

UNITED NATIONS



ECONOMIC
AND
SOCIAL COUNCIL



GENERAL
E/CN.12/URB/26/Rev.1
UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/26/Rev.1
29 February 1960

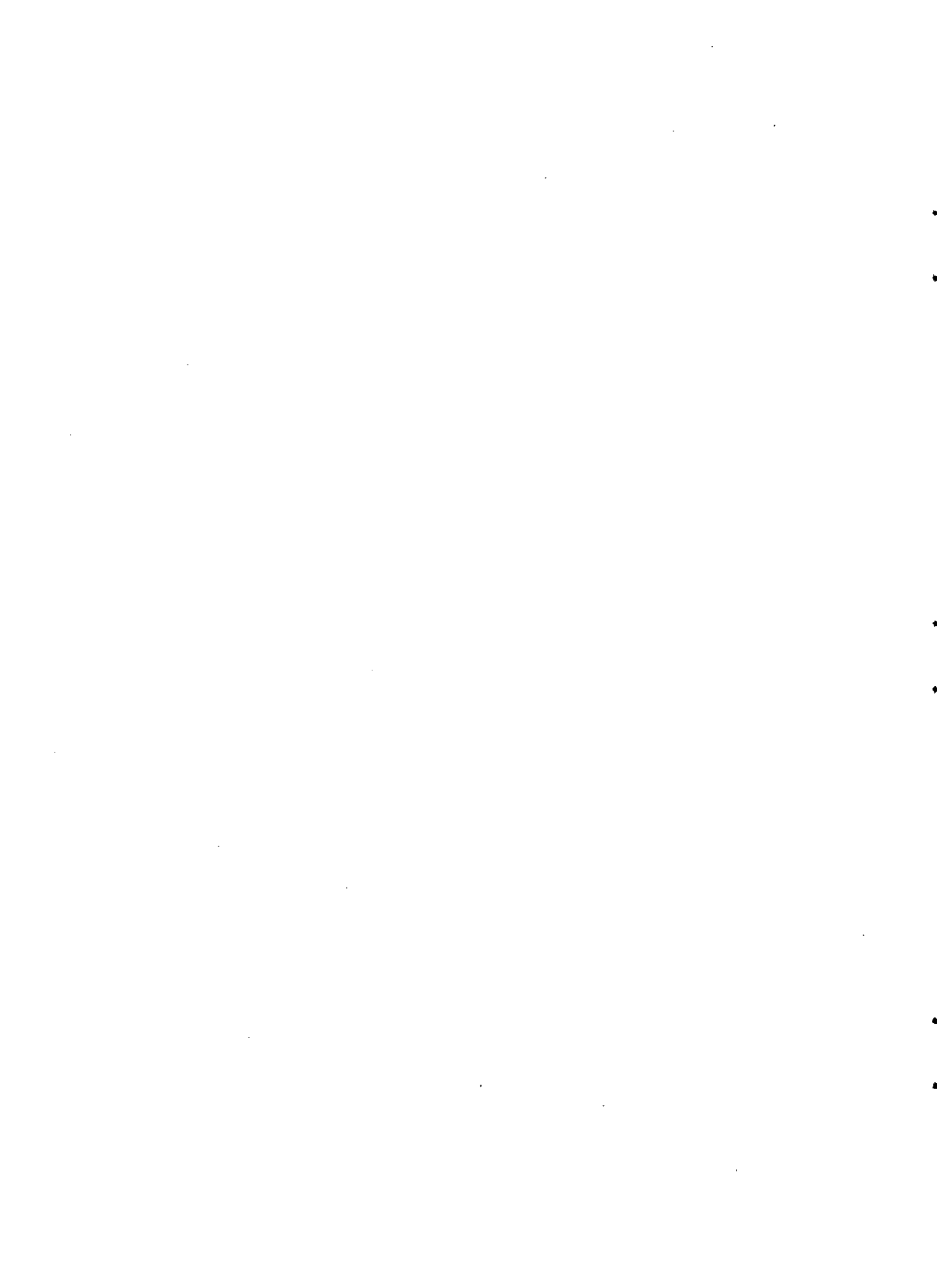
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: SPANISH/ENGLISH

SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA

Sponsored jointly by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs and the secretariat of the Economic Commission for Latin America, in collaboration with the International Labour Office and the Organization of American States

Santiago, Chile, 6-18 July 1959

REPORT OF THE
SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA



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INTRODUCTION

1. From 6 to 18 July 1959, a Seminar on Urbanization Problems in Latin America was held at the Headquarters of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), in Santiago, Chile. It was jointly sponsored by the Bureau of Social Affairs of the United Nations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the ECLA secretariat, in collaboration with the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the Organization of American States (OAS).

2. The Seminar was held in response to the recommendations formulated by the Economic and Social Council, which in resolution 585 H (XX) requested the Secretary-General to give "special attention to the problems of peoples undergoing rapid transition especially through urbanization". In the second Report on the World Social Situation^{1/}, published in 1957, the Secretary-General included a study on urbanization problems in under-developed regions. After examining this report, the Economic and Social Council, in resolution 663 H (XXIV), urged "the evolution of integrated policies in the field of urbanization to be developed with due regard to both rural and urban aspects of the problem". In the second International survey of programmes of social development, published in January 1959^{2/}, the policy currently applied in this field was analysed.

3. As an additional method of implementing the Council's recommendations and with a view to study and bringing to the attention of Governments the problems originating in the urbanization process, the United Nations, in co-operation with UNESCO, took steps to sponsor a series of regional seminars, the first of which, covering the region of interest to the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), was held in August 1956 at Bangkok, Thailand. The relevant report was published by UNESCO.^{3/}

1/ United Nations publication, Sales No.: 57.IV.3.

2/ United Nations publication, Sales No.: 59.IV.12.

3/ See Urbanization in Asia and the Far East. Proceedings of the Joint UN/UNESCO Seminar, Bangkok, 8-18 August 1956, Calcutta, India, 1957.

/4. The Santiago

4. The Santiago Seminar, which is the second in the series mentioned in the preceding paragraph, apart from analysing the situation and prospects with respect to the urbanization problem in Latin America, also reflects ECLA's interest in determining the relationship existing between urbanization and the industrialization and economic development process.

5. The present report is divided into three parts. The first gives a brief account of the organization of the work of the Seminar; the second presents the report of the Rapporteurs relating to the topics discussed at the meetings; and the third gives the text of the conclusions reached by the Seminar in the course of its proceedings. Lastly, a complete list of the participants, the programme of work and the list of background documents are included in three annexes.

/ORGANIZATION OF

ORGANIZATION OF THE SEMINAR

Opening and closing meetings

6. The Seminar on Urbanization Problems in Latin America opened its proceedings on 6 July 1959. At the inaugural meeting an address was delivered by His Excellency Pablo Pérez Zañartu, Minister of Public Works of Chile, who pointed out that "the rapid rate of growth of our urban population has had serious human and social repercussions deriving from the need for the mass assimilation and adaptation of rural dwellers to the new patterns imposed by town life". In welcoming those present on behalf of his Government, he declared his "conviction that the conclusions and recommendations arising out of this Seminar will be of positive value to our country's institutions as well as, undoubtedly, to all the other participants, as a guide to effective action".^{4/}

7. Mr. Celestino Sañudo, the representative of the Organization of American States, read a message from the Secretary-General of that organization, Mr. José A. Mora, wishing the Seminar every success.^{5/}

8. Mr. H.M. Phillips, on behalf of the Director General of UNESCO, thanked Chile for its hospitality and ECLA for its co-operation in the preparations for the Seminar, as well as other specialized agencies for their participation. He pointed out that "the social and economic implications of the process of urbanization are making themselves felt all over the world, from villages in Africa and Asia, which are turning rapidly into townships, to the great cities of the world..... which are still seeking to control their expansion". He referred to UNESCO's interest in the study of the urbanization process and its conviction of the need for the adoption of practical measures in this field. The problems concerned "call for an integrated approach involving both multi-disciplinary study and many-sided action".^{6/}

^{4/} For the complete text of the address, see Information document No.4.

^{5/} See Information document No.7.

^{6/} See Information document No.5.

9. Lastly, on

9. Lastly, on behalf of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Executive Secretary of ECLA, Mr. Gustavo Durán, of the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs, delivered an address in which, with reference to previous seminars on the same subject and to the general validity of their conclusions, he stressed that the history of the Latin American republics "has followed a different course from that of the Asian or African countries, and, obviously, their economic and social structure is not the same. The fact that two or more countries in one region and another have attained a similar stage of economic development does not mean that what is applicable to one of them can be effectively applied, without substantial modification, to the rest; and even if the nature and magnitude of the problems were identical, the environment in which they develop would still be different, and so would the special combinations in which they occur. Naturally, each new combination calls for a new method and approach. For, in addition, what is needed is to solve these problems not individually and in isolation, but in the aggregate and in terms of their mutual inter-relationships". In this connexion, "it is not enough to promote more and better housing, channel the expansion of urban population on rational lines or develop such-and-such a service commensurately with the town's growing requirements. Although of course all this is involved, what is most important must be looked for at a higher level, in the smooth co-ordination of such measures and services, the establishment of a strict order of priorities and the determination of the necessary financial resources". What is more, "the measures adopted in the centres in question must be accompanied by others of a similar or complementary nature at the national and not merely at the provincial or area level. Town and area planning.....are integral parts of.....programming".^{7/}

10. At the closing meeting, held on 18 July 1959, present report and

^{7/} See Information document No.6.

/the conclusions

the conclusions contained therein were adopted. Statements were made inter alia, by the representatives of the United Nations and UNESCO. The Seminar ended with a brief statement by Mr. Héctor Mardones Restat, the representative of Chile and Chairman of the meeting.

Membership and attendance

11. The Seminar was attended by experts designated by the Governments of the following countries: Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, Panama, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela, and by representatives of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the World Health Organization (WHO), as well as of the Organization of American States (OAS).^{8/}
12. The United Nations designated the following experts: Mr. Luis Dorich, Mr. Diego Lordello de Mello, Mr. Wilbert E. Moore and Mr. Félix Sánchez B.
13. UNESCO designated Mr. Herbert Blumer, Mr. Gino Germani, Mr. Philip Hauser, Mr. José Matos Mar, Mr. José Medina Echavarría and Mr. Carlos M. Rama.
14. Various international institutions, and some in Latin American countries - especially Chile -, sent the observers whose names are given in annex I, section 6.

Organization of the work

Election of officers

15. At the opening meeting the chair was taken by His Excellency Pablo Pérez Zañartu, Minister of Public Works. Mr. Héctor Mardones Restat, the representative of Chile, presided at the first and last working meetings. At the other meetings the chairmen were Mr. Emmanuel Vergara (Panama), Mr. Mohammed Yampey (Paraguay), Mr. Lauro Olimpio Laura (Argentina), Mr. José Sust Méndez (Cuba), Mr. Julió C. Roig (Uruguay), Mr. Ricardo Anaya (Bolivia) and Mr. Manuel Orellana Cardona (Guatemala).

^{8/} See annex I of the present report for a complete list of the participants.

16. Mr. José Medina Echavarría and Mr. Philip Hauser were appointed Rapporteurs of the Seminar.

17. Mr. Gustavo Durán, Special Adviser in charge of the Survey, Research and Development Branch, Bureau of Social Affairs of the United Nations, and Mr. H.M. Phillips, Chief, Economic and Social Questions, Department of Social Sciences, UNESCO, acted as Secretaries to the Seminar.

Programme of the Seminar

18. The following topics were discussed at the Seminar:^{9/}

Basic lines of thought

Chairman: Emmanuel Vergara (Panama)
Moderator: José Medina Echavarría, Director, Escuela Latinoamericana de Sociología

The demographic situation

Chairman: Mohammed Yampey (Paraguay)
Moderator: Carmen Miró, Director, Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía

Urbanization and economic development

Chairman: Lauro Olimpico Laura (Argentina)
Moderator: Jorge Ahumada, Director, Economic Development Division of ECLA

Urban manpower

Chairman: José Sust Méndez (Cuba)
Moderator: Wilbert E. Moore, Professor of Sociology, Princeton University

Problems of urbanism

Chairman: Julio C. Roig (Uruguay)
Moderator: Luis Derich T., Director, National Planning and Urbanism Bureau of Peru (Oficina Nacional de Planeamiento y Urbanismo del Perú)

^{9/} See annex II of the present report for the complete programme.

Effects on social structure

Chairman: Ricardo Anaya (Bolivia)
Moderator: Gino Germani, Director, Department of
Sociology, University of Buenos Aires

Administrative questions

Chairman: Manuel Orellana Cardona (Guatemala)
Moderator: Diogo Lordello de Mello, Assistant Director,
Instituto Brasileiro de Administraçao
Municipal

Conclusions and plan of action

Chairman: Héctor Mardones Restat (Chile)
Moderator: Philip Hauser, Chairman, Department of
Sociology, University of Chicago

Background documents

19. The background documents used at the Seminar - including the working papers distributed prior to its inauguration and those presented in the course of the proceedings - are reviewed in annex III of the present report. These background documents comprise studies on the various economic and social problems presented by the urbanization process in its more general aspects, as well as studies of another type focused on particular cases.

20. The Seminar took note of the fact that its report would be presented to the Economic Commission for Latin America through the latter's secretariat at the seventh session of the Committee of the Whole, as well as to the Social Commission at its thirteenth session, and that UNESCO would communicate it to its member States. The relevant opinions expressed by ECLA and the Social Commission will be transmitted in due course to the Economic and Social Council.

Part Two

RAPORTEURS' REPORT

I. BASIC LINES OF THOUGHT

1. Introduction

21. The so-called urbanization process is one of the commonest present-day phenomena. It is hardly possible to point to any part or region of the world which is not faced in greater or lesser degree with the considerable changes in living and organizational patterns resulting from the growth not only of its towns but also of its spreading zones of urban influence.

22. That such a development should have aroused maximum interest on the part of the international agencies best able to promote study and knowledge of the situation, is self-evident. The United Nations on its own account, or in conjunction with UNESCO, has therefore sponsored a series of seminars for the study of the topic, one of them being the important Seminar held in Santiago, Chile. The analysis of the complex phenomenon of urbanization in Latin America, which is the object of this Seminar as set forth in its programme of work,^{10/} has of course an immediate purpose, namely, that of drawing conclusions not only as to the most important matters calling for research or propagation, but also as to the set of administrative measures of every kind which seem best calculated to solve or intelligently forestall the most pressing problems.

24. It would be a mistake, however, to lose sight of another objective rather more remote or indirect, but of marked importance over the long term: that of helping simultaneously to develop international social science and to incite Latin American educational and research centres to accord the subject its due need of attention. On the one hand, what may be broadly termed "urban sociology" is at present passing through a crucial phase of growth, attributable to its exponents' conviction that the previous national or local approach must be superseded by comparative research on more general bases. On the other hand, this same branch of study has had few to cultivate it in Latin America, because specialization in this field requires more than mere assimilation of the doctrines of others; it entails the formulation of

10/ See annex II.

an appropriate theory through empirical investigation of the data themselves. The secondary results, so to speak, of this Seminar may be of great value on account of the empirical research that it contributes and, by analogy, encourages, as well as on account of the factual information relating to the real situation in Latin America which it assembles, and which may serve as basis for hypotheses and general conclusions not always identical with those at present held to be universally valid.

25. It should be noted in this connexion that, from the scientific standpoint, one of the most interesting results of the Bangkok Seminar consists precisely in its demonstration of how some of the generalizations which, in the light of past experience in Europe and the United States, seemed most unshakable, broke down in face of the actual situation in Asia. In other words, the lesson to be learned from the Seminar in question was that a critical, wary and vigilant attitude should be adopted towards doctrines formulated in very different economic environments.

26. Nevertheless, it will not be out of place to voice what is a mere conjecture, and cannot, of course, be put forward as a precise hypothesis. Latin America's experience of the urbanization phenomenon, although it may draw away from some of the most familiar European or United States models, will not necessarily be as distant from them as the results registered in Asia, and will perhaps prove to stand halfway between the two. It must be remembered that Latin America constitutes a centuries old urban civilization that only now is undergoing a rapid process of transformation marked by the acquisition of new characteristics. While there is certainly room for study of the longstanding contradiction between the basic agrarian structure of the region as a whole and politico-cultural significance of its chief towns - always the vehicle for the transmission of universal values -, it is equally undeniable that there is a historical difference between the formation and weight of influence of towns in the two zones of Iberian colonization.

27. But, in the last analysis, whatever the repercussions of these facts, which could be followed up only in a detailed study, Latin America is a region where the pre-industrial towns were formed in a very special fashion, most of them, in the Hispanic zone, having been formally and deliberately founded. These special features of their evolution and development have inevitably exerted some influence up to the present time, when economic progress is bringing about radical and sweeping changes in the old module. Thus no one will be surprised, for example, at the impossibility of applying, in connexion with a scientific and practical topic such as the ecology of Latin American towns, the guiding principles laid down by the classic school of Chicago, or at the prevailing conviction that, so far, at any rate, the principles governing the ecology in question have been different. What is valid for this type of research might perhaps be so, mutatis mutandis, for other phenomena, still as a result of the past history of urbanization in the Latin American countries.

/2. Essential

2. Essential concepts

28. Given the universality of the phenomenon under study at the Seminar and the international character of contemporary science, it is advisable to begin by standardizing certain essential concepts; in other words, the importance of knowledge and communication, the need for instruments whereby comparison can be facilitated, make it advisable that the concepts used should admit of no ambiguity, even though their conventional nature be constantly recognized.

29. This applies first and foremost to the key concept of "urbanization", which has, of course, a dual significance and is used in conflicting senses in ordinary language, but which for present purposes should be given the following very precise connotation: the proportion of total population which lives in towns or urban areas within a specific unit. What matters in this connexion is a country's degree of urbanization, irrespective of the type of towns it possesses, since it is this degree or proportion which in one way or another figures in relation to other economic and cultural phenomena.

30. The same is true of the distinction between the terms "rural" and "urban", where a criterion may be adopted which, although by no means perfect and unassailable, nevertheless facilitates the use of such data as are most accessible and, furthermore, most easily comparable. In this context, the technico-statistical and demographic publications of the United Nations define built-up areas with over 20,000 inhabitants as "urban", not because this is the ideal demographic definition, but for the reasons adduced above; or, to put it another way, without failing to recognize that the different definitions used by the various countries may correspond more closely to their particular characteristics.

31. Again, when a definition of an urbanized area is required, it also seems increasingly advisable to dismiss those aspects of the concept which relate to the political unit, in favour of the expression in statistical terms of the area's genuine function as an economic unit. An "urbanized area" is generally understood to mean the town in question itself plus the contiguous built-up area. The more extensive area surrounding a large city, which conditions the activities of the inhabitants of the area is nowadays called a "metropolitan area".

32. Consequently, the population of towns will vary in greater or lesser degree according to which of the concepts indicated is applied. A single example will suffice. In 1950 the city of Chicago, considered as a political unit, covered an area of 213 square miles and had 3.6 million inhabitants; on the other hand, the urbanized area covered 638 square miles, with a population of 4.8 million. The metropolitan area, in turn, comprised an area of 3,600 square miles and a population of 5.5 million.

33. In view of the rapid rate of growth of the towns, there are some who point to the emergence in the future of conurbations formed by large metropolitan areas, already termed the "metropolis" of tomorrow. Signs of this development may be noted in various parts of the world, although it is most clearly manifest in the long string of towns extending between Boston and Washington.

34. There is an English word which has taken root in the vocabulary of science in recent years and which cannot be transplanted directly into Spanish. The term referred to is "urbanism", which denotes very precisely the pattern of living typical of the town, and which, in Latin America, generally means the whole set of activities connected with physical town planning. It will, however, be readily understood that, although the word cannot be directly borrowed, it is used to allude to what is specifically characteristic of urban culture in all its psychological and social aspects.

3. The town from the standpoint of its history

35. From the earliest village settlements to the great metropolitan cities of today stretches a long period of the history of mankind, and an interpretation of that history which is centred upon the town itself would entail a break-down of the whole set of complicated factors - political, military, economic, religious, etc. - which permitted its emergence and growth. In the abstract language of science, the city would thus be shown as the variable dependent upon this intricate complex.

36. Nevertheless, in the chronology that dates back to man's first appearance on the earth, urban life is unquestionably a relatively belated phenomenon. The first settlements that might be described as of the urban type came into being in the neolithic age, when man grew a few plants for his

own use and tamed certain animals, and managed to establish himself in little villages. On the other hand, the earliest towns of over 100,000 inhabitants did not appear until Roman times, when a special economic and military structure rendered their existence possible. If the slavery coastal trade and the availability of agricultural surpluses constituted the economic aspect of this microcosm, of equally decisive importance for its maintenance was the existence of the Roman legion and its material and administrative background. Consequently - and may it serve as an example and a reminder - Rome declined, and with it the culture of the ancient world, when the bases of this politic and economic structure were modified.

37. Not until the nineteenth century do towns of one million inhabitants emerge, by virtue of a new and different combination of political, economic and social factors based on the revolutionizing of the instruments of science and technique. Indeed, such towns could not have thrived had their development not been contemporary with the establishment of political stability, international markets, and the requisite production, communication and transport systems for the organization and maintenance of their large populations. The immediate importance of these considerations lies simply in the reminder they afford that, since the emergence of large towns is a relatively recent phenomenon, there is nothing surprising in the circumstance that we are still living in a period of transition in which no aspect of the problems deriving from the general process of urbanization has as yet been fully solved.

38. As has occasionally been done, towns can be classified historically from a wide variety of points of view, which do not exhaustively cover their wealth of special features. This is equally applicable to the history of the world and to that of Latin America. Perhaps, however, from the standpoint of current problems there may be no more useful typology than that which determines their characteristics according to whether the town concerned is pre-industrial, industrial or metropolitan. This, like other typologies, fails to capture every nuance of the existing reality, but it lays marked emphasis on the technological and economic factors which carry the greatest weight in present conditions and by means of which the best outline picture can be given of Latin America's immediate past and its present situation.

39. The pre-industrial town is undoubtedly of great cultural significance. It is the seat of Government, the country's religious centre and the home of scientific and spiritual creative activity; but from the economic standpoint it is only very loosely connected with the territory that provides it with sustenance, and conducts an incipient inter-area trade, without showing a clearly-defined territorial division of labour.

40. The industrial town, in contrast, is characterized by the existence of this territorial division of labour, organized around its manufacturing production. As has justly been observed, the technical basis of this organization is the socially centripetal force of steam-driven machinery and its transmission gear and belt system. The metropolitan city displays some of the same characteristics as the industrial town, in intensified form, but, on the other hand, it is based on a different technology. Steam-driven machinery is succeeded by the combustion engine and electricity, which figure in all their fields of application - production, communications and transport - as a socially centrifugal force which once again allows the population to spread out towards the countryside.

41. To sum up, the foregoing is a condensed account in which the history of the modern city appears as a correlative of the so-called industrial revolution and its successive phases. Its essential point is twofold: not only does nineteenth-century technique permit built-up areas much larger than those of the preceding century, but also the fundamental problem of our time is a legacy from the past, and still consists in the adjustment of a whole physical and social structure built up in the nineteenth century to the requirements and possibilities of present-day technique.

42. Thus, setting aside for the moment all the negative aspects that must be acknowledged to exist, there can be no doubt that the town resulting from this entire process of evolution is, as an ecological manifestation, the largest and most efficient production and consumption unit that man has ever conceived. Among those of its characteristics which have been most severely criticized from certain humanitarian points of view are precisely those which have played the most decisive role; by virtue of its large size, population density and congestion the economic progress of the more advanced countries became a possibility. Conflicts and hindrances due to space were reduced to a minimum, the division of labour was intensified, and external economies and economies of scale were brought more effectively into play, the outcome being

4. The town as a generator of change

43. If attention has hitherto been concentrated on the possibility of studying the town as the product of various factors, differing in potency according to circumstances and periods of history, for other analytical purposes the picture must be viewed in reverse, and the town examined for its own sake, as a social force whose influence is capable of affecting human life in the most widely varying ways. The town is now postulated as the independent variable of a whole comprehensive social process.

44. In this connexion, its most far-reaching consequences is the urban culture to which it gives rise. As regards its material aspect, this culture creates a technical environment which must be constantly maintained and which, once it exists, facilitates by the incentives it affords the process of urbanization itself. On the other hand, in under-developed countries, with very limited resources for the most urgently needed investment, the economic infrastructure required for this technical environment - transport facilities, electricity, sewage, etc. - confronts the town planner with serious additional difficulties, since he has to tackle the problem of how to provide the services considered most essential. It is therefore easy to see that physical town planning encounters greater obstacles in developing countries than those which are economically more advanced.

45. The psycho-social aspect of urban culture manifests itself in a new type of personality, that is, in a class of human being with a special attitude towards the world and his relations with the rest of mankind. The contrast between the rural and the urban mentality is the source of virtually all the difficulties attendant upon the urbanization process, especially when this takes place too rapidly. There is no need to go into minute details as to the nature of this contrast, for the purposes of this Seminar all that is necessary is to recall its essential psychological outlines. The receptive attitude to foreigners, the emotional detachment and the capacity for abstract thought which are typical of the town-dweller are in marked contrast to the xenophobia, the strong emotional ties and the directly concrete habits of thought which are characteristic of the countryman, and which make it difficult for him to adapt himself quickly to the stereotyped and impersonal relationships of the big city.

/46. Lastly

46. Lastly, urban culture represents a permanent focal point for innovation and creation. Where the most active support for such innovation is to be found - which is the most progressive stratum of society, for example - depends upon specific circumstances which vary in every case. Here the connexion with economic development as a phenomenon of change and innovation is self-evident.

47. However, those repercussions of the town as a dynamic force which have attracted most attention and which are most striking in every rapid urbanization process, relate to its disruptive effects on traditional social controls, evidenced in many symptoms of social and personal disorganization. The appearance of anomic elements in certain phases of the urbanization process has always been so patently serious as easily to account for the almost exclusive interest of the sociologist in such phenomena. Nevertheless, it is recognized nowadays that, while these "pathological" consequences of life in the big city deserve careful attention, this does not necessarily imply neglect of the study of those organizational forces which the city itself possesses and which tend to stabilize human life in clearly defined and assimilable patterns.

48. The foregoing considerations all converge upon one fact, which justifies the work of the Seminar and constitutes at the present time one of the most ringing challenges to creative capacity. The development of urbanization in the more advanced countries was haphazard, regulated only by spontaneous market forces. Its successes are apparent at first glance, but so are its failures and the high price that has been paid in human suffering. Today, especially in the underdeveloped countries, there is everywhere a crying need for the process to be so channelled that intelligent and far-sighted planning may reduce all its negative aspects to a minimum.

II. THE DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION

1. The town and documentation

49. In discussing the history of the formation of sociology in the towns of various European and American countries, the demographer and sociologist Louis Chevalier recently stressed the close relationship between certain crucial moments in urban development, the problems with which they confront the administrative services, and the assembly of the necessary documentation, especially of a statistical type. Thus, while on the one hand the pressing practical needs arising out of a rapid urbanization process have always been an incentive to the collection of such data as are essential for a social description of towns, on the other hand, unless this documentation is more and more meticulously prepared, it is impossible to make intelligent and far-sighted provision for the metamorphoses of a constantly changing reality.

50. In this respect the situation in Latin America is no exception. The fundamental demographic facts are by no means unexplored country, but it is still necessary to improve background documentation in its diverse statistical aspects. This is a task that must be carried out in the next few years.

51. Hence it must be stated that the following remarks take into account primarily census data. Most of the Latin American countries took their most recent population censuses in 1950, and a major proposition of the data must therefore be considered in relation to that year. But this circumstance does not in principle invalidate the conclusions to be presented. It is true that in the last few years urbanization has continued to advance, and has in many cases accelerated its rate of development. But the characteristics of the urban population, its demographic features, seem to have undergone little or no change in recent years.

52. Of course, attention will be devoted here only to over-all trends; it will not be possible to note the exceptions occurring in this or that special case.

2. Degree of urbanization

53. In this connexion, the document on Demographic aspects of urbanization in Latin America^{11/} includes various basic tables. In the first of these, three urbanization indices are given for each country: (a) the percentage of the total population living in towns of over 20,000 inhabitants at the time of the last census; (b) the percentage of the total population living in towns of over 100,000 inhabitants at the same date; and (c) the percentage of urban population, in accordance with the official definition in force in each country - there being no standard definition applicable in Latin America. Any one of the three series of figures may be used as a satisfactory means of assessing the degree of urbanization. Correlation among these values is in fact very high.

54. To begin with, as regards their degree of urbanization, there are five countries which are outstanding for their high index figures: Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Cuba and Venezuela. Some of them are highly urbanized, and that not only in comparison with other countries in Latin America or even in the rest of the world. Nevertheless, this group of countries cannot be considered representative of Latin America as a whole, for which the 1950 urbanization index was estimated at 25 per cent; that is, one out of every four inhabitants lived in a town with a population of over 20,000. Even so, Latin America's degree of urbanization is higher than that registered in other under-developed regions of the world.

55. On the other hand, individual analysis of the various countries reveals striking differences. Central America and the Caribbean zone are less highly urbanized than South America. There are countries like Haiti where barely 5 per cent of the population lives in towns of 20,000 inhabitants, and others, like Argentina, where the corresponding proportion rises to 48.3 per cent.

^{11/} See E/CN.12/URB/18 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/18.

3. Rate of

3. Rate of growth

56. The evolution of urban population, i.e. the population living in towns of over 20,000 inhabitants, must now be indicated in relation to that of the population in smaller centres and in rural areas. The research for the above mentioned study was based on all the population censuses available in each country. In the first place, the total number of persons living in each house according to the last census, in towns of over 20,000 inhabitants, was determined. Next a study was made of the evolution of the population of such towns, of the total population and of the population in rural areas and smaller centres. The inter-census rates established for each of these sectors permitted the formulation of the comparison which is of interest here. The difference in the growth of the population of large towns (over 100,000 inhabitants) and towns of average size (from 20,000 to 100,000) was also analyzed.

57. The results may be briefly summarized as follows:

- (a) The total population of Latin America shows a high fertility rate and, consequently, a rapid rate of natural growth; this phenomenon has striking repercussions on the region's intensity of economic development and of urbanization.
- (b) The growth trend of urban population climbs still higher than that of the total population. In many instances, the urban growth figure is twice as high as that of the total population, some cases in point being quite impressive, like that of Venezuela, where it is estimated that the population of three towns will be doubled within the short space of ten years. Apart from the problems arising from the need to maintain and improve the level of living of all the inhabitants, such a rate of growth adds to the difficulties existing in these towns with respect to housing, transport facilities, sanitary services, etc.
- (c) The urban growth rate itself has been more rapid in the large towns (100,000 inhabitants and over) than in towns of average size. It has been particularly striking in the case of the capitals of most of the countries.

4. Demographic characteristics

58. The main demographic characteristics of the urban population, as they can be deduced from the comparative analysis of a country's total population, must now be cursorily reviewed. The demographic features of interest here are the following: (a) ratio between the number of men and women; (b) fertility rate; (c) composition of the population by civil status; (d) mortality; (e) proportion of foreign inhabitants; (f) population structure by age groups; and (g) literacy.

59. The masculinity ratio - i.e., the number of men per 100 women - is without exception decidedly lower for the urban than for the total population of each of the Latin American countries. This situation reflects the predominance of women in internal migration from the countryside to the town. Again without exception, the urban population has a lower fertility rate than the total population. Nevertheless, the fertility rate in many Latin American countries is high even in the urban indices.

60. The composition of the urban population by civil status differs significantly from that of the total population. In comparison with the latter, the inhabitants of Latin American towns include a higher proportion of single persons, a lower proportion of married people, and a much smaller one of free consensual unions. All these differences undoubtedly tend to make the urban fertility rate lower than that of the total population. The proportion of divorced and separated persons is higher in towns. As regards the widowed state, the conclusion to be reached is an odd one. As a rule there is a higher proportion of widows among the urban than among the total population, but the reverse is true of widowers. There are several causes which may account for this phenomenon. For example, the death of the husband may be the reason why many women migrate to the towns; the mortality rate among men may be higher in towns than in the country; and the nuptiality rates of widowed people may differ significantly according to sex and sector (urban or rural). There are not enough data to hand for this subject to be studied in as minute detail as would be needful to establish which of these explanations is the true one, or, perhaps, to discover some other reason for the difference.

61. Vital statistics and population censuses are equally inadequate for purposes of ascertaining whether there is or is not a difference between the urban and rural mortality rates. Some indications suggest that the mortality rate among women is lower in urban than in rural areas, and this seems to be true at any rate in certain towns in specific countries. On the other hand, there is a lack of data on which to base the assertion that the same is true of the mortality rate among men. Furthermore, it seems logical that there should be no difference between the urban mortality rate and the average figure for rural areas. There are certainly several factors tending to make the urban lower than the average mortality rate among which may be mentioned the better sanitary services available in towns, the greater facilities for medical attendance, and the higher level of education of the population. But there are also other factors which may exert an opposite influence, such as overcrowding, poor diet, and the greater wear-and-tear of urban life. In some countries - and in some towns within any one country - the former factors may perhaps predominate over the latter and, consequently, the urban mortality rate may fall below the average rate. In other instances, possibly, the reverse may take place. In any event, if such a difference exists, it must be much less considerable than that encountered when other demographic aspects of the urban population, such as the fertility rate, are analysed.

62. The few data available on infant mortality - that is, mortality during the first year of life - suggest in general that the rate is lower in the towns. The infant mortality rate has been considered an indicator of a population's living conditions. The findings referred to would seem to show that in Latin America living conditions are usually better in the urban than in the rural areas. It should, however, be placed on record that there are exceptions to the result cited as a general rule, rural infant mortality being apparently lower than urban in some cases.

63. The foreign population is concentrated in urban environments to a greater extent than the native-born.

/64. The

64. The composition of the urban population by age groups, as compared with that of the total population, presents the following characteristics: a smaller proportion of minors (under 15 years of age), a larger proportion of adults and no significant differences between the urban and total populations as regards the percentage of old people. The smaller percentage of children must be attributed to the lower urban fertility rate. The high proportion of adults - particularly noteworthy in the groups between 15 and 40 years of age - is due to internal migration in most countries.

65. Lastly, it should be pointed out that in Latin America as a whole urban literacy indices are systematically higher than total population indices in each of the countries considered.

5. Internal migration

66. What is the importance of the part played by internal and international migration in the urban growth of some Latin American countries in recent periods? From the findings of the analyses carried out it can be deduced that the increase in the population of small centres and in the rural population - where the fertility rate is higher than in urban areas and mortality very similar - must be determined by a higher rate of natural growth. The rate of natural growth is, of course, the difference between the birth and death rates. Clearly, it depends not only upon fertility and mortality levels but also on the composition by age groups of the population under consideration. The age structure of the urban population is more conducive to a high rate of natural growth than that of the population not living in towns. This means that the lower urban fertility rate tends to produce an urban rate of natural growth below the average for the country and that age structure operates in the opposite direction. In Chile, where vital statistics are registered according to the usual place of residence and not according to the place where births and deaths occur, the rates of natural growth for 1952 were 19.8 per mil for the total population and 20.1 per mil in the case of the non-weighted average for towns of over 20,000 inhabitants. These figures are almost the same. This result may be generalized and there are grounds for assuming that the rate of natural growth is very similar in reality among urban and non-urban populations.

67. On the basis of this hypothesis, an estimate was prepared of the increment that would have been registered in the urban population of a selected group of Latin American countries during the last interval between censuses, had there been no migration towards the towns. The total increase in the urban population was thus approximately broken down into two parts, one attributable to natural growth, and another to internal and international migration. Since in almost all the Latin American countries international migration has been of no very great relative importance during recent years, it is fairly safe to assume that the increment due to migration is attributable to internal population shifts. The conclusion which may be reached in the case of most of the countries under consideration is that in the last interval between censuses internal migration contributed half, and in some instances even as much as two-thirds, of the increase in the urban population.

6. Male active population

68. An attempt will now be made to show the results of a comparison of the composition of the economically active male population by branches of economic activity, in some Latin American towns where the distribution is much the same as in large towns in other parts of the world. The conclusion reached is somewhat surprising, as the proportion of industrial workers in Latin America turns out to resemble the figure for towns in more highly developed economies. Nevertheless, this result must be viewed with certain reservations, since it is based on data for some few European towns and one in the United States, as far as the economically developed countries are concerned. The proportion of the active population employed in commercial activities is smaller here and the percentage employed in services higher.

69. Obviously, these conclusions are not satisfactory. To form a more precise idea of the differences in the numbers of people employed in a particular branch of economic activity - industry, for example - more detailed data would be required than are generally afforded by the population censuses taken in 1950. It may well be that what is defined as industry in Latin America differs widely from what is understood by that activity in a highly industrialized country. Similar discrepancies no doubt exist among the definitions used in the Latin American countries themselves. To compare indices and distribution figures with those analysed here, it would be necessary to use standard definitions and, in this specific case, to make a distinction between industries of varying size, services of different kinds, etc.

7. Some hypotheses

70. Hence it is clear that the urban or rural status of a population group is closely associated with almost all the demographic aspects analysed. The demographic features of a country's total population may be considered as the average resulting from the weighting of the characteristics of its urban and rural inhabitants. Consequently, if the urbanization process continues and town populations preserve their present characteristics, the demographic features of the total population of the countries concerned will increasingly resemble those of the present urban population. From the demographic point of view, this might imply a fall in the fertility rate, which would inevitably lead to a significant change in the growth rate of the population and in its composition by age groups. The population projections for Latin America prepared by the United Nations in 1958 ^{12/} contemplate the possibility -consistent with the hypothesis here designated "intermediate" - of a lower growth rate in consequence of a decline in the fertility rate and of the lower rate being effective only as from 1975. It is precisely these projections, with a slight adjustment here and there, which ECLA uses in its studies on the economic development of the Latin American countries. Perhaps the accelerated progress of urbanization may bring about such a reduction in the fertility rate before the date mentioned. The population would then increase at a more moderate rate, and the population figure for Latin America would therefore fall short of the estimates referred to.

71. Urbanization may also be a positive factor in the reduction of the infant mortality rate, and, from the point of view of economic and social development, may do much to raise the level of literacy, lower the percentage of non-legalized unions, and increase the proportion of the active population employed in the industrial sector, with the consequent improvement in income levels. Furthermore, changes in the composition of the population by age groups would be such as to ease the burden represented by the number of dependent persons.

^{12/} See The future growth of world population (ST/SOA/Ser. A/28).

72. All this may come about, given the fulfilment of the hypotheses postulating a continuance of urbanization in Latin America - which seems highly likely - and the persistence of the present characteristics of the region's urban populations.

73. As regards the first hypothesis, all available statistical data warrant the assumption that urbanization will proceed without interruption. On the other hand, it does not seem quite so certain that the second hypothesis will be fulfilled - in other words, that the urban populations of Latin America will retain their present characteristics. If the characteristics registered in 1950 are to remain unchanged, it will be necessary to provide, at a rate approximately equal to that of urban growth - i. e., 6 or 7 per cent in some countries - the number of schools and teachers required to prevent the level of literacy from falling; the essential vocational training to ensure that the skilled labour needed for industrial expansion will be available; enough housing to accommodate new married couples and migrants, so that existing conditions of community life can be maintained; and, lastly, the requisite urban transport, public utilities, streets, etc. If efforts are not made at least to preserve existing levels in respect of these and other important economic and social requirements, the growth of urbanization is not so much likely to raise as to lower a country's level of living.

8. Bibliographical comment

74. The following were used as background documents for the discussion at the Seminar:

(1) Determinants and consequences of population trends (ST/SOA/Ser.A/17), a study prepared in response to recommendation formulated by the United Nations Population Commission, which gives an outline of current knowledge and existing hypotheses relating to the factors determining population trends and the influence of such trends on the economic and social conditions. The study then analyses the reciprocal relationships between the population and the economic and social environment, upon a thorough grasp of which the adoption of a specific population policy will ultimately depend. In the chapter on the "Economic and social factors affecting migration", the question of internal migration is fully discussed, and the
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factors affecting it pointed out. There is also a chapter devoted to an analysis of the factors influencing population distribution. In Part Three of the study - "Economic and social effects of population changes" - attention is called to the incidence of migration on manpower, consumption, production and other economic and social aspects. In brief, stress was laid at the Seminar on the great value of this document for the understanding of certain fundamental aspects of urbanization and its relation to other economic and social phenomena.

(2) Two reports - The population of Central America (including Mexico), 1950-80 (ST/SOA/Ser.A/16) and The population of South America, 1950-1980 (ST/SOA/Ser.A/21), containing an estimate of each country's future population, broken down by sex and age groups, in conformity with three hypotheses related to the anticipated fertility rate. These studies were prepared in 1954 and 1955, when the whole of the data recorded in the last population censuses were not available for all the countries concerned. In 1958 the United Nations undertook the task of re-examining the world population situation and the prospects for its future evolution. This study of course included Latin America. It is interesting to compare the projected population figures from both sources, i.e., from the two publications mentioned above, on the one hand, and, on the other, from the later study based on more complete data. The population projections formulated in 1954 and 1955 gave a total population for Central America and South America in 1975 which varied from 246 to 281 million persons, according to whether the minimum or maximum hypotheses was considered. The 1958 findings result in projected figures of 257 million and 276 million, respectively, for the year in question. What is more, the latter figure (276 million) is considered to be more likely than the former.

75. The rate of growth in Latin America tends to increase as a widespread reduction in the mortality rate is achieved, and, on the other hand, no marked trend is apparent in respect of the fertility rate. Hence the rate of increase of the population is becoming more rapid. The current rate of growth is estimated at 25 per mil annually. It is expected to exceed 27 per mil by 1975.

76. Knowledge of the rate of expansion of the local population is of interest to the Seminar because of the connexion that must unquestionably exist between this development and urban growth.

III. URBANIZATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

1. Economic development in Latin America

77. The problems of urbanization are indissolubly linked to those of development, and no intelligent solution of both can be achieved unless their nature and inter-relationships are perfectly clear.

78. First, therefore, general opinion as to the essence of development problems in Latin America must be briefly reviewed. The countries of this region belong to the under developed group, in which income levels are too low to support the material standards of living that are deemed satisfactory. In 1957 annual per capita production of goods and services amounted to 290 dollars, as compared with 2,500 dollars in the United States. Moreover, Latin America - and this is perhaps more important - is a region in process of development. Since 1945 the annual rate of growth of the total product has been 5.3 per cent, a very high rate if compared with that registered by other countries of the world and by Latin America itself in previous periods.

79. The very fact that in the past the rate of growth has been satisfactory indicates that its maintenance is a difficult task. It is one, however, which the people of Latin America must tackle with maximum determination and tenacity, since upon its accomplishment the political and social stability of the continent largely depends. The period when an expanding economy was desirable, but, at the same time, a stable economy would do, has definitely receded into past history.

80. An explanation of the rapid growth of the Latin American economy after the end of the Second World War can readily be found in the vast expansion of the world market for the region's traditional export commodities. Latin America's purchasing power in the rest of the world increased at an annual rate of 5.4 per cent. This enabled it to purchase abroad the equipment and machinery which it needed for its development and did not produce at home.

/81. A recurrence

81. A recurrence of the post-war boom in exports is highly unlikely in the next twenty years. The studies carried out would seem to show that traditional exports might expand at an annual rate fluctuating around 3 per cent, thus only slightly outstripping the population growth projected for the same period.

82. Obviously, with this prospect in view, two of the most serious problems which Latin America will have to face in the immediate future will be how to create the means of obtaining the capital goods required to permit the continued expansion of production, and how to improve the yield of the capital resources available.

83. But these are not, of course, the only problems which the region has to solve in the field of development. There are others equally important, on whose solution partly depends the degree of success with which the two previously mentioned can be tackled. Outstanding among these is the question of agriculture. During the last 15 years the growth of agricultural production in Latin America has failed to keep pace with that of the population, and the only way to avoid a consequent deterioration in diet levels has been to make heavy inroads on Latin America's exportable surpluses. The relative stagnation of the agricultural sector is the result of a whole set of complex factors, among which particular attention should be called to the slowness with which up-to-date techniques are being introduced and the failure to adjust land tenure systems to current requirements. Despite the changes brought about in other sectors, the systems in question are still characterized by the existence of huge estates farmed at an unsatisfactory level of productivity.

84. Another serious problem in Latin America is the striking inequity of income distribution. The ECLA secretariat recently pointed this out in discussing the anti-inflationary policy applied by some countries, stressing the tensions which "throw into sharper relief than ever the profound inequity of income distribution, the patent and increasing

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contrasts in certain sectors between the higher income groups, whose traditional comforts are now enhanced by all the conquests of modern technique and the masses, whose standard of living improves but slowly."^{13/} The carrying to extremes, and, in many cases, the fostering of disparities such as these constitutes a barrier to economic development, because it implies narrow markets, often renders monopolies inevitable, entails low levels of education, housing and public health and, in short, gives rise to serious social grievances.

85. Lastly, this brief list of problems which are important for the development of Latin America and have a direct bearing on urbanization must include the difficulties deriving from the obsolescence of the machinery of government, especially as regards the mechanisms for the formulation of economic and social policy. The Latin American Governments have found themselves compelled, not so much by their ideologies as by force of circumstances, to play an increasing part in the socio-economic orientation of their countries. To give some idea of the magnitude of this change, suffice it to mention that about 40 per cent of total fixed capital investment in the region as a whole is effected through the public sector. But these new and complex governmental responsibilities should have entailed a satisfactory readjustment of administrative mechanisms, which has not yet been achieved. The consequences are observable in every sphere of Latin American life, as will be shown later.

^{13/} See the statement made to the Economic Commission for Latin America by the Executive Secretary at the eighth session, held in Panama City in May 1959 (E/3246/Rev.1 and E/CN.12/530/Rev.1, annex II, pp. 138 et seq.

2. Urbanization and development

86. How are the problems of development and related to those of urbanization? In this section of the report the term "urbanization" is used in the sense of a geographical concentration of population and economic activity which may or may not be accompanied by "urbanism", in the sense of the creation of a minimum supply of typical urban services.

87. Urbanization is an inevitable consequence of economic development, but the same is not true of urbanism, or the administrative organization of the town. Indeed, the most widespread characteristic of economic development is the change in the structure of production which it involves, and which consists in a reduction of the relative importance of agriculture and an increase in that of non-agricultural activities. Among the countries where annual per capita income is lower than 200 dollars it is difficult to find one in which agricultural activity contributes less than 35 per cent of the total annual product, while among those where income levels are higher than 500 dollars the corresponding contribution is seldom found to exceed 25 per cent.

88. This alteration in the structure of production is accompanied by a further change in the structure of employment of labour; agriculture gradually loses importance as a source of work. In countries with low income levels not less than two-third of the active population is employed in agriculture, while in countries where annual per capita income is higher than 500 dollars the proportion in question is not more than one-third.

89. As there is a tendency towards geographical concentration on the part of non-agricultural activities, the change in the structure of production which accompanies development necessarily causes a rapid increase in existing concentrations of population or else gives rise to new ones.

90. Again, there may be urbanization without economic development, since changes in the structure of production to the detriment of agriculture and in favour of non-agricultural activities may take place without a concomitant increment in total per capita income. The same thing may also happen because, once an urbanization process has begun as the result

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of the development process, the former tends to continue by sheer force of inertia, even if development comes to a standstill. The depression of the 'thirties called a halt to development in Latin America. Nevertheless, the few data available appear to indicate that migration from the countryside to the town continued, although at a less rapid rate, during the period of stagnation.

91. Economic development is an essential requisite for the efficacious material and technico-administrative organization of the town. In reality, hygienic housing, drinking-water and sewage installations, schools and hospitals and the whole range of services demanded by the inhabitant of the town, can be satisfactorily provided only to the extent to which his income increases. A wealth of such services is incompatible with a poor population. Urbanism in turn is an essential requisite for economic development, since a lack of urban services affects productivity. There is a minimum volume of urban services which must be provided if economic development is not to be distorted. On the other hand, an attempt to meet such requirements on too generous a scale also acts as a brake on economic development. For example, in Latin America a fixed capital investment of 100 dollars generates on an average a production amounting to 40-50 dollars per annum. The same 100 dollars invested in residential building generates only 10 to 12 dollars annually. It may well be that the yield on investment in other urban services is also low. Consequently, the greater the proportion of investment resources earmarked for urban services, the slower - up to a point - will be the pace of economic development. But, as the more plentiful provision of urban services increases the town's attraction for the country dweller, over-urbanism tends not only to slow up development, but also to accelerate urbanization.

92. Development without urbanism is an undesirable phenomenon, but there is no worse combination than urbanization without development, because to the lack of urban facilities is added the want of employment opportunities.

3. Real current trends

93. The relationship between urbanization and development has both quantitative and qualitative aspects. In other words, apart from its speed, the special pattern of urban development in Latin America - which is characterized by hypertrophy of capital cities and by concentration on the seaboard or, in the tropics, in the mountain districts - is largely due to the characteristics of the economic development registered in the past.

94. In fact, up to the period of the world depression, Latin America's economic development was directed towards the external markets. If this phenomenon is taken in conjunction with the influence exerted by the colonial system of administration, it satisfactorily accounts for the presence of those hypertrophic cities which already existed in the region at the beginning of the 'thirties. From that time onwards, Latin America's development was channelled in the direction of import substitution, the first efforts in this field being made in respect of consumer goods rather than raw materials. Most consumer goods industries tend to be situated in consumer centres, and, consequently, the economy's change of course meant that the large urban centres already in existence were liable to continue growing more rapidly than the rest of the country.

95. The rechanneling of economic development called for a much higher degree of State intervention, which was extended, among other fields, to the supply of social security services to alleviate the social tensions which industrialization brought in its train, the rationing of the very limited supply of foreign exchange, and the creation of State sources of credit. All this was done on centralized lines, thus helping to reinforce the process of concentration inherent in the underlying development phenomena which were taking place.

96. What are the prospects for a prolongation of the urbanization process along the same lines as in the past? The reply to this question depends upon what happens in the case of economic development. If the latter comes to a standstill, the urbanization process is likely to be slowed up, but not halted altogether. There are several reasons why this may be so,

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but three of them are perhaps more important than the rest. The first is to be found in the magnitude of the disparities between the earnings of the rural and of the urban population. In 1950, every industrial worker earned on an average three times as much as one employed in agricultural activities.^{14/} The second lies in the specific form assumed by State intervention in economic life, which has converted the public sector into a great redistributor of income; and when times are hard, those who are close to the distributor have a better chance of securing a slice of the cake. The third reason is the land tenure system, as a result of which there are more steps missing in the agricultural than in the urban social ladder, a state of affairs that seems to be aggravated by stagnation. It is common knowledge that land tenure in Latin America is characterized by the existence of large latifundia alongside numerous minifundia. In these circumstances, it is difficult for the owner of one of the latter to enlarge his smallholding, but in times of prosperity it is his custom to do so by recourse to renting and share-cropping. These are the forms of activity which tend to undergo the severest contraction in periods of depression, and to this problem is added the increased manpower supply resulting from the slowing-up of the population shift towards the town.

97. To sum up, if in the future economic growth comes to a halt, urbanization is likely to continue in the same direction as in the past, but at a slower rate. The result would be urbanization without development, that is, with fewer of the amenities of the town and more unemployment.

98. On the other hand, if development continues it will pursue a course significantly different from that followed in the past, and the same will necessarily be true of the trend of urbanization. Latin America could not continue to base its development on import substitution in respect of consumer goods. Henceforward its growth will have to depend upon the substitution of domestic production for imports of raw

^{14/} In the United States the corresponding proportion was 1.8 and in the United Kingdom still lower.

materials, intermediate products and capital goods. These activities generally choose production sites close to the necessary raw materials, most of which are to be found nearer to the centre of the continent, or, at any rate, seldom coincide with the present large consumer centres. The development of this new type of activity will tend to provoke a trend towards continentalization, accompanied by the renaissance of old towns or the creation of new urban centres.

99. The phenomenon termed "continentalization" is also accompanied by an exodus from the mountain districts. Where once malaria constituted an insuperable barrier that kept the inhabitant of the tropics to the mountains - or at least to the foot of the hills where coffee was grown - a noteworthy concentration of population has come into being. The barrier is broken down, and the mountain-dweller of Colombia, Guatemala, Venezuela and other similar countries is beginning to descend to the plains. Like continentalization, this phenomenon will involve the recrudescence of old towns, but, above all, the birth of new ones.

100. Lastly, another fact which will tend to alter the direction of the demographic process is the likelihood that some capital cities may by now have attained so disproportionate a size that the additional investment required for further expansion will produce declining yields. It will be increasingly costly to supply these cities with water, energy, food, etc. Cognizance of this fact may awaken consciousness of the need to combat the trend towards centralization.

101. The ability of the countries concerned to adapt themselves to the various changes reviewed will of course largely depend, as has always been the case, upon the nature and robustness of their educational systems. The historical parallel of Denmark is instructive in this respect. When, in the middle of the last century, the farm lands of the New World were opened up, the agricultural systems of Europe entered upon a highly critical phase. But Denmark was able to cope with the situation better than other countries, thanks to its having introduced compulsory education much earlier; it was thus able to replace grain production rapidly by intensive dairy farming, and so avoid the mass emigration and protectionist policies which were necessarily resorted to elsewhere, not always with success.

4. Practical consequences

102. This report has outlined what might be called the future frame of reference of the urbanization process in Latin America. In short, it has been asserted that the process will continue by inertia unless the more general problem is solved. Unemployment will be added to all the problems of suburbanism now being encountered and, if development continues, urbanization trends will tend to be modified. They may accelerate as compared with the past mainly because more rapid technical improvements will have to be made in agriculture. To the extent that this occurs, a higher proportion of the rural population will have to seek employment in the urban centre.

103. What practical lessons may be drawn from these speculations? Firstly, any intelligent policy of urbanization will have to take account of two considerations: the increasing difficulties expected in future development will strain still further the notorious shortage of capital in Latin America and the urbanization process should be facilitated, rather than accelerated, by relating it to its underlying tendencies.

104. The increasing shortage of capital make it imperative to organize town-planning as cheaply as possible. There are various ways of doing this. One of them would be to slow it down. This is a real possibility because there is no hard and fast relationship between the speed of economic development and the growth of cities. For example, in so far as the economic development policy tends to level out extreme disparities in income distribution and, depending on the manner in which this is brought about, urbanization may be slowed down without interfering with development. Indeed, if the income of the poor increases in the future more rapidly than that of the rich, the demand for agricultural commodities will tend to grow more quickly than if income is not redistributed, while agricultural output will find larger markets and offer greater employment opportunities. But this will not occur if a sizable part of the redistribution of income in favour of the poor takes the form of public services which are usually concentrated in the towns and which really serve to finance the same lower income groups.

105. Another method may be to regulate the urbanization process. To regulate is to plan. The processes which are being analysed usually generate their own correctives, but these correctives are slow in producing their effects. There can be no certainty that the "invisible hand" will act in time to modify the trends in question when they have reached an undesirable stage.

106. If it is to be effective, deliberate collective action in this connexion should have at least three aims: (a) a co-ordinate approach should be sought among the various sectors involved; the gulf between economists and town-planners should be bridged; (b) priorities should be laid down for the provision of urban services; and (c) schemes for such services should be worked out at a level which corresponds to the stage of economic development reached by the Latin America countries.

107. A third way of reducing costs is to examine critically the techniques in use for the provision of these services and to seek alternative solutions. For example, it is an undisputed fact that a large proportion of the urban population of certain Latin American towns has insufficient income to pay for minimum housing. Any attempt to eliminate such housing on the basis of existing building techniques will divert resources from economic development and require enormous subsidies. It also seems likely that many years will have to elapse before satisfactory school attendance patterns are achieved if teaching techniques are not changed.^{15/}

108. Another practical lesson to be drawn from these comments is that urbanization should not have to struggle against handicaps. If the process of continentalization and exodus from the mountains mentioned earlier has actually started, the forces of the community should be harnessed to clear the road. The process of urbanization and that of economic development have to be promoted at the same rhythm and as part of common national objectives. This means that incompatibilities between the two processes have to be eliminated, including the difficulties of a political and administrative nature which lead, in Latin American countries, to the excessive growth of capital cities.

109. Administrative decentralization raises problems whose solution requires the co-operation of all the sectors involved. Both economists and town-planners should have a clearer idea of the regional unity which should

^{15/} See section VII of this part of the report, sub-section (c), Education paragraphs 188-202

have a clearer idea of the regional unity which should underlie their programming, and specialists in other branches should express their views as to what might be termed the optimum dimension of the administrative territorial unit. All this and much more forms part of the strategic problems of social change and constitutes a tremendous challenge to the imagination of town-planners, in particular, and social scientists in general.

IV. URBAN MANPOWER

1. Manpower and over-urbanization

110. It has often been said that Latin American urbanization is progressing more rapidly than might have been expected from the historical association between urbanization and industrialization in the more developed countries. The same might be maintained about much of southern and eastern Asia. In this sense, both situations are liable to raise some doubt regarding whether the historical relationship was as causally linked as is generally supposed. Nevertheless, without dwelling on the point, it is evident that the most important factors are the more rapid growth of urban centres than of employment in manufacturing, and the consequent multiplication of employment in urban services which have a very low level of productivity.

111. Some of the causes of this rapid urban growth are closely linked to labour problems. One cause is undoubtedly demographic, although its influence operates and is felt through economic organization. The rapid reduction of mortality in rural areas without a corresponding decline in the birth rate, lowers the man/land ratio in agriculture.

112. This holds good regardless of changes in the system of land tenure, although the problem will become more critical, if, as Dr. Gino Germani points out with respect to Argentina,^{16/} there is a concurrent tendency towards the concentration of land holdings. Rural land reform would therefore retard the demographic impact by permitting a larger proportion of hidden unemployment in agriculture through the medium of the family as an economic security agency. After the initial enjoyment of the more equitable distribution of capital and income, however, it must eventually become apparent that the material conditions of life are deteriorating.

113. It should therefore be argued that in many areas the rural population's levels of living are deteriorating in comparison with those of urban population, in both absolute and relative terms.

^{16/} See document E/CN.12/URB/9

/114. There

114. There is a second set of circumstances which is more purely economic in character. Many "agricultural" economies have derived a considerable income from handicraft production, either as a supplementary and off-season activity carried on by the rural family or as specialized employment. The displacement of artisan industry by the competition of cheap manufactured goods may actually increase the proportion of the population that depends on agriculture as such, despite all other evidence of economic growth.

115. A third set of considerations is more speculative but none the less worthy of mention. It is probable that the feeling of "relative deprivation" is mounting in many rural areas. Much of the traditional social discontinuity between the city and the countryside, in terms of the material standards of life and levels of aspiration, has been reduced by the very improvements in transport and communications that accompany economic modernization, including urbanization.

116. Although cities have commonly been viewed as centres of cultural change and dissemination, in many significant respects the city is now brought to the countryside. The sheer awareness of alternative modes of living, particularly if combined with a realistic sense of increasing rural poverty, is largely accountable for the massive (and often unrealistic) migration to urban centres. Since this urban migration is commonly in excess of the expansion of employment opportunities in manufacturing, it follows that, if employed at all, migrants must make their living at unskilled construction work or in a variety of services (commercial, personal, etc.)

117. Mr. Rottenberg^{17/} argues, from the economist's point of view, that, if these services yield an income, they must have social value, and that, given freedom of movement into alternative employment at other levels of skill, it is to be supposed that the productivity of such employment is greater than that of the available alternatives. Regardless of the merit of this opinion, it should be noted that Mr. Rottenberg, in common with other economists, postulates a "perfect labour market", which is of course in some degree contrary to the facts. It seems probable that various impediments to a knowledge of the real situation and consequently to mobility,

^{17/} See document E/CN.12/URB/6

plus preferences for urban life that cannot be measured economically, are responsible for the multiplication of workers employed in inefficient and redundant or socially useless services.

118. As a matter of policy, it would be advisable to try to transform unemployed and underemployed workers into producers of the social overhead capital required.

2. Labour supply, stability, and mobility

119. Many anthropologists and sociologists have been closely concerned with the barriers to social and economic transformation, resulting from the functional interdependence of traditional social systems. It is not possible to indicate all the doubts raised by such an attitude. For the time being, it is preferable to confine the question to the aspects of labour supply and recruitment only. As made clear in the consideration of over-urbanization, the numerical supply of labour for industrial or similar employment is no problem. The difficulties are rather to be found in other aspects, such as levels, aspiration levels, opportunities for personal advancement and the depth and permanence of the workers' acceptance of urban institutional values.

120. The shortage of skilled workers, including entrepreneurs, technicians and supervisors in Latin America is commonly admitted. Indeed, some economists would argue that a country with limited resources for education should concentrate solely on the production of technicians and entrepreneurs, even at the expense of elementary schooling. But this assumes that "good" entrepreneurs can work efficiently with an untutored and reluctant labour force. For reasons too complex to enter upon here, the opposite view might well be upheld, namely, that elementary and intermediate education should be encouraged as much as possible, and foreign specialists hired or nationals sent abroad for special training. Incidentally, many less-developed countries, including some in Latin America, have no shortage of highly-trained personnel, though they have too few marketing experts and engineers.

/121. With

121. With respect to the mobility of labour, a report presented at the Seminar^{18/} gives some data on three of the many kinds of mobility:

- a) There is some inferential evidence concerning upward status mobility between generations, showing a generally higher occupational position for the city-born, an intermediate position for the older migrants, and a much lower position for recent arrivals. This is consistent with the well-known phenomenon of the "upward displacement" of established workers when new migrants swell the urban labour force, as well as with the expectation of greater educational and similar advantages for the city-born;
- b) Upward mobility within individual careers is found to be more common among the older urban inhabitants than the new recruits;
- c) Strictly occupational mobility of the "lateral" variety is most frequent among new, unskilled recruits. This is consistent with the general principle that the "range of horizontal transferability" is highest at unskilled levels, and decreases as the educational and skill levels rise. (Training requirements impede major occupational shifts at higher skill levels.)

122. It is not known with any certainty how stable the urban labour force is. But it is probably true that, generally speaking, rural-urban migration is fairly permanent in Latin America in comparison with major parts of Africa and Asia. However, the migrant may still retain various forms of rural ties, such as some expectation of land inheritance, the maintenance of contacts with rural relatives including monetary remittances, and reliance on the economic support of such relatives in times of adversity.

123. A corollary question is the extent to which the urban worker has been able to assimilate and absorb the whole complex of ideas and norms that characterize an urban-industrial way of life. In other words, to what degree is he happy in his work or apathetic? (Does he consider his situation temporary (even if actually permanent) and has he adopted what sociologists usually refer to as "industrial traditions"?)

^{18/} See document E/CN.12/URB/10.

124. Little information on this question is available relating to Latin America. The fact that there has been little research in this field may be because this question has been viewed as unimportant, or of low priority. In any event, the situation is deplorable because the subject remains of critical importance in all industrialized societies, and is of even greater importance in countries experiencing very rapid social change.

125. This point may be illustrated by reference to only one aspect of the problem. The chapter on urbanization in Latin America in the United Nations Report on the World Social Situation describes the frustration and apathy of urban migrants who find themselves barely sustaining themselves on the fringe of the labour market.^{19/} It is difficult to confirm whether "Unto every one that hath shall be given", but psychopathology offers ample evidence of the truth of the second part of the verse: "From him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath".^{20/}

126. Sooner or later it will be necessary to investigate and ascertain with some degree of accuracy the position of the various social and occupational groups as regards their sense of equity, satisfaction and enjoyment in work, and the extent to which they have assimilated the conditions of industrial society.

3. Decentralization

127. The ECLA secretariat and the Reverend Oscar Domínguez^{21/} propose that decentralization should be considered as a means of bringing employment opportunities to rural areas where there is under-employment. There are complex matters of social policy involved here, but, as the ECLA report notes, there is substantial under-employment already concentrated in existing cities.

^{19/} Op.cit., chapter IX.

^{20/} Matthew, XXV, 29.

^{21/} See document E/CN.12/URB/19 and Information document N° 2, respectively.

128. A very few comments on decentralized, small-scale industry would seem to be apposite. Such manufacturing arrangements are highly propitious to the exploitation of cheap labour, often by evading social and labour legislation (although this also may occur in small industries and in large urban establishments) and by avoiding labour protests through union organizations. The very avoidance of radical changes in social environment created by urban migration and new forms of employment may be a very short-run gain so far as continuous economic growth is concerned.

129. It is true that, historically, the assembly of all the factors of production, except labour, has been at the employer's expense, and that this may be viewed as inequitable. But the fact is that realistically speaking, existing inequities of other sorts have produced an urban labour supply. Presumably only when economic growth has made urban labour very expensive will existing labour supplies carry more weight in the selection of sites for towns and industries outside metropolitan centres.

4. Management-labour relations

130. None of the documents submitted deals with the character of management-labour relations or union organization in Latin America. Since a comprehensive and well-documented treatment of this subject is impossible, only a few general observations can be made.

131. Firstly, there is a radical disparity in income, education, social status, social origin, authority, etc., between the employer class and the working class. This is common in newly developing countries and areas. But, as this development continues, the same thing may well happen as has happened elsewhere: the latent tensions may diminish because of the effect of the middle class - especially the so-called "new" class - and of a wide variety of vertical distinctions and lateral differentiation within the organization of industry and also the working class itself.

132. Secondly, it is common knowledge that, the fate of unions varies considerably according to the political régime, although they are themselves usually predominantly political. This is related to the first point and

/is partly

is partly a consequence, in many cases, of meagre development of political parties at local levels so that unions and similar groups become the chief agency of political participation for those outside the actual governmental structure.

133. Lastly, there is a point of some consequence for social policy. Labour unions may be a very effective way for channelling the protests that must inevitably arise with radical social transformation. They may serve as effective agencies of positive social participation, just as professional societies do. There are situations where the union organizations provide an effective bridge between small social structures necessarily left behind by the urban worker and the impersonal, anonymous social reality of the large factory and metropolis.

V. EFFECTS ON THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

1. Methodological assumption

134. The study of the urbanization process from the sociological point of view is virtually becoming confounded with sociology itself, or at least with the complete analysis of contemporary society. In view of this, we should limit our immediate aims, since it is of primary importance to emphasize some of the effects of the process that appear most easily adaptable to the purposes of a satisfactory and far-sighted social policy.

135. For this purpose it would clearly be necessary to have detailed studies of the more salient phenomena, on the same lines as several of the papers contributed to the Seminar. However, as these represent merely the beginning of a phase of thorough research, it should be emphasized that this is the path which ought to be followed in future. In this respect, it may be asserted, not without reason, that it would be unwise to become lost in over-generalizations. It is no less certain, however, that during the present stage of urban research in Latin America, it is essential to have series of general hypotheses to guide such investigation along uniform lines.

136. Hence, it would not be irrelevant at the present juncture to allude to the use of typologies, which enable problems to be more clearly defined. As already pointed out in the first few pages of this part of the report, such typologies are not a description or facsimile of reality but simply conceptual instruments that are essential for interpreting and dealing with the facts. In the following pages, an attempt will be made to apply a typology which distinguishes between two extreme forms of social structure with a view to grasping, within a highly variable continuum, the principal problems involved in the urbanization process from the sociological point of view.

2. Traditional society and industrial society

137. If "industrial" society is taken to be the final point reached by the original "non-industrial" or "traditional" process or society in its evolution, the changes which have most bearing on the subject of the Seminar may be summarized as follows:

/(a) In

- (a) In traditional societies, the prevailing type of action is fixed or prescribed more or less rigidly for every situation. In industrial societies, on the other hand, the type of action derives from what may be termed a deliberate decision. The society provides various criteria which should be taken into account at the moment of choice, but the choice itself - or deliberate decision - is essentially imposed by the social structure.
- (b) The traditional and industrial societies are radically opposed in their attitude to change. The former discourages it, tending rather to attach great value to its legacy from the past. Conversely, the latter esteems and encourages any innovation; in other words, change is "institutionalized".
- (c) Their respective attitudes are equally contradictory in so far as the specialization of institutions is concerned. The majority of functions are concentrated in a small number of institutions in a traditional society, while specialized institutions, each with its limited and specific function, predominate in an industrial society. The family is the best-known and most striking example of this antithesis.

138. The three points which have just been enumerated - the selective nature of action, the institutionalization of change and the specialization of institutions - lead in their turn to a chain of transformations of tremendous importance. The following is a brief summary of five links in this chain:

- (a) personality structure; (b) local community; (c) social stratification; (d) family, and (e) political organization.

(a) Personality structure.

139. Each of the two types of society has its definite personality structure. The traditional personality is that which adapts itself to habit-action, and automatically complies with the prescribed norms. The industrial personality, however, is capable of making a choice after carefully weighing the different possibilities.

140. Furthermore, sociologists agree with either terminology in that relations of a primary nature prevail in the traditional society and those

of a secondary character in the industrial society. In this sense, both the town and the industrial society have been described as representative embodiments of "secondary systems".

(b) Local community.

141. The local community, for its part, often loses its importance, at least at certain stages of the process. It is replaced by the nation which becomes the object of the loyalties hitherto pledged to the community.

(c) Social stratification.

142. Social stratification also undergoes fundamental changes. Firstly, the principle of ascription tends to be replaced by that of merit. The hierarchical or caste society is transformed into the class society. Equality of opportunity - in theory at least - is a prerequisite to the optimum distribution of the population among the various specialized activities. And the division of labour now obeys the selective principle of instrumental rationality. Nevertheless, the equality of opportunity is more or less restricted in practice by other factors, particularly the permanence of one sector of the structure - the family - which is still governed by traditional principles.

143. There is possibly a hiatus between the vaunted equality of opportunity and the actual possibilities of ascent, but individuals always require a certain amount of freedom before they can find their real niche in the specialized framework of activities.

144. Briefly, this is the process of transformation which gives rise to the dominant stratification of industrial societies. New strata appear, the upper class from being the traditional aristocracy becomes the modern bourgeoisie; a new sector in full expansion emerges, namely the middle classes, which achieve a position of singular importance in the industrial sector; and the lower classes are modified by the mergence of the urban worker in the place of the old-time artisan and agricultural worker. The growing importance of the towns progressively reduces the rural communities, which largely go to swell the ranks of the urban classes. The very change in structure implies an enhanced degree of social mobility, since the

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expansion of the intermediate strata and rural-urban displacement presuppose an advanced degree of social advancement. And this structural mobility is supplementary to the mobility inherent in a society of open classes.

145. These changes in stratification are directly connected with alterations in the economic structure. The predominance of industry and services over the so-called "primary" sector - mainly crop and livestock production - signifies the formation of new upper, middle and lower classes.

(d) Family.

146. The family is changing radically. In a traditional society, extensive family types prevail, which may include several generations living together. The family fulfils numerous functions. It is stable. The larger kinfolk group has considerable importance as a mechanism of social control, co-operation and communal relations. Internal family relations tend to be authoritarian and the hierarchy of generations is respected.

147. In the industrial society the family is smaller and the isolated family nucleus appears. Each family unit consists of parents and children only. Other family relationships are of less importance, although they still retain a certain significance. Most of the functions carried out by the family are transferred to other institutions. Family life is only a small part of the existence of each of its members, who are able to move about freely and choose the sectors of their interest and activity. This freedom is also manifested in respect to the children and to the wife. Internal relations are placed on a more equal basis and family stability no longer depends on the nexus of institutionalized relations in the extensive family and local community and on the convergence of economic, religious, educational and welfare functions, but is increasingly and exclusively dependent on the compatibility of individuals, on internal affective relations and on the capacity of each family nucleus to function as an intimate group in which the whole personality may find public and uninhibited expression. Without this family environment in an atmosphere dominated by impersonal secondary relationships, the personality would find no way in which to form and "express" itself. It is patent, however, that the new kinds of links are less stable than the traditional type.

/(e) Political

(e) Political organization.

148. Changes no less fundamental are taking place in the field of political organization and activity. In the past, the industrial society was associated with a specific political form, namely, liberal democracy. Today this appears to be subject to revision, according to certain groups of opinion. None the less, whatever the political structure, the industrial society seems to demand a more extensive political participation on the part of increasingly large population sectors.

3. Characteristics of the transition

149. This report will now examine - briefly, of course - certain of the general characteristics of the somewhat long process of transition.

Naturally, its essential feature is that it does not occur in a uniform and parallel manner but, on the contrary, in unsynchronized phases. There are different tempos and speeds in the various countries, in the various zones of a single country, in the various social groups and in the various sectors of the social structure.

150. The cities continue to play a decisive part in this process so that at the moment the urban culture and the industrial society may almost be considered synonymous. However, the form which this change has taken in the countries which began the process will not necessarily recur in an identical form in the others. On the contrary, the simple fact that countries co-exist at various levels of development clearly exercises upon the backward countries a determining influence which modifies the elements of the original situation.

151. Various consequences arise from the fact that the transition occurs in this unequal manner and in these unsynchronized phases. In the first place, it happens that at the same moment not only do countries at various stages of development co-exist but within a single country there also exist zones more closely resembling the industrial civilization type and others nearer to the traditional type. The same is true of cities. Although the urban structure, whatever its type, includes elements which bring it near to the industrial society type - or at least facilitate this process - at the same

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time certain cities fully represent this type, while others continue to resemble the traditional type. In the more advanced countries, the rural areas themselves acquire the characteristics of an industrial society so that at a certain stage of development the differences between town and country tend to disappear completely. For the same reasons, there are rural zones at different stages of development. All these differences should therefore be borne in mind frequently, especially when dealing with the problems of migration.

152. In the second place, if the institutions are not transformed at the same speed - and sometimes in the same direction -, various institutions more or less close to the traditional and industrial types will exist side by side in the same place at a given time. The technico-economic structure may have changed in the direction required by the industrial type, while other fields may remain backward, or vice-versa. In any case, these unsynchronized phases may occur in different parts of the social structure.

153. On the other hand, these unsynchronized phases may take the form of conflicts between certain aspects of the socio-cultural structure and the structure of the personality. Both will have to be harmonized, and this can only occur in the case of synchronization. A technico-economic structure of the industrial type requires suitable motivations; it cannot function with those which are peculiar to the traditional society. The changes in the family structure brought about by transformations in the occupational sector may not be accompanied by the changes necessary in the attitudes, motivations and sentiments of the individuals concerned. Or the attitudes may have evolved in the direction required by the industrial society but may have stagnated as regards the technico-economic, educational, political apparatus, etc. The levels of ambition, attitudes towards consumption, the mode of life, etc. may approximate to the industrial type while production remains at a stage of little or inadequate development.

154. These unsynchronized phases may take the form of an unequal development of the various social groups. The transformation may begin in determined sectors of urban élites and then spread downwards towards the different strata of the city's population from the highest to the lowest. A certain

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sequence may also be detected between towns: the bigger cities, the State capitals and the centres of international trade usually precede all the other towns.

155. Finally, there are historical circumstances peculiar to each nation which explain the early or more rapid development of certain rural zones or specific towns. For all these reasons, a given country may contain groups situated at different stages in the process of transition. It will thus be seen in the big cities of Latin America that there exist side by side middle classes and certain groups of the upper class at a comparative stage of advanced development from the point of view of the industrial society: their type of family, their economic activity, their forms of consumption, their ambitions and ideologies will embody the characteristics of this type of society or come very close to it. At a lower level will be found the popular classes of the metropolis and, finally, at a still lower level in the industrial structure, there are those groups of the popular class which have recently immigrated from lesser developed areas. Beyond the metropolis, there will be other towns at various stages of development in which the same internal sequence is repeated between the various classes and, last of all, there will be the inhabitants of the rural zones proper similarly placed, depending on the zone, at different stages in the process of acquiring the features of an industrial society.

156. When urbanization problems are discussed, usually reference is almost exclusively made to groups of immigrants which come to the big city from the less developed rural areas. Indeed, these groups provide a striking example of the contrast between the two types of society and reveal dramatically the conflicts which arise from the transition from one type to the other. However, if the phenomenon is examined from a broader angle, the case of the rural immigrants moving to urban areas is no more than a particular, although very serious, aspect of this great process of transition from one type of civilization to another very different one. None of the problems of this particular case may be satisfactorily understood unless they are viewed within a broader framework; all the difficulties of adaptation, tensions, contrasts and conflicts may be reduced to certain general propositions applicable to the general process of transition.

4. Main problems

157. The problems arising in modern countries as a result of the formation of an industrial society may be classified as follows:

- (a) Problems deriving from the tensions and contrasts inherent in the industrial society as such, for example, the possible coexistence of contradictory functional requirements;
- (b) Opposing attitudes of the different social groups as regards the acceptance or rejection of the transformation from one type of society to another. Some groups may accept, desire or promote the changes towards the industrial society with all the consequences; others may reject it just as categorically, and many may still accept certain aspects and reject others. These contrasts, which are partly due to the different positions of the various groups of the social structure and which vary according to the stage in which each society finds itself, take the form of ideological conflicts that loom large upon the political scene in countries of recent and rapid development. Besides the well-known conflicts concerning the type of economic organization, another kind of conflict is worthy of mention: certain groups are ready to accept and even encourage the change as it affects the technico-economic apparatus - in pursuance of a high level of industrialization - but, on the other hand, they are unwilling to see the forms of deliberate action, the predominance of rational attitudes, and access to all the positions applied to other sectors of society, in particular to the system of stratification, family institutions, and political organization. From the scientific point of view, it does not seem easy to reconcile this solution with the functional requirements of the industrial society. In any case, it is obviously bound to meet with resistance from all those who are ready to accept the process of rationalization with all its consequences, although there may still remain differences between them as regards the manner of bringing them about;

/(c) Problems

- (c) Problems arising from the circumstances peculiar to transition itself and which are easily confused with those mentioned under (a). The divergent interpretations of the character of transition or of the nature of the problems can often be traced to conflicting ideological conceptions. Most, if not all, of the problems arising from transition may be interpreted as the consequences or effects of maladjustments provoked by the unequal and unsynchronized nature of development.

158. All the conflicts mentioned so far may be classified as follows:

- (a) The traditional structures are dislocated without being replaced by new structures which are peculiar to or compatible with the industrial society. This phenomenon of social disorganization may occur in rural areas just as much as in urban zones and may also manifest itself in various sectors of the social structure. This type of problem is related particularly to the family, the local community, the position of young people, and includes most political conflicts;
- (b) Conflicts occur between various sectors of the social structure which prove mutually incompatible and bring the individual face to face with contradictions and opposing requirements with no possible prospect of a solution. This type of conflict may spring from the coexistence of attitudes, standards and values which belong to different stages of development. They may also be due, in some cases, to tensions inherent in the industrial society itself or to the particular forms it takes in each special case;
- (c) The change takes place so rapidly that the usual mechanisms of adaptation, whether operating through the replacement of one generation by another or within the same generation, are unable to function. The problems of mass rural migration include this third category, since it concerns large population nuclei which are more or less suddenly confronted by forms of thought and action that are alien to their type of personality.

159. Maladjustment reveals itself in the three classes as a lack of norms, or anomy, in the individual. People's behaviour is always conditioned by a number of frames of reference which guide their actions, and their modes of feeling and thought. They may be the stricter norms of the traditional society or the more elastic criteria of choice which are typical of an industrial society. In any event, the individual needs adequate inner resiliency: the application of prescribed solutions or the manoeuvring of different selective criteria. During a period of transition, however, the individual may find himself deprived of one or the other.

160. The cases included in the above-mentioned categories show that the inner mechanisms fail to meet the requirements of the objective situation, which may call for rational decisions that an individual of traditional personality is unable to make. This may give rise to insoluble dilemmas. It may also happen that social disorganization leads to the family's failure to ensure that the personality of the young people develops satisfactorily, since, lacking the requisite norms, they are apt to indulge in all kinds of anti-social behaviour.

161. Many of the social problems of urbanization arise from anomic situations. Several types of abnormality, such as delinquency, alcoholism, suicide and mental diseases, are the response to or result of a maladjustment between the personality and the demands of the external situation.

162. The problems created by rapid mass urban migrations, and other aspects of the transition to an industrial society, such as is now taking place in Latin America, can and should be investigated with the help of the theoretical frames of reference mentioned. Such research should also be extended to certain phenomena of a political and ideological nature. In fact, much of what can be observed in this field is, or may be interpreted as, the result of rapid transition.

163. The Latin American countries have a democratic system of government. This means that they tend to give all their citizens an adequate voice in politics. Owing to inequalities of development and other causes, however, large strata of the population have been excluded from such participation. Hence, the stage of limited democracy, which was confined to the upper and /middle classes

middle classes alone, preceded total participation, even from the legal point of view, since the introduction of universal suffrage was long delayed. In the Latin American countries, changes in the structure of the social classes brought about by industrialization and large-scale urban migration, have intensified the problem of how to integrate such groups and have emphasized the need for proper institutional channels. Whenever a country began to develop in the last century, the social structures were built up slowly and therefore less explosively, although by no means without conflicts. But in most of the Latin American countries these structures were not given time to take root.

164. The situation is now becoming more strained because the level of ambition of the lower classes is now polarized on the norms fixed in the already developed countries, which is not true of the corresponding phases in the first countries to be industrialized. The problem is aggravated by ideological conflicts among groups whose opinions differ with respect to the pattern and targets that should be imposed on the development process. It therefore seems clear that there is a correlation between rapid urbanization and acute political tension.

5. Findings of empirical research

165. Undeniably, of course, the foregoing scheme of interpretation is based on studies conducted mainly in the United States and Western Europe in different economic, social and political surroundings from those prevailing in Latin America. The members of the Seminar therefore recognized that further empirical research, and especially comparative research of a cross-cultural character, was necessary to provide a framework more adequate to Latin America for understanding the impact of urbanization on the social order and on individual human thought and behaviour. Moreover, attention was also drawn to the fact that many of the problems associated with urban living may not be the product of urbanization as such, or of the urban environment, but, rather, manifestations of more profound and sweeping changes affecting the entire world.

166. Nevertheless, the Seminar had at its disposal various studies on specific urbanization problems or industrial urban areas (reports on Buenos Aires, Sao Paulo, Lima, Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, Esmeraldas, Cochabamba and Mexico City)

167. These studies tended to support the following observations:

- (a) Many of the social problems in Latin American cities are associated with the large-scale in-migration of population from rural areas;
- (b) The basic reasons for out-migration from rural areas are economic and social. On the economic side, out-migration from rural areas to urban centres reflects the imbalance in the rural and urban economies of Latin America. Out-migrants are subjected to the "push" or rural lack of opportunity and poverty, exacerbated by the excessive increase in the rural population. On the social side, "family reasons", reflecting the burden borne by the family in the impoverished countryside, and the lure of the city, are important factors in migration. Two of the UNESCO field studies directly corroborate these generalizations. Germani's study of a working-class sector in Buenos Aires indicates that the major reason for migration to the city given by recent migrants was "no job" (80 per cent); another 10 per cent "wanted to get on"; and 6 per cent adduced "great poverty". Matos Mar, in his Lima study, found that 61 per cent of the in-migrants came because

/of "economic"

of "economic" reasons, and 23 per cent because of "social" reasons. It is of great significance that this study also showed that the desire to obtain a better education was a more important reason for migration to Lima than the desire for better health conditions or better housing;

- (c) Perhaps the most serious social problems of urban areas in Latin America are manifest in the relatively large and wide-spread "shanty-towns". They dramatize the acute character of the housing problem in Latin American cities and reveal some of the worst physical and social consequences of poverty and of the low mass level of living;
- (d) Shanty-town dwellers have often taken the initiative in forming organizations to improve their living conditions and administer local affairs, becoming on occasions effective political groups;
- (e) Problems of health and nutrition are all too plentiful in the cities and are particularly critical among the in-migrants. Especially significant may be the tensions and feelings of insecurity induced by urban living. It was just such psychological and mental health problems associated with life in the cities that were explored in some of the studies presented at the Seminar. Examples were the report by Rotondo based on case studies in Peru, and Martucelli's analysis of personality characteristics in relation to social mobility in Sao Paulo. These reports suggest that the urban setting creates anxiety, a certain amount of which is not undesirable in so far as it stimulates successful adjustment to urban living. But tensions leading to excessive anxiety may cause social and personal disorganization. The findings in Peru in some respects strikingly resemble findings in Sweden, especially with regard to the incidence of alcoholism;
- (f) Problems of social disorganization - delinquency, crime, prostitution, mental illness, alcoholism and the like - were disproportionately common among the in-migrants endeavouring to adjust themselves to the new urban environment. In Buenos Aires, according to Germani, social disorganization was greater among

- recent migrants than among earlier migrants or the population born in the city. More than one-fifth of the families of recent in-migrants, as against about one-seventh of the earlier migrants and only 3 per cent of the population born in the city displayed symptoms of social or personal disorganization by reason of prostitution, alcoholism, delinquency and other types of problems with minors. Matos Mar stresses serious conflicts "reflected in mental, social and economic maladjustment" among rural in-migrants in Lima. The field study prepared by the Technical Division of the Ecuadorian National Planning and Economic Co-ordination Board describes crime and social maladjustment in Esmeraldas. Crime is most prevalent among the "farmers" and "farm workers" who migrate to the city, and whose characteristics are poverty, relative youth (21 to 30 years of age) and a low educational and cultural level;
- (g) Social welfare and health services are inadequate to meet the needs of the population, especially of newly-arrived in-migrants;
 - (h) Consumers are often in need of protection, and are increasingly finding it in co-operatives, as well as by means of Government regulatory measures. Co-operative organizations are being encouraged and sometimes set up by public agencies and by commercial and industrial undertakings (for example, in Argentina, Colombia and Uruguay). Some tendency towards federation of co-operatives is apparent. Co-operatives may be expected to acquire increasing importance in Latin America, and should be promoted and encouraged;
 - (i) The integration of immigrants in Latin American cities differs in character. In some cities the great economic opportunities afforded hasten the process of integration (Sao Paulo), whereas in others foreign groups tend to remain an unintegrated enclave, or even to return to their country of origin (Caracas);
 - (j) The in-migrant is as a rule illiterate, and does not possess the type of occupational skills needed in the urban setting. Hence vital importance attaches to the availability of the necessary facilities for educational and vocational training;

/(k) In-migrant

- (k) In-migrant labour is subject to great mobility and high labour turnover, and its productivity is low. Associated with this situation is the relative individualization of the working set-up. Rural community and cultural sanctions which formerly controlled the work behaviour of the in-migrant break down in the city, and the comparative absence of collective action in respect of work matters makes it difficult for the in-migrant worker to achieve identification with the industrial structure. Moreover, he is often interested in his urban work only as a means of accumulating savings so that he can return to his place of origin;
- (l) A shortage of skilled workers, including entrepreneurs, exists in Latin American cities, especially among in-migrants. There is evidence of some vertical mobility among workers with long residence in the city or representing a second or subsequent generation of urban residence;
- (m) Labour unions tend to constitute channels of political protest rather than to plead the specific needs of the urban worker. In-migrants have little connexion with these unions as rule. Some union organizations provide a bridge between the small social structures left behind by the rural out-migrant and the impersonal, anonymous social reality of the factory and the general urban environment;
- (n) The family, although subject to great strains in the urban setting - especially among in-migrants - continues on the whole to perform essential functions for its members and to remain an important determinant of personal behaviour. As Oscar Lewis states in the conclusions of his paper on The culture of the Vecindad in Mexico City,^{22/} "the extended family ties are strong, especially in times of emergency";

^{22/} See Information Document N° 1.

- (o) In some situations the urban setting promotes the organization and the maintenance of the family. This is particularly true of indigenous populations, since only after they have migrated to the city are they obliged to adjust themselves to prevailing marriage and family organization patterns;
- (p) Many city-dwellers, including residents of long standing as well as recent in-migrants, are characterized by "traditional" or "folk" rather than by "industrial" or urban patterns of behaviour. Lewis' description of the residents of the vecindad in Mexico City suggests the persistence of an "urban peasantry", and shows how the vecindad acts as a "shock absorber" for rural migrants to the city because of the similarity between its culture and that of rural areas. The ideal-type structures in sociological literature are often inapplicable to urban situations in under-developed areas, and may, also, be inconsistent with reality in developed areas.

VI. PROBLEMS OF PHYSICAL PLANNING

168. Among the more visible consequences of the rapid rate of urbanization in Latin America is the decadence of the urban environment, manifested in shanty-towns and slums; excessive population densities; uncontrolled land use; inadequate urban services, including housing, water supply, sewerage, utilities and transport; deficient educational and recreational facilities and community centres; woefully inadequate health and welfare services; and even inefficient commercial and marketing services. In short, rapid urbanization in Latin America is accompanied by a defective and deteriorating urban environment, unfavourable to decent urban living, and involving serious hardship for large proportions of the urban population. It is estimated that some 4.5 million families live in shanty-towns and slums in Latin American cities, and that many millions more live in far from ideal urban conditions.

169. Town-planners in Latin America agree that the improvement of the urban environment entails a great deal more than mere physical planning. The concept of town-planning cannot be confined to the designing of the physical structure of urban areas, but must also include the restoration and organization of the urban environment as a desirable place in which to work and to live. Moreover, the town-planner in Latin America is becoming increasingly more aware of the integral character of his task - the need to co-ordinate physical with economic, social and administrative planning. In this connexion, excellent reports dealing with the function, difficulties and progress of planning were made available to the Seminar in relation to Esmeraldas (Technical Division of the Ecuadorian National Planning and Economic Co-ordination Board), San José (Sakari Sariola), and Cochabamba (Ricardo Anaya).

170. Perhaps the most formidable and certainly the most visible problem of the urban setting in Latin America is that pertaining to housing and physical environment. The inability of many low-income families to obtain decent housing with adequate amenities, especially water and sewerage, is the most challenging of the problems which confront the town-planner. An important part of the solution of this problem is undoubtedly related

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to the possibility of raising the income of the less privileged groups, which in turn depends upon the expansion of total and per capita production. Nevertheless, difficult as it may be to improve the housing situation at existing national and family income levels, the town-planner cannot but grapple with the problem.

171. In most of the Latin American countries public housing programmes have been initiated. They have, however, mainly benefited families with moderate incomes who have been able to contribute to building costs. Housing policy in Latin America has not yet solved the problem of the families in the lowest income brackets - the residents of shanty-towns and tenement slums. Moreover, the selection of tenants for public housing has often posed, in Latin America as in the United States, the difficult alternative of deciding between the satisfaction of the poorest families' needs, on the one hand, or the creation of reasonably balanced and stable communities, on the other. Public housing raises other basic questions of policy as well, including the extent to which such housing promotes further in-migration from rural areas.

172. Some advances have been achieved in connexion with shanty-towns. In Colombia, for example, although great difficulties were encountered, the entire population of a slum district in Barranquilla was resettled. Even though only 20 per cent of the slum dwellers moved into the new housing intended for them, some progress was clearly made. Interesting developments in providing "core" or "shell" housing, meeting at least minimum decency standards, were reported in Lima. Consideration was given to the possibility of providing water supply and possibly sewerage, with the aim of creating an environment in which low-income families could build their own houses, but with some supervision and adherence to at least minimum standards. Such "core" housing could be improved upon later. In general, evidence was presented for a number of cities indicating that the shanty-town dwellers had considerable initiative and, with proper leadership and guidance, could be mobilized for effective self-help types of community development activity that would notably improve their housing and environment.

173. Another major problem confronting town-planners is uncontrolled land use and speculation. Rapid urbanization has produced a mushrooming growth outside city limits, largely uncontrolled. Waste lands, often unsuited for

urban use, have been occupied; industries have moved across city boundary lines to evade taxes and regulations and have thus stimulated the development of shanty-towns; speculators have appropriated land in anticipation of a great rise in its value as cities expand, or with a view to quick profits on the sale of sites not yet properly developed for residential use. The holding of land for speculative purposes has forced private and public housing projects to be carried out at relatively long distances from city centres, with disastrous effects on already over-burdened and inadequate transport facilities, while another consequence is the unnecessarily rapid depletion of the supply of outlying land for other purposes, such as cultivation, recreation and so forth. The remedies for uncontrolled and deleterious land use are well known - long-range planning, zoning, taxation and regulations of various kinds. But town-planners in Latin America are often powerless to deal with land use problems because of the limited jurisdictions and faculties of local authorities.

174. The city-planner is, of course, confronted with other questions, such as the general problem of helping to provide an adequate infrastructure for urban living and development. But he, like economic, social and administrative programmers, is seriously handicapped by the level of the national economy and by the difficulty of choosing between "social" and "productive" investment. The great social needs of the cities - for environmental sanitation (including control of wastes polluting water and the atmosphere); for urban services, including housing conducive to decent living; and for educational, cultural, welfare, health and recreational facilities - often have to be measured against the need to provide the essential requisites for the expansion of the per capita and aggregate product, such as sufficient power, transport, land plant, water supply, highways, bridges, etc., for industrial and commercial purposes.

175. In the performance of his task the town-planner in Latin America is seriously hampered by low income levels, rapid population growth, ill-conceived housing criteria, monetary devaluation and rent controls. Obviously, these are problems which involve the entire nation and cannot be tackled by the town-planner alone. The attainment of local urban goals, the co-ordination of the economic, social, administrative and physical

planning required by central, regional and local Governments and authorities in well-devised programmes to which the private sector of the economy as well as each level of Government is able to make an effective contribution, confront the town-planner with a variety of situations, among which the following may be included:

- (a) Problems of small urban centres:
 - (i) Relatively isolated (e.g. Esmeraldas);
 - (ii) Within a metropolitan area (e.g. Alajuelita);
- (b) Problems of metropolitan areas:
 - (i) Given centralization of activities, as in capitals and large towns;
 - (ii) Given decentralization of activities and more balanced population distribution, as in Brasilia and industrial cities;
- (c) Problems of establishing priorities in planning programmes in order to ensure the rational and effective investment of public funds.

176. The town-planner must know the size of the population to be served, must bear in mind the level of living to be attained and must strive to achieve a balance between centralization and decentralization of activities. He aims at satisfying social needs, and works especially with factors influencing social organization, such as land use, circulation, and the physical structure of cities.

177. The Organization of American States, through its Planning, Housing and Building Programme of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the Pan American Union, to promote the development of planning personnel and to help to provide a sound professional basis for town-planning, has established (as from 1 January, 1959) the Inter-American Housing and Planning Centre in Bogotá, and has initiated the creation of Regional Town Planning Institutes through which the necessary technical assistance will be available for regional planning courses in institutions of higher education. Three objectives are being stressed, namely, research, by means of which urban areas will be analysed in the context of their economic function and general social setting; professional training to increase the number and quality of planning personnel; and civic guidance to provide a technical assistance service.

VII. ADMINISTRATIVE QUESTIONS

1. Programmes and action in the face of rapid urbanization

178. The solution of the problems arising from urbanization, especially in connexion with the adaptation of rural migrants to town life, necessitates a series of social service measures and programmes which are by no means easy to implement and co-ordinate, on account of the technical, material and administrative difficulties which they involve.

179. Any policy aiming at the creation or development of services designed to lessen the difficulties resulting from rapid urbanization must therefore be guided by general criteria with respect to the urbanization process itself, ignorance or neglect of which might mean that the measures adopted defeated their own ends or might even prove harmful to the country's economic development.

180. For example, it is nowadays recognized that rural development, to which little heed was paid in the past, may exert a decisive influence on the urbanization process, while at the same time it is an indispensable adjunct to the over-all development of the country. In these circumstances, the social measures adopted in relation to urban areas must be supplemented by those applied in the rural environment. In many economically under-developed countries it has been observed that certain measures designed to raise the level of living of the under-privileged sectors of the urban population tend to increase the magnetism of the towns and thus to stimulate the rate of migration from the countryside to urban areas, unless at the same time care is taken to improve living conditions and productivity in the rural districts. This is the reason why rural development measures aimed specifically at controlling the exodus from the countryside have been concentrated on the creation of new sources of employment in rural areas.

181. Lastly, investment in social services must be in strict proportion to the country's economic capacity, so that resources are not diverted towards them at the expense of the country's most important sectors of production. This consideration leads to the same conclusions as were reached by the Seminar during the discussion of the economic aspects of urbanization, to the effect that priority criteria for the provision of urban services must be prepared, and norms established for such services

which are consistent with the level of economic development of the countries concerned.

182. The closest possible co-operation between economic and social programmers must be promoted, to avert the risk that social service programmes may exceed the country's economic capacity and ultimately defeat their own ends.

183. These general considerations must now be followed by a study of the specific programmes and measures that have been or might be adopted, especially in economically under-developed countries, in order to cope with the social consequences of rapid urbanization.

(a) Receiving centres for immigrants

184. The purpose of some of these measures is to help rural immigrants and other groups at a stage of transition to adapt themselves to the conditions of urban life. Mention should first be made of receiving centres for immigrants.

185. In some cases the assistance given to the immigrant on his arrival in the town is confined to providing him with accommodation, board in low-cost eating-houses and guidance as to employment opportunities. Social and educational centres created for the purpose usually give the immigrant all the information he needs on his arrival in the town as to municipal regulations and decrees, and how to find accommodation and avail himself of other urban services, as well as advice and counsel on his problems in connexion with the community, his neighbours, his family and his employer.

(b) Provision of housing and adaptation of immigrants in their new homes

186. This is undoubtedly one of the most formidable of the problems that have to be faced by towns which are the object of mass migration. Difficulties derive not only from its economic aspect but from its many social repercussions. Central Governments or local authorities have not enough resources to solve such problems, and the purchasing power of the immigrants themselves is too low for them to afford the rent of the housing with which they could be supplied. Furthermore, as a general rule, the popular housing programmes implemented hitherto provide accommodation endowed with more amenities than are consistent with the economic situation of their future occupants, so that not only is such housing too expensive, but problems arise in connexion with social adjustment to a new environment.

187. A clearer idea must be formed of the undesirable effects that may be produced by popular housing programmes when the facilities granted for securing a house in an urban area come to constitute in practice a further incentive which intensifies the exodus from the countryside. Lastly, in this connexion consideration should always be given to the extent to which simplified building techniques and the self-help principle may contribute to the solution of the housing problem.

(c) Education

188. Education undoubtedly constitutes one of the basic assets which help countries to solve the problems deriving from their economic development and the effects of the urbanization process. Moreover, it is no less obvious that education plays an important role as an instrument of personal adaptation.

189. As regards the first point, it is becoming increasingly clear that national educational programmes must be visualized as an organic and cohesive whole rather than as a more or less skilful combination of their various parts. Consequently, the whole complex of the country's various educational needs must be borne in mind from the start, so that both the cultural and the socio-economic aspects of their relation to one another can be grasped. In this connexion, as was previously asserted, the efficacy with which a country can tackle the problems arising out of rapid urbanization very largely depends upon the soundness of its educational programming.

190. With respect to education as a factor of personal adaptation, the rapidity of urban change has indubitably brought a variety of negative and self-defeating elements into play. Nevertheless, it must be repeated that the capacity of countries to solve such problems is generally held to be linked with the efficacy of their educational system.

191. Where the more specific problems of slums and marginal areas are concerned, the studies prepared for the Seminar indicate that illiteracy is higher in those districts than in the rest of the city. But the difference is not as great as might have been expected; and, furthermore, even in the worst areas of the cities there is less illiteracy than in rural areas, and school attendance is higher. Again, the literacy rate of the children is higher than that of the parents. These facts afford grounds for some degree of optimism.

192. Although educational conditions in the marginal areas are far from satisfactory - school buildings are generally poor and frequently a long way from where the pupils live -, the city does offer better educational possibilities than the countryside, and this is one of the motivations which cause the inflow of population to the towns.

193. The solution would seem to lie in the raising of educational levels in the rural areas, and this should, in fact, be the final goal. But experience shows that in the intervening period the improvement of rural education may stimulate rather than discourage the movement to the towns, since a close relation exists between education and mobility. It is to be hoped that this contradiction will solve itself as the share of rural and urban areas in economic development is equalized. In a number of the countries of the world where a more advanced stage of economic development has been reached, a state of balance has clearly been achieved in this respect.

194. Attention must now be turned to two other aspects. Firstly, those living in the marginal areas of the city need education in order to cope with their daily problems much more urgently than country-dwellers, because of their proximity to the competitive centres of activity established in the heart of the town. It is here that facilities to promote quick adaptation are particularly needed. Secondly, the figures given by Professor Lewis in his study (Information document No. 1) indicate a direct correlation in the marginal areas between lack of education and poverty. It is the educated who attain the highest of the accessible levels of living (poor as this may be) and can thus escape from the slum environment into the normal life of the city.

195. As regards school education, there is a need for more and better-trained teachers and educational specialists of various sorts to organize and administer school programmes, and for more and better-planned school buildings. A large proportion of urban children of school age do not at present attend school because there are no buildings to house them, or because teachers are not available. If this is the case now, what will be the situation ten years hence, in the light of existing demographic estimates? Latin American Governments are tackling these problems in co-operation with UNESCO's Major Project for the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America. A good deal of progress is already visible, but much remains to be done during the coming eight years, if the target of this ten-year project is to be attained, with the enrolment of all children of school age in primary schools by 1968. With the co-operation

of other organizations interested in the problems of urbanization in Latin America, this objective may be reached in most of the countries of the region.

196. So far as adult education is concerned, efforts must be made to assist young people and adults to educate themselves more fully so that they can lead a useful life in their respective societies. This means that they must be helped to acquire the knowledge and command the skills and techniques which are essential if they are to escape from established routine and become less dependent on people from outside their communities for advice and guidance.

197. One of the basic aims of adult education in under-developed areas is to promote adult literacy to pave the way for the introduction of modern industrial techniques, for popular participation in national and community life, for the broadening of cultural horizons and for the preservation of inherited moral and spiritual values. The achievement of aim will inevitably help to bridge the abyss between town and country which characterizes so many of the countries of Latin America.

198. How can adult education attain this end? A first step would consist in the organization of adult literacy programmes, which would operate long enough for reading to become not only a useful tool but a personal pleasure.

199. The stability and usefulness of such programmes largely depend upon their correlation with other practical schemes of out-of-school education, such as vocational training projects, maisons de culture, community centres, literature production bureaux, etc. It is this correlation that will enable literacy campaigns to be fitted into the framework of broader adult education programmes, thus giving them more meaning and a better chance of success. It also helps adults to understand why it is advisable to learn to read and write and affords them the opportunity to acquire other useful knowledge and skills while they are doing so. The most successful adult literacy programmes are those which have sprung from needs for reading and writing that have developed in connexion with efforts to give vocational training, teach crafts, organize co-operatives and credit unions, promote community organization

and development and provide community recreational facilities.

200. Another method would consist in the organization of permanent out-of-school educational programmes, including: (i) schemes of practical, social, civic, scientific and cultural education, closely linked with out-of-school technical and vocational training activities; (ii) centres to produce reading material for new literates and the new reading public; (iii) national centres for the experimental study of out-of-school education problems and for the production of teaching materials; and (iv) local establishments for youth or adult education, such as centres for rural readers, youth hostels, etc.

201. Local authorities in urban areas must be persuaded that adult education projects and activities of these types are necessary adjuncts to social welfare programmes. Industries must be encouraged to assume responsibility for helping new workers to adjust themselves to urban conditions. Labour welfare services, for example, might sponsor adult education programmes and schools for adults attached to factories or situated in workers' residential areas. The efforts of local authorities to develop such programmes are facilitated by the concentration of new workers in general, in rather sharply-defined sectors and districts of urban areas.

202. UNESCO's Education Programme contemplates activities in all these fields, and interested member States may request aid in developing any or all of these services under the regular and technical assistance programmes.

(d) Specialized services

203. Various specialized services have to be placed at the disposal of rural immigrants to facilitate their rapid adaptation to the conditions of urban life. These include the public health, dietary instruction, artisan training, social security and basic education services, which are found mainly in the more advanced countries, where, in addition, the level of culture of the immigrants makes it easier for them to obtain the services available in the towns to which they move. In under-developed countries, not only is there a lack of resources with which to provide such services, but also the migrant's relatively low level of culture, his shyness and his natural difficulties in finding his way about the big city prevent him from availing himself of them even when they exist.

204. An important part is played in the provision of these services by mutual assistance systems (maintained by ethnical groups, relatives, people from the same place of origin and mutual assistance societies) and the philanthropic organizations - religious or secular - which run polyclinics, almshouses, orphanages and hospices, and sometimes distribute food and clothing to the needy.

205. The importance of creating a skilled labour force among the immigrants by the provision of suitable training does not yet seem to have been recognized in Latin America. It should be noted, however, that once the rural migrant is relatively integrated in the life of the town he has the opportunity to take advantage of such services and can do so much more easily. Many Latin American countries, especially, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Uruguay, already have a large number of artisan and industrial schools for adolescents and adults of both sexes.

(e) Social security

206. The inclusion of the immigrant in the official social security system maintained by several countries does not usually take place until some time after his arrival in the town. Most immigrants are absorbed by small industries, services establishments or domestic work, activities which are as a rule excluded from the social security system, since in many cases this covers only industry proper. Even in countries where the system in question is applicable to all urban activities except domestic service, failure to respect the rights of unskilled workers is common, and legal regulations as to minimum wage are often evaded in urban centres where there is a manpower surplus.

(f) Health services

207. In the under-developed countries the disparity between the health services in the towns, especially the larger centres, and those in rural areas is the general rule. It is common to find in the former - which are much more numerous - a duplication of effort, of equipment and of programmes which contrasts with the almost total lack of these in the interior. The concentration of doctors in the big centres and more prosperous towns is another aspect of the same phenomenon.

208. In several countries an attempt is being made to bring medical services (dispensaries, child welfare centres, dental clinics, prenatal medical care, etc.) to the shanty towns themselves.

(g) Assistance to families

209. It is common knowledge that one of the immediate results of rural migration to the towns is the rupture of traditional family ties. This is a contributory factor to the existence of a large number of adolescents and adults in the towns who are uprooted from their family background and enter into temporary and illegitimate unions, and of families in which the wives are ignorant of the most elementary principles of domestic economy, hygiene and child care.

210. As it is a recognized principle that family stability constitutes a powerful factor in the adaptation of migrants to urban conditions, a great effort is being made everywhere, and especially on the part of social welfare assistants and district nurses, to improve the family environment.

211. Mention should be made of some of the methods which have been successfully utilized in this respect, such as the establishment of multi-purpose social centres administered by social welfare assistants which are intended to stimulate family enterprise and participation in activities of common interest.

(h) Youth activities and prevention of delinquency

212. Services aimed at providing healthy recreation for young people and preventing juvenile delinquency play a very important part in the social adjustment of rural migrants to their new milieu, as is well known, the population of most towns in under-developed countries consists largely of very young people.

213. Towns seldom have parks, playing fields or other public recreation facilities for children and young people. The lack of such facilities is particularly noticeable in the lower-class districts and shanty towns. Even when schools for poorer children exist they are only open for a few hours a day. Moreover, the duration of school attendance is exceedingly short and adolescents often leave before they have begun to work. Many of them start to loiter in the streets, which naturally tends to raise the juvenile delinquency rate.

214. The problem of abandoned children and of juvenile delinquency has attracted the attention of sociologists, educationists, moralists and journalists in the under-developed countries, but so far little has been done in this field.

215. There is no doubt that the programmes intended to solve the problem throw a heavy burden on the economic capacity of the countries in question, but the gravity of the situation could be lessened if existing resources were put to better use through improved co-ordination.

2. Measures to balance urban and rural development

(a) Rural development programme

216. Many countries have adopted a series of measures in rural areas intended specifically to reduce migration to the towns, since it is self-evident that urbanization is not all based on industrial progress and still less on over-all economic development. The rural exodus, which is not invariably derived from the liberation of the rural labour force and the need to use this force in secondary or tertiary activities, is indeed often caused by poor living conditions in the country and the multiple attractions of the town.

217. This is why rural development programmes often tend to lessen migration to the towns, although they are rarely established for that purpose and may have exactly the opposite effect. None the less, it is true to say that the economic and social development of rural areas is essentially intended to offset the social attraction of the towns and the phenomenon of expulsion or economic pressure from such areas.

218. These programmes generally include the following measures:

(a) encouragement of domestic artisan production and small local industries; (b) the development of light industry as a whole, and of the processing of agricultural commodities in the zones of production themselves or in their vicinity; (c) the establishment of adequate heavy industries in areas that are under-developed or particularly susceptible to economic crisis; and (d) the improvement of sanitary, educative, physical and social conditions in the villages and small towns.

(b) Programmes of resettlement

219. Programmes for resettlement rural migrants are still at the experimental stage and little can be said about their eventual success, particularly in the case of those intended for migrants who have crowded into the shanty towns after failing to discover economic opportunities in the town. Some of the programmes provide for land

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grants and assistance in housing construction and advice to beneficiaries as to how to obtain a permanent source of income.

(c) Industrial decentralization

220. Industrial decentralization as a measure to establish a balance between rural and urban development is of far greater importance because of its economic nature and the multiplicity of its effects. This method has been used to relieve congestion in metropolitan areas, redistribute population, reduce the exaggerated growth of certain towns which tend to absorb the energies and wealth of the country and improve employment opportunities and income levels in small towns and rural areas.

221. Various steps have been taken to achieve industrial decentralization, from direct Government action in the establishment of new industries to development measures such as the granting of tax exemptions, and from the provision of services - above all those indispensable to the urban infrastructure - to the construction of new towns.

222. The decentralization of industry forms part of more extensive economic programmes. Its institution on a large scale would require considerable intervention on the part of the State, which explains why this measure has met with more success in countries with centrally-planned economies.

3. Problems of public administration

(a) Politico-administrative centralization and concentration

223. In the Latin American countries emphasis is placed on political decentralization and improved distribution of public services as essential measures. It is argued that without them local forces will be unable to participate effectively in the solution of the economic, social and even political problems of the country. Often it is the provinces and states which aspire to greater autonomy, on more or less federal bases; often it is the municipalities which use the former tradition of independence enjoyed by the local councils and corporations of colonial times as arguments for reviving their institutions. An intense municipalistic campaign has been waged for half a century. The main arguments put forward may be summed up as follows:

(a) Greater political autonomy for local governments through the popular election of municipal authorities;

(b) Their own administration as regards matters of special interest to municipalities;

(c) Their own financial resources through the delimitation of the tax field of the various government departments;

(d) Their own powers of organization for municipalities, i.e. each municipal unit may draw up its own basic charter.

224. The success of this campaign has not been very marked. Only in a few countries have any results been achieved and even so little real political decentralization has been attained.

225. The advocates of greater political decentralization do not realize that the new social and economic conditions of the Latin American countries and the direction taken by their economic development require increasing intervention from the State in the basic sectors of the economy. The central government has to resort increasingly to determined economic controls. In most countries of Latin America it regulates the State credit resources, the banking system, exchange policy, wage policy, the system of production of numerous products which are basic for the national economy and at the

same time is responsible for the tax system. It applies this latter instrument as part of an economic and social policy and not simply as a means of adding to the treasury.

226. In these conditions, the political administrative and financial policy which the central government allows the local territorial communities to exercise is without any effective economic content and remains merely an utopial expression of the municipalistic movement. The economic and financial autonomy of local governments would therefore depend on a system of conditioned subsidies or on a share in the income of the central government, but always in accordance with national plans for investing the resources thus obtained.

227. Municipalists and other advocates of decentralization should first seek technical decentralization which is in itself perfectly compatible with the integrity of the powers of the central government. The decentralization of governmental planning is thus perfectly maintained. Technical decentralization would be achieved by means of bodies designed to provide technical assistance to local governments.

228. The rational distribution of functions and powers among the various branches of Government for the purpose of avoiding uneconomic duplication, and the inadequate utilization of the real capacity of each department, is a subject which has not yet received the attention it deserves, in spite of its importance in any attempt at political and administrative decentralization.

229. All these reasons may explain the scant success so far obtained by the municipalistic movement. It has lacked precision in its claims and has neglected the measures which can really strengthen local governments, particularly those related to the acquisition of technical assistance and the rational distribution of functions and powers among the various government planning authorities..

/(b) Training

(b) Training of officials

230. The techniques of public administration have become so perfected in the last fifty years that no government can neglect them with impunity or, at least, without seriously undermining the efficiency of its activities. In particular, the under-developed countries, given the shortage of their resources for meeting their increasing needs, cannot permit themselves the luxury of continuing with their routine and inefficient practices inherited from the old administration. The studies carried out by the Inter-American Economic and Social Council (and, in 1954-58, by experts from the United Nations and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) unanimously stressed the need for reforming the public administration of those countries.

231. However, no illusions should be entertained as to whether the Latin American countries are giving due attention to this problem. In most of them there are still very few administrators and officials properly trained in the science and techniques of public administration, especially at the level of provincial, state and local government.

232. The rationalization of the methods and procedures of public administration is closely linked with the problem of staff training. The success of administrative reforms depends on whether the officials (and heads of service in particular) have the right attitude and mentality.

233. In this respect, it should be noted that demands for municipal autonomy and for stronger local institutions have not laid sufficient stress upon the need to train personnel. If this were the case, they would undoubtedly have been listened to more carefully by international technical assistance bodies and their own national governments.

(c) Absence of planning

234. The topic of regional and urban planning with respect to urbanization naturally aroused the greatest interest at the Seminar. Ample information is now available on this subject to which the United Nations in particular has paid special attention, as witnessed by the regional seminars and different studies prepared under its auspices.

235. Some brief comments should be added on a few other points. In the first place, there is a general lack of planning at the different Government levels and a consequent need to encourage a favourable attitude, not only among politicians but also among the general public.

236. Secondly, the fact that the provision of services is usually made without reference to any fixed order of priority - particularly of an economic nature - invariably has an adverse effect on the economic development of the countries themselves.

237. Lastly, the equally obvious fact that, when planning agencies exist, they are concentrated in the capitals, leads to the formulation of detailed plans for distant areas that often bear no relation to the facts. The need for local communities to play some part in the activities of planning and programming is thus overlooked.

(d) Vices of the administrative system

238. The recurrence of the typical vices of Latin American public administration - nepotism, overstaffing, bureaucracy, low salary levels, corruption and the undue influence wielded by party politics - is fairly if not excessively frequent, just as its inefficacy is almost universally condemned. Obviously, such vices constitute a barrier to efficient Government action and must be eradicated as soon as possible. But when it comes to defining the appropriate measures, the first point to be stressed is that those formulated in other countries cannot always be adopted without more ado, - without, that is, careful prior study of the special conditions existing in Latin America. The vices referred to often have their roots in the agrarian structure hitherto prevalent in the countries in question, as well as in the trends of their export economies.

239. Point by point, each and all of the vices mentioned - nepotism just as much as the passion for over-staffing, or the low level of salaries and emoluments - could easily be imputed to the special conditions characterizing Latin America's past. But such an analysis, apart from its intrinsic interpretative value, would also establish genuinely objective

/bases for

bases for the initiation of the most suitable reforms, since it is often impossible to clear at a single bound the stages whereby the underlying social and economic situation has

(e) Participation of private enterprise

240. It is the universal desire of administrators, specialists in social science and town planners that the community should effectively participate in Government activity. It is the duty of all citizens to act with proper public spirit, and even the least economically privileged are expected to prove capable of putting into effect, through various community development projects, the basic principles of responsibility and self-help.

241. Nevertheless, the economic and cultural background of the Latin American countries should put optimists on their guard, since a tradition of paternalism prevails in the region, not only within the family but in work and political relationships. The civic spirit and the principles of self-help, especially in towns, are at variance with the tendency of these countries to expect the Government to do everything. Nevertheless, the authorities can and must encourage private enterprise to contribute to the development of their programmes of social action, especially by means of financial assistance granted in the form of conditional subsidies to those private entities which are willing to provide social services. Many towns which are at present passing through a phase of demographic expansion constitute a suitable field of action for organizations of this type, offering an excellent opportunity for the Government and private individuals to join forces with a view to solving the problems of urbanization.

Part Three

CONCLUSIONS OF THE SEMINAR

I. DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTS

The Seminar recognized that urbanization, conceived as the increasing proportion of the population, national, regional or local, which is concentrated in population agglomerations is part of a profound social and cultural change and therefore involves a great deal more than mere demographic processes. Urbanization as a demographic process and urbanization as a social process need not accompany each other in point-to-point correspondence. For purposes of consistency with growing international usage and in the absence of other criteria permitting international comparative analysis, however, it was agreed to use urbanization in the sense indicated above, based on an arbitrary criterion of size of population agglomeration. Thus, for purposes of seminar discussion, it was agreed to use as the criterion of "urban", places of 20,000 and over, because the internationally comparable data were readily available on this basis. It was agreed, however, that the 20,000 and over cutting point was an arbitrary one; that for many purposes smaller size places should be considered as urban; and that in any case, in keeping with recommendations of the United Nations Statistical and Population Commissions, individual countries should, of course, continue definitions of "urban" and "rural" most useful to them, while making available their census information by size of place classifications for maximizing international comparability.

Recognition was given to the usefulness of other terms such as "city" to designate the large population agglomeration as an administrative entity; "urbanized area" to designate the solidly build up contiguous agglomeration of population "metropolitan area" to designate the population agglomeration together with its hinterland; and "conurbation" or "megalopolis", to refer to the coalescence of metropolitan areas.

/II. DEMOGRAPHIC

II. DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS

The rate of urbanization in Latin America is a function, in large measure, of the exceedingly rapid rate of total population growth. Framing any consideration of the demographic aspects of urbanization in Latin America, is the stark fact that total population increased by about four fifths between 1920 and 1950, a rate of growth well above the world average; and that the population of Latin America, growing at a rate of about 2.5 per cent per year, may double within the next thirty years.

The Seminar was impressed with the fact that the growth of urban population in Latin America was even greater than that of the total population - reaching levels as high as 7 per cent per year (in Venezuela). In seven of the 15 countries for which data were available urban population at observed rates of growth would double in less than 18 years; and in one (Venezuela) in about ten years.

It was noted by the Seminar that the degree of urbanization in Latin America was intermediate between that of the economically more advanced nations in Oceania, North America and Europe, and the least economically advanced nations in Asia and Africa. Twenty-five per cent of the population in Latin America lived in places of 20 thousand and over circa 1950; and 17 per cent in places of 100 thousand and over.

The discussion disclosed the similarity between the character of urbanization in Latin America and in Asia. In Latin America as in Asia it was apparent that:

- (1) There is a larger urban population than is justified by existent levels of agricultural and non-agricultural productivity;
- (2) Rapid urban growth is more the result of economic "push" factors from rural countryside than from "pull" factors in the cities. The "pull" from the cities tends to be social rather than economic;
- (3) Urbanization in large measure has been independent of industrialization;
- (4) Urban population is concentrated in the larger cities, especially in the capital cities, which continue to grow more rapidly than other urban places.

/In general,

In general, it was concluded that urban populations in Latin America, in contrast with urban populations in the economically more advanced nations, could not be regarded as both the cause and result of technological and cultural changes which necessarily brought forth and reflected increased product per head and higher levels of living. In a large measure urban population growth in Latin America represents the transfer of poverty from the countryside to the city. Urban population growth in Latin America is to a considerable extent the result of migration from rural to urban areas. In six of the ten countries for which data were available, migration (including international migration) accounted for over 50 per cent of the increase in urban population and, in an additional three nations, for 40 to 50 per cent.

Considerations of policy and action in respect to the demographic aspects of urbanization in Latin America led to the following conclusions:

- (1) It is necessary to take into account the relationship between total population growth and economic growth in considering the facts and implications of urbanization.
- (2) It is desirable to achieve a better rural-urban balance in population growth and also a better balance in larger city and city growth.
- (3) Since the population of Latin America is still predominantly rural, especially when compared with the economically more advanced countries, it is still possible to achieve balanced rural-urban growth.
- (4) Better demographic data are needed in Latin America, especially as regards internal migration. The opportunity to achieve better demographic statistics in connexion with the United Nations World Census Programme of 1960 should be fully utilized.
- (5) Such data as already exist, together with the data to be obtained from the 1960 censuses for the Americas, require fuller analysis than hitherto and more extensive utilization in formulating policy and in administering programmes.

- (6) Economic development programmes should be used to achieve a better balance of urban-rural growth, through effective decisions in respect of centralization and decentralization of industry, and through measures designed to increase product per head and levels of living in rural areas.

III. ECONOMIC ASPECTS

The following conclusions were reached in the Seminar:

1. National and regional economic planning and programmes must take into account the impact of specific programmes on the urban rural balance of the economy with its consequences for the population;
2. Programmes should be adopted to raise the level of living of the total population, both urban and rural. This should be accomplished both by measures designed to increase the product per head, on the one hand, and by an equitable distribution of product, on the other. Raising the level of living of the rural population would, among other things tend to moderate the excessive flow of migrants from rural to urban areas.
3. Agrarian reform resulting in higher productivity and giving the agricultural population a stake in the land and an opportunity to raise its level of living, may constitute an important element in the solution of some urban problems.
4. Decisions in respect of the centralization or decentralization of industry must be reached on the basis of the merits of each case, taking into account the economic efficiency of concentration, on the one hand, and the diseconomies arising from bottlenecks in public services and utilities arising in rapidly expanding cities. In that connexion the Seminar accepted in principle the conclusions of the United Nations Seminar on Regional Planning, held in 1958 in Tokio.
5. Consideration should be given to the economic development of Latin America on a regional basis. The net effect of such regional economic development should be to increase the product per head for each of the respective nations and to give additional flexibility in urban-rural planning.

6. Decisions on the allocation of limited resources between infrastructure investments in urban places and productive investment must take long-term as well as short-term considerations into account. Priority should be given to investment in social-overhead facilities that complement productive facilities and increase the product, and at the same time promote conditions of social justice and business enterprise.
7. Efforts should be made to stimulate the development of industry in areas other than the capitals. Successful devices for accomplishing this objective, based on the experience of various countries, include encouraging the migration of industry or the establishment of new industries in those areas by such means as selective tax exemptions, supply of electric power, improvement of transport facilities, factory construction made available at attractive rents, trading estates and advisory services in plant location, etc. and help in recruiting, training, and housing labour.
8. The size and density of urban populations should be viewed as economic assets in a condition of a favourable urban-rural balance. They signify the availability of labour supply, markets and a wide variety of public services which encourage industrial and business enterprise and make possible efficient business operation by minimizing the frictions of transport and communications. It would be wasteful, not fully to utilize the economic potential of existent urban populations, before developing new urban centres.

IV. EMPLOYMENT ASPECTS

The conclusions reached in respect to urban labour were the following:

1. Workers entering the urban labour force from rural and often folk types of society lack skills for industrial work, and tend to lack stability, have difficulty in adapting themselves to urban conditions, and consequently often have low productivity.
2. High priority should be given to the education and training of skilled workers requisite to the development of industry and related enterprises. Special attention should be devoted to producing the necessary level personnel so as to minimize dependence on outside aid for economic development.

/3. Short-term

3. Short-term measures to improve the lot of urban labour should include the following:

- (a) To provide adequate information to rural areas concerning the availability or absence of employment opportunities, living conditions, etc. in the urban areas.
- (b) To provide vocational training for immigrants in the city. Consideration should be given to the "rapid training" methods successfully used in other parts of the world.

4. Longer term measures should include:

- (a) Expansion of rural and urban educational systems (see section VI above);
- (b) Re-orientation of school curricula better to meet local needs;
- (c) Provision for practical vocational or pre-vocational training;
- (d) Provisions of improved employment services;
- (e) Provision for protection from exploitation of in-migrant workers especially female and child labour as well as urban labour in general.

V. PHYSICAL PLANNING

Latin America's physical planning as evidenced in the Seminar discussions in general displays the following characteristics:

- (a) Planning programmes tend to be concentrated in a relatively small number of the larger metropolitan areas and, especially, in the capitals.
- (b) Metropolitan and urban areas in Latin America suffer from serious deficiencies and bottlenecks in basic urban facilities including water supply, sanitation, transport and power.
- (c) Urban planning is in general inadequately related to national and regional economic planning, on the one hand, and to social and administrative planning, on the other.
- (d) Physical planners are confronted with difficult decisions in respect of rural-urban balance, equitable distribution of limited urban services to various sectors of urban population, long-run vs. short-run considerations, and priorities to be assigned to the many pressing needs.

/(a) Physical

- (e) Physical planners in Latin America are faced with acute problems in the widespread prevalence of "shanty-towns".

In view of the previous considerations the Seminar participants agreed on the following:

1. Physical planning must set goals which can be achieved within reasonable time limits. Short run gains must often be deferred out of longer run considerations; and programmes should be staged in such a manner as to prevent satisfaction with half-way measures, on the one hand, and widespread disillusionment, on the other.
2. Physical planning must be integrated with national and regional social, economic and administrative planning. Co-ordination of these various planning activities is pre-requisite to achieving balance and equity in meeting the many needs of Latin America.
3. Physical planning should recognise that the basic problem in Latin America is the low level of income and must strive to avoid diseconomies. The planning of the physical environment should aim at facilitating and accelerating the improvement of the level of living of the population.
4. Within the economic and financial possibilities, priority must be given to the provision of basic urban services to the mass population in cities. These include drinking-water, sewage and other sanitary services and public utilities. Consideration must also be given to the possibility of housing programmes which conform to minimum standards of sanitation and comfort, as a means of tackling the problems created by shanty-towns.
5. Efforts should be made to exert greater control over land use by means of such programmes as:
 - (i) Extending municipal jurisdiction over land use especially with reference to the whole of metropolitan areas;
 - (ii) Enforcing a system of zoning according to prescribed regulations;
 - (iii) Creating wider municipal powers to condemn and purchase land;
 - (iv) Designing tax systems to penalize speculative land holding;
 - (v) Requiring that subdivision of land for residential purposes be permitted only if essential urban services are also projected;
 - (vi) Acquiring large reserves of urban and suburban land for future use for public purposes;

/(vii) Urging

- (vii) Urging the physical planning of open territories, or territories not used for economic purposes or activities, in order to achieve better land use and promote the real occupation of the territories and more suitable distribution of the population.
6. Efforts should be made to ensure the sanitary protection of watercourses and bathing-places in order to avoid contamination by human and industrial waste, and steps should be taken to avoid contamination of the air by industrial gases, vapours and smoke. Thought should also be given to the dangers to health caused by atomic energy installations.

VI. EDUCATION

Educational planning and development must play a major role in the solution of problems of urbanization, both as a base for the economic activities and social organization large cities require, and as an instrument of personal adjustment to the problems of transition to urban life.

1. National educational systems should be planned with a view to ensuring the maximum utilization of available resources and should be adapted to new social and economic conditions.
2. This implies the need to increase the number of teaching staff, buildings and other necessary facilities, and to ensure a larger attendance in teaching establishments.
3. Further, adult education programmes should be undertaken to promote literacy and self-dependence as well as a sense of community values, both for their own sake and to pave the way for employment in industry or services and full economic and cultural participation in urban and national life.
4. Vocational training programmes, maisons de la culture, community centres, literature production bureaux are means to this end, and local authorities should recognize that adult education projects of this kind are necessary adjuncts to social welfare programmes; and industries, too, must be encouraged to assume responsibility for helping new workers in their problems of adjustment to urban conditions.
5. Importance should be given to the training of planners for inter-professional work, especially by means of post-graduate courses sponsored

/by universities

by universities and with the participation of the schools specializing in this field and forming part of the universities.

6. The Seminar noted that UNESCO's education programme contemplates activities in these various fields. Of special importance was UNESCO's Major Project for the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America, which is a ten-year programme begun in 1958 for aiding Latin American Governments in their attack upon problems of primary education. States members of UNESCO may request aid in developing any or all of these services.

VII. SOCIAL WELFARE ASPECTS

Consideration of the social, health and recreational problems of urban dwellers, and especially of immigrants led the Seminar to the following conclusions:

1. Planning social services and welfare facilities should be regarded as an integral part of plans to deal with urbanization, that is, social planning should be integrated with economic, physical, and administrative planning. Social services as part of social policy should become a reality by the participation of social workers with the other technicians in the planning and implementation of social policy.
2. Any programme of social welfare in connexion with the social problems of urbanization should aim primarily at the groups and the individuals through the group-family, local community, voluntary associations - and should be based on the acceptance and active participation of the groups concerned.
3. Existing social services should be extended and oriented to cover
 - (a) the needs of new immigrants on their arrival include the creation of reception centres for newcomers needed and feasible to ensure their integration into the city community;
 - (b) lodging for the homeless immigrants and especially vulnerable groups such as single women, adolescents, the sick, handicapped and aged;
 - (c) measures designed to assist newcomers to obtain necessary information and services in respect to health and nutrition in urban centres;

- (d) help should be provided to assist rural migrants to return to the countryside; such back-flow movements may help to relieve the severity of excessive urbanization and may be encouraged by appropriate aid;
 - (e) attention should be given to provision for youth services, especially where there is a gap between age of leaving school and the beginning of employment;
 - (f) consideration should be given to facilitating the obtaining and effectiveness of the identification documents required in urban living, i.e. proof of identity, citizenship, age, marital status, etc.
4. The social services should adapt themselves to the degree of urbanization.
 5. "Multi-purpose" social centres are required which would provide general welfare and social services to all urban residents including immigrants.
 6. Attention should be given to using community development programmes when appropriate in urban centres. Initiatives taken by shanty-town dwellers to improve their own conditions in some cities suggest the possibility of organizing effective self-help programmes in urban areas based on the natural proclivities of people to organize themselves to deal with their problems.
 7. Such self-help programmes can and should be attempted even in very disorganized areas, employing the appropriate techniques to promote the manifestation of the self-organizing tendencies which otherwise would remain ineffectual.
 8. As no technical discussion by social workers was held to discuss social problems of urbanization, types of social services needed or the most effective social work method or methods, the seminar recommended the convening of such a meeting as part of the programme for future action.

9. It was further recommended that instruction in social service should be given in schools at the university level in order to ensure a scientific level of study and a profitable link with the social sciences.

10. Lastly, the Seminar considered that social service schools should take into account, as a factor of the greatest importance, the socio-economic motivations and organizational methods of the community and group social services.

VIII. ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS

Consideration of the broad general question of formulating policy and administering programmes designed to deal with the many problems identified with urbanization resulted in the following conclusions in respect of general administrative matters.

1. The enormous task of dealing with the many economic, physical, social and administrative problems in urban centres, under conditions of limited resources, and mass poverty may lead to wasteful programmes in terms of available resources. Among the types of projects to be avoided are:
 - (a) small scale "show-piece" projects that can serve only a few;
 - (b) elaborate administrative organizations with over-ambitious terms of reference;
 - (c) tax systems that provide social services at the expense of those least able to pay for them.
2. Adequate provision should be made for collecting basic data, conducting research, and analysing the various problems to assure sound policy and action.

It is recognized, of course, that it is often necessary to act on the basis of existing information, even though inadequate, but every effort should be made to obtain sound information as a basis for action.

3. It is desirable to establish a central agency with responsibility for assembling and analysing the basic information for the benefit of the administrator. Such an agency, preferably working in co-operation with universities and research institutes, should have the best possible personnel for the performance of this basic intelligence function.
4. Generally speaking, administrative action for dealing with urban problems will vary with the extent to which administration, in general, is centralized or decentralized among the various nations.
5. Provision should be made for the co-ordination of policy and programmes designed to deal with inter-related urban problems. Such co-ordination could take various forms and be situated in various places in Government as for example, in a national economic and social planning body. While it is not necessary to create a national agency devoted to urbanization problems, it would be desirable, through provision of an adequate co-ordinating mechanism, to provide a place in the central Government in which

problems of urbanization as a whole could be considered without prejudice to the initiative of local and regional authorities.

6. The teaching of public administration in specialized schools and courses should be encouraged as a means to improve the competence of the public servants at all governmental levels.

7. As one solution for the existing conflict between the aspirations of local communities for greater and more effective autonomy, on the one hand, and, on the other, the need of central Governments to increase its powers, usually at the expense of local authorities, on matters of economic, fiscal and social policies, in order to cope with its ever greater responsibilities, the following measures should be taken:

- (a) a more rational distribution of functions should be organized among the different governmental levels;
- (b) grant-in-aid programmes should be established in which the funds are used in accordance with national norms or plans.

8. National Governments should consider a system of administration under which municipal Governments could take initiatives and assume responsibility for dealing with the various problems that confront them. The evidence indicates that over-centralization tends to discourage local initiative and retard the solution of many urban problems.

9. In this connexion it would be desirable to provide for a general review and reform of the present powers of the municipal Governments to tax, borrow, plan and engage in inter-governmental agreements with each other as well as with higher governmental levels. Special attention should be given to the training of municipal personnel in the modern administrative techniques as well as in the substantive fields of municipal activities, so as to prepare the local Governments to meet their present and new responsibilities.

10. Local governmental structures should be modified to correspond at least with the area of contiguous urban settlement, the "urbanized area" if not with the larger "metropolitan area". Such local governmental structures would make possible more effective planning.
11. Efforts should be made to encourage maximum citizen participation in programmes designed to solve urban problems (see community development programmes above).
12. Efforts should be made to improve the efficiency of the public services by the following measures:
 - (a) installing civil service systems to recruit and retain qualified personnel;
 - (b) improving conditions of public service, including those relating to levels of remuneration, so that able men can be attracted to the public service;
 - (c) installing effective and efficient administrative procedures.

IX. RESEARCH

The proceedings of the Seminar threw into relief the serious shortage of information and data on Latin America's social problems and situation, especially as regards the social consequences of urbanization. The need to promote specific studies was obvious, and in this connexion it was stressed that universities and other public and private centres of learning should devote the necessary attention to the above-mentioned problems. The Seminar considered that a serious obstacle to the attainment of this objective lay in the lack of specialists in the field concerned, and emphasized the need for the training of such specialists to include the theory and practice of the methodology of research. Regional institutions such as the Latin American Research Centre in the Social Sciences (Centro Latinoamericano de Investigaciones en Ciencias Sociales) and the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales) which have been set up under the auspices of UNESCO, constituted very important instruments for the achievement of that end.

X. NEXT STEPS

The key problem in Latin America dominating all other problems is, of course, the low level of living of the population, arising essentially from low aggregate product. The problems associated with rapid urbanization are, in large part, the result of low levels of living in the countryside which forces migration to the cities and thus augments the symptoms of poverty with which the cities are already afflicted. In a fundamental sense the major problems of urbanization can be resolved only as aggregate product is increased and higher levels of living are achieved for both rural and urban populations.

Efforts to deal with the problems of urbanization obviously involve comprehensive and intensive planning and the design of both short-term and long-term programmes.

As a first step in efforts to deal with problems of rapid urbanization it is desirable that Governments designate a focal point in the national Government for the co-ordination of policies and programmes affecting the inter-related problems of urban living. It would be the function of such a focal and co-ordinating body to take into consideration such economic, planning, social and administrative programmes under way, so as to evaluate their impact on urban problems; and to take the initiative in recommending policies and programmes - or modifications of policies and programmes - more effectively to deal with urban problems.

This would enable Member Governments better to avail themselves of the opportunities, afforded by international programmes of technical assistance, to contribute to the solution of urban problems in the economic, social, planning and administrative fields. The normal programmes of the United Nations and its specialized agencies relating to Latin America and the programmes of the Organization of American States should be drawn upon by Member Governments. Illustrative programmes of this type are the United Nations programme on balanced social and economic development, the programmes of the United Nations and specialized agencies dealing with the problem of defining and

/measuring levels

measuring levels of living; and the UNESCO major project for the extension of primary education in Latin America.

Among the other early steps recommended by the Seminar were the following two, the purpose of which would be to supply a better basis for the needed research prerequisite to successful policy and action:

(a) The Seminar reaffirmed the recommendation that "family living surveys" be conducted.^{23/} Such studies should be designed to obtain a direct and comprehensive picture of family living conditions and to provide a better empirical basis, than now exists, for formulating specific policies and action programmes;

(b) The Seminar also recommended that every effort be made in conjunction with the censuses of the Americas, to be taken in or around 1960 as part of the United Nations 1960 World Census Programme, to obtain as much information as possible on urban problems. It is particularly important that adequate provision be made for the tabulation and analysis of the 1960 censuses, so that the statistics collected can be effectively used for comprehensive and integral planning in the economic, physical, social and administrative fields.

The Seminar expressed the hope that the joint United Nations-UNESCO programme of activities in the urbanization field would be continued in co-operation with the other specialized agencies, and that an assessment would be made of the findings and conclusions of the various regional studies and seminars thus far undertaken.

The Seminar also recommended, as mentioned in section VII, 8, the convening of a meeting of social workers among the various member States to consider the social problems of urbanization, with a view to making recommendations for concerted action on urban problems in the social welfare field.

The Seminar expressed the hope that Member States would make copies of this report available to personnel in all agencies of the

^{23/} Report on International Definitions and Measurement of Standards of Levels of Living, based on meeting convened by the Secretary General of the United Nations jointly with the International Labour Office and the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Government at the national and local level concerned with urban problems, and to universities. It is believed that the study of this report in providing a common framework for the comprehension and consideration of urban problems would assist in the formulation of coordinated policies and measures for their solution.

The Seminar felt that there was little prospect of obtaining a quick solution to the problems of urbanization in Latin America. The sombre fact is that, should present trends continue, the total population of Latin America will double within the next 30 years and the urban population will increase even faster. Economic development programmes, in addition to raising levels of living of the existing population, must also take into account the need to make adequate provision for rapid demographic growth. Urban authorities are faced with this same problem and must come to grips with it in all fields of planning - economic, physical, social and administrative.

Yet the magnitude of the task of raising levels of living and of solving the problems associated with urban life, must not be allowed to paralyse policy formulation and action. On the contrary, it is the purpose of this and the other seminars to cast light on the nature and importance of problems of urbanization. In the long-term programmes to be undertaken, it will be important to avoid both satisfaction with half-way measures and disillusionment with over-ambitious programmes.

Annex I

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

1. EXPERTS DESIGNATED BY GOVERNMENTS

Argentina

Lauro Olimpico Laura, Civil Engineer

Bolivia

Ricardo Anaya, Dean of the Faculty of Economic Sciences, University of Cochabamba

Chile

Héctor Mardones Restat, Architect; Dean of the Faculty of Architecture, University of Chile

Tomás Reyes Vicuña, Architect; Member of the Chamber of Deputies

Juan Honold Duener, Architect, Ministry of Public Works; Chief Architect of the Santiago Inter-Communal Plan

Mauricio Flisfisch E., Lawyer; Director, Juridical Department, Municipality of Santiago

The Reverend Oscar Domínguez Correa, Graduate in Sociology; Professor of Rural Sociology, Universidad Católica de Chile

Aída Ramírez, Architect, Department of Works, Municipality of Santiago

Hernán Calvo, Architect, Department of Works, Municipality of Santiago

Carlos Aliaga, Architect, Department of Works, Municipality of Santiago

Carlos Cañas, Architect, Department of Works, Municipality of Santiago

Jorge Larraín, Architect, Office of the Director of Works, Municipality of Providencia

Moisés Bedrack, Architect; Professor of Town-Planning, Faculty of Architecture, University of Chile; Architect, Department of Town-Planning, Ministry of Public Works

Amador Briebea, Architect, Department of Control Plans, Directorate of Planning, Ministry of Public Works

Colombia

Ignacio Piñeros Torres, Architect, Administrative Department of Planning and Technical Services; Professor, Faculty of Architecture, University of Bogotá

Segundo Bernal Villa, Anthropologist; Director, Research Department, Bogotá District Planning Office

/Cuba

Cuba

José Morales Hernández, Engineer, Ministry of Public Works
Enrique Castellbí, Engineer, Ministry of Public Works
José Sust Méndez, Engineer; Member of the National Planning Board;
Professor in the Faculty of Engineering, University of Havana
Enrique de Jongh, Architect, Ministry of Public Works
Manuel Gutiérrez García, Architect, Ministry of Public Works
Daniel Alvarez del Río, Architect, Ministry of Public Works
Luis Sisto Guerra, Architect, Municipality of Havana

El Salvador

Roberto Amaya Díaz, Civil Attaché to the Salvadorian Embassy in Chile

Guatemala

Manuel Orellana Cardona, Ambassador to Chile, Lawyer and Notary Public
Alfredo Pinillos Roldán, Engineer,
José Ramírez Riveros, Press Attaché

Panama

Emmanuel Vergara, Architect; Deputy Director, Institute of Housing and
Town-Planning
Secundino Torres G., Lawyer

Paraguay

Mohammed Yampey, Chief Architect, Office of the Control Plan, Municipality
of Asunción
Carlos Williams, Town-Planning Adviser, Technical Assistance Administration

Uruguay

Julio C. Roig, Professor and Engineer; Professor of Planning, Faculty
of Engineering, University of Montevideo; Special Adviser to the
Montevideo Planning Commission; Chief Engineer, Usinas Eléctricas
y Teléfonos del Estado
Guillermo Campos Thévenin, Architect; Chief Technical Planning Group,
Directorate of Planning, Department Council of Montevideo.

Venezuela

Venezuela

Arturo Luis Berti, Medical and Public Health Officer; Director, Division of Malariology

Pedro Olivares, Engineer; Housing Expert, Division of Malariology

Luis Rivas, Architect, Directorate of Town-Planning, Ministry of Public Works

Elio Vidal, Architect, Directorate of Town-Planning, Ministry of Public Works

Samuel Pieters, Architect, Directorate of Town-Planning, Ministry of Public Works

2. EXPERTS DESIGNATED BY THE UNITED NATIONS

Luis Dorich, Town-Planner; Director, National Office for Planning and Urbanization, Peru

Diogo Lordello de Mello, Assistant Director, Brazilian Institute of Municipal Administration, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Wilbert E. Moore, Professor of Sociology, Princeton University, United States of America

Félix Sánchez B., Architect; Director, Department of Studies and Projects of the Banco Hipotecario; Adviser to the National Housing Institute; Professor of Urbanization, National School of Architecture, University of Mexico

3. EXPERTS DESIGNATED BY UNESCO

Herbert Blumer, Sociologist, Latin American Centre for Research in the Social Sciences, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Gino Germani, Sociologist; Director, Department of Sociology, University of Buenos Aires, Argentina

Phillip Hauser, Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology, and Director of the Population Centre, University of Chicago, United States of America

José Matos Mar, Social Anthropologist, University of San Marcos, Lima, Peru

José Medina Echavarría, Sociologist; Director, Latin American School of Sociology, Santiago, Chile

Carlos M. Rama, Professor, University of Montevideo; Doctor of Law and Social Sciences, Uruguay

/4. REPRESENTATIVES

4. REPRESENTATIVES OF SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)
C. Frances MacKinnon, Regional Officer for Domestic Economy
Hernán Santa Cruz, Regional Representative

International Labour Office (ILO)
Jaime Illanes Edwards, Lawyer

World Health Organization (WHO)
Próspero Ruiz, Sanitary Engineer

5. REPRESENTATIVES OF INTER-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Organization of American States
Celestino Sañudo, Architect and Town-Planner

6. OBSERVERS

American Jewish Committee
Máximo Yagupsky

College of Architects of Valparaiso
Sergio Paravic Valdivia

International Conference of Social Work (ICSW)
Mercedes Esquerra, Chairman of the Chilean Committee of Social Service
Lucía Maturana de Mellafe, Social Welfare Officer

Inter-American Council for Child Welfare, Chile
Francisco Mardones Restat

International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (IFCTU)
Ramón Venegas Carrasco, Architect

Town-Planning Institute of Valparaiso
Sergio Paravic Valdivia

International Union of Local Authorities in Holland
Diogo Lordello de Mello

Planning Office of Viña del Mar, Chile
Luis Muñoz Maluschka

Inter-American Organization for Inter-Municipal Co-operation
Manuel Fernández Díaz, Architect; Councillor of the Municipality of
Santiago
Sergio Ceppi

/Inter-American

Inter-American Planning Society

Juan B. Astica Mascaró, Director, Department of Housing, Directorate
of Planning, Ministry of Public Works

International Catholic Union for Social Service

Adriana Izquierdo Phillips, Deputy Director, "Elvira Matte de Cruchaga"
School of Social Service

María Isabel Núñez Meyer, Industrial Social Welfare Officer

International Union of Architects

Héctor Mardones Restat, President

World Union of Catholic Women's Organization (WUCWO)

María Alemparte

University of Chile

Hernán Romero, Professor of Public Health and Preventive Medicine

University of Bogotá, Colombia

Jaime González Santos, Economist; Professor, Faculty of Economy

Annex II

WORK PROGRAMME

Monday, 6 July,
at 10.30 a.m.

Opening meeting

1. Inaugural addresses
2. Adoption of the agenda and work programme of the Seminar

Monday, 6 July,
at 3.30 p.m.

Plenary meeting to discuss agenda item 1: "Introduction:
(i) Definition of concepts; and (ii) The Latin
American city in historical perspective"

Background documents:

- (a) The main arguments concerning urban sociology presented and discusses at the Seventh National Congress on Sociology (E/CN.12/URB/4 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/4), by Lucio Mendieta y Núñez
- (b) Report on the world social situation, Part II (E/CN.5/324/Rev.1 - ST/SOA/33, April 1957)
United Nations
- (c) International survey of programmes of social development, Chapter XIII (E/CN.5/332-ST/SOA/39),
United Nations
- (d) Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, Chapter I and II, (SS/57/V/74), UNESCO

Discussion leader: Jose Medina Echavarria

Topics introduced by: Phillip Hauser (i) and
Celestino Sañudo (ii)

Tuesday, 7 July,
at 10.30 a.m.
and 3.30 p.m.

Plenary meeting to discuss agenda item 2: "The
demographic facts of Latin American urbanization"

Background documents:

- (a) Demographic Aspects of urbanization in Latin America, (E/CN.12/URB/18 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/18),
by the Population Branch, Bureau of Social
Affairs, United Nations
- (b) The population of Central America (including Mexico, 1950-1980) (ST/SOA/Series A, Population Studies, N° 16), United Nations

/(c) The population

(c) The population of South America (ST/SOA/Ser.A/17),
United Nations

(d) The determinants and Consequences of population
trends (ST/SOA/Ser.A.17), United Nations

Discussion leader: Carmen Miró

Topic introduced by: Jorge Somoza

Wednesday, 8 July,
at 10.30 a.m. and
3.30 p.m.

Plenary meeting to discuss agenda item 3: "The
economic aspects of organization in Latin America"

Background documents:

(a) Note on the economics of urbanization in
Latin America (E/CN.12/URB/6 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/6)
by Simon Rottemberg

(b) Creation of employment opportunities in relation
to labour supply (E/CN.12/URB/19 - UNESCO