-2000	as a % of 1980 Population ( $\frac{b-a}{a}$ )
	(a)	(b)	(b-a)	
<b>Mexico City</b>	15.0	31.0	16.0	107%
<b>Sao Paulo</b>	13.5	25.8	12.3	91%
<b>Peking</b>	11.4	20.9	9.5	83%
<b>Shanghai</b>	14.3	23.7	9.4	66%
<b>Jakarta</b>	7.2	15.7	8.5	118%
<b>Greater Bombay</b>	8.4	16.8	8.4	100%
<b>Rio de Janeiro</b>	10.7	19.0	8.3	78%
<b>Calcutta</b>	8.8	16.4	7.6	86%
<b>Madras</b>	5.4	12.7	7.3	135%
<b>Karachi</b>	5.0	11.6	6.6	132%
<b>10 Cities</b>	99.7	193.6	93.9	94%

Sources:

Columns a and b: United Nations Population Division (DIESA), "Urban, Rural and City Population, 1950-2000, as assessed in 1978" (ESA/P/WP.66), 3 June 1980, as reported in *Development and International Economic Co-operation: Long-Term trends in economic development*. Report of the Secretary-General (A/37/211), 26 May 1982, Table 8.2, Statistical Annex, p. 72.

Other columns, calculations based on columns a and b.

populations. By this criterion, Eastern Africa (as defined for the purposes of UN population statistics, from Ethiopia to Mozambique) and Western Africa (from Senegal to Nigeria) will have the most significant total population increases – at 89 per cent and 87 per cent respectively, close to doubling in twenty years. Indeed the growth rates of these two regions will continue to increase into the late 1980's or early 1990's peaking at 3.2 per cent growth annually. The remainder of Africa will grow more quickly than any other regions in the world, but with a three-quarter increase in population, somewhat slower than East and West Africa. (See Table 4.)

Western South Asia (Arab Asia plus Turkey, Israel, and Cyprus) is expected, like its neighbour Northern Africa, to add almost three-quarters to its population. The remainder of Asia, other than the USSR, China, and Japan, will add almost one-half to its population; China, the slowest growing less developed region, will grow by about one-quarter.

Middle America (Mexico and Central America) is the fastest growing region of Latin America. It will grow by about two-thirds. Tropical South America will

TABLE 4

*Expected Regional Population Impacts*

Region	Population Increase 1980-2000 as a percentage of 1980 Population (a)	5 year Period(s) in which total growth rate expected to peak* (b)	Peak annual growth rate (%) (c)
<i>Extremely rapid population growth</i>			
<b>Western Africa</b>	89	85-90	3.2
<b>Eastern Africa</b>	87	85-90	3.2
<i>Very rapid population growth</i>			
<b>Southern Africa</b>	76	80-90	2.9
<b>Middle Africa</b>	71	90-95	2.8
<b>Northern Africa</b>	71	75-80	2.9
<b>Western South Asia</b>	71	70-75	2.9
<b>Middle America</b>	68	p	—
<i>Rapid population growth</i>			
<b>Tropical South America</b>	58	p	—
<b>Melanesia/Micronesia/ Polynesia</b>	56	70-75	2.3
<i>Moderate population growth</i>			
<b>Middle South Asia</b>	47	p	—
<b>Eastern South Asia</b>	44	p	—
<b>Caribbean</b>	41	p	—
<b>East Asia (not China/Japan)</b>	40	p	—
<i>Slow population growth</i>			
<b>Temperate South America</b>	26	p	—
<b>China</b>	26	p	—
<b>Australia/New Zealand</b>	23	p	—
<b>Northern America</b>	21	p	—
<b>U.S.S.R.</b>	17	p	—
<i>Very slow population growth</i>			
<b>Japan</b>	11	70-75	1.3
<b>Southern Europe</b>	11	p	—
<b>Eastern Europe</b>	10	p	—
<i>No population growth</i>			
<b>Northern Europe</b>	1	p	—
<b>Western Europe</b>	1	p	—
<b>More developed nations</b>	12	p	—
<b>Less developed nations</b>	47	p	—
<b>World</b>	38	p	—

\*p = total population growth rate had peaked by 1970

## Sources:

Column a: Calculations based on figures in Table 1.

Columns b and c: United Nations, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, *Estimates and Projections of Urban, Rural, and City Population, 1950-2025: the 1980 Assessment* (ST/ESA/SER.R/45), 1982. (Medium variant projections.)

grow by 58 per cent, which is significantly more than the average increase in the less developed nations. The Caribbean will grow by 41 per cent and Temperate South America (Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay) by one-quarter.

The least populated regions of the world, the Central Pacific Islands of Melanesia and Micronesia/Polynesia will together grow by a little over one-half.

Overall, the less developed regions will grow by just under one-half or four times the rate of growth of the more developed regions (USSR, Northern America, all regions of Europe, Japan, and Australia/New Zealand). The populations of Northern and Western Europe will be virtually stable at 1 per cent growth over twenty years.

*Urban and Rural Growth Shares*

To the extent that population growth poses problems and challenges, these will be primarily urban, particularly in all regions of the more developed world, Latin America, and East Asia. In all these regions the urban areas will account for 87 per cent or more of the total population growth from 1980-2000. In fact, in the developed world, in Temperate South America, East Asia other than China, and the Pacific Islands, urban growth rates will exceed the national rates – that is, there will be rural depopulation. (See Table 5.)

Virtually everywhere population growth is expected to be primarily urban during the remainder of this century. Only in Eastern Africa is the urban share of growth expected to be less than half, and even here it will be 47 per cent.

By the end of the first quarter of the next century, the urban share of population growth will be even more significant. The rural areas of all regions except those African regions south of the Sahara will be depopulating, while the urban areas of all the currently less-developed regions will still be growing significantly – overall, more than 2 per cent annually.

Increasingly, it is in the urban areas where housing and services will have to be provided. Although in the short term, meeting rural needs will pose a significant problem for many nations, especially in Africa and South Asia, this problem is expected to shift steadily to the cities even in these regions. Nowhere in the world are rates of rural growth expected to rise after 1980.

Africa and South Asia stand out not because their urban problems are expected to be less pressing than in other less developed countries – indeed

TABLE 5

*Urban and Rural Shares of Growth*

Region	% of total growth 1980-2000 that will be urban	% of total growth 1980-2000 that will be rural
<i>Regions where urban and rural areas have about equal shares of growth</i>		
<b>Eastern Africa</b>	47	53
<b>Western Africa</b>	52	48
<b>Middle South Asia</b>	60	40
<b>Eastern South Asia</b>	62	38
<i>Regions where urban areas will have three to five times the growth of rural areas</i>		
<b>Southern Africa</b>	76	24
<b>Middle Africa</b>	76	24
<b>Northern Africa</b>	81	19
<i>Regions where almost all the growth will be urban</i>		
<b>Western South Asia</b>	86	14
<b>Middle America</b>	87	13
<b>China</b>	90	10
<b>Caribbean</b>	92	8
<b>Tropical South America</b>	97	3
<i>Regions where rural population will be decreasing</i>		
<b>Melanesia/Micronesia/Polynesia</b>	104	-4
<b>East Asia (not China/Japan)</b>	108	-8
<b>Temperate South America</b>	109	-9
Australia/New Zealand	110	-10
Northern America	118	-18
U.S.S.R.	138	-38
Japan	154	-54
Southern Europe	173	-73
Eastern Europe	182	-82
Northern Europe	500	-400
Western Europe	550	-450
More developed countries	143	-43
<b>Less developed countries</b>	72	28
<b>World</b>	77	23

Source: Calculations based on figures in Table 1.

their cities are the world's fastest growing — but because major development efforts in both rural and urban areas will have to be undertaken simultaneously in the near future. While over time rural growth will abate, urban growth will be a challenge well into the next century.

The defining characteristic of urban areas is their density: their density of

TABLE 6

*Expected Urban Population Impacts on Total Population*

Regions	Urban Population increase as a percentage of 1980 total population (a)	Five year period in which urban growth rate expected to peak* (b)	Peak Urban growth rate (c)
<i>Regions very much impacted by urban growth</i>			
<b>Western South Asia</b>	61	p	—
<b>Middle America</b>	59	p	—
<b>Southern Africa</b>	58	90-95	4.0
<b>Tropical South America</b>	56	p	—
<b>Northern Africa</b>	57	75-80	4.7
<b>Melanesia/Micro/Polynesia</b>	57	70-75	10.8
<i>Regions much impacted by urban growth</i>			
<b>Western Africa</b>	46	80-85	5.7
<b>E. Asia (not China/Japan)</b>	43	p	—
<b>Eastern Africa</b>	40	75-80	7.2
<i>Moderately impacted</i>			
<b>Caribbean</b>	35	p	—
<i>Lightly impacted</i>			
<b>Temperate South America</b>	29	p	—
<b>Middle South Asia</b>	28	90-95	4.1
<b>Eastern South Asia</b>	27	90-95	4.0
<b>China</b>	24	p	—
U.S.S.R.	23	p	—
Northern America	23	p	—
Australia/New Zealand	22	p	—
<i>Very lightly impacted</i>			
Southern Europe	20	70-75	2.1
Eastern Europe	19	p	—
Japan	18	p	—
Western Europe	17	p	—
Northern Europe	6	p	—
More developed regions	18	p	—
<b>Less developed regions</b>	34	p	—
<b>World</b>	29	p	—

\*p = urban population growth rate had peaked by 1970

Sources:

Column a: Calculations based on figures in Table 1.

Columns b and c: United Nations, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, *World Population Prospects as Assessed in 1980* (ST/ESA/SER.A/78), 1981. (Medium variant projections.)



primarily non-agricultural activity on land. It is density which gives urban land its desirability and value. Thus, although rural people in poor nations may be worse off in terms of housing, water supply, health facilities, and so forth, the land problems of availability, tenure, and access are centred on the cities. While over the next two decades roughly an equal amount of construction may be needed in the rural and urban areas of Africa and South Asia, the pressures this building will put on land will not be equal. Growth of the urban areas will be much more geographically concentrated and, therefore, more difficult to manage. Further, land in the cities has a commodity value; in many rural areas, particularly where tribal forms of land tenure still predominate as in much of Africa, land value is not an issue and thus the problem of access to or acquiring land is not a major problem even for the otherwise very poor.<sup>10</sup>

#### *National Urban Population Impacts*

Urban population increases will have an impact on the nation in proportion to the ratio of these increases to national population size. By this criterion, all the less-developed regions will be more heavily impacted by urban growth than will any of the more developed regions. In the former, the urban population increases will represent from 24 per cent to 61 per cent of the 1980 total population. In the latter, urban population increases will be less than 24 per cent of the 1980 total population in all cases. (See Table 6.)

Temperate South America, Middle and Eastern South Asia, and China will be the least impacted less-developed regions, while virtually all the growth in these regions compared to other less-developed regions means that they will not be so heavily impacted by urban growth. In this respect they are rather like the more developed regions (even though China is among the least urbanized nations.) Middle South Asia and Eastern South Asia have high population growth rates, but they are also relatively lightly impacted by urban growth because of their initially low levels of urbanization. Their cities will be growing quickly (and much more quickly than the rural areas), but because they comprise a small part of the total populations of these regions (23 per cent in 1980), the impact of this growth on national resources will be less than in many other less-developed nations. (Middle South Asia is the Indian sub-continent from Iran to Bangladesh; Eastern South Asia consists of all Asian nations south of China from Burma east.)

#### *Urban Population Impact on Urban Areas*

While the ratio of urban population increase to total population gives some indication of the strain that there will be on national resources, it is the ratio of urban population increase to urban population (that is, urban population growth rate) that is significant for the cities themselves. The speed of urban

TABLE 7

*The World Regions from Least to Most Urbanized*

Regions	Population % Urban 1980	Population % Urban 2000
<i>Least Urbanized Regions</i>		
<b>Eastern Africa</b>	16	30
<b>Western Africa</b>	23	36
<b>Eastern South Asia</b>	23	35
<b>Middle South Asia</b>	23	34
<b>China</b>	26	39
<b>Melanesia/Micronesia/Polynesia</b>	33	58
<b>Middle Africa</b>	34	52
<i>Moderately Urbanized Regions</i>		
<b>Northern Africa</b>	44	59
<b>Southern Africa</b>	46	58
<b>Caribbean</b>	51	62
<b>Western South Asia</b>	54	68
<b>East Asia (not China/Japan)</b>	59	73
Eastern Europe	59	70
<b>Middle America</b>	61	72
Southern Europe	62	73
U.S.S.R.	63	74
<b>Tropical South America</b>	66	78
<i>Most Urbanized Regions</i>		
Northern America	77	83
Japan	78	86
Western Europe	78	84
<b>Temperate South America</b>	82	88
Northern Europe	85	90
Australia/New Zealand	88	92
More developed regions	71	79
<b>Less developed regions</b>	31	44
<b>World</b>	41	51

## Source:

United Nations, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, *Estimates and Projections of Urban, Rural, and City Population, 1950-2025: the 1980 Assessment* (ST/ESA/SER.R/45), 1982. (Medium variant projections.)

growth affects the price of land and therefore its availability to the poor and their security once on it. Rapid growth increases prices by increasing the speculative value of land. It affects the capacity of the city to plan for the accommodation of this growth; and it affects the ability to keep services development abreast of need. (See Table 7.) Eastern Africa and Western Africa stand out markedly as regions where urban growth will be very rapid. Their cities are

TABLE 8

*Urban Population Impacts on Urban Areas*

Region	Urban Population Growth 1980-2000 as a percentage of 1980 Urban Population
<i>Very High Urban Growth Rate</i> (Urban Population to triple or more)	
<b>Eastern Africa</b>	257
<b>Western Africa</b>	203
<i>High Urban Growth Rate</i> (Urban Population to double or triple)	
<b>Melanesia/Micronesia/Polynesia</b>	174
<b>Middle Africa</b>	161
<b>Northern Africa</b>	129
<b>Southern Africa</b>	126
<b>Middle South Asia</b>	124
<b>Eastern South Asia</b>	120
<b>Western South Asia</b>	113
<i>Moderate Urban Growth Rate</i> (Urban Population to grow by 50% - 100%)	
<b>Middle America</b>	96
<b>China</b>	92
<b>Tropical South America</b>	85
<b>East Asia (not China/Japan)</b>	83
<b>Caribbean</b>	69
<i>Slow Urban Growth Rate</i> (Urban Population to grow by 20% - 50%)	
U.S.S.R.	37
<b>Temperate South America</b>	35
Eastern Europe	31
Southern Europe	30
Northern America	30
Australia/New Zealand	25
Japan	22
<i>Very Slow Urban Growth Rate</i> (Urban Population grow less than 20%)	
Western Europe	9
Northern Europe	7
More developed regions	25
<b>Less developed regions</b>	109
<b>World</b>	72

Source: Calculations based on figures in Table 1.

expected to more than triple in size from 1980 to 2000. (They, with Middle Africa, are also expected to have among the highest rural growth rates.) (See Table 8.) The remainder of African cities will more than double in size as will those in South Asia.

Urban growth in Africa and South Asia reflects both rapid total population growth rates and relatively low levels of current urbanization. The latter means that there is room for a great deal of rural to urban migration at levels significant to the cities since they are in total much less populous than the rural areas. (Low levels of urbanization do not necessarily mean small cities. In the populous countries of Middle South Asia, Indonesia, and Nigeria, even low levels of urbanization can correspond to very large individual city sizes. For instance, eight cities in South Asia are expected to have populations over ten million by the year 2000.) (See Table 9.)

In East Asia except Japan, and in Latin America except the southern cone, the urban areas will grow by a more moderate 69 per cent to 96 per cent over the next twenty years. Still, these twenty-year rates of urban growth are much higher than the rates in the more developed regions and in Temperate South America. In those regions, cities are expected to grow by about a third or less.

All regions expect urban growth over the next twenty years, but the percentage increase in the less-developed regions will be four times that in the more developed regions. If accommodating world population growth is an urban challenge, it is particularly an urban challenge for the less-developed regions where growth rates are high, resources are minimal, and government structures to deal with these issues are often rudimentary. The final section in this chapter addresses two ways in which governments in developing countries are beginning to systematize these resources.

#### *The Importance of Technical Land Registry and Cadastral Surveys*

Land registration, including cadastral registration, is the systematic, methodical, clearly laid out Government registration of all real estate situated in a definable administrative area. The information that is registered usually concerns established facts and/or consequences, and descriptive data relating to the nature of the real estate such as location, size, use etc. The basic elements of a land registration system are: 1. a brief, simple, unambiguous identification of the real estate, shown on a large-scale map made on the strength of a surveying operation; 2. descriptive registers containing the data associated with legal status and land use, as well as data pertaining to the nature of the real estate.<sup>11</sup>

According to Henssen (1983), what sets most of the developing countries apart

TABLE 9

*Rural Population Impact*

Regions	Rural Population Changes (increase or decrease) as % of 1980 total pop'n (a)	Five Year Period in which positive rural growth rate expected to peak* (b)	Peak Annual Rural Growth Rate (c)
<i>Regions much impacted by rural growth</i>			
<b>Eastern Africa</b>	46	p	—
<b>Western Africa</b>	43	70-75	2.4
<i>Regions lightly impacted by urban growth</i>			
<b>Middle South Asia</b>	19	p	—
<b>Southern Africa</b>	18	70-75	2.3
<b>Middle Africa</b>	17	p	—
<b>Eastern South Asia</b>	17	p	—
<b>Northern Africa</b>	14	75-80	1.6
<i>Regions very lightly impacted by urban growth</i>			
<b>Western South Asia</b>	10	p	—
<b>Middle America</b>	9	p	—
<b>China</b>	3	p	—
<b>Caribbean</b>	3	p	—
<i>Regions lightly impacted by rural depopulation</i>			
Australia/New Zealand	0	p	—
<b>Tropical South America</b>	2	p	—
<b>Temperate South America</b>	-2	p	—
Northern America	-2	p	—
<b>East Asia (not China/Japan)</b>	-3	p	—
<b>Melanesia/Micro/Polynesia</b>	-4	p	—
Northern Europe	-5	p	—
Western Europe	-6	p	—
Japan	-6	p	—
U.S.S.R.	-6	p	—
Eastern Europe	-8	p	—
Southern Europe	-8	p	—
More developed regions	-5	p	—
<b>Less developed regions</b>	13	p	—
<b>World</b>	9	p	—

\*p = rural population growth rate had peaked by 1970

Sources:

Column a: Calculations based on figures in Table 1.

Columns b and c: United Nations, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, *Estimates and Projections of Urban, Rural, and City Population, 1950-2025: the 1980 Assessment* (ST/ESA/SER.R/45), 1982. (Medium variant projections.)

is the lack of any conscious effort to develop a workable system of land registration. This is despite the fact that a registration system is a basic instrument through which government policy can achieve the goal of improving the land situation of the poor through reforms.

A properly set-up and maintained land registration system provides security and clarity with respect to the legal status of the land. Greater security should result in the long run in the improvement of property, thus contributing to the growth and economic development of the country concerned.<sup>12</sup>

In formalizing occupancy and tenure in squatter communities, household plots and related land areas have to be identified, measured, and registered. This process allows individual occupancy rights, appropriate land uses, and public space and rights of way to be defined, protected, and maintained. Accurate registration is necessary to establish householders' and land users' rights and to permit them to mortgage their land and building for acquisition or upgrading of their houses. Since sites and services projects and squatter upgrading projects are usually planned to be self-supporting and therefore based on loans to householders, accurate, official registration is essential. It is also necessary when householders want to use their land and house as collateral for other loans.

The designation of public land for community uses and services is one of the most important functions of mapping and registration. The lack of sufficient public space has often been a major factor in deterring the servicing of squatter settlements. Land for access roads and utility rights of way not only needs to be available and secure for this use, but it also needs to be patterned to allow fire control and engineering efficiency. Land for schools, clinics and community facilities also needs to be provided in appropriate locations. (The lack of land for schools has been blamed for the high levels of illiteracy found in certain squatter settlements.) Mapping the community allows public space to be allocated so that it optimally meets the criteria of efficiency and minimal disruption to the existing fabric. Registration ensures that the public lands so created are retained for public services and maintained accordingly.

Mapping and registration also facilitate the delivery of services and the

conducting of other social activities essential to the organization of modern society. A recent "house registration handbook" lists seventeen reasons for plot registration, including: general urban administration, delivery of health and social services, censuses, property taxation, house improvement loans, planning, land acquisition, surveys, marketing, political organization, and property transactions.<sup>13</sup>

The allocation of land for public uses within settlements should be determined on the basis of local needs and circumstances. Textbook standards for road widths and alignments, open space, and facility location will likely not be appropriate to existing settlements of the poor, which have each created their own unique land use fabrics. These fabrics must be respected.

The complex pattern of squatter settlements means that standard mapping and surveying techniques have become very expensive and time-consuming. Accordingly, in recent years, various squatter upgrading programs have experimented with a variety of techniques for identifying and registering land parcels. These include the use of aerial photographs as base maps, allowing landmarks such as trees to be used as "markers," field mapping techniques, and simplified local registration of land using aerial photographs or field maps as official plans. These simplified techniques have the added advantage that they can be applied to a large extent by using less-skilled local resources and can be placed under the control of communities who know and understand their own local situations.<sup>14</sup>

In their discussion of land issues, the United Nations Seminar of Experts on Land For Housing The Poor conclude:

Solving the problems of land acquisition, disposition and registration directed towards housing the urban poor will not settle all the questions of land reform in developing countries. However, it would have an enormous impact on the management of rapidly growing urban centres where conditions are in many cases approaching the crisis point.<sup>15</sup>

There may be some difficulty in setting up land registration systems in developing countries owing to the expense and the lack of immediate quantifiable results. As Henssen (1983) points out, such systems are not always welcomed by the authorities, and there may even be direct opposition from groups who do not regard registration systems as being in their best interests (for example, tribal or ethnic groups who may fear that customary law will be altered or powerful individuals or families who prefer that land ownership remain anonymous.) Although these factors are important and must be addressed if the registration and survey systems are to be effective, it is important to reiterate that the primary purpose of these systems is to provide security for the poor.

- <sup>1</sup> United Nations, Report of *Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements* (A/CONF.70/15, 1976).
- <sup>2</sup> Jorge E. Hardoy and David Satterthwaite. *Shelter: Need and Response, Housing, Land and Settlement Policies in 17 Third World Nations* (New York: Wiley, 1981).
- <sup>3</sup> Calculated from data provided by United Nations, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, *World Population Prospects as Assessed in 1980* (ST/ESA/SER.A/78), 1981 and, United Nations, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, *Estimates and Projections of Urban, Rural, and City Population, 1950-2025, the 1980 Assessment* (ST/ESA/SER.R/45), 1982.
- <sup>4</sup> The World Bank has been a major pioneer in this area of analysis. See for example *The Urban Edge*, Vol. 6., No. 11, Dec. 1982 for a recent review.
- <sup>5</sup> Richard E. Rhoda, *Development Activities and Rural-Urban Migration: Is It Possible to Keep Them Down on the Farm?* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Urban Development, Agency for International Development, 1979).
- <sup>6</sup> Hardoy and Satterthwaite, *Shelter*, especially 219.
- <sup>7</sup> As note 3 above. Projects for individual cities are based on 1978 rather than 1980 projections.
- <sup>8</sup> These calculations are substantially the work of Peter Boothroyd, University of British Columbia, School of Community and Regional Planning, Vancouver, Canada.
- <sup>9</sup> The figure of 80 persons per hectare reflects the overall population density of the built-up areas of some of the world's densest cities. The figure may be compared to the 1970 United States density of 17 persons per hectare in central cities and 13 persons per hectare in urban areas overall. United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Land for Human Settlements: Some Legal and Economic Issues* (ST/ESA/69), 1977, p.5.
- <sup>10</sup> It is important to make the point that in the rural areas there is a much greater backlog of housing and services and there is little or no resource growth in these areas. On the other hand, even with all of the congestion problems, the possibilities of growth in resources for housing (and increased employment for the poor) is present in urban areas. Most studies have shown that personal income growth in the urban areas will be many multiples of that in the rural areas over the next few decades. There are, as a result, possibilities to capture substantial scale economies in the provision of housing to low income urban residents.
- <sup>11</sup> Jo Henssen, "Land Registration Systems," Theme Paper 111, in *U.N. Seminar of Experts on Land For Housing The Poor*, Tallberg, Sweden, March 1983.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, p.71.
- <sup>13</sup> S.S. Yahya, *House Registration Handbook: A Model for Registering Houses and Plots in Unplanned Settlements*, Urban Development Department, Technical Paper No. 4 (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1982).
- <sup>14</sup> A series of examples in which experiments have been undertaken with a variety of techniques for land registration can be found in Appendix C of *Land for Human Settlements* (CON/HAB/82/011), Theme paper for the 6th session of the Commission on Human Settlements, by the University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, October, 1982. See also, Saad S. Yahya, *Land for Human Settlement: A Review of the African Experience*, Occasional Paper L6 (Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982).
- <sup>15</sup> Henssen, "Land Registration Systems," p.47.



# 3

## THE DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT

Urban land issues in developing countries are rooted in socio-economic systems that have been effective in centralizing activity in productive, enticing cities, but ineffective in providing appropriate land for large numbers of the productive people in these cities to live on and produce. A redirection of land policy cannot solve all the problems of the poor, but it can allow governments and the poor themselves to start solving some of their most immediate problems. Without a redirection of land policy toward making urban land more accessible to the poor in the future, and toward legitimating the existing use of land by those who have not had legal access to land in the past, poverty and social conflict will become ineradicable. Land policy is thus, above all, social policy.

Planning for urban growth involves a series of stages of land management; it starts with the identification of appropriate development or redevelopment areas on the basis of urban form planning, it establishes public control (as distinct from ownership) over this land, it develops delivery-for-use approaches to ensure the land is accessible for a variety of uses including use by the poor, it defines user and tenure rights including plans for new settlements on the basis of a social development approach, and allocates the resources needed to assist this development effort. The following three chapters will address these issues in detail. For example, chapter three deals with the development context, which involves an analysis of significant trends in the land market and their relationship to the price of land. This is followed by a discussion of what can be done to improve the locational advantages of land occupied by the poor through an assessment of the administrative context for managing land and related resources. In chapter four, the emphasis is upon specific land policy issues and questions which are related to the access and availability of land for the poor. This involves a review of the forces which lie behind the decision as to where the poor locate in cities, and is extended into a discussion of the trends in the relationship between the formal and informal sectors. The main policy issue involves alternative methods of providing the poor with security of tenure,

and the chapter concludes with a detailed analysis of the significance of squatter settlements. In chapter five, the discussion will focus specifically on the issue of the public control of land, in an attempt to assess what approaches have been taken to make land available to the urban poor, and what are the appropriate applications and relative merits of these approaches.

*Trends in the Land Market and Their Implications.*

The population growth of urban areas has been dramatic, but even more spectacular has been the accompanying explosion of land prices. The prohibitive price of land constitutes one of the leading factors that deny to the urban poor access to land. Two recent reports from Africa and from Latin America provide material that is illustrative of this global phenomenon.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout Latin America increases in *real* prices of urban land over the last twenty years have averaged between 100 per cent and 300 per cent. The relation of land prices to accessibility is made all the more clear when compared to wage levels. Because land prices grow at a much faster rate than salaries, the problem of access of the urban poor to a piece of land on which to live increases in time. Typical is Lima, Peru, where land prices have historically risen twice as fast as wages.<sup>2</sup>

In both Africa and Latin America there exists ample evidence to document the extension of this phenomenon to the urban fringe, which in the past has played a vital role in supplying cheap though poorly located land to the urban poor. In particular, speculation in land on the urban periphery is increasingly limiting the available opportunities of the urban poor or, at the least, making these opportunities very costly. Although prices at the periphery are usually lower than in the centre, the rate of increase in the price of land is often fastest at the periphery. In many cases, these price increases on the periphery have only served to push the poor even further into the countryside, aggravating the already serious problems of lack of amenities (especially water) and transportation costs (particularly the journey to work). Moreover:

high and increasing land prices, even in illegal settlements, tend to have a highly negative cost effect on all the housing alternatives of the poor. For instance, research done in El Salvador indicates that the high prices in colonias ilegales (illegal subdivisions) have reoriented pressure towards lowering housing alternatives: mesones and tugurios (tenements and squattments) whose number has increased in the past three years in spite of the destruction of many by earthquakes, fire or renewal. The high cost of land in colonias ilegales increases the cost and deteriorates the bad living conditions of alternative submarkets.<sup>3</sup>

Many of these exceedingly high land price increases are of a speculative nature. This is not meant to imply that speculation is the sole cause. Of course, there are many other variables that stimulate land price increases such as economic growth, increased income, and rapid population growth in most capital cities and metropolitan areas. All these and other variables condition a permanent increase in current demand for land. However, in the determination of urban land prices, future demand expectations might be as important as current demand. Expectations of further population growth (and the consequent demand on urban land) and the particular characteristics of the urban land market, stimulate speculative activity.

Urban land speculation also accentuates a regressive distribution of income and wealth. Segregation is one of the consequences. The dynamic perspective of the land markets and the social structure of cities tend to indicate the existence of circular processes which increase segregation and differences in the access to amenities and urban opportunities by social groups according to spatial location.<sup>4</sup>

Even the urban poor who acquire title to land are not immune to the corrosive impact of speculative price increases. For example, in the context of Africa:

Where customary tenure has been abolished and title to demarcated or surveyed plots has been given to individuals, there has been a phenomenal expansion of economic activity and physical development. But land demarcation and individualized titles usually result in the value of the land rising drastically. Those owners who resist temptation to sell and decide to develop their land resort to the banks and finance houses for the purpose of raising capital. Banks and money lenders are happy to lend money with a secure and registered title as collateral. There thus develops a high degree of indebtedness among landowners. Unless strict laws are passed by governments to protect the small landowners from unscrupulous money lenders, a lot of hardship can be caused to individual families. The mortgage laws are usually based on European models and tend to favour the banks.<sup>5</sup>

Other consequences of speculative trends in land prices are inefficiency in the spatial structure of the city and an increasing amount of vacant land, both serviced and unserved, within the city:

The retention of urban land with speculative purposes, in order to wait for the general growth of urban areas to provide them with a higher value is

a common phenomenon in most cities. This speculative phenomenon has been driven to an extreme in the case of Brazil, where vacant lots represent one third of the building space of Brazilian cities.<sup>6</sup>

To summarize; from the perspective of the urban poor, the following trends may be identified in relation to land prices: (1) increasingly less affordable land, especially on the urban fringe, (2) decreasing access to and availability of land, regardless of price, coexisting with large amounts of vacant city land, (3) a continuing erosion of buying power because of increasing costs of shelter, both in new and old settlements, (4) increasing segregation of the urban poor from wealthier urban residents and from many urban amenities, (5) decreasing quality of environment (related to health in particular) in all settlements of the urban poor. Government initiatives to address the issues of price have not uncovered any effective answers. Land banking has not provided the hoped for solutions, in part because of its high costs to most governments and in part because of poor administrative experiences in some countries which have tried such measures.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, in some countries, government interventions have often fueled further speculation.<sup>8</sup>

#### *The Price of Land*

The rising price of urban land forces a set of difficult choices on the landless poor: they have choices of squatting (often on land unsuited to their needs), crowding into already overcrowded houses and rooms, moving to the cheapest land (which is usually on the periphery and therefore distant from jobs, three to four hours travelling time a day being not uncommon), leaving the city and its opportunities and returning to a hopeless rural existence, or cutting back on non-shelter expenses such as food. Alone against the market, the poor have little chance of acquiring suitable land for shelter and related needs.<sup>9</sup>

The demand for land and its increasingly intensive use are growing rapidly everywhere – particularly in the major cities of the developing countries. In most cities the supply of appropriately located serviced land is falling far behind the demand. Accordingly, the price of urban land, and therefore rents, are rising rapidly – more rapidly than income. There are a number of reasons for this. On the demand side, national population growth rates are still high (although the rates themselves have peaked in most cases). Second, rural to urban migration continues because of the centralizing of secondary and tertiary industry (and therefore direct and indirect jobs) in the more productive cities and because social and utility services in the cities are at a higher level than in rural areas. Urban areas offer contiguity, economy of scale, a highly specialized division of labour, a vast labour pool, and expanding cultural opportunities. Third, in inflationary economies, land becomes a valuable (perhaps the only

safe) investment and self-reinforcing cycles of land speculation are generated. In many countries there are few alternative, safe inflation-hedges or investment opportunities. Fourth, speculation is encouraged by lack of significant taxation on land and on speculative gains. Finally, government housing subsidies contribute to the affordability of land by some people – although often not by the very poor. Subsidies tend to be added onto the price of land generally.

On the supply side, there is incentive for the private sector to leave land undeveloped since it is a non-depreciating asset often rapidly rising in value. Typically, 40 per cent of the land in urban areas in the cities of developing countries is undeveloped, some of it serviced land. Conversely, there is little incentive to develop vacant land. In some developing nations, there is no property tax on vacant land, and where such a tax exists, it usually does not reflect the rapidly increasing value of the land. (The lack of land tax sometimes reflects confusion over the status of urban land ownership because of competing tenure systems, unwritten claims, and ill-defined property boundaries.) In the last few years the trend for private land ownership to be increasingly consolidated in the hands of a relatively small number of vertically integrated developers has been observed. These oligopolies are able to maintain a pace of development which suits the needs of owners rather than buyers. Also, land held publicly has been hoarded by agencies which have no immediate use for the land but, like other investors, know that the land they dispose of today will be more expensive to replace tomorrow. Urban planning has zoned land off the market for a variety of reasons: to maintain green belts and other general “open space,” to maintain set-backs of buildings from roads to provide for future road-widening, to maintain standards of building spacing and other reasons.<sup>10</sup> It has also put a ceiling on densities – especially in better-off neighbourhoods. Service standards have slowed down the rate at which land can be legally urbanized. These standards may not be high compared with those of the cities of developed countries, but they may still be too elaborate given the social and environmental needs for basic services and their variation in levels in developing countries. Finally on the supply side, the development of efficient administrative systems has lagged behind the need for delivery of urban services and for formalizing subdivisions and the orderly transfer of land.

Doebele (1983) argues that because land location is specific and existing urban plots cannot be reproduced, the rising demand for urban land tends to be met primarily by converting rural land at the periphery of the existing built-up area. As the total urban area expands, the central sites command higher economic prices as their locational advantage is continually increased by their enlarged access to a growing number of people and by a corresponding growth in expenditures. He argues that three elements of the rise in land values can be distinguished:

One derives from investments made at the time of the change in land use, including those for preparatory work, various costs of subdivision, the provision of urban services (whether public or private), and other activities such as clearing the land and relocating the original occupiers. The second element derives from changes in permitted uses, and the third from changing locational advantages as towns and cities expand. These last two elements are not the result of capital investment specific to the plot, but are generally classified as “socially created.”<sup>11</sup>

Doebele suggests that the increase in the economic value of land in and near urban areas which is affected by supply and demand factors such as those outlined above, is unlikely to follow a smooth path.

In a similar context, Walters (1983) examines the assertion that urban land prices are rising too rapidly by assessing how prices might be defined and changes measured. He argues that for the purposes of decision-making the relevant concept is not so much the price but rather the opportunity cost of land. Walters' basic conclusion is that under free-market conditions, one would expect the price of land to be such that, on average, it will earn a rate of return in the long run which is roughly equivalent to other assets of similar risk and characteristics. However, unlike most other assets, serviced urban land is limited, often not by the normal rules of profitability of supply, but by the institutional, administrative, and financial ability of the authorities to install needed services. This shortage is often exacerbated by the convention of fixing prices for such services below the cost of installation and supply. The land supply may be further limited by planning restrictions and various rationing or allocation arrangements deemed in the public interest. Such restrictive mechanisms ensure that any urban land that is marketed commands a much higher price than would occur in the free market, even when spillover effects are taken into account. This may well be the source of much of the concern about the scarcity and high price of urban land.

#### *The Allocation of Land and Related Resources*

There is no absolute shortage of appropriate land which could be used for settlement. Shortages have social, economic, and administrative reasons. Because of rapid urban growth, under market conditions land becomes too expensive for the poor and is either allocated to other uses or kept vacant. The use of publicly owned land seems to follow market conditions and is allocated to a variety of functions other than for settlements for the poor (transport, military or public display needs, “green space,” and so forth.) Like privately owned land, much of it is left unused while being hoarded by various special service

agencies for their own strategic needs. Nations ought to adopt and adapt mechanisms appropriate to their situations to ensure that more appropriately located land is available to the poor ahead of need. At issue are access to and distribution of land, not its quantity or supply.

The formal allocation of land and related resources to the poor has involved several approaches: delivery through public agencies, including public housing, sites-and-services schemes, and squatter upgrading programmes; encouragement of the private sector to provide more housing and land by offering consumer and/or producer subsidies, and by legalizing unauthorized subdivisions.

#### *Delivery through Public Agencies*

Public housing, while making a limited contribution to meeting housing needs, has virtually everywhere been unsuccessful in keeping up with the demand (Singapore is one of the notable exceptions). In fact, the informal sector (essentially self-help) is providing the vast majority of shelter in the cities of the developing countries. Most governments cannot afford the land or housing construction costs necessary to meet even a modest portion of the demand. As well, the public housing that has been built is notorious for its inappropriateness to climate, maintenance, or simple accommodation needs. Innovative technologies or savings through mass construction techniques have tended to rely on expensive imported techniques and materials and have proven a vain hope.

Recognizing their inability to provide complete housing units at a rapid enough pace and at affordable prices, many governments and aid agencies have turned to sites-and-service schemes which typically involve basic servicing of raw land, subdivision and allocation of plots, and further financial assistance in servicing and home upgrading. These approaches have proven reasonably successful in varying circumstances in accommodating large numbers of families but not necessarily the poor without any resources or skills; sites-and-services projects are more responsive to local needs and capabilities with regard to siting and construction than is the standard public housing building approach.

The shelter and servicing needs of the poor are so pressing and growing so quickly that new ways and means of meeting the land and shelter needs must be found. Governments cannot rely on the formal sector delivery of land or shelter, which at best can only meet the housing and service needs of the relative few while abandoning the many to their own devices in an unsupportive public policy environment. Governments ought to work toward a social development approach which meets the land and shelter needs of the poor through the mobilization of underused resources, primarily through aided self-help. Traditionally, the provision of housing for the poor — even through highly motivated governments — has been frustrated by excruciatingly slow

bureaucracies, externally dictated requirements for the repayment of loans or grants, and bottlenecks in the supply of materials and skills. In addition, the allocation of “residential” land for housing has often occurred on floodplains, steep hillsides, or far from available employment. In order to alleviate these problems, governments ought to move from building housing for the poor to providing access to land for shelter, thereby encouraging the needy consumer to become his own producer. This would enable the producer to build what is necessary for support by his own resources, based on mutual or self-aided help.

#### *Allocation through the Market*

Housing subsidies, whether to consumers or producers, have tended to favour the better off who can afford the necessary downpayments and repayments of loans; from the perspective of the poor, subsidies have only led to increased prices and competition for housing and land.

In the absence of an effective supply of land by governments and the ever-increasing demands of growing urban populations, the private commercial sector has taken the matter into its own hands. One of the major mechanisms by which land is delivered to the poor involves the illegal subdivision of unserviced and privately owned property, which is usually located in peripheral areas. Although it is usually private land which is subdivided, it can also be communal land (for example, the ejidos around Mexico City) or tribal land (for example, in Central Africa) which is willingly subdivided by those responsible for these areas. This is contrary to governmental regulations or policy intentions. However, because this is such a responsive, significant, and growing component of the delivery of land to the poor, public authorities are increasingly pressed to legitimate these substandard subdivisions *post facto*.

Acceptance of illegal or unauthorized subdivisions has allowed large numbers of households to achieve access to land and ultimately to basic services; it has also allowed public authorities ultimately to tax these households in order to pay for the services (though in some cases, as in Brazil, they have been taxed as a penalty for their actions, yet have not been serviced.) Legitimation of past illegal subdivisions, however, encourages further such activity by “developers”; this has the disadvantages of ignoring regional and local planning policies and principles by encouraging sprawl and inefficient layouts and of legitimating often highly exploitive relationships between landlord/seller and tenant/buyer.

One of the positive sides of urbanization is that social resources — labour, skills, information, and social interaction — are spatially concentrated and offer mutual support to satisfy basic needs and lead to increased economic production. Further, most countries have a relative abundance of those natural resources, including land, which are the basis for building settlements.

The disadvantage often is that at the community level people are inhibited



from organizing their social resources efficiently. They tend not to use the natural resources in ways appropriate to their needs. They are inhibited by fundamental poverty and the need to expend most of their energies on day-to-day survival; managing the development of land available to them in ways appropriate to their own needs, resources, knowledge, and desires is often prevented by insufficient or incorrect information, underestimation of their individual or collective power, by lack of current or foreseeable security in their use and occupancy of land, and exploitation of the prevailing market.

In summary, while society needs to be organized at regional, national and international levels, it is at the community level that social resources are most easily harnessed and mobilized to create the basic built environment.

Recent experience has shown that government's task in planning and building settlements is to encourage and assist the potential consumer to become his own producer. Governments can assist the poor to organize themselves and build for themselves with a minimum of financial assistance, by delegating decision-making authority on land planning and management and the construction of local communities; upgrading local management and building skills; continuing to provide appropriate technical information; supporting the local manufacture and transportation of appropriate building materials; and committing the legal and administrative machinery to ensuring security of use and occupancy of land by the poor. Once built, these communities should continue to organize themselves administratively. This many-faceted social development approach to settlement development is likely to be more effective, efficient, and appropriate than formal construction by government agencies, which require a massive bureaucracy to plan and administer. This usually involves the foreign import of materials, machinery, and technicians and often results in socially, aesthetically and physically unsatisfactory housing. The social development approach can organize currently underused domestic, social, and natural resources to create appropriate physical environments within a framework of public policy and priorities. This theme is developed further in the next chapter where specific and related land policy issues are examined, focusing primarily upon the relationships between the formal and informal sectors and the problem of providing security of tenure for the poor.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S.S. Yahya, *Land for Human Settlement: The African Experience*, Occasional Paper, L6 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982); Pablo Trivelli, *Access to Land By the Urban Poor: An Overview of Latin American Experience*, Occasional Paper, L7 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982).

<sup>2</sup> Another well documented case is Belo Horizonte, Brazil. "In Belo Horizonte, the average price of a piece of land in sub-divisions for 'popular' groups evolved from a price corresponding to 8 minimum salaries in 1960 to 21 minimum salaries in 1970 and to 57 minimum salaries in 1976" (Trivelli, "Access to Land," p.3).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p.3.

- <sup>4</sup> Ibid, p.10.
- <sup>5</sup> Yahya, *Land for Human Settlement*, p. 17.
- <sup>6</sup> Trivelli, *Access to Land*, p. 6.
- <sup>7</sup> "In Santiago, urban authorities maintained until 1979 a policy of high control on city limits to prevent scattered development. The shortage of legal urban land stimulated speculative activity on land located outside the city limits, as the pressure for land increased. Prices at the expected expansion area of high income groups increased by 500-600% in real terms between 1976 and 1979, while hardly any subdivisions or construction activities were taking place in the area, thus indicating the speculative origin in the rise of land prices. Urban authorities announced the displacement of city limits for Santiago at the beginning of 1979. By the end of the year, the decree was legally approved. The legal urban area of Santiago increased approximately from 36,000 ha to 100,000 ha. In the meantime, highly speculative transactions took place throughout the periphery of the city. Land prices increased at least three-fold in this short period of time, and continued to rise afterwards." (Ibid, pp. 6-7.)
- <sup>8</sup> See, for example: "Land for Housing Bangkok's Poor," *AIT Review* (April 1982) 7-10.
- <sup>9</sup> For a more detailed discussion, see *Land Economy in Critical Perspective*, Occasional Paper, L4 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982); and, *Land Value Recapture: Design and Evaluation of Alternative Policies*, Occasional Paper, L5 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982.)
- <sup>10</sup> The current discussion of the price of land only touches briefly on the issue of land capture and the recovery of increased land values. For a more detailed analysis, see World Bank Staff Working Paper, No.238, *Urban Land Policy Issues and Opportunities*. 1978, 2 vols.; also, Rachele Alterman, *Land Value Recapture: Design and Evaluation of Alternative Policies*, Occasional Paper L5 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982).
- <sup>11</sup> William A. Doebele, "Concepts of Urban Land Tenure," in Harold B. Dunkerley, Ed., *Urban Land Policy: Issues and Opportunities* (Oxford University Press, 1983). See also W.A. Doebele, "Emerging Concepts."
- <sup>12</sup> For a more detailed analysis, see *Land and Human Settlement Policy*, Occasional Paper L1 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982); and *Land: A Strategic Settlement Resource*, Occasional Paper L4 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982).

# 4

## LAND POLICY ISSUES

Urban space is densely used. The urbanization process puts pressure on both formal and informal land markets. The attraction of a city is its density, which promises convenient access to a variety of jobs, goods, and services and an interesting choice among them. However, this attraction of density also creates strong competition for land among public and private, individual and corporate space users. Housing, retail, commercial, industrial, service, transportation, recreation, and often even intensive agricultural activities all need to be accommodated in the city.

In the competition for land, the poor are obviously at a disadvantage, having neither the money of the wealthy nor the power of government. They are least able to acquire land through formally prescribed methods such as the regular land market or through legislative action. Land is needed not only for shelter but also for the formal and informal production activity (selling, fixing, growing, manufacturing) upon which the poor and national economies depend.<sup>1</sup> Many rent space, sometimes illegally, in overcrowded, condemned, or illegally constructed buildings or on illegally subdivided land. Many others seeking relief from high rents, unsafe housing, or continuous uncertainty about their tenure, purchase relatively cheap land in unauthorized unserved subdivisions or become squatters by taking land directly.<sup>2</sup> While acquiring land informally (illegally) at least allows rudimentary shelter to be created or labour-intensive business to be conducted, there are many problems with this approach to meeting land needs. The informally settled poor face constant harassment from authorities, lack even basic city services, and suffer exploitation by their fellows and corrupt city officials. Many face hazards and difficulties posed by site location (for example, the land they find may be vacant because it is subject to flooding or industrial pollution), lack any incentive to invest in improvements, and have no collateral upon which to borrow money.

*Location of Land for the Poor*

In the market, the poor have only been able to afford the least desirable land in terms of site characteristics, in terms of the built environment (because it is crowded, dilapidated, or unserved), in terms of pollution of the natural environment, or in terms of location in relation to jobs and services. Land allocated to the poor through public delivery programs has also tended to be the least desirable land. Public programs, like the individual poor they serve, have not been able to afford the market price for well-located land. It is rare that land has been made available to the poor without primary concern being given to its price.

The problems of availability and access to land by the urban poor are land use issues.<sup>3</sup> The poor will live somewhere! The question is: will the land be suitable for settlement for the residents and for the rest of the community and will the current or future residents have security of occupancy? The role of the government is to determine (implicitly or explicitly) which land should be used for settlement, how the allocation should be made, and what mechanisms should be instituted to ensure stability.

At present, much of the land used by the poor is not appropriate for settlement. It may be hazardous flood plains, swamps, or unstable hillsides; it may be polluted; it may be far from jobs or essential services. Furthermore, provision is not being made for more space for the rapidly growing numbers of additional families.

A considerable amount of pressure is placed on the poor to move to the periphery because of the intensification of core activities. As cities have grown and as centrally-located tertiary sector jobs in service, administration, and finance have grown even faster, the central areas have become increasingly desirable locations for residences of the well-to-do. Downtown accommodation has become increasingly crowded and unaffordable by the poor, who are pushed out to the periphery. Squatting has had the advantage that land could be chosen which is well located in terms of some criterion – usually accessibility to jobs and, thus, usually a central location. However, with the increasing attractiveness of central areas in the market economy, undeveloped central land available for new squatting has become scarcer and pressures to evict existing squatters have grown.

The intensification of activity in central areas has even created problems for those downtown squatters whose rights to the land have been accepted and whose tenure has been regularized through earlier squatter upgrading programs. Their favourable lands have become desirable commodities in the market. Where, as is usual, tenure has been granted in the form of individual ownership or transferable leases, there may well have been welcome windfall gains to individual homeowners, but a gradual replacement of the poor by the better-

off occurred as rents were raised, lots sold, and uses changed. Distances often tend to be increased because of low density. Speculation, which keeps much developable land vacant, combined with a lack of effective public control over the location of development, has created sprawling cities with overall low density. These factors have resulted in the tendency toward the underuse of urban land in otherwise densely built-up urban areas. In fact, subdividers have sometimes deliberately developed their most peripheral properties first in order to encourage their customers to press for services which would have to pass through their closer-in land, thereby increasing its value.<sup>4</sup>

Low density impacts on the poor in several ways. First, it increases travel times and distances. Second, it increases the costs of servicing which in turn raises the price of serviced land and delays the servicing of peripheral communities. In many cities, low density has been created and supported by zoning and subdivision regulations, taxation structures, approaches to the management of public land, and transportation planning. Zoning concepts have favoured the densification of the office core and very low densities in the richer, segregated residential neighbourhoods. They have also provided for inappropriately large amounts of "open space," which cities often cannot afford to develop into useable recreation space, and for green belts, which lead not to the containment of cities, but to further dispersal as the functional city leaps over these zones. Subdivision regulations have reduced density directly by requiring relatively large lot sizes and indirectly by being so stringent that subdivision occurs illegally and therefore haphazardly. Taxation structures in many developing nations favour vacant or less developed land since land is usually lightly taxed compared to improvements. The management of public land has tended to favour low density use of space in administrative areas (for display or "monumental" reasons). It has also tended to favour hoarding by public agencies whose land holdings are considered economic assets and whose land management actions, therefore, are competitive rather than coordinated. One of the most important reasons for low density has been the development of private automobile-oriented transportation systems at the expense of public transit. Wide streets and parking spaces decrease overall city density. In addition, inadequate routing and capacity of transit (on which the poor have to depend because of their increasingly peripheral locations and lack of alternatives) add to travel times. The situation is exacerbated when buses and jitneys have to compete with automobiles in congested streets. As a result, the better-off have avoided transit and switched to automobiles as soon as they could afford to do so, thus adding to the congestion and travel times of the poor, and they have moved to the more convenient central city, adding pressure on the poor to retreat to the suburbs.<sup>5</sup>

*Mixing of Land Uses by the Poor*

Many of the poor make a living through the informal commercial sector as hawkers, repairmen, cottage manufacturers, builders, and so on, or augment their low formal sector wages with such activity in any spare time they may have. These productive economic activities are relatively easy to enter into since they do not require much capital and are not contingent on the state of the job market. They have the added advantage that they can usually be conducted in or near the home by any available member of a household. Indeed, this is one reason for the informal sector's high production if not productivity; in addition to working longer hours, less time is spent in travel than in the formal sector.

In the past, many nations have attempted to segregate residences and productive activities on the grounds that residential areas should be free from industrial and commercial disturbances. They have also attempted to remove informal vendors from sidewalks and other public places in the interests of "orderly" commercial development and use of public space. The undesirability and futility of these actions, however, has come to be recognized in recent years. The informal sector has been accommodated by leaving local land use decisions and standards to the local community, or by adopting more liberal policies on licensing street vendors and on the use of public space, including streets, parking lots, vacant and waste space.

*Relocation of the Poor*

Occasionally it will be necessary to move communities of squatters or of legally settled poor in order to provide regional services or in order to protect them from hazards. In the past, such evictions (for these or less supportable reasons) have taken place without concern for the impacts on the local social community. Frequently, it has been split up, which can be devastating for the poor for whom community ties are vital sources of information and support.

Communities of the poor about to be removed have also suffered from inadequate notification and opportunity to appeal the decision, not to mention being left out of the process to determine how and whether removal should occur. Removal of individuals from within communities as required for plot rationalization or servicing has usually been handled more sensitively than the removal of whole communities. Typically, individual removal has been associated with upgrading projects in which the community itself has played a major planning role. In many of these cases, land has been provided near the existing community (for example, through sites-and-services projects) on which displaced households could build without a drastic severing of communal relationships. Approaches to relocation which minimize community disruption are not only humane; they also maintain the community's informal productivity which benefits the whole society.<sup>6</sup>

A number of significant implications can be drawn from the preceding discussion. For example, more land can be made available to the poor, directly or indirectly, by increasing the density of cities and by reclaiming land. Experts agree that the issue of density should be posed in terms of how space is organized, not in terms of appropriate standards or persons per acre. *Intensity of land use is not the same as household crowding.* In many cities, higher densities can be achieved while simultaneously reducing crowding — for instance, by developing vacant land, reducing space devoted to the automobile, spacing houses more closely in the periphery, and building up as well as out. With proper design, these measures can lead not only to more pleasant space, but also more efficient use of space. In addition, higher density can mean that the poor will be better served by a closer job-to-housing relationship.

The poor need land not only for shelter but also for conducting their often-informal business, be it selling, manufacturing, growing or repairing. Thus, the assignment of land for use by the poor should not only be seen as allocating land for shelter, but also for production and trade in a community context.

#### TRENDS IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FORMAL AND INFORMAL SECTORS

Relationships between the formal and informal land economies have evolved through several stages in the cities of the developing countries. Each nation has had its own pattern but the process can be generalized as follows:

*Tolerance* In the colonial cities, the relatively slowly growing informal land economy was seen as a useful complement to the formal economy. Squatter housing allowed the lowest paid workers in the formal sector to live in the city at minimal expense to that sector. Through careful zoning in the planned areas, the housing of the poor was kept segregated from that of the better off, and often out of sight.

*Repression* In the burgeoning cities of the post-colonial period, the informal sectors, which were growing as fast or faster than the formal sectors, put increasing pressure on a finite land base. It was no longer containable by formal sector planning. At this stage, the informal sector first came to be seen as an embarrassment, as an indication of a nation's inability to maintain order and provide for its citizens. Unlicensed street vendors were driven away and squatter settlements bulldozed on principle, with high priority given to areas in view of the international public (such as along routes from airports to cities).

As the informal sector grew despite these cosmetic moves, it became apparent that the problem was not just a matter of correcting a few minor flaws in the formal system. The informal sector was seen as a threat to the formal system itself. Repression of informal sector activities intensified. Squatter settlements were demolished, squatters forcefully removed, and public housing built as an apparent alternative. But public housing could not keep up with the need, and

what was built was often considered undesirable in terms of location, amenity, or affordability. Despite the repression and the attempts to provide a formal alternative, the informal land economy continued to grow. In some major cities for which figures are available, recent estimates of the informal land economy indicate that in most cases more than a third of the population occupies land illegally.

*Temporary Support* As the informal sector grew, it produced not only a repressive reaction but also a recognition by politicians, planners, and academics of its positive role in the urbanization process. Over the last two decades, the informal sector has increasingly been seen as a functional response to the problems of poverty in rapidly growing cities. The informal sector became recognized as part of the solution rather than the source of the problem. Governments started not only to accept the informal sector, but also to support it through programs to upgrade squatter settlements and slums. These programs have focused on legalization of tenure or occupancy, basic servicing, and financial assistance for self-help home improvement. Sites and services schemes, through which serviced land and building assistance were supplied to individuals and groups, were also initiated in many cities. While not involving the informal land economy, these schemes have explicitly relied on the informal building sector. Both approaches have made major contributions to improving settlement conditions for the poor.

A more passive form of support has been simply to legitimate hitherto unauthorized subdivisions. Such subdivisions have become an increasingly important part of the answer to the urban land needs of the poor as unprotected land for squatting has become increasingly difficult to find. Illegal subdivisions are usually found on the outskirts of the city where privately, tribally, or even publicly owned land is subdivided by the owners without reference to the formally prescribed procedures, including the requirement that the land be serviced prior to use. Eventual legitimization of subdivisions has allowed servicing by utilities and municipalities, but it has not changed the rent-to-purchase agreements between landlord/seller and tenant/buyer. The nature of these agreements is often exploitive and produces a precarious tenure for the settler. In this form of "support," the household has not been aided either legally or financially to improve the situation. Public authorities have simply stated that they are unable to manage land use and that the success of the informal market shall be acknowledged. But it is the illegal action of the landowners that is supported in this case, not the initiative of the settler. The settler is virtually abandoned when the illegal subdivision process is encouraged to continue without protection for his tenure and health.

Both active and passive support for the informal sector have been seen in this stage as a temporary solution on the way to a more effective formal sector. The informal sector would wither away as the formal sector became more effective in meeting the needs of the poor. In some ways, this was the perspective at the UN



Conference on Human Settlements, HABITAT '76. Discussion at Habitat and resulting recommendations consolidated much of the thinking of the time into a widely accepted statement of principles which recognized the right of the poor to land, through squatting if necessary, but with this right ultimately to be provided for through the public control of land. The manner in which land has been allocated through upgrading and sites-and-services programs has also reflected this idea that the informal sector should be formalized. Land has been surveyed, registered and allocated to individuals as owners and leaseholders. This land has then acquired an exchange value in addition to its use value to the occupant. The land enters the market where its distribution is determined by the formal rules governing the market place. The marketing of land has not usually been impeded by the allocation of land to individuals in the form of non-transferable leaseholds, since the buildings and the right to use the land have usually been recognized as saleable commodities – thereby leading to the temptation and possibility of speculation. In addition, this process does not contribute to a solution of cost recovery in land development. How can the user or producer of land be taxed so as to establish principle and the practice of returning some of the rising value of land to the community? How can the user be charged for services consumed fairly, rewarded for economic use, and discouraged from wasteful consumption?

Despite the last decade's often impressive formal sector projects to support and formalize the informal sector, the poor are becoming worse off in many of the cities of developing nations relative to their own condition and to that of the society of which they are part. Many national economies seem less able than ever to solve the problems of poverty (or indeed even the land problems of the urban middle class). Squatter upgrading programs, sites-and-services programs, and general urban servicing programs have been unable to keep up with the demand for land. Nor do demographic and economic projections suggest they will be able to during the rest of this century.

#### *Security of Tenure*

Since the poor are increasingly unable to afford shelter or land through the high-cost formal land market and since governments are falling behind in their delivery of serviced land and shelter to the poor, squatter and illegal subdivisions continue to expand as means by which the poor can help themselves and at least acquire some land to live on. In some areas, the latter is becoming the dominant mode as public land and unprotected private land becomes less available to squat on. Because of the difficulty and futility of trying to evict squatters or remove informal settlements, most governments have accepted the need to regularize occupancy or tenure on originally "invaded" and illegally used land. Moreover, it is increasingly realized that formalizing occupancy or

granting tenure encourages householders to apply their energies to upgrading their community and houses, thus improving not only their own condition, but also that of their city.

This approach poses the operational question: through what mechanisms should occupancy be formalized or tenure be secured? A related question is: how should security of tenure be provided to those who occupy land delivered through government housing programs?

#### *Alternatives for Regularizing Tenure*

A wide range of alternative approaches have been taken, the differing details reflecting the different cultural, political, and administrative traditions of the world's nations and their ingenuity in developing new approaches. The basic alternatives that have been applied are: creating individual private ownership (with various restrictions on use rights), granting individual private leasehold (with various terms on length, renewability, transferability, and so forth), and creating communal control (through various communal forms including tribe, urban commune, and so forth, and with various approaches to community-individual relationships).<sup>7</sup>

Outright private ownership has been found to work against the benefit of the poor as a class in the medium or long run (though it does benefit the individuals granted ownership rights immediately and in tangible terms). This is because where individual ownership has been granted, the poor are often tempted to convert their land grant into cash by selling their land title and buildings to those better off and to move on to other squatter settlements. Depending on the conditions of transferability, the same situation can apply to individual private leasehold arrangements. The tenure approach which shows most promise for retaining land and buildings for use by the poor is communal control in some form.

#### *Illegal Subdivisions*

Residents of illegal subdivisions face special problems by virtue of the rent-to-purchase arrangements typical of many of them. These arrangements often imply that residents are in fact tenants until the landlord decides that they have bought the land. The illegal status of the arrangement puts the desperate buyer/tenants largely at the mercy of the landlords. Furthermore, houses and land being purchased in this way are not acceptable as collateral for loans. Like squatters, these residents need to have their occupation of land officially accepted (or, at a minimum, not penalized as has happened), and they need to be supported through public servicing. They also need to be protected in the same way tenants need security and reassurance.

*Tenants*

One of the aspects of the tenure issue which is growing in importance relates to the security of occupancy for renters. As the poor become not only less able to acquire land through the formal sector but also see opportunities for squatting closed to them and even illegal subdivisions too expensive or too remote to move to, they become renters in increasing numbers. While tenancy has always been an important part of the urban housing market and is an option that serves many well — especially the recent migrant, the single worker or the smaller family, and the itinerant worker whose roots are still in rural areas — the growing cost of land and shelter means that many more of the urban poor have to accept and maintain this status. Not only the degree of tenancy, but also its nature is changing. Especially in the more desirable central areas close to employment, rents are rising at rates reflecting the rapid rise in land prices, crowding is increasing, and security is decreasing. Special forms of protection are needed for tenants; this applies also to areas where the community has been given control of land: communities controlled by homeowners often have shown themselves unconcerned about the problems of tenants — especially their own tenants.

*Government Delivered Land*

The situation for settlers in newly government-delivered land allows the greatest room for inventiveness in establishing security of occupancy and tenure arrangements. On the other hand, there is no existing community organization through which communal forms of tenure can be readily established. If land tenure is not to be privatized, then transitional forms of land management are required.

## OVERVIEW

To recapitulate, security of tenure is a relative matter. By definition, the state always has the power to determine (more or less effectively) who has the right to use land and how it ought to be used. The tenure issue is thus an issue of assigned rights. For the poor, the critical question lies less in the formal legal status of the mechanisms than in the effective security of occupancy, the real security of their right to continue to use land. It is recognized that security is perceptual: but it is the perception of all relevant actors that matters, not just the poor.

More attention has been given to the plight of squatters than to that of tenants. While the former is urgent and demands resolution so that unauthorized occupied land can be more permanently assigned to settlements of the poor



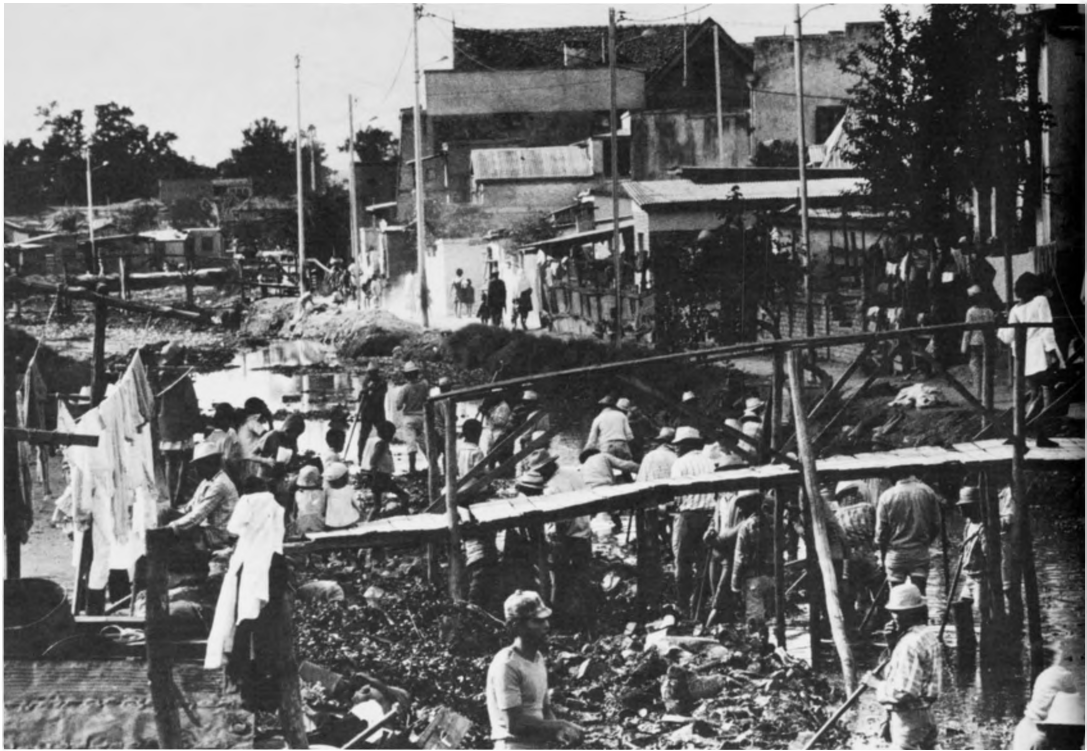
1. *The drift from the land and population growth have led to a proliferation of slums and shanty towns around many African cities.*



2. *Streetscene in Dacca, now swollen by an influx of refugees.*



*3. Crowding and conversions demand their own solutions. Bogota, Colombia.*



*4. Shantytown in Malagasy, Madagascar.*

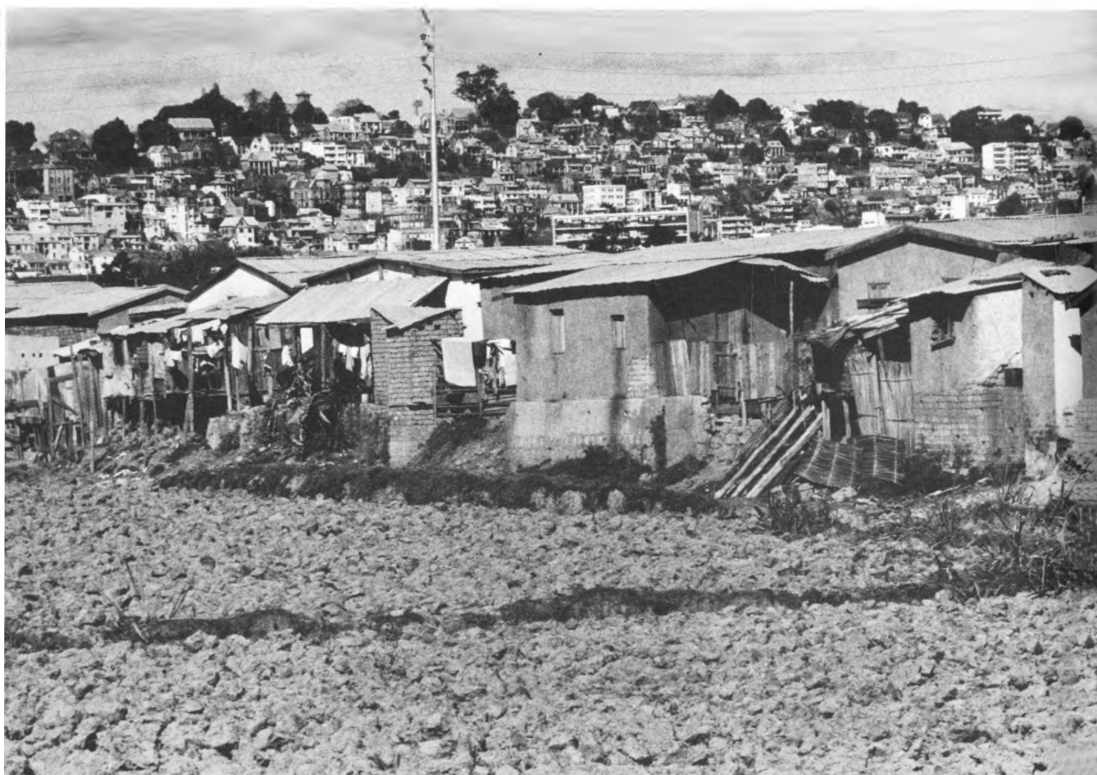


5. *The luxury towers of commerce contrast with the improvised shacks of the poor in Bombay.*





6. *Some hope and promise — Kampung Improvement Programme in Jakarta, started in 1975.*



7. *Squatting as a way of life in Madagascar, Malagasy.*

(and so that these can be upgraded), the plight of tenants also requires attention as tenancy becomes a growing form of occupancy in legal, illegal, and legalized settlements.

Because tenants face special problems of space availability, security, and physical environment, special measures are required to protect their tenancy at acceptable rents and in environmentally healthy conditions. For example, it cannot be left to local homeowners to decide how the community will manage its affairs in this instance since it is unlikely they will rule against themselves in disputes with tenants. Either the tenants must be ensured a reasonable voice in local government, or higher level governments must offer direct protection. Consequently the concept of *security of occupancy* seems appropriate since: (a) it deals with both "initial occupier" and "tenant"; and (b) it separates "ownership" from the need to assure unequivocal and continuing security to legitimate occupants of land and/or buildings.

The final and policy issue which will be addressed in this chapter involves an analysis of the conditions, problems, and prospects facing squatters.

### *Squatters*

For better and for worse, the informal settlement sector continues to grow.<sup>8</sup> It is a consequence of the profound problems facing nations dramatically changing from dispersed rural agricultural to congested urban industrial economies. In the developing world today, this shift is occurring at a time of rapid population growth and within an increasingly interlocked world economy that often works against the interests of poor nations. In this situation, the development of physical and administrative infrastructure has inevitably lagged far behind city growth. This situation is compounded in many nations by a highly unequal income distribution pattern which reflects and contributes to extremes in the possession of land. Given rapid population growth, weak dependent economies, inchoate government, inadequate infrastructure, and large numbers of very poor landless people, the informal sector becomes inevitable and widespread.<sup>9</sup>

One of the most urgent needs for many of the urban poor is to have their current illegal occupation of land legitimated. This is basic to the improvement of their living conditions. When their occupancy of land is legitimate, people put themselves to work increasing capital investment. Planning can proceed on the basis of some certainty. Schools and clinics, water and waste management systems can all be put in place, thus reducing the social and economic costs of illiteracy and disease; and fair taxation can replace exploitation and corruption. Both the individual and society as a whole benefit. However, legitimation of unauthorized land and building development often does not serve the poor unless it is accompanied by mechanisms that prevent land speculation and unacceptable trading in buildings and land purely for financial gain.



To legitimate the use of land for the poor is to recognize that squatting and illegal subdivisions are important components of the urbanization process. They contrast with the formal process which rests on land titles, mortgages, permits, land transfer institutions, and substantial public and private capital. The informal process is based on personal or community initiative, informal sanctions, emphasis on the use value of land over the exchange value, and face-to-face markets. Legitimation of existing and continuing land use for the poor rests on the understanding that all land use rights are created by society and that these rights have changed in the past and will continue to change in the future in response to changing socio-economic conditions.

From the society's point of view, unauthorized settlements are undesirable for many reasons:

1. The waste of human resources — people are able, but in the absence of security of tenure, often unwilling to work on improving their community beyond the provision of rudimentary shelter;
2. the confrontations created in attempts to remove harassed and desperate squatters from illegally occupied land;
3. the continuing social and economic costs of disease and illiteracy in squatter settlements without social and economic services;
4. the costs of sprawl and unplanned growth (for example, productive arable land may be subdivided or "invaded" largely because of ownership patterns or apparently being "vacant");
5. the threat to overall community health posed by settlements poorly serviced and perhaps poorly located (for example, in swamps or dumps);
6. the costs of upgrading and servicing unplanned settlements when they are eventually legitimized (as they often are);
7. the contempt for law and order bred by successful illegal action.

In sum, the unplanned unauthorized occupancy of land puts stress on political, economic, social, and environmental systems and creates substantial distortions in the urban form.<sup>10</sup>

Despite the problems, informal settlement does solve the immediate needs of the poor and may even have some beneficial side effects — for example, squatting may pressure governments to make more land available to the poor. Moreover, informal settlement gives householders a large measure of control over the use of the land they occupy. Being outside the formal system, their management of land is not subject to formal regulations and standards. Shelter appropriate to the resources of the household can be erected, and residences can also be used for commerce or cottage industry — activities which are usually banned in officially planned residential areas.

Economically, squatters are an integral part of the urban fabric. Whether as workers employed in the formal sector, as self-employed in the informal economy, or both, the illegally housed are a major part of the productive labour force in cities of the developing nations. But the status of their land tenure does

not now reflect their economic contribution. While existing squatter communities and illegal subdivisions must be integrated into the legal tenure system, this does not mean that informal settlements should be seen as the inevitably dominant form of urban growth in the future. The inefficiencies and human problems associated with unauthorized development indicate that it is preferable to provide for more orderly urban growth. Even under existing economic conditions, nations and urban governments can accommodate rapid urban growth by encouraging and controlling the orderly and equitable transition of suitable tracts of land from rural to urban uses and the development of the often ample vacant land within existing urban areas.

Satterthwaite (1983) points out that there are important consequences associated with providing tenure after settlements have been developed. These include:

1. Illegal settlements often develop on dangerous land which has little commercial value, such as swamps or unstable hillsides, but which are hardly appropriate sites for permanent settlements.
2. Since legalization, servicing, and infrastructure provision always comes after the settlement has developed, the inhabitants have to exist for a time without services or security of tenure. There is therefore little incentive to develop their houses. This period of uncertainty can last for many years, and also during this time, land values can rise, which may make the eventual legalization expensive and conflict-ridden.
3. The city's built-up area grows haphazardly as pockets of high-density illegal settlements spring up only in certain areas, often on high quality agricultural land. The result is a settlement pattern which is very expensive and often uneconomic.
4. Because of their illegal status, inhabitants of informal settlements are subjected to corruption or harassment since the concept of the law as a protector of their rights does not exist.
5. If the public authorities are seen to tolerate and then legalize squatting and illegal sub-divisions, the illegal market will become, like the real land market, dominated by those with capital. The result will be widespread speculation pushing up land prices.<sup>11</sup>

It has been found that squatters are often content with their ambiguous land tenure status if that does not preclude them from being serviced, particularly with water, and if they have reason to believe that their occupancy is reasonably secure. The very act of providing services can be one indication of this security. Regularizing their tenure may not be their first priority, and, in fact, to the squatters, the cost of doing so may mean that this regularization is unwelcome. These costs include the administrative charges for surveying and registration and the payment of property taxes that inevitably follow. Further, as has been noted, depending on the way in which their tenure status is regularized, it may lead to the loss of land to the poor. It is the *de facto* security of occupancy that counts for squatters, not their legal status.<sup>12</sup>

### *Conclusion*

While there are many similarities in their situation, squatters, settlers on illegal subdivisions, tenants and new settlers on government-delivered land each have special sets of circumstances that need addressing, and each present special possibilities for solving security of occupancy issues.<sup>13</sup>

The planning of settlements of the urban poor must allow flexibility in land use. It will be impossible to prevent the poor from using their houses and public spaces for productive activity, but proper planning can make it easier for them to do so. The best way to ensure that the poor have the freedom they need to be productive but also the order necessary to prevent individuals from impinging on the productivity and well-being of others is to assign responsibility for local land use planning and its implementation to the local community. The local community can better understand the intricacies of local activity patterns, detailed land use (which can vary throughout the day), inter-household conflict, and the possibilities for mitigating obnoxious uses.

The formation of community-level organizations to manage land would reduce the number of seemingly arbitrary relocations by higher level authorities and the stress this causes. Communities have shown themselves able to manage individual or collective relocations fairly and efficiently within higher governmental guidelines.

<sup>1</sup> For the purposes of this publication, “formal” and “informal” sectors are defined as follows:

*Formal sector:* the productive and administrative sector of society consisting of the modern nation-state and its agencies, plus organizations formed and regulated according to laws prescribed by the state. These organizations may be corporations, municipalities, or unions. They may also be unincorporated businesses and associations which accept and benefit from regulations regarding employment, taxation, subsidies, and land transfer. With regard to land, the formal sector is the state-organized and state-regulated system for managing land in private and public ownership, often identified as “the land market.”

*Informal sector:* the productive and organizational sector of society operating outside the framework of formal laws of the nation-state. In some areas of activity the informal sector may be extra-legal rather than illegal (for example, recreation, shared child care, or some kinds of construction), but in regard to land it is often illegal or at least unauthorized since the management of land use rights, land transfer, and land development is carefully regulated by all states. With regard to land, the informal sector is the non-state regulated system for managing land. Because the formal land economy cannot provide appropriate, affordable land to the poor fast enough, the poor resort to the informal economy to use and acquire land. This may be in the form of squatting or illegal subdivision. The allocation of undeveloped land to the poor is not the only aspect of the informal land economy, however. The actual uses of land legally or illegally occupied by the poor is often determined informally (as in renting out rooms, manufacturing in the home, selling in the street without a permit, and so forth.)

- <sup>2</sup> For the purposes of this publication, "squatting" and "illegal subdivisions" are defined as follows:

*Squatting*: the unauthorized use or illegal occupation of land. The land may be held privately or publicly and its occupation strongly resisted, accepted, or tacitly approved. The occupation may be organized by individuals, a community, or entrepreneurs who profit from building on the occupied land. It may be in the core or on the periphery of a city.

*Illegal subdivision*: the unauthorized and illegal subdivision of land by the owner — usually on the urban fringe. The land is thus "urbanized" that is, densely occupied — but it is usually not serviced. The land may be privately, tribally, or publicly owned. Because plots are delineated and often written contracts executed between buyer and seller (usually on a rent-to-purchase basis), these subdivisions are sometimes referred to as "quasi-legal subdivisions." In Latin America they are known by such names as colonias proletarias (Mexico), barrios piratas (Colombia), and loteamentos clandestinos (Brazil).

- <sup>3</sup> Additional comprehensive analyses of the relationship between land policy and the location of land for the poor can be found in: A.W. Clausen, "Poverty in the Developing Countries 1985," address by the President, The World Bank and International Finance Corporation, Atlanta, Georgia, January 1985; *Land for Housing the Poor*, S. Angel, R.W. Archer, S. Tanphiphat, and E.A. Wegelin (eds.) (Bangkok: Select Books, 1983); "Action Planning and Responsive Design: Aspects of Housing, Building, Planning and Development in the Third World," Essays in honour of Otto H. Koenigsberger, *Habitat International*, Vol.7, No. 5/6, 1983; *Land Economy in Critical Perspective*, Occasional Paper L4 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982); Mathew Cullen and Sharon Woolery (eds.), *World Congress on Land Policy, 1980*. (Toronto: Lexington Books, 1982); O.H.Koenigsberger and S. Groak (eds.), "Land Policy," *Habitat International*, Vol.4, No. 4/5/6, 1979.
- <sup>4</sup> Recent analyses of these issues have been addressed in: *Upgrading of Inner-City Slums*, UNCHS (Habitat), Nairobi, Kenya, 1984; Alan Gilbert, "Planning, Invasions and Land Speculation: The role of the state in Venezuela", *Third World Planning Review*, Vol.6, No.3, August 1984; Don C.I. Okpalu, "Urban Planning and the Control of Urban Physical Growth in Nigeria. A Critique of Public Impact and Private Roles." *Habitat International*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1984; *International Conference on Planning and Management of Metropolitan Regions*. Report of the International Conference, Nagoya, Japan, in collaboration with United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (CHS/R/81-1), Nairobi, February 1981.
- <sup>5</sup> The impact of the poor on transportation systems and policies is discussed in the *Report of the Executive Director to the Fifth Session of the Commission on Human Settlements*. "Transportation for Urban and Rural Areas, with Emphasis on Groups with Limited Resources," 8 February 1982, HS/C/5/4.
- <sup>6</sup> The reader is referred to a series of significant recent publications which address the problems of the "removal" of the poor: M.A. Sembrano et al., "Case Study on the Tondo Foreshore area, Manila, Philippines", (1977), referenced in *Survey of Slum and Squatter Settlements*, United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, Development Study Series, Vol.1, 1982; Alain Durand-Lasserve, "The Land Conversion Process in Bangkok and the Predominance of the Private Sector over the Public Sector," in S. Angel et al, (eds), *Land for Housing the Poor*, (Bangkok: Select Books, 1984); Bruce Stokes, "Global Housing Prospects: The Resource Constraints," *Worldwatch Paper* 46, September 1981.
- <sup>7</sup> *Urban Land Policy Issues and Opportunities*, World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 283, Vol. 112, (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1978).

- <sup>8</sup> The complex issue of squatter settlements is further discussed in *Land and Squatter Communities: A Strategic Relationship*, Occasional Paper, L2 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982); and *Land, Its Role in Squatter Communities*, Occasional Paper, L3 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982).
- <sup>9</sup> Additional reference material on the issue of squatter settlements can be found in: UNCHS (Habitat), *Survey of Slum and Squatter Settlements*; UNCHS (Habitat), *Upgrading of Inner-City Slums*; Human Settlements Division, Asian Institute of Technology, "The Practice of People's Participation," *Seven Asian Experiences in Housing the Poor*, 1980; *Third World Planning Review*, Vol. 5, No. 3, August 1983, and Vol. 6, No. 2, May 1984; Douglas Keave, "Affordable Shelter and Urban Development: 1972-1982," *The World Bank, Research News*, Vol.4, No.2, Summer 1983.
- <sup>10</sup> *Conclusions and Recommendations of the International Seminar on Land for Housing the Poor: Towards Positive Action in Asian Cities*, held in the Asian Institute of Technology, Bangkok, Thailand, January 1982.
- <sup>11</sup> Satterthwaite, *Shelter*, pp. 49-50.
- <sup>12</sup> See *Upgrading of Inner-City Slums*, pp.12-14.
- <sup>13</sup> United Nations. *Land for Housing the Poor*, UN Seminar of Experts, Tallberg, Sweden, 1983.

# 5

## PUBLIC CONTROL OF LAND

“Public ownership, transitional or permanent, should be used, wherever appropriate, to secure and control areas of urban expansion and protection; and to implement urban and rural land reform processes, and supply serviced land at price levels which can secure socially acceptable patterns of development.”

Report of Habitat: U.N.C.H.S. (U.N. 1976).<sup>1</sup>

In response to the increasingly apparent inefficiencies and inequalities created by the land market, public control over urban land has been expanding in recent years in many developing nations. Measures taken include the following: (a) revised constitutions stating the primacy of the public interest in land, in some cases leading to nationalization of land; (b) legislation allowing the taking of land for broader public purposes than was previously possible (for example, housing) and legislation allowing expropriation at less than market value;<sup>2</sup> (c) taxation measures to recapture (in the form of land or money) increased value resulting from general urban growth, changes in land use, or localized servicing; (d) measures to strengthen the efficacy of land use planning at the regional level; (e) limitations on the amount of land which can be privately owned; (f) replotting and land readjustment mechanisms for servicing and rationalizing land at the urban periphery; (g) measures to encourage or require development of vacant land.

Despite these indications of progress (and in some cases because of them), land prices are increasing rapidly, and the poor are having to resort to the techniques of the informal sector in ever increasing numbers. Change in policies providing for the public control of land comes slowly. Effective implementation of these policies is even slower. Furthermore, increased public control by itself has not guaranteed an improvement in the availability of land to the *poor*, even if the control is directed to that end: sometimes the control has been exercised in ways that are insensitive to local conditions; in some countries policies have been changed too often to be effective.<sup>3</sup>

The issue of land is fundamental to improving human settlements. At the

U.N. Conference on Human Settlements – Habitat '76, the unique nature of and crucial role played by land in human settlements was recognized. Participating member states declared:

- A) That effective control of land in the public interest is the single most important means of improving the capacity of human settlements to absorb changes and movements in population, of modifying their internal structure, and of achieving a more equitable distribution of the benefits of development;
- B) That patterns of land use should be determined by the long term interest of the community;
- C) That all governments should evolve and implement innovative and adequate urban and rural land policies as a cornerstone of their efforts to improve the quality of life in human settlements.<sup>4</sup>

The issue is as complex as it is fundamental. Few nations can claim to have achieved an effective and completely rational means of managing this basic resource, in order to satisfy all of the competing needs of society equitably in a context of continuing environmental quality. In particular, in both industrialized and developing countries, increasing numbers of the urban poor cannot obtain adequate shelter owing largely to the mounting difficulties they face in securing access to habitable urban land.

Paradoxically, the very characteristics which make urban land most habitable make it increasingly inaccessible to ever greater numbers of people. Safe and stable geophysical characteristics, adequate infrastructure, access to social services, transport and employment opportunities – such land typically becomes far too valuable to allocate as residential space for low income groups, who traditionally have been left to fend for themselves and who accordingly have developed their own devices.

In many countries, a comprehensive policy for dealing with poverty in general and land needs of the poor in particular is lacking. What often exists instead is a disparate collection of projects and programs for delivering housing to the poor or regularizing the development of land (for example, by driving squatters from their homes). But these programs do not address the fundamental factors which produce an informed land market, nor do they alleviate the immediate problems for individuals and society that the illegal management of land creates. In the long run, the pressures producing unauthorized settlements can only be obviated through national and regional development policies which lead to balanced and meaningful urban growth, equitable access to land as a resource, and social development through strengthened local communities. While land management is only part of the total national development process, it is a crucial and strategic part.

For most of human history it has been accepted by the majority of the world's people that provision and security of shelter is the responsibility of the individual or family unit. Mankind's ingenuity and resourcefulness in providing for its own shelter needs even under marginal conditions, often in forms of marvelous utility and beauty, needs no elaboration here.

In recent years there has emerged an assumption that governments are ultimately responsible for the provision of housing *per se*, particularly for the urban poor. In this chapter, we contend that man's inherent ingenuity and resourcefulness, now manifest in the urban poor's obvious ability to survive, however marginally, can and ought to be mobilized to turn those who are now perceived as consumers of housing and land once again into producers of housing and managers of land. What is needed is the removal of the many obstacles which now block most attempts by the urban poor to improve the quality of their own built environment. In this, government can play a strategic role and, even more positively, provide encouragement and assistance. Regardless of any nation's pattern of land ownership, political philosophy, and structure, or its level of affluence, the ultimate power to control the use of land resides with its government. The extent to which any government chooses to exercise such control and to what extent that control is used to further concentrate wealth or to distribute the benefits of development more equitably, is a judgment only that government and its people can make. Insofar as government can control the use of land, it can use this capacity in a strategic way to generate and encourage self-reliant initiatives by low income groups and to develop means to increase the supply of suitable urban land to low income groups. However, to understand the particular ways in which governments can control the use of land, it is important to differentiate the various forms of tenure arrangements under which land is used.

#### *The Importance of Land Tenure*

According to Doebele (1978), land tenure is a basic instrument of development policy which often performs an indirect and facilitating role rather than a direct and active one. He points out that, historically, the rights of ownership and the use of land have frequently been interwoven with fundamental social structure and religious belief. In economic terms, tenure is closely related to the mortgage market so that land and the structures upon it represent one of the largest single categories of capital investment.<sup>5</sup> Doebele argues that virtually all societies have recognized the dual nature of land as both a public and a private good:

It has a public nature in that:

- (1) It is permanent. It cannot — except very marginally — be created or destroyed. Since no generation can consume it, each has a moral duty to use it with a view to those who follow.



- (2) It is one of the three classic elements of all production. In agricultural societies it was the most important source of goods. In urbanized societies, relationships are more complex, but productivity is still dependent on sufficient locations in appropriate relations to each other.
- (3) Its value, particularly in cities, is created to a considerable degree by the social phenomenon of urbanization.

On the other hand, it has a private nature in that:

- (1) There are deep psychological needs for the security that has traditionally been associated with ownership of land and a house.
- (2) The complexity of urban land markets is so great that even the most centralized states, such as the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, have delegated certain areas of decision about land and its use to local and individual levels.
- (3) In developing countries, reasonable security of ownership (or at least of possession) has been able to evoke capital investments in housing ("brick-by-brick") which notably could not be mobilized by any other institutional device.

One way of stating the problem of "optimum land tenure system" may therefore be that it is in the task of finding tenure arrangements most capable of reconciling tradeoffs inherent in these two contradictory natures as they evolve with time and degree of urbanization.<sup>6</sup>

Harold Dunkerley (1983) suggests that the prevalent forms of land tenure in any area have a profound effect on physical urban patterns and their flexibility in adapting to the pressures of rapid growth: "They exert a basic influence on population densities and the ability of the poor to find adequate shelter. Tenure systems largely determine the ease or difficulty of land acquisition and assembly."<sup>7</sup> Dunkerley points out that the very wide variety of forms of land tenure, which are often imprecise and overlap, defy easy classification. He analyses the advantages and disadvantages of seven forms of tenure by considering the policy criteria by which a given system might be judged. The criteria are:

- efficiency — does the tenure system encourage a smoothly functioning land market?
- equity — does the tenure system provide reasonable access to all groups (particularly those of low income) for land for housing, business and other needs?
- compatibility — does the tenure system integrate well with other policy instruments dealing with economic development and urban land, such as national, provincial, and municipal planning, taxation, and the management of public service systems etc?
- continuity — does the tenure system avoid, to the extent possible, abrupt

“breaks” with the cultural and political system which led to the existing arrangements?

The types of land tenure which Dunkerley identifies include public and private leaseholds, public and private freeholds, communal ownership (tribal and neighbourhood) and non-formalized, *de facto* tenure (occupied and used without owner permission). He concludes from his analysis that in developing countries, existing systems of tenure are deficient where they do not result in the most efficient patterns of land use, where they reinforce existing inequalities of wealth and opportunity, and where they are “mechanically” ill-adapted to the needs of rapid urbanization because of cumbersome and rigid bureaucratic administration. He emphasizes that land tenure has deep roots in national and ethnic cultures and that solutions which are not sensitive to this variety are unlikely to survive or ameliorate the problem at which they are aimed.

#### *Land Acquisition and Public Ownership*

The participants of a United Nations Seminar of Experts on Land for Housing the Poor in Tallberg, Sweden, sought to identify ways in which national governments, with support from the international community, could implement some of the important recommendations from the sixth session of the United Nations Commission for Human Settlements on “Land for Human Settlements.” Their report concentrated on examining how governments could speed up and increase the supply of land for housing the poor in ways that would ensure that the poor receive secure land tenure for their housing. It was recommended that governments concentrate on acquisition or mobilization of land supplies, provision of basic services and delivery of land rather than on building shelter structures:

There are two crucial aspects to the problem of providing land for housing the poor — quantity and cost. The phenomenon of squatting and illegal subdivision of urban land in developing countries is mainly the result of the insufficient quantities of affordable land that are made available through formal processes. This causes competition between land submarkets in which the poor are inevitably the losers. Therefore, they are forced to turn to informal and illegal processes for accommodation and often manage to deal with the problem with great ingenuity and perception.<sup>8</sup>

The experts concluded that the main priorities involve a need to establish effective programs for acquiring, processing, and delivering land in sufficient quantities to meet demand. In order to achieve this goal, it was considered fundamental that governments obtain a sufficient degree of command of the land market to ensure a continuous supply of appropriately located land

accessible to the poor. It was recognized that there are important ramifications involved in the issue of land acquisition. For example, governments can use legislation to authorize public acquisition for increasing the land supply for housing, but there are also ways of procuring unused and inefficiently used land without compulsory acquisition. It was also recognized that public land acquisition for purposes other than low-income shelter development is essential (for example, for supporting infrastructure and services). A second ramification involves the financial implications of public acquisition (programs must be at a cost affordable by the country as a whole and by the poor client-group in particular). Also, the question of compensation was considered vital. The report concludes that it is highly unlikely that any acquisition program can be workable unless compensation is minimized: "IN ACQUIRING LAND, PUBLIC AUTHORITIES SHOULD ONLY PAY A PRICE COMMENSURATE WITH THE ORIGINAL INVESTMENT AND THE VALUE ACTUALLY CREATED BY THE OWNER OR OTHER RIGHT-HOLDER."<sup>9</sup>

A third ramification of the Tallberg seminar conclusion involves the issue of public acquisition for illegal or informal settlements. The report points out that since virtually all new low-income housing in burgeoning cities of the developing countries is built on illegally occupied or sub-divided land, granting some security of tenure to the inhabitants of illegal settlements and providing them with basic services are the only ways of reaching the poor with improved living conditions. This approach entails offering a legal alternative which low-income groups can afford. Where a settlement has grown up on public land, the problem of public acquisition does not arise, whereas, if it grows up on private land or on land where ownership is unclear, public intervention can create tenure to the dwellers. The argument is made by Satterthwaite, for example, that in terms of price and location, illegal settlements often match low-income groups' needs, priorities, and resources far better than do public housing schemes, and in some cases, serviced-site schemes.<sup>10</sup>

Most governments are still far from being able to solve the problems of the poor in their attempts to acquire appropriately located, serviced land in the city. As discussed in Chapter One, continuing commercialization results in the concentration of land in the hands of a few. What public control has been exercised has often been directed at combatting the informal sector, as manifested in squatting. Whether these attempts have involved removing squatters or legitimating their tenure individually, the result has been debilitating to the informal sector and a reduction in land available to the poor. However, it is generally accepted that wholesale removal of squatters is economically and socially costly and politically unmanageable, and that realistic solutions must recognize and legalize the inhabitants' *de facto* rights.

The issue of public control is not only one of how land should be managed in the public interest; equally important is the question of which level of government or administration should be allocated what powers over land management. For

example, at the regional (sub-national) level, the lack of effective metropolitan area governments for many cities has led to inefficiency, inequity, social segregation and conflict owing to the lack of integrated revenue collection, service provision and planning. Financially segregated local governments heavily reliant on local taxation (including property taxation) exacerbate the problems of the poor. The smaller the administrative areas and the more segregated the poor in their use of urban space, the greater the problem. Once started, the segregation process tends to be self-reinforcing as richer communities are able to afford the services that attract higher income residents.<sup>11</sup> Whitehead (1983) provides a succinct overview of the rationale for government intervention in the urban land market.<sup>12</sup> Her examination also deals with the techniques which governments might employ to achieve a better allocation of both land uses and the income from that land, and the problems they are likely to encounter in implementing such urban policies. She argues that the market mechanism alone is unlikely to produce an efficient allocation of land uses, and that the main problems in urban land markets arise from:

1. the need to provide certain land with public goods, which cannot be effectively produced through the private market;
2. the existence of significant locational externalities, both good and bad, which private decision makers would not take into account;
3. imperfect information on which to base individual decisions and the general costs of using the market;
4. unequal division of market power among economic agents, particularly in the case of monopolistic supply;
5. differences between how individuals and the community value future and current benefits.<sup>13</sup>

Whitehead concludes that new policies will have to introduce clear gains for producer and consumer in the land market and that institutional structures will have to be created to make these gains attainable. She lists a set of questions which should be answered before deciding whether to intervene and suggests that the most basic question is: "Do the benefits of the policy AS ACTUALLY IMPLEMENTED outweigh the costs ACTUALLY INCURRED?"<sup>14</sup> (original emphasis)

#### *Policy Implications*

Since the poor are unable to acquire appropriately located land for their shelter needs under market conditions, governments must intervene on their behalf. Land assigned for use by the poor must be managed to this end. This can be accomplished through allocation of available public lands (held by government agencies for non-housing programs or strategic needs) or expropriation of private land (at various stages of development and with varying degrees of compensation), followed by reallocation to the shelter needs of the poor.

Alternatively, planning controls to guarantee use rights for the poor over appropriate private lands have been practised, as has subsidization of land purchases, but with little or no lasting effect. Government resources are usually inadequate given the enormity of the need and the competing demands on these resources and control powers. Furthermore, government's active participation in the land market tends to contribute to rising prices.

Once land is assigned appropriately, security of occupancy can be established and ensured; the management of use rights ought to be delegated to and carried out by the local community.<sup>15</sup> Effectiveness and success can be assured by leaving to the community most of the local decisions concerned with the siting, plot size and shape, plot assignment and reassignment, and uses of land to be permitted. ("Plot" refers here to usable space – it could be an upper floor of a building.) Within appropriate policy guidelines, some safeguards and assistance, even the mapping and registration of land can be left in the hands of the local community. In effect, this means that the community (relevant to the scale of the project) should be entrusted with the details of land use and its management and be considered a trustee of land as a resource. The community would hold the land in trust for its members and provide them with appropriate security of occupancy based on agreed upon use and performance over time. This would prevent premature land use changes leading to alienation of the land, unwarranted speculation and ultimate dispersion of the poor. Three concepts are involved in this approach: (a) the nation state provides land in public ownership to the community as a trustee for its constituent members; (b) the community provides to its members security of occupancy within established land use and performance guidelines or standards; (c) the user/occupier of land and buildings pays for the use of space and structure and returns land and buildings to the community when no longer needed or useful (for example, because he is moving away or changing jobs). This will prevent land and buildings becoming commodities subject to trade and speculation.

The community approach to land management could serve settlements which have grown up on land legally delivered or purchased through the formal sector; it could serve legitimated squatter communities or legitimated communities in illegal subdivisions (for example, the *colonias proletarias* of Mexico). The approach could even serve potential communities yet to occupy their new land.

Of course, the community can only carry out land management functions if it is supported by appropriate public policies, legislation, and technical assistance. In most cases, it will be necessary to organize the community formally, that is, to create local administrations, since amorphous urban communities do not have the natural cohesion that generations of continuous face-to-face contact creates in rural areas or that an organized invasion of vacant land can create temporarily among squatters.

Each level of government or administration has certain roles which it can perform most effectively; therefore, it should concentrate its efforts upon these in addressing the land-related problems of the urban poor.

National governments should concentrate their efforts on developing policy and legislation which support regional efforts to provide equitable services and to assign secure land to the poor and which support the poor in their organization to use and manage their land. Government at the level of urban regions or cities should concentrate on using resources and tools provided by the nation to meet present and future land and service needs of the poor. The community should organize itself to manage the occupancy, use, and development of land and its legitimate non-speculative transfer among users.

Such a division and integration of responsibilities would enable each level of government to focus its energies where it can exert maximum strength in promoting social development: the nation in providing the basis for social order, the region in shaping the form of urbanization and providing regional services, and the community in organizing interpersonal co-operation and provision of shelter. Such a division involves de-emphasizing such institutions as national housing agencies and detailed regional subdivision and zoning regulations. International aid should be targetted and administered to reinforce this new allocation of responsibilities built on a strong commitment of delegation of authority and resources to the local community.

In the next chapter, a number of explicit policy initiatives are proposed which expand on these themes.

<sup>1</sup> *Report of Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements* (U.N.1976).

<sup>2</sup> However, as pointed out by Silvia Blitzer, Jorge E. Hardoy, and David Satterthwaite, "Shelter: People's Needs and Government Response," *Ekistics*, Vol. 48, No. 286 (January/February 1981): 11, "Most National Governments have the constitutional powers to expropriate land needed in the public interest. But few have evolved the legislation and institutional structure to allow this to happen."

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed discussion of the measures taken to ensure the public control over urban land in developing countries, see the case studies in Appendix C, *Land for Human Settlements* (CON/HAB/82/001).

<sup>4</sup> *Report of Habitat*.

<sup>5</sup> William A. Doebele, "Selected Issues in Urban Land Tenure," in *Urban Land Issues and Opportunities*, Volume 1. World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 283, Vol. 112. (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1978). For a more detailed discussion, see William A. Doebele, in Harold B. Dunkerley (Ed.), *Urban Land Policy* (Oxford University Press, 1983).

<sup>6</sup> Doebele, "Selected Issues."

<sup>7</sup> Harold B. Dunkerley, *Urban Land Policy*.

<sup>8</sup> United Nations, *Land for Housing the Poor*, p.35.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, p. 15.

<sup>10</sup> Satterthwaite, "Shelter," p. 49.

<sup>11</sup> See Trivelli, *Access to Land*.

<sup>12</sup> Christine M.E. Whitehead, "The Rationale for Government Intervention," in Dunkerley, *Urban Land Policy*.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p. 109

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 129

<sup>15</sup> The local community is characterized by three features: (a) a unified body of individuals or families, interdependent and interactive, sharing a common local interest or pursuing a common local purpose; (b) occupying, now or in the future, a specific common location or space for its own living and working purpose; (c) sharing a commitment to solving common issues locally and willingness to act together and continue to act in their common interest.

All these criteria will shape the community and its actions but with the support and within the constraints of the larger society.

# 6

## POLICY INITIATIVES FOR ACTION PLANNING

Since “Habitat: U.N. Conference on Human Settlements,” the urban poor’s access to appropriate residential land has worsened. Governments by and large have had little success in devising, much less implementing, land management policies reflecting the essential spirit of the Habitat recommendations – that land is a unique public resource which must be managed in the interest of the society as a whole. As has been discussed, the reasons for this lack of progress are many and varied. A major factor is the increasing commercialization and consolidation of available urban land by large private and public agencies, including government itself.

While the land issue remains complex and problematic, research and experience over the past several years suggests solutions are possible; indeed they have been developed and applied in many instances. Specific approaches must necessarily vary with differing national and local circumstances, but a common emerging theme is the potential inherent in a collaboration between the formal and informal sectors, particularly at the local or community level, and the need to improve mechanisms to facilitate such collaboration. The first step towards solving the problems of land accessibility for low-income and disadvantaged groups is the identification of possible action to be taken by national and international agencies. In the following sections we have set out a series of policy initiatives which are aimed at generating an adequate supply of developed, well-located, and affordable land to meet the housing requirements of the urban poor.

### *INITIATIVE 1 – Land Management and National Development*

As land is the basic resource of all nations, each government holds ultimate responsibility for its management. Further, in its capacity to control the use of land, government has one of its most strategic tools for directing and shaping overall national socio-economic development and resulting urbanization.



GOVERNMENTS SHOULD THEREFORE MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO ENSURE THAT COMPREHENSIVE LAND MANAGEMENT POLICIES ARE A CENTRAL AND INTEGRAL PART OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS.

Such comprehensive policies should:

1. Take into account the needs of the nation as a whole and have as a fundamental objective the more equitable distribution of the benefits of national development;
2. Ensure that a primary effort of such policies will be to increase the access of the urban poor to habitable land, in proximity to employment opportunities, and at affordable costs;
3. Pay full regard to the urgent need to maintain a high level of environmental quality.

#### *INITIATIVE 2 – Technical Land Registry Issues*

Land management, mapping, and registration is a complex time and resource consuming process. While ultimately necessary for effective land management, the absence of a complete and formal cadastral survey or registration system ought not to delay practical land and building improvement or the establishment of appropriate security of occupancy or tenure. Several low-cost approaches to surveying, mapping, and registration have been developed and can be adapted to the local conditions.

GOVERNMENTS SHOULD GREATLY INCREASE EFFORTS TO LEARN MORE ABOUT THEIR EXISTING COMMUNITIES OF URBAN POOR AND TO IDENTIFY POTENTIAL RESOURCES, INCLUDING LAND, WHICH CAN BE MOBILIZED ON THEIR BEHALF. SIMPLIFIED LOCAL REGISTRATION OF LAND SHOULD BE INSTITUTED, USING LOW-COST AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY, FIELD MAPS, AND ADDITIONAL LAND RECORDS. SQUATTER COMMUNITIES SHOULD BE ASSISTED TECHNICALLY TO DO MUCH OF THEIR OWN MAPPING AND LAND REGISTRATION.

As a first step:

1. Governments should initiate or strengthen programs to identify and classify unused or underused land suitable for use by the urban poor. Government itself, as noted earlier, has in many instances become a major holder of underused urban land. Departments of urban governments also often hold substantial amounts of land for many current or future uses, including port development, transportation corridors, recreation, or simply against some future unspecified contingency. Upon review of realistic public needs, some of these lands should be released for housing and related community use by the urban poor;
2. Overlapping and conflicting jurisdictions between civic departments must be rationalized to facilitate the gathering of data. Public works engineers,

health officers, land planners, finance experts, and sociologists have different information needs, but they must work closely together if programs are to succeed. In general, it appears that a “lead agency” should be designated with power to co-ordinate this function at the city level.

### *INITIATIVE 3 – Price of Land*

The dynamic of demand which ostensibly drives up urban land values is itself largely fuelled by the expectation of large capital gains or at least as a hedge against inflation. These expectations can be moderated by governments with a consequent effect on land prices, through taxation and other management techniques.

**GOVERNMENTS SHOULD ENSURE THAT THERE IS SIGNIFICANT TAXATION ON LAND, PARTICULARLY ON UNUSED BUT SERVICED LAND, AND TAX INCENTIVES TO ENCOURAGE ITS USE FOR HOUSING AND COMMUNITY NEEDS.**

Such measures must pay regard to:

1. The identification of factors which encourage the holding of land off the market and related forms of speculation;
2. The wide range of alternatives and options for recapturing the unearned increment (see Habitat Recommendation D-3);
3. The critical importance of instituting efficient administrative systems in order to facilitate, for instance, the provision of appropriate urban services to new subdivisions, the formalizing of land transfer, and other procedures which mitigate against the rapid and efficient use of land for the urban poor.

### *INITIATIVE 4 – Allocation of Land and Related Resources*

The upgrading of slum and squatter settlements through aided self-help has proven to be a successful alternative to the destruction or removal of such settlements and their replacement by formal government sponsored low-income housing projects.

**GOVERNMENTS SHOULD STRENGTHEN AND EXPAND PROGRAMS FOR UPGRADING SLUM AND SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS AND SITES AND SERVICES SCHEMES. IN PARTICULAR, LAND MUST BE IDENTIFIED AND PROVISIONS MADE FOR ITS ACQUISITION AND SERVICING TO SUPPORT THESE EXPANDED PROGRAMS.**

Special regard must be paid to:

1. Orderly provision of publicly owned land for settlement, meeting the urgent needs of the urban poor;
2. Discouraging hoarding by public and private owners of land appropriate for settlement purposes;

3. Progressive increases in the level of public funding to assist community groups to generate their own housing and related facilities;
4. Making sites and services schemes less dependent on full cost-recovery, with greater emphasis on the use of local materials and construction techniques, and traditional methods of finance, including "sweat equity."

#### *INITIATIVE 5 – Location of Land*

Increasing the density of the urban area within optimum regional and local guidelines will raise the social "productivity" of land and improve the housing and employment relationship. With regard to the selection of areas suitable as affordable residential space, it should be noted that the urban poor generally rank proximity to employment opportunities highest in any index measuring levels of satisfaction of settlement locations.

**LOCAL AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES SHOULD ENCOURAGE CO-ORDINATED DECENTRALIZATION OF JOBS FROM THE URBAN CORE TO DISPERSED ZONES CLOSER TO THE POOR ON THE URBAN FRINGE AND CLOSER TO THE NEW LAND FOR FUTURE SETTLERS.**

Policies must also:

1. Be co-ordinated and integrated. Patterns of residential development (at any income level) must be designed in conjunction with plans for industrial and commercial expansion with a view to optimizing the use of key infrastructural elements and transportation;
2. Ensure that new land being progressively made available to the urban poor is in locations which allow effective access to jobs and services.

#### *INITIATIVE 6 – The Formal and Informal Sectors*

It is becoming increasingly apparent that neither governments *per se*, nor the formal sector in general, has or will have resources sufficient to provide shelter and associated infrastructure for the increasing millions of urban poor. Traditional formal sector approaches to solving the shelter needs of the urban poor (for example, government sponsored low-income housing projects) have in general failed. On the other hand, various aided self-help approaches have demonstrated their value. Policies must be devised which enable the poor to become producers of their own housing at affordable standards. This implies both the removal of obstacles as well as the combining of the capacities and resources of the formal sector, including governments, and of the informal sector. The initiative for this collaboration must come from government.

**MUCH GREATER EMPHASIS MUST BE PLACED ON DEVISING WAYS AND MEANS FOR INCREASING CO-OPERATION AND COLLABORATION**

BETWEEN THE FORMAL AND THE INFORMAL SECTORS. GOVERNMENTS MUST BE MORE INNOVATIVE IN THIS REGARD. PROGRAM PROTOCOLS AND PROCEDURES MUST BE REDESIGNED TO RECOGNIZE THE LEGITIMACY OF THE INFORMAL SECTOR AND ACCOMMODATE AND SUPPORT INFORMAL INITIATIVES. GOVERNMENTS MUST BE PREPARED TO ALLOW A FULL DEGREE OF RESIDENTS' PARTICIPATION IN PROJECT DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION AND MORE DEVOLUTION OF AUTHORITY AND RESPONSIBILITY.

Upgrading and self-help have emerged as the dominant principles shaping current low-income housing policies. The extent to which this approach will succeed in generating adequate affordable housing for the urban poor will be dependent upon the methods developed for uniting formal and informal resources and capacities. Creating an effective fusion of the two is the most crucial and challenging area in improving human settlements. New methods, new institutions are implied. It is probable that social service oriented NGO's working at the community level can play an important role in forging these new methods and institutions, and governments should encourage and support volunteer social service activities undertaken in conjunction with both the formal and informal sectors.

*Specifically*

1. Government, particularly local government, should enlist the co-operation of social agencies to integrate their community development activities with the formal sector plans as a means of augmenting formal and informal activities;
2. Social agencies should be encouraged to act as linkages between the local poor and the formal sector in the development of community structures and the distribution of resources to achieve adequate housing and urban development based on self-help;
3. Local government should seek advice from social agencies to meet human needs and the appropriate mechanisms for strengthening local organizations and to ensure that specific programs and projects enhance the urban poor;
4. Technical expertise available through social agencies should be tapped to provide help in site plotting, construction of shelter and infrastructure at appropriate standards and to institute registration plans which will provide a measure of security of tenure and enlist self-help;
5. Social agencies working on individual community projects ought to be encouraged to share effective decision-making power with local groups and the community concerned;
6. Governments should be encouraged to provide resources to non-governmental bodies to help those bodies in their community development work with the urban poor.

*INITIATIVE 7 – Security of Tenure*

Security of occupancy is essential to the success of all community development and to the stimulation of individual efforts for the provision or improvement of shelter and related facilities. Ultimately, security of occupancy can only be granted or guaranteed through the force of a nation's legal institutions, that is, by government. Government should ensure that squatters, residents of illegal subdivisions, and tenants have the maximum security possible in their occupancy of land and are absolutely protected against arbitrary dispossession. There are many forms of tenure; among these the common concept of outright ownership is often not appropriate to the effective development and continued satisfaction of low income communities. Individual ownership tends to reinforce the concept of land as a commodity, encouraging sale and trading of sites only for financial gains, subsequent escalation of values, speculation, and the eventual displacement of the poor from well located land.

**INNOVATIVE AND APPROPRIATE FORMS OF TENURE, BASED ON SECURITY OF OCCUPANCY, MUST BE DEVELOPED INCLUDING SECURITY FOR TENANTS. IN PARTICULAR GOVERNMENTS SHOULD DEVELOP POLICIES AND PROGRAMS WHEREBY TITLE, THAT IS, OWNERSHIP-IN-TRUST, CAN BE VESTED IN THE LOCAL ORGANIZED COMMUNITY WHICH WOULD HOLD THE LAND IN TRUST FOR ITS MEMBERS, PROVIDE THEM WITH SECURITY OF OCCUPANCY AS APPROPRIATE, AND MANAGE ALL ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY AND PRIVATE USE OF LAND.**

Other implications include:

1. Governments must establish institutions to ensure that the tenure rights of individuals within communities are protected, including tenants, recognizing that even "illegal" residents such as squatters have basic shelter needs and consequently deserve governments' aid and protection;
2. Pending the formal establishment of legal rights of occupancy, governments can encourage self-help initiatives by reinforcing the perceptions of security by, for instance, government sponsored improvements in community services. This can only be a step in the process, however, and must not be used as a substitute for formalizing rights of occupancy. Such interim measures must be genuine; generating hope and expectations which are not eventually met can be socially and politically very destructive;
3. While there are many possible forms of community or collective management of land, one characteristic appears common to most; when an individual or family with security of occupancy wishes to change the use or move from their location, the right of occupancy of land reverts to the community for review or re-assignment under established guidelines. This prevents trading (speculation) in land and buildings and also ensures that land/building use remains consistent with the requirements of the community.

*INITIATIVE 8 – Public Control of Land*

That land management policy at all levels of government should reflect the primacy of the public interest is widely acknowledged. In many instances however, governments are unable to establish such primacy owing to a lack of legal or constitutional means or administrative will.

**GOVERNMENTS SHOULD ENSURE THEY HAVE APPROPRIATE ADEQUATE LEGAL MEANS FOR ACHIEVING THE PRIMACY OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST WITH RESPECT TO LAND USE, AND WHERE SUCH MEANS ARE INSUFFICIENT OR LACKING, THEY SHOULD INSTITUTE REMEDIAL LEGISLATIVE MEASURES AS A FUNDAMENTAL COMMITMENT TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.**

These measures should include, *inter alia*:

1. Guaranteed access to appropriate land in public ownership by the urban poor for their needs under community initiatives;
2. Where necessary, ceilings on the amount of land which may be owned by individuals or private entities;
3. Means of ensuring the progressive development of privately held land within the framework of urban planning and development strategies;
4. Guaranteed participation in the formal land-use planning and land management processes by the local community concerned;
5. Commitment to the concept of devolving the process and power of decision-making regarding ownership, allocation, and use of land, its control and continuing management to appropriate community groups and local organizations;
6. Provisions for regional control over regional services, for example, transit, sewage, water, electricity, waste disposal, and health services and for regional revenue collection for such services.

*INITIATIVES FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTION**ASSISTANCE THROUGH, AND TO, NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS*

The special roles played by non-governmental social service agencies in the development of settlements of the urban poor and the use of land is increasingly significant. For the purposes of this section, the term "social agencies" refers to more-or-less formalized, but non-governmental, organizations operating at local, national, or international levels. These bodies are distinguished from groups that originate within the communities of the urban poor.

The significant characteristics of social agencies include the following:

1. They are usually relatively small and less bureaucratic than government organizations. As a result, they are usually able to respond faster and can be more flexible;

2. Because they are not “official,” they can enter “grey” areas that cannot be officially condoned (squatter settlements being one important example);
3. Because of their smaller size and other considerations, social agencies are able to be more experimental.

As a result of these characteristics, social agencies are particularly able to work effectively at the community level. It is this ability that links social agencies to issues surrounding squatter settlements and land for the urban poor.

Social agencies participate in four processes related to the development of urban settlements:

1. development of social services such as education, health, and social support;
2. development of land, including housing assistance, utility construction, and so forth;
3. resolution of land availability, tenure, planning, and control issues;
4. long-term social development of settlements.

In each case, the social agency may make any of the following contributions:

1. financial — providing access to money or money itself;
2. technical — providing technical know-how and training;
3. organizational — providing initiative, animation, and structure;
4. political — providing access to policy-making and lobbying.

#### *A. Development of Social Services.*

The involvement of non-governmental bodies in the provision of social services appears most commonly in those activities addressing basic needs such as health, education, and care for the handicapped and abandoned.<sup>1</sup> The non-governmental bodies undertaking these activities come from all levels: local, national, and international. The reliable and widespread commitment to welfare services comes from religious institutions, particularly in Latin America where “la teología de liberación” has pushed the Catholic Church into the area of social action. Regional and tribal associations have also played an important part in providing social security and welfare. Finally, there are international non-government bodies that perform welfare functions and have received significant international press. Many of these are closely linked to religious groups and are allied with local organizations.

The social service role often becomes an integral part of the physical and social development of the community. Thus, the relevance of social services to land issues lies in the fact that development is an integrated process. The degree to which, and the way in which, social services are developed affects the community’s ability to mobilize itself to control land occupancy and use. Social agencies can help provide basic education, training support systems, good health, and organization — all of which are needed if a community is to use land effectively and to secure the right to do so.

### B. *Development of Land*

Social agencies are involved in the development of land in three respects. First, they are themselves users of land. Although this may be relatively unimportant in terms of quantity of land used, it may be less so in terms of siting considerations. Second, agencies often assist construction by individuals and the community. In a recent Botswana upgrading program, for example, a church organization subsidized the very poor so that they could qualify for building material loans.<sup>2</sup> Third, some of the larger social agencies have also become directly involved in the development of physical services. The smaller groups are excluded from this type of activity owing to a lack of sufficient capital and technical know-how. The larger agencies have access to funds through international non-governmental organizations and local business groups. They are able to undertake costly and long-term projects such as building technical schools and community centres, paving roads, and installing water pipes. They are often a mix of national and international non-government bodies with some participation by local interests.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to directly helping communities develop, non-government bodies can play an important role in lobbying government to provide essential services and also in "influencing public opinion in the direction of a positive attitude towards these settlements."<sup>4</sup>

The provision of physical services is crucial to the transformation of land because, without the most basic services, urban settlement is not viable. The manner in which these services are developed has an impact on the organization of a community and the distribution of resources within it.

### C. *Issues of Land Rights and Land Use*

#### 1. *Land Availability and Security of Occupancy*

In most "Third World" cities one of the foremost concerns of the urban poor is land availability for shelter, commerce, and communal activities. It is the intensity of this need that has driven the urban poor to challenge the law and local authorities by setting up squatter settlements. Very rarely are non-government bodies involved at this stage, though there are cases in Peru where students and social action groups have helped organize a land "invasion."<sup>5</sup> More common is the role of defending the squatters immediately after the land has been "invaded." Preventing the eviction of the squatters can become a long and protracted affair.

In Latin America and South Africa, the churches have often been at the forefront in defending the squatters' continued use of illegally occupied land and in promoting the formal development of land in ways beneficial to the urban poor (for example, sites-and-services schemes). To these ends they have lobbied governments and the general public.



Political parties are also often very important in making land available to the poor. In *de facto* one-party states like Mexico and Zambia, the party acts as a channel to convey the supplications of the squatters.<sup>6</sup> In multi-party states, the various parties often intercede on behalf of the urban poor in hope of gaining their political support.

In order to obtain greater security of occupancy for squatters and residents of other informal settlements, many non-government bodies such as the churches have called for the resolution of the land tenure question. In their lobbying efforts, these organizations have also started to involve themselves in the debate over which form of land tenure will best guarantee long term security and be able to resist pressures for commercialization of land. Besides promoting appropriate mechanisms for ensuring security of occupancy, non-government bodies have begun to aid residents in the establishment or strengthening of local organizations to control land occupancy and use. For instance, one international foundation for co-operative housing is promoting multi-plot co-operatives which would control accessibility to the plots by requiring departing residents to sell them to the co-op.<sup>7</sup>

## 2. *Land Use Planning and Control*

Given the technical nature of land use planning and control, non-government agencies have been called on to assist squatter settlements in this area quite often. The best known cases come from Peru where squatters have called upon planning students and professionals to help them organize land use after a land "invasion." Such professionals are usually associated with a social action organization.<sup>8</sup>

Non-profit national organizations with varying degrees of financial aid from foreign non-government bodies have at times provided technical help in the laying out of residential plots and communal areas in both new and older settlements. They have provided squatter organizations with technical and organizational help in administering these semi-official plans on an ongoing basis. In Peru there has also been an Association of Squatters at the national level which has helped squatter groups.

International organizations have tended to participate in this area of land use at arms length as a funding source. However, as national governments have moved towards sponsoring squatter upgrading and sites-and-services schemes, international non-government bodies have been asked to participate both financially and with personnel.

## D. *Social Development*

During the late 1960's and early 1970's, there was a major push for recognition of the contributions that squatter settlements made toward meeting the appalling

shortage of adequate land and housing for the urban poor. Field researchers stressed the positive aspects of the settlements, their high level of energy, and the upward mobility of many of their residents. More recently, however, there has been a critique of this view, arguing that it “merely disguises the agonizing poverty of most true social conditions ... [in squatter settlements] and provides a further barrier to their amelioration.”<sup>9</sup> It is generally recognized that as squatter settlements become integrated into their urban surroundings, they increasingly reflect within themselves the structural inequalities of their social system. In other words, they become part of the urban slum. In order to combat this tendency, community development and self-help schemes are often proposed. Here again non-government bodies are expected to play an important part.

Community organizations in squatter settlements gradually weaken after having an initially strong impact on land availability, land use planning and control, and obtaining basic services.<sup>10</sup> This occurs because these organizations do not have the resources (financial, technical or organizational) to address the structural causes of their impoverishment and exploitation successfully. Since they are unable to produce concrete results for their members, these organizations lose their membership and their vitality. This process is accelerated by the loss of land-use planning and control and also often by individualized land tenure systems and the manner of their enforcement.

The role of non-government agencies has been to offset the powerlessness of these community organizations by providing the resources necessary to achieve concrete results. However, the manner in which these resources have been provided has had a major impact on the community organizations of the settlement and thus on the long-term ability of the poor to defend their interests regarding land as well as other common concerns. Social agencies can be said to have intervened in three distinct ways:

1. Paternalism: minimum involvement of residents in policy-making or in the running of the “project”;
2. Participation but no control: local individuals and organizations are invited to participate in various important aspects of the “project,” but the relationship is still one of consultation rather than giving any real measure of control to the “locals”;
3. Sharing control: the social agency shares real decision-making power with representatives of the settlement and promotes eventual local control.

The long-term consequences of these different strategies are widely divergent. The first “style” encourages a clientist relationship between individual squatters and the agency. It undermines local organizations by rendering them superfluous to the problem being dealt with. This “style” also has very few positive “spill-over” effects.

The second “style” is the most common among the practitioners of community development. It encourages community groups but maintains real control of the community development process in the hands of the agency. While the

participation of community organizations in the “project” often generates a good deal of energy, this energy is channelled primarily into activities that ameliorate the position of the poor without ever challenging the basic structures responsible for their poverty. In addition, by maintaining the control in the hands of outsiders, a dependent relationship is maintained, however unintentionally. In effect, a client relationship is developed, though it has been raised from the individual to the community level. It is still an unequal relationship between the community organizations and their sponsors; and acceptance of this relationship reinforces the position of the urban poor within the existing hierarchy.

The third “style” of non-government involvement is the most difficult for non-government bodies and governments to accept because it necessitates a voluntary sharing of power.

Recognition of this position is becoming more widespread and was a major point at a United Nations meeting of experts in New York in 1977:

Programs that succeed in developing greater control and choice to poor households and their local community organizations can help protect the urban poor from the disruptive impact of the broader economic and social forces. Moreover, the encouragement of greater autonomy at the local level can also help to change the underlying economic and political structures that produce poverty.<sup>11</sup>

If it is accepted that shared control leading to local control is desirable, the question remains how to achieve that aim. Government programs to promote this type of community development have usually collapsed either from lack of continuing support from above (for example, in Brazil and Portugal) or because government involvement in community development in squatter settlements was accused of subverting local autonomy (as in Peru).<sup>12</sup>

It is here that social agencies are uniquely placed. While their efforts can never be a substitute for a wholesale program from a committed government, in the real world they represent a practical vehicle for community development. In addition to being less threatening to local organizations, both politically and bureaucratically, non-government agencies are more appropriately structured for community development work. They should be given the room and the resources to work effectively. In turn, these agencies must be willing to share actual control of their programs with the local community. This can only be done if they think in terms of aiding individuals to work together as a community, rather than in terms of direct service to individuals.

One of the primary contributions social agencies can make is in assisting community level organizations to develop their own management skills. These skills can then be applied to the management of community resources, one of the most important of which is land.

**POLICY INITIATIVES FOR INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION**

The enormous diversity between and even within nations makes it inevitable that land management policies will vary greatly from country to country. However, there is still a great deal to be learned from shared experience. Given the fundamental importance of national land management in shaping national socio-economic development, there is possibly no area of technical co-operation between developing countries where exchange of information is more feasible or potentially beneficial. However, little comparative information is available on success or failure in managing land for the urban poor in developing countries. Effective administrative arrangements must be implemented if the establishment and transfer of land rights on a large scale are to succeed. Here, the international community can assist nations in preparing for such action. While it is recognized that the initiatives must come from national governments (land acquisition and equity are in the hands of the nation state), there are international agencies working in liaison with the United Nations which can assist strategically and substantively. In fact, the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements was specifically created for this purpose.

***INITIATIVE 1 – Data Gathering at the National Level***

A major reason for the lack of information in this area is government's demonstrated reluctance or apparent inability to monitor and evaluate its own programs or experiments in land management. A first requirement for exchanging information at the global level is the gathering of information at the city, sub-national, and national levels.

**GOVERNMENTS SHOULD IMMEDIATELY TAKE STEPS TO ENSURE THAT THE EFFECTS AND IMPACTS OF LAND MANAGEMENT POLICIES ON THE THE URBAN POOR ARE SYSTEMATICALLY RECORDED, MONITORED AND EVALUATED, MAKING SURE THAT SUCH DATA AND RESOURCES ARE ACQUIRED AND RETAINED IN A FORM ALLOWING FOR CONTINUING INTERNATIONAL DISSEMINATION.**

It may be noted that:

1. Monitoring should be considered as a prerequisite for, but quite separate from, evaluation. Ideally, monitoring provides a day to day capability for assessing all aspects of a project to allow for effective remedial measures when flaws or problems develop. It is an operational tool, a means of reinforcing the chances for the success of the project;
2. Evaluation, based on monitored information, is a judgment made after the fact and is important to the design of new programmes. Successful evaluation should be carried out by independent individuals or agencies who have no vested interest in the success or failure of a project nor any allegiances to the project team.

*INITIATIVE 2 – Pro Forma for Monitoring, Evaluation and Comparison*

A major impediment to the effective exchange of information on success or failure of land management policies and techniques is the lack of any standard format or forms for the gathering, retention, evaluation, comparison, and dissemination of relevant information. Information that is not evaluated is of little use; evaluations that are not carried out against definitive criteria and common indices are of equally limited value.

AS A MATTER OF PRIORITY, STANDARDIZED PROCEDURES, IMPACT AND PERFORMANCE INDICATORS, AND SO FORTH, SHOULD BE DEvised IN RELATION TO LAND MANAGEMENT POLICIES. THESE WOULD BE USED TO ASSIST NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS TO IMPLEMENT MONITORING AND EVALUATION PROGRAMS AND TO GENERATE COMPARATIVE DATA AND EVALUATIONS SUITABLE FOR INTERNATIONAL DISSEMINATION. PARTICULAR ATTENTION SHOULD BE PAID TO DEFINING THE CRITERIA FOR THE SELECTION OF EVALUATORS AND THE PROCEDURES AND INDICES TO BE APPLIED IN MONITORING AND EVALUATING PROJECTS.

This is an activity which could effectively be initiated at the regional level. It is noted for instance that the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, at its 38th Session, identified land policies to increase the supply of land to the poor as one of the major issues in the field of human settlements. In its work program related to human settlements, ESCAP has specified, in the context of a sub-program on Land, a program element on monitoring and information on land. ESCAP has also been active in strengthening information systems in the region and improving means of information exchange between governments. ESCAP would seem ideally suited to develop and improve existing methods of monitoring and evaluation in human settlements in conjunction with governments in the region.

*INITIATIVE 3 – International Dissemination of Information*

The dissemination and application of new knowledge is as important as the acquisition of the knowledge itself. Further applications and their impacts must be measured and evaluated and the new knowledge generally disseminated and applied in turn. This multilateral function at the global level is ideally suited to the mandate and capacities of UNCHS.

UNCHS SHOULD INSTITUTE APPROPRIATE MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN ITS ABILITIES TO ASSIST GOVERNMENTS IN THE ACQUISITION OF EMPIRICAL INFORMATION ON LAND MANAGEMENT POLICIES, PARTICULARLY FOR THE URBAN POOR, AND ITS CAPACITY TO DISSEMINATE SUCH INFORMATION AMONG OTHER STATES, EITHER

IN PRINT, AUDIO-VISUAL, OR COMPUTERIZED FORM. UNCHS SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO CONTINUE TO ACT AS A FOCAL POINT FOR THE COLLECTION, ANALYSIS, AND DISSEMINATION OF REPORTS ON NATIONAL PROGRAMMES.

Several complementary areas for study and research exist. For example, there is relatively little information available on methods and procedures for transferring ownership of land and management responsibilities to community organizations. There is also a great need for more studies related to methods of formal/informal collaboration.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following description of a small shanty town in Mexico City is fairly typical of local level non-government involvement.

The medical centre for Cerrada Condor is an example of an organization created by an external agency. The credit of the creation of this centre belongs primarily to a group of middle class women who live in the adjacent neighbourhood of Las Aguilas. The uncomfortable and potentially threatening proximity of the shanty-town induced these women to take the initiative in establishing a small neighbourhood health clinic with the assistance of the local parish. The Children's Hospital of Mexico took an interest in this centre and appointed a medical student as a resident, particularly for serving the children. The women's group of Las Aguilas also contributed some money to cover the salary of a social worker. Unfortunately, this medical centre collapsed soon after the interest of the middle class waned — a not untypical scenario for this type of ad hoc involvement by small non-government bodies. (L. Lomnitz, *Networks and Marginality* [New York: Academic Press, 1977], pp. 134-85).

<sup>2</sup> John van Nostrand, *Old Naledi: The Village Becomes a Town* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1982).

<sup>3</sup> A good illustration of this mix is SAIL (Social Action in Lusaka) which was instigated by more affluent and concerned Lusaka residents, was staffed by a Canadian community development worker and partially funded by the U.S. Embassy. Its principal project was developed in coordination with representatives from the settlement. This was an aided self-help scheme to put water pipes into two squatter settlements.

<sup>4</sup> See M.S. Muller, "Self-Help: A Case Study of Water Projects in Two Unauthorized Settlements in Lusaka," in H.J. Simons *et al.*, *Slums or Self Reliance: Urban Growth in Zambia* (Lusaka: University of Zambia, 1976), p. 106.

<sup>5</sup> See J. Turner and W. Mangin, "The Barriada Movement," *Progressive Architecture* (May 1968).

<sup>6</sup> See S. Eckstein, *The Poverty of Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 81; and P. Andrew, "Squatters and the Evolution of a Life-Style," in *Architectural Design*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (1976).

<sup>7</sup> The Foundation for Co-operative Housing, a non-profit, private organization, was set up to develop co-operative housing in the U.S.. Since 1962 FCH has worked overseas with USAID, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the United Nations, and local government housing and co-operative organizations in developing more than 40,000 housing units and training more than 500 housing technicians and co-operative leaders.

While most of the projects in which FCH has been involved have been of the more

conventional sites-and-services and squatter up-grading schemes, FCH has also attempted to develop a co-operative framework for future projects. This presents a number of interesting possibilities and represents a major new approach to such issues as land tenure and community development. On the issue of land tenure, this co-operative framework addresses the problems of land and lease speculation by proposing that all lots be held under a single mortgage and requiring that families leaving the area return their lot to the co-operative in return for their share of the equity built up in the co-operative (probably through sweat equity). The co-operative could then have control over who would be the next tenant and would also maintain control over the uses for which the lot could be used (for example, prohibiting the construction of absentee-owned tenements).

One of the most interesting aspects of the co-operative framework is the number of spin-offs that it can generate. These could include promotion of: a building co-operative for self-help construction; a buying co-operative for purchasing construction materials; producer and consumer co-operatives; savings and loan co-operatives; community service co-operatives (day-care, transport pools, water distribution, and so forth).

The co-operative organizational framework opens up the possibilities of the urban poor pooling their skills and resources in a more effective manner. In addition to giving the members of the co-operative a more effective political voice, the educational experience of co-operativism gives new organizational skills to the urban poor. These organizational skills have the possibility of being applied to ameliorate their economic, medical and political situation.

Notwithstanding the above, a number of problems exist. To begin, co-operatives as a rule need strong and continuing sponsorship from an organization which can provide technical and administrative help. The FCH has seen the lack of such a support group as the single most important reason for failure of co-operatives. A second weakness lies in the possible misuse of the co-operative organizational structure. The co-operative framework can be used as a technical tool rather than a form of social organization: a tool to address problems that have until now plagued sites-and-services and up-grading schemes. These problems include high management costs and high delinquency rates on monthly payments. Using the co-operative organizational technique to combat these problems would mask the structural weaknesses in the programs themselves and, moreover, would make the co-operative members (that is, the urban poor) pay for the costs in these social programs. See L.F. Salmen, "Lower Income Settlement Types: Projects and Policies," in *The Residential Circumstances of the Urban Poor in Developing Countries* (New York: Praeger, 1981).

<sup>8</sup> Examples of these social action organizations can be seen in TAREA and CIED (Centro de Informacion, Estudios y Documentacion) in Peru, SAIL in Lusaka, and CADEBOL (Centro de Asesoramiento para el Desarrollo) and CENSED (Centro de Servicios para el Desarrollo) in Cochabamba, Bolivia.

<sup>9</sup> D. Butterworth and J.K. Chance, *Latin American Urbanization* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), pp. 158-60.

<sup>10</sup> See M. Hoek-Smit, "Improvement Strategies for Lower Income Urban Settlements in Kenya," in *The Residential Circumstances of the Urban Poor*, p. 289; M. Heper, "Critical Factors Concerning Housing Policy in Squatter Areas — Rumelishisar, Turkey," *Ibid.*, pp. 280-84; S. Michl, "Urban Squatter organization as a National Government Tool: The Case of Lima, Peru," in *Latin American Urban Research* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1973); Eckstein, *Poverty of Revolution*, pp. 60-83; Butterworth and Chance, *Latin American Urbanization*, p. 158; E. Eames and J. Goode, *Urban Poverty in a Cross-Cultural Context* (New York: Free Press, 1973), p. 199; G.K. Payne, "Functions of Informality: A Case

Study of Squatter Settlements in India," in *Architectural Design*, Vol. 43, No. 8 (1973): 66. (Also, *Ekistics*, No. 224 1974).

- <sup>11</sup> UNCHS, *Residential Circumstances of the Urban Poor*, p. 11.
- <sup>12</sup> H. Harms and D. Robles, "Limitations of Self-Help," *Architectural Design* (April 1976).
- <sup>13</sup> Jorge E. Hardoy, "Cooperacion Internacional Para los Asentamientos Humanos," *Revista Interamericana de Planificacion*. Vol. XV, No. 59. September 1981.
- <sup>14</sup> This publication is based, directly and indirectly, on empirical information regarding the nature of squatter settlements and other communities of the poor and regarding land management approaches and their impacts. The information has come from governments, academics, and professionals and from different perspectives: economic, sociological, policy analysis, community development, regional planning, building construction and land management.

In the preparation of this book it has been found that while there is considerable and valuable material available, the information is scattered and lacks vigorous analysis. While there is much on the sociological makeup of squatter settlements on the one hand, and much on land policy and its relationship to the land market on the other, there are few empirical studies of the impacts of alternative land management approaches on the ability of the poor to meet their needs.

Those reports that do exist on the role of land management as an "independent variable" in affecting the lot of the poor in specific situations show how valuable this kind of information can be (for example, by indicating how different informal tenure arrangements differentially affect community interaction and hence the possibility of community control or by showing how security of tenure affects household investments in upgrading of homes and communities). But little is known internationally about the results for the poor of such actions as: experiments in integrating the tribal sector into the public management of land; the development of systems for delivering undeveloped land to the poor; attempts to create community control of land; the imposition of ceilings on land ownership; or the institutionalization of mechanisms to protect tenants.

There are several problems: information on field experience is not collected, it is poorly analysed, and it is not well disseminated.

Information is not collected because of reluctance by government agencies to evaluate their own programs. As one authority on the role of international and national development efforts wrote recently:

Lamentably, neither governments nor agencies evaluate their respective housing programs. Agencies seem to measure the effectiveness of their sectoral programs by the amount of loans they approve and by the ease with which loans are recovered. They do not seem to be interested — at least in housing projects — in verifying if other objectives of a social nature have been met and in learning about the settlers and their experiences during the different stages of the project. And if they have learned...the results are not divulged.

There are many reasons for the lack of evaluation including the cost, the conceptual difficulties in evaluation, and the insecurity of program administrators. Yet increasingly planners are realizing the need for public policy to be developed from an action-research perspective. From this perspective, the criteria for success of a program relates as much to whether it contains a monitoring component and a mechanism to ensure that the monitoring results are used as to the substantive outcomes of the program. The action-research perspective has been discussed by different professionals under different names (adaptive-management, praxis, social learning, feedback, and



so forth) but all share the perspective that information about past actions should inform future action.

Information of use to policy makers and project managers need not only be locally derived. Much can be learned from others' experiences. This relates to the problem of dissemination. It is not only a matter of evaluating public programs but also a matter of allowing the results to be known. Were planners to take a more explicitly action-research approach to their work, the need to show "positive" results (for example, outcomes as expected) would be balanced with the need to show how activity has been planned to facilitate learning by colleagues. Evaluation and the publication of results would have to be built into the design of a program for it to be judged as successful.

Sometimes one of the barriers to evaluation is the word "evaluation" itself: it connotes judgment. More neutral terms like monitoring and impact assessment might better convey the spirit of action research.

The problem of dissemination does not end with the collection and publicizing of information, however. Policy makers and planners usually do not have the time themselves to hunt in other nations for information that might be relevant to them. They are unfamiliar with other nations' information systems and may not know the language. UNCHS has made an important contribution here. It actively encourages nations to gather information that would be of use to others, continuously acts as an international focal point for the collection and analysis of reports, and has made the most important information relating to land/community relationships available in the official languages.

<sup>15</sup> Jorge E. Hardoy, "Cooperacion Internacional Para los Asentamientos Humanos," *Revista Interamericana de Planificacion*, Vol. XV, No. 59 (September 1981).

# 7

## EPILOGUE

After reviewing and weighing evidence, we have come to the conclusion that only pragmatic solutions can begin to provide land for the poor in a world of shrinking resources. In advancing our initiatives for action, we linked the land issue intimately with its appropriate use, especially housing, which is the largest single user in most settlements. We also noted, however, that this must be done without excluding related or supporting land uses, especially those which create local employment and economic activity.

Three principles, distilled from recent field experience and research documents underlie our findings:

1. People, including the poor, can house themselves if given access to land.
2. The informal sector, eminently successful in retail services and their distribution, can be harnessed for land development and shelter production.
3. Land management must be vested in the local community and must be linked to and occur through land use planning. It must occur regionally and within national goals and objectives, especially political and economic ones.

Consequently, a series of policy shifts and a shift in programs is proposed to achieve the essential twin goals of accommodating the poor effectively within the settlement system and to use land strategically as a scarce resource in the development process.

We see this process as involving eight important policy shifts:

1. *A shift from building houses for the poor to providing access to land.* Governments, particularly centralized governments, have traditionally built housing for those who could not afford it, on the assumption that this was the most expeditious method and that it ensured economic and social efficiency. Long and recent experience has now shown that this approach is too expensive and does not meet the effective needs of the poor. No government is rich enough to house all its citizens, nor is a central bureaucracy capable of programming and building shelter which reflects the wide social and economic needs of an exceedingly diverse and dynamic population.

2. *A shift from formal production of shelter to opportunities and support for informal construction and distribution.* Traditionally, governments' attraction to building housing projects was in the project itself. It could be seen, and it could be recognized for what it was. Initially, the political credit to the producer seemed rewarding. Now government's role ought to shift to providing access to land for the poor to meet their own needs under diverse local circumstances. The consumer ought to become the producer because he is or can become capable of building his own shelter and thereby creating an appropriate environment in scale with his needs within acceptable community standards. From aided self-help for individual households to mutual help for a larger community, enterprise is often an untapped source of skills, resources and energies. The success of the informal sector in retail and petty trades can be expanded into housing and community construction and ultimately land management.
3. *A shift from building utility services at national standards to servicing communities progressively on a need and demand basis.* Land without services cannot be used. Water, above all else, is a utility in creating self-help commitment and willingness to invest labour and resources at the local level. (Curiously enough, the supply of sanitary sewers has a far more marginal impact on people building their own communities.) The choice of services and their standards of provision must reflect local communities' needs and their ability to benefit and care for them financially and structurally.
4. *A shift from formal comprehensive land registration to traditional land inventories and registries.* As land moves from rural to urban use and begins to support large numbers of people, questions of boundary, location, identification and ownership become increasingly important. Land urbanization demands clarity and identity of who owns what with measureable and identifiable dimensions. These demands, however, can be met by employing traditional methods and by building on existing inventory records. Tribal tradition in West Africa, for example, prescribed that the chief was not only the distributor of the land, but also knew who was using it, where, how, and under what conditions.
5. *A shift from ownership of land to security of tenure or occupancy.* The most pressing need in the process of managing land, particularly for the poor under squatter conditions, is to achieve some clear security of tenure of land or security of occupancy in buildings. Ownership as such and all the rights and obligations associated with it tends to be an inflexible and essentially a restrictive framework. The emphasis on ownership tends to identify land as a commodity for trade. Security of tenure or occupancy ensures the current settler or community the right to use the land under agreed-upon conditions and in the context of community goals. Security of tenure or occupancy can be established legally and transferred between users while retaining local and national ownership for the community. Security of occupancy is the

most urgent need in improving existing squatter settlements and anticipating the systematic transfer of unoccupied land to new users and uses while motivating settlers to build their own communities with their own resources.

6. *A shift from providing housing only to providing residential land linked to employment and relevant economic activities.* Experience has shown that housing and employment linkage is crucial to the community both as consumers and producers. Extended journeys-to-work are unproductive, costly, and make extraordinary demands on public resources and the environment. Employment needs and housing must be linked spatially in the context of land use planning.
7. *A shift from land as a commodity to land as a scarce resource in community trusteeship.* Land throughout the world has a rising commercial value since more and more people occupy an essentially fixed quantity of space and exercise increasing demands upon it. Land treated as a commodity for trade has successfully kept the poor from access to it and has been the single largest obstacle in accommodating migrants to the cities anywhere. Traditionally, many of the developing countries have looked to land as a resource within the community domain. Traditional law, particularly in tribal societies, has always vested land in the community and entrusted it with controlling use and allocation. It is therefore possible to return to these traditional customs and remove what was essentially a colonial inheritance, namely, to deal with land as a commodity for trade and speculation. There are a variety of techniques currently practised in many countries that move in this direction. Among the industrialized countries, housing co-operatives are increasingly popular and supported by government programs based on land remaining in municipal or public hands.
8. *A shift from central government administration to local community self-management.* The creation of states and their units of administration has created the assumption that all social and economic issues ultimately have to be solved by governments. In pre-industrial society, local community initiative was its strength and proved a resilient process for coping with changing circumstances. Local community self-management is critical to the effective satisfaction of community needs at a cost that the community can afford. While this principle is well developed in building housing and other community facilities, it also can be applied to specific users and uses. Land can be invested in the community at a variety of levels or scales and a democratically structured community administration can assign land for housing and other needs to individual or group users under a system of security of tenure. Ownership as such would stay with the community while the improvements and facilities built by the user remain with the user and can be bought and sold.

Local community self-management implies that the land is vested in the community and its use allocation under clear and explicit rules is a community

decision within regional and national development objectives. These shifts in policy and the resulting programs will create a radically altered setting for consumer initiative, producer capacity, and governments' role as facilitator within agreed upon public policies. The poor will realize their position in the larger community as active participants in relieving their problems and meeting their needs. To be poor is a relative condition: under these policy shifts and initiatives, the emphasis will clearly be on aided mutual help, through which the poor will be able to take advantage of varied opportunities. This will enable them to move from a cycle of perpetual poverty to increasing self-sufficiency and self-reliance. Well-established market economy forces will be enlisted in solving chronic shortages of shelter and continuing discriminations to the lowest income groups. Governments' actions will focus on improving equity of opportunity and fair distribution rather than the prevailing commitment to production and allocation of built housing.

Security of tenure, of land and of buildings, will be the major governmental tool (comparable to other key initiatives in a democratic society) and will ensure fairness in the housing and land market. This will have the effect of reducing speculation in a scarce commodity that has become a precious resource in a rapidly urbanizing world.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abu-Lughod, J., and Hay, R. *Third World Urbanization*. Chicago: Maaroufa Press, 1977.
- Alterman, R. *Land Value Recapture: Design and Evaluation of Alternative Policies*, Occasional Paper L5. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982.
- Andrew, P. "Squatters and the Evolution of a Lifestyle." *Architectural Design*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (1973).
- Andrew, P., et al. "Squatter Settlements in Zambia: the Evolution of a Lifestyle." *Ekistics*, No. 224 (1974).
- Angel, S. *Land Tenure for the Urban Poor*. Human Settlements Division Working Paper No. 1. Bangkok: Asian Institute of Technology, 1980.
- . "Land for Housing the Poor." In *Land Economy in Critical Perspective*. Occasional Paper L4. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982.
- Angel, S., Archer, R.W., Tanphiphat, S., and Wegelin, E.A., eds., *Land for Housing the Poor*. Singapore: Select Books, 1983.
- Anthony, H.A. *The Challenge of Squatter Settlements: with Special Reference to the Cities of Latin America*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1979.
- Apthorpe, R. *Some Research Questions for Rural-Urban Relations and Settlement Policies*. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies, 1981.
- Barrass, F. "Relationships between Squatters and Land in Urban Sub-Saharan Africa." In *Land, its Role in Squatter Communities in Asia, Africa, and Latin America*. Occasional Paper L3. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982.
- Basic Housing Case Studies*. Vol. 2, *Design of Low-Cost Housing and Community Facilities* (ST/ESA/10). New York: United Nations, 1976.
- Bell, G. *Strategies for Human Settlements: Habitat and Environment*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1976.
- Blitzer, S., Hardoy, J.E., and Satterthwaite, D. "Shelter: Peoples' Needs and Government Response." *Ekistics*, Vol. 48, No. 286 (January/February, 1981).
- Bolivar, T. "La produccion de los barrios de ranchos y el papel de los pobladores y del estado en al dinamica de la estructura urbana del area Metropolitana de Caracas." *Revista Interamericana de Planificacion*, Vol. 14, No. 57 (June 1980): 68-91.
- Building Codes and Regulations in Developing Countries*. Report on Seminar of Experts, Sweden, March 1980 (CHS/R/81-3/S). Nairobi: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 1981.
- Building Operations in Low-Cost Housing Construction* (CHS/R/81-4/S). Nairobi: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 1981.

- Butterworth, D. *The People of Buena Ventura*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980.
- Butterworth, D., and Chance, J. *Latin American Urbanization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Camara, C. "Une Ville pre-coloniale au Nigeria: Ondo." *Cahiers d'Etudes Africains*, Vol. XIII, No. 51 (1973): 417-441.
- Campbell, T.E.J. *Resource Transformation in Squatter Households: Testing a System Model of Urbanism*. Berkeley: Author, 1980 (mimeographed).
- Christian, W. *Housing Finance for Developing Countries*. Chicago: International Union of Building Societies and Savings Associations, 1980.
- City of Nagoya, Japan. *International Conference on Planning and Management of Metropolitan Regions*. Report of the International Conference, Nagoya, Japan, in collaboration with the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), CHS/R/81-1, Nairobi, February 1981.
- Clausen, A.W. *Poverty in Developing Countries 1985*. Address by President, The World Bank and International Finance Corporation, Atlanta, Georgia, January 1985.
- Collaboration between the United Nations and Non-Governmental Organizations in the Field of Human Settlements* (HS/C/2/10). Nairobi: United Nations Commission on Human Settlements, 1979.
- Conclusions and Recommendations. Proceedings of international seminar on *Land for Housing the Poor: Towards Positive Action in Asian Cities*. Bangkok: Asian Institute of Technology, January 1982.
- Conway, D. "Fact or Opinion on Uncontrolled Peripheral Settlement in Trinidad: Or How Different Conclusions Arise from the Same Data." *Ekistics*, No. 286 (Jan/Feb 1981): 37-48.
- Cooper, L.E. *Designing the Site and Service Plot Allocation Process: Lessons from Project Experience*. Urban Development Department Technical Paper No. 3. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1982.
- Co-operation and Co-ordination with Intergovernmental Organizations outside the United Nations System* (HS/C/3/13). Nairobi: United Nations Commission on Human Settlements, 1980.
- Co-operation and Co-ordination with Non-governmental Organizations Concerned with Human Settlements* (HS/C/3/14). Nairobi: United Nations Commission on Human Settlements, 1980.
- Co-operation between UNCHS (Habitat) and Intergovernmental Organizations outside the United Nations System and Non-Governmental Organizations* (HS/C/5/INF.5). Nairobi: United Nations Commission on Human Settlements, 1982.
- Co-ordination of Activities of Other Bodies of the United Nations System in the Field of Human Settlements* (HS/C/3/12). Nairobi: United Nations Commission on Human Settlements, 1980.
- Cullen, M., and S. Woolery, eds. *World Congress on Land Policy, 1980*. Toronto: Lexington Books, 1982.
- Dawes, F.W.H. *The Elements of Human Settlements*. Occasional Paper 3. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1978.
- Devas, N. "Indonesia's Kumpang Improvement Program: An Evaluative Case Study." *Ekistics*, No. 286 (Jan/Feb 1981): 19-36.
- Development and International Economic Co-operation: Long-term Trends in Economic Development* (A/37/211). New York: United Nations, 1982.

- Dias, E. "A Study of Slums and Shanties in the City of Colombo." In *Population Problems of Sri Lanka*. Katubedda: University of Sri Lanka Press, 1976.
- Doebele, W.A. "Selected Issues in Urban Land Tenure." In *Urban Land Policy: Issues and Opportunities*. World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 283, vol. 112. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1978.
- "Land Readjustment as an Alternative to Taxation for the Recovery of Betterment: the Case of South Korea." In R.W. Bahl, ed., *The Taxation of Urban Property in Less Developed Countries*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979.
  - "Emerging Concepts in Urban Land Tenure in Developing Countries." Paper prepared for Conference at La Napoule, Nice, France, 1982.
  - "Concepts of Urban Land Tenure." In *Urban Land Policy: Issues and Opportunities*. Ed. Harold B. Dunkerley. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.
  - "Emerging Concepts in Urban Land Tenure in Developing Countries." Paper prepared for the Second World Congress on Land Policy, Cambridge, Mass., June 1983.
- Doebele, W.A., Grimes, O.F., and Linn, J.F. "Participation of Beneficiaries in Financing Urban Services: Valorization Charges in Bogota, Colombia." *Land Economics*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (February 1979).
- Draft Medium-Term Plan, 1984-1989 (HS/C/4/5)*. Nairobi: United Nations Commission on Human Settlements, 1981.
- Dunkerley, H.B. *Urban Land Policy: Issues and Opportunities*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Durand-Lasserve, A. *The Urban Land Issue and the Balance of Power Between Public and Private Sectors*. International Seminar on Land For Housing The Poor, Asian Institute of Technology, Bangkok, Thailand, 1982.
- Eames, E., and Goode, J. *Urban Poverty in a Cross-Cultural Context*. New York: Free Press, 1973.
- Eckstein, S. *The Poverty of Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Equal Opportunities in Urban Life: Towards a Redistribution of Available Resources to Improve Urban Living Conditions for the Under-Privileged*. Papers and proceedings of 36th World Congress IFHP. The Hague: International Federation for Housing and Planning, 1982.
- Estimates and Projections of Urban, Rural, and City Population, 1950-2025: The 1980 Assessment (ST/ESA/SER.R/45)*. New York: United Nations, 1982.
- Feral Eke, E. "The Absorption of Low-Income Groups in Ankara." *Ekistics*, No. 286 (Jan/Feb 1981): 64-70.
- Formulation of National Settlement Policies and Strategies*. Report of Ad Hoc Group of Experts, United Nations Headquarters, November 1977 (CHS/R/81-2/S). Nairobi: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 1981.
- Friedmann, J., and Weaver, C. *Territory and Function: The Evolution of Regional Planning*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980.
- Garg, S.C. "Strategy for Housing the Poor in Bhopal, India: a Study of Squatters." *Ekistics*, No. 286 (Jan/Feb 1981): 78-88.
- Geisse, G. "Políticas realistas de tierra urbana en America Latina." *Revista Interamericana de Planificacion*, Vol. 15, No. 60 (December, 1981).



- Gertler, L. *Habitat and Land*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978.
- Gilbert, A. "Planning, Invasions and Land Speculation: The Role of the State in Venezuela." *Third World Planning Review*. Vol.6, No.3, August 1984.
- Gregory, M., Kadekodi, G., Pearson, P., and Sinha, R. "Urban Poverty and Some Policy Options: An Analysis for India." *Urban Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (June 1981): 155-168.
- Habitat: Five Years After*. Earthscan Press Briefing Document No. 26. London: International Institute for Environment and Development, 1981.
- Habitat International*, "Action Planning and Responsive Design." Essays in honour of Otto H. Koenigsberger, Vol.7, No.5/6, 1983.
- Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, Recommendations for National Action* (A/CONF.70/5). New York: United Nations, 1976.
- Hadjithodorou, N.M. "An Institutional Framework for the Upgrading Process of Manshiet Nasser in Cairo, Egypt." *Ehistics*, No. 286 (Jan/Feb 1981): 71-78.
- Haeringer, P. "Structures foncieres et creation d'Abidjan." *Cahiers d'Etude Africains*, No. 9 (1969): 193-270.
- Hardoy, J.E. "Cooperacion internacional para los asentamientos humanos." *Revista Interamericana de Planificacion*, Vol. 15, No. 59 (September 1981): 31-53.
- Hardoy, J.E., and Satterthwaite, D. *Shelter: Need and Response*. Chichester: Wiley, 1981.
- Harms, H., and Robles, D. "Limitations of Self-Help." *Architectural Design* (April 1976).
- Harris, L.C. "Land Taxation in Taiwan: Selected Aspects." In R.W. Bahl, ed., *The Taxation of Urban Property in Less Developed Countries*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979.
- Harth-Deneke, A. "Quasi-legal Urban Land Subdivisions in Latin America: a Solution of a Problem for Low-Income Families." In UNCHS, *The Residential Circumstances of the Urban Poor in Developing Countries*. New York: Praeger, 1981.
- Hau-ofa, E. *Our Crowded Islands*. Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1977.
- Henssen, J. "Land Registration Systems." Theme Paper 3. In U.N. Seminar of Experts on Land for Housing the Poor. Tallberg, Sweden, March 1983.
- Heper, M. "Critical Factors Concerning Housing Policy in Squatter Areas – the Case of Rumelihisar Squatter Area in Istanbul, Turkey." In UNCHS, *The Residential Circumstances of the Urban Poor in Developing Countries*. New York: Praeger, 1981.
- Hilhorst, J.C.G. "National Development Strategies and Regional Planning in Latin America." *Development and Change*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (October 1981): 525-545.
- Hoek-Smit, M.C. "Improvement Strategies for Lower Income Urban Settlements in Kenya." In UNCHS, *The Residential Circumstances of the Urban Poor in Developing Countries*. New York: Praeger, 1981.
- Hongladaromp, T. *Klong Toey, A House to House Survey of the Squatter Slum*. Bangkok: Asian Institute of Technology, 1973.
- "Housing." *Habitat International*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (1979).
- Housing Policy Guidelines for Developing Countries* (ST/ESA/50). New York: United Nations, 1976.
- Human Settlements Division, Asian Institute of Technology. *Seven Asian Experiences in Housing the Poor: The Practice of People's Participation*. Bangkok, Thailand, 1980.
- Human Settlements in the Development Process*. Proceedings of the 7th EAROPH Congress, Vol. 1. Kuala Lumpur: The Malaysian Organization for Human Settlements, 1980.

- Improvement of Slums and Uncontrolled Settlements* (ST/TOA/SER.2/124). New York: United Nations, 1971.
- Integrated Improvement Program for the Urban Poor: an Orientation for Project Design and Implementation*. Vol. I. Washington, D.C.: Office of Urban Development & Office of Housing, Agency for International Development, 1980.
- International Center For Land Policy Studies*. Newsletter, No. 21 (June 1984).
- International Conference on Planning and Management of Metropolitan Regions* (CHS/R/81-1). Nairobi: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 1981.
- Kamm, S. *Land Banking: Public Policy Alternatives and Dilemmas*. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1970.
- Karst, K., Schwartz, M.L., and Schwartz, A. *The Evolution of Law in the Barrios of Caracas*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973.
- Keare, D. "Affordable Shelter and Urban Development: 1972-1982." *The World Bank Research News*, Vol.4, No.2, Summer 1983.
- Koenigsberger, O.H., and Groak, S., eds., "Land Policy." *Habitat International*, Vol. 4., No. 4/5/6 (1979).
- Laconte, P. ed., "Changing Cities: a Challenge to Planning." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 451 (Sept. 1980).
- La Croissance périphérique des villes du Tier-monde. Le Role de la Promotion foncière et immobilière*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1980.
- Land: A Strategic Settlement Resource*. Occasional Paper No. 9. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982.
- Land and Squatter Communities: a Strategic Relationship*. Occasional Paper L2. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982.
- Land Economy in Critical Perspective*. Occasional Paper L4. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982.
- Land, Its Role in Squatter Communities in Asia, Africa, and Latin America*. Occasional Paper L3. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982.
- "Land Policy." *Habitat International*, Vol. 4, Nos. 4/5/6 (1979).
- Land for Human Settlements: Some Legal and Economic Issues* (ST/ESA/69). New York: United Nations, 1977.
- Land Use Policy* Vol. I, No. 1 (January 1984).
- Laquian, A.A. *Slums Are for People*. Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1969.
- . "Squatter and Slum Dwellers." In S.H.K. Yeh and A.A. Laquian, eds., *Housing Asia's Millions*. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 1979.
- Leeds, A. "Lower-Income Urban Settlement Types: Processes, Structures, Policies." In UNCHS, *The Residential Circumstances of the Urban Poor in Developing Countries*. New York: Praeger, 1981.
- Les Agglomérations urbaines dans les pays du Tiers-monde. Leur rôle politique, social et économique*. Brussels: Institut International des Civilisations Différentes. 1971
- Leung, C.K., and Ginsberg, N. eds. *China: Urbanization and National Development*. Research Paper No. 169. Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Geography, 1980.

- Lichfield, N. *Settlement Planning and Development: A Strategy for Land Policy*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980.
- Lippit, V.D. *Land Reform and Economic Development in China: a Study of Institutional Change and Development Finance*. White Plains, N.Y.: International Arts and Sciences Press, 1974.
- Lloyd, P. *Slums of Hope: Shanty Towns of the Third World*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979.
- Lomnitz, L. *Networks and Marginality*. New York: Academic Press, 1977.
- Mangin, W. "Latin American Squatter Settlements: a Problem and a Solution." *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1967).
- Michl, S. "Urban Squatter Organization as a National Government Tool: The Case of Lima, Peru." *Latin American Urban Research*, Vol. 3 (1973).
- Miller, N.N., and Hornig, J.F. "Habitat: the New United Nations Initiative in Human Settlements." *AUFS Reports*, No. 28 (1981).
- Muller, M.S. "Self-Help: A Case Study Water Projects in Two Unauthorized Settlements in Lusaka." In H. Simons ed., *Slums or Self-Reliance; Urban Growth in Zambia*. Lusaka: University of Zambia Press, 1976.
- Mulumba, S. *Urbanization in Developing Countries: A Case Study — Kampala, Uganda*. Boston: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1974.
- Murison, H.S., and Lea, J.P. eds., *Housing in Third World Countries: Perspectives on Policy and Practice*. London: Macmillan, 1979.
- Oberlander, H.P. *Land and Human Settlement Policy: A Review and Analysis of Selected Recent Policy Developments*. Occasional Paper L1. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982.
- Okpala, Don C.I. "Urban Planning and the control of Urban Physical Growth in Nigeria. A Critique of Public Impact and Private Roles." *Habitat International*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1984).
- Paskaralingam, R. *Human Settlements, Sri Lanka*. Colombo: Ministry of Local Government, Housing and Construction, 1982.
- Pasteur, D. *The Management of Squatter Upgrading*. London: Saxon House, 1979.
- Patterns of Urban and Rural Population Growth*, Population Studies No. 68. New York: United Nations, 1980.
- Payne, G.K. "Functions of Informality: A Case Study of Squatter Settlements in India." *Architectural Design*, Vol. 43, No. 8 (1973).
- Perlman, J.E. *The Myth of Marginality*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976.
- . "Strategies for Squatter Settlements: The State of the Art as of 1977." In UNCHS, *The Residential Circumstances of the Urban Poor in Developing Countries*. New York: Praeger, 1981.
- Physical Improvement of Slums and Squatter Settlements (CHS/R/80-1.5)*. Nairobi: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 1980.
- Pilot Housing Project in Central America (ST/ECA/172)*. New York: United Nations, 1973.
- Pinsky, B., and Saevfors, I. "Counting on Our Own Forces: The Maxaquene Upgrading Project, Mozambique." *Habitat News*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (November 1980).
- Portes, A. "Politica de vivienda, pobreza urbana y estado: las favelas de Rio de Janeiro, 1972-76." *Revista Interamericana de Planificacion*, Vol. 13, No. 49 (March 1979): 103-124.

- Pricing Sites and Service Units: Jamaica* (UE-5403-5). Washington, D.C.: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1979.
- Proceedings of World Congress on Land Policy 1980*. Cambridge, Mass.: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1982.
- Ramachandran, A. Keynote speech presented at the International Conference on Planning and Management of Metropolitan Regions, Nagoya, Japan, October 1980.
- Renaud, B. *National Urbanization Policies in the Developing Countries*. World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 347. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1979.
- Report of the Executive Director to the Fifth Session of the Commission on Human Settlements*. Transportation for Urban and Rural Areas, with Emphasis on Groups with Limited Resources, February 8, 1982. HS/C/5/4.
- Review of the Provision of Infrastructure in Slums and Squatter Areas and in Rural Settlements* (HS/C/4/4). Nairobi: United Nations Commission on Human Settlements, 1980.
- Rhoda, R.E. *Development Activities and Rural-Urban Migration: Is It Possible to Keep Them Down on the Farm?* Washington, D.C.: Office of Urban Development, Agency for International Development, 1979.
- Ross, M.H. *The Political Integration of Urban Squatters*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1973.
- Salmen, L.F. "Lower Income Urban Settlement Types: Projects and Policies." In UNCHS, *The Residential Circumstances of the Urban Poor in Developing Countries*. New York: Praeger, 1981.
- Santos, M. *The Shared Space: The Two Circuits of the Urban Economy in Underdeveloped Countries*. London: Methuen, 1975.
- Schteingart, M. "Crecimiento urbano y tenencia de la tierra: el caso de la ciudad de Mexico." *Revista Interamericana de Planificacion*, Vol. 15, No. 60 (December 1981): 168-181.
- Self-Help Practices in Housing: Selected Case Studies* (ST/ECA/183). New York: United Nations, 1973.
- Shanmuganathan, S. *Responsiveness to People's Needs in Resettlement Planning: Lessons from Experiences in Sri Lanka*. Bangkok: Asian Institute of Technology, 1978.
- Silk, A. *A Shanty Town in South Africa: The Story of the Modderdam*. Johannesburg: Rovnan Press, 1971.
- Smith, D.L. ed. *Training Human Settlement Workers in Eastern and Southern Africa*. Proceedings of workshop in Lusaka, Zambia, Sept/Oct. 1981. Lusaka: American Friends Service Committee; Nairobi: Mazingira Institute, 1982.
- Smith, P. *Site Value Taxation*. Land Policy Round Table Case Studies Series No. 301. Washington, D.C.: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1978.
- Solomon, L.M. *Leasing Public Land: A City's Investment in the Future*. Land Policy Round Table Policy Analysis Series No. 202. Washington, D.C.: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1978.
- Soni, P. "Self-Help Planning Construction and Management in a Site and Service Project in Nairobi, Kenya." *Ekistics*, No. 286 (Jan/Feb 1981): 53-64.
- Stokes, B. "Global Housing Prospects: The Resource Constraints." *Worldwatch Paper*, 46, September 1981.
- Stren, R.E. *Housing the Poor in Urban Africa. Policy, Politics, and Bureaucracy in Mombasa*. Berkeley: Institute for International Studies, 1978.

- Pricing Sites and Service Units: Jamaica* (UE-5403-5). Washington, D.C.: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1979.
- Proceedings of World Congress on Land Policy 1980*. Cambridge, Mass.: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1982.
- Ramachandran, A. Keynote speech presented at the International Conference on Planning and Management of Metropolitan Regions, Nagoya, Japan, October 1980.
- Renaud, B. *National Urbanization Policies in the Developing Countries*. World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 347. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1979.
- Report of the Executive Director to the Fifth Session of the Commission on Human Settlements*. Transportation for Urban and Rural Areas, with Emphasis on Groups with Limited Resources, February 8, 1982. HS/C/5/4.
- Review of the Provision of Infrastructure in Slums and Squatter Areas and in Rural Settlements* (HS/C/4/4). Nairobi: United Nations Commission on Human Settlements, 1980.
- Rhoda, R.E. *Development Activities and Rural-Urban Migration: Is It Possible to Keep Them Down on the Farm?* Washington, D.C.: Office of Urban Development, Agency for International Development, 1979.
- Ross, M.H. *The Political Integration of Urban Squatters*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1973.
- Salmen, L.F. "Lower Income Urban Settlement Types: Projects and Policies." In UNCHS, *The Residential Circumstances of the Urban Poor in Developing Countries*. New York: Praeger, 1981.
- Santos, M. *The Shared Space: The Two Circuits of the Urban Economy in Underdeveloped Countries*. London: Methuen, 1975.
- Schteingart, M. "Crecimiento urbano y tenencia de la tierra: el caso de la ciudad de Mexico." *Revista Interamericana de Planificacion*, Vol. 15, No. 60 (December 1981): 168-181.
- Self-Help Practices in Housing: Selected Case Studies* (ST/ECA/183). New York: United Nations, 1973.
- Shanmuganathan, S. *Responsiveness to People's Needs in Resettlement Planning: Lessons from Experiences in Sri Lanka*. Bangkok: Asian Institute of Technology, 1978.
- Silk, A. *A Shanty Town in South Africa: The Story of the Modderdam*. Johannesburg: Rovnan Press, 1971.
- Smith, D.L. ed. *Training Human Settlement Workers in Eastern and Southern Africa*. Proceedings of workshop in Lusaka, Zambia, Sept/Oct. 1981. Lusaka: American Friends Service Committee; Nairobi: Mazingira Institute, 1982.
- Smith, P. *Site Value Taxation*. Land Policy Round Table Case Studies Series No. 301. Washington, D.C.: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1978.
- Solomon, L.M. *Leasing Public Land: A City's Investment in the Future*. Land Policy Round Table Policy Analysis Series No. 202. Washington, D.C.: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1978.
- Soni, P. "Self-Help Planning Construction and Management in a Site and Service Project in Nairobi, Kenya." *Ekistics*, No. 286 (Jan/Feb 1981): 53-64.
- Stokes, B. "Global Housing Prospects: The Resource Constraints." *Worldwatch* Paper, 46, September 1981.
- Stren, R.E. *Housing the Poor in Urban Africa. Policy, Politics, and Bureaucracy in Mombasa*. Berkeley: Institute for International Studies, 1978.

- "Underdevelopment, Urban Squatting, and the State Bureaucracy: A Case Study of Tanzania." *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (1982): 67-91.
- Survey of Slums and Squatter Settlements*. Development Studies Series, Vol. 1. Nairobi: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 1982.
- Tanphiphat, S. *Immediate Measures for Increasing Land Supply for Urban Poor in Thailand*, International Seminar on Land for Housing the Poor, Asian Institute of Technology, Bangkok, 1982.
- Third World Planning Review*, Vol.5, No.3, August (1983).
- Vol.6, No.2, May (1984).
- Training for Improving Low-income Settlements* (CHS/R/79-1). Nairobi: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 1978.
- Trivelli, P. *Access to Land by the Urban Poor: An Overview of the Latin American Experience*. Occasional Paper L7. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982.
- Turner, A., ed. *The Cities of the Poor: Settlement Planning in Developing Countries*. London: Croom Helm, 1980.
- Turner, J.F.C. *Housing by People*. London: Marion Boyars, 1976.
- Turner, J., and Mangin, W. "The Barriada Movement." *Progressive Architecture* (May 1968).
- Tyrwhitt, J. ed., "Housing Policies, Part One: Positive Aspects of Squatter Settlements." *Ekistics*, Vol. 48, No. 286 (Jan/Feb 1981).
- United Nations. *Global Review of Human Settlements*. 2 Vols. New York: Pergamon, 1976.
- *Land for Housing the Poor*. Seminar of Experts, Tallberg, Sweden, 1983.
- *Report of Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements* (A.CONF.70/15,1976). New York: United Nations, 1976.
- United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), *Survey of Slum and Squatter Settlements*. Development Study Series, Vol.1, 1982.
- United Nations Centre for Human Settlements. *Promoting Organized Self-Help through Co-operative Modes of Participation* (HS/37/84/E). Nairobi, 1984.
- United Nations Commission on Human Settlements (Habitat). *Land for Human Settlements*. (HS/C/6/3) 1983.
- United Nations Commission on Human Settlements (Habitat), *Upgrading of Inner-City Slums*. Nairobi: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 1984.
- UNICEF. "Social Planning with the Urban Poor: New Government Strategies." *Assignment Children*, Vol. 57/58 (1982).
- University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements. *Land for Human Settlements* (CON/HAB/82/011) 1982.
- Upgrading of Urban Slum and Squatter Areas* (HS/C/3/8). Nairobi: United Nations Commission on Human Settlements, 1980.
- Urban Land Policy* Report of the IFHP Seminar in Goteborg, Sweden, International Federation for Housing and Planning, May, 1979.
- Urban Land Policy, with Special Reference to Slums and Squatter Settlements* (Draft 20/8/82). New York: Habitat International Council (NGO Committee on Human Settlements), 1982.
- Urban Land Policy Issues and Opportunities*. World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 283, Vol. 112. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1978.

- Van Nostrand, J. *Old Naledi, the Village Becomes a Town: An Outline of the Old Naledi Squatter Upgrading Project, Gabarone, Botswana*. Toronto: Lorimer, 1982.
- Ward, P.M. "Financing Land Acquisition for Self-Build Housing Schemes." *Third World Planning Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (February 1981): 7-20.
- Whitehead, C.M.E., "The Rationale for Government Intervention." In H.B. Dunkerley, ed. *Urban Land Policy: Issues and Opportunities*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Wilsner, P., and Righter, R., eds. *The Exploding Cities*. London: Andre Deutsch, 1975.
- "Workshop on Integrated Cooperatives for Satisfying the Basic Need of Shelter in Slum and Squatter Areas." *Habitat*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (August, 1981).
- World Bank. *The Urban Edge: Facts and Ideas*. Vol.6, No.11, December (1982).
- World Population Prospects As Assessed in 1980*. Population Studies No. 78. New York: United Nations, 1981.
- Yahya, S.S. *Urban Land Policy in Kenya*. Stockholm: Institute of Real Estate Economics, Technical Highschool of Stockholm, 1980.
- . *House Registration Handbook: A Model for Registering Houses and Plots in Unplanned Settlements*. Urban Development Department Technical Paper No. 4. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1982.
- . *Land for Human Settlements: A Review of the African Experience*. Occasional Paper L6. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Centre for Human Settlements, 1982.
- Yeh, H.K., and Laquian, A.A., eds. *Housing Asia's Millions: Problems, Policies and Prospects for Low-Cost Housing in Southeast Asia*. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 1979.
- You, N. "Alternative Strategies for Human Development: Some Chinese Experiments in a Quest for Agropolitan Space." *Third World Planning Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (February 1981): 7

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people contributed freely and substantively to the research, development and completion of the book. The initial impetus came through the task of preparing Canada's report on "Land for Human Settlements" as the major theme paper for the Sixth Session of the UN Commission on Human Settlements held in Helsinki in 1983. The author headed a research team charged with preparing the report that relied heavily on the efforts and insights of Peter Boothroyd, Adjunct Professor, who acted as Senior Research Associate, and Derek Murphy, graduate student, both of the School of Community and Regional Planning at the University of British Columbia; both deserve considerable credit for the development of concepts and in ferreting out the details of relevant case materials. The essence of this report was presented at Helsinki in May 1983 by the author as member of the Canadian Delegation.

Criticism and detailed advice was provided by Professor William Doebele of Harvard University who read an early draft of the manuscript. Professor Shlomo Angel, Asian Institute of Technology, Bangkok, also contributed early advice and guidance. Penetrating analysis on specific elements was generously contributed by Professors Terence McGee, Brahm Wiesman, and Clyde Weaver of UBC, as well as Professor Shue Tuk Wong of Simon Fraser University, Fred Dawes of CIDA, and James Carney of the UN Centre for Human Settlements, North American Office. Professor Saad Yahya, Dean of the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Nairobi, and Professor Pablo Trivelli of the Universidad Catolica de Chile, contributed specific information on Africa and Latin America. The author is deeply indebted to all of them.

A significant and incisive role was played by Arthur Fallick as Research Assistant and editor of the final manuscript. His analytical skills and editorial patience are largely responsible for the successful completion of this manuscript.

The process of production of the original research report was in the hands of Dr. Knute Buttedahl, Deputy Director of the UBC Centre for Human Settlements, who also organised the illustrations for the final manuscript. Unremitting labour beyond the call of duty was contributed by Shirley Marcus, the UBC Centre's Secretary, ably assisted by Phyllis Eleazar and Michele Coulombe.

Last but not least, the original research was made possible by a grant from Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, while the Canadian International



Development Agency provided funds for an important Expert Group seminar, at which many initial concepts developed in this book were discussed, dissected and re-built. The UN Centre for Human Settlements, Nairobi, contributed important funds for the initial study and resources that helped gain access to case studies in the developing countries. The University of British Columbia allowed the author the time necessary to develop his ideas and prepare the original draft manuscript through a short term sabbatical leave. Without these and other important financial supports the book would never have been completed. The author records his appreciation to all and acknowledges their support and encouragement with pleasure.

Vancouver, April 1985

## PHOTO CREDITS

1. United Nations/FAO
2. United Nations/WOLFF
3. EGAR
4. United Nations
5. United Nations/J.P. Laffonte
6. United Nations
7. United Nations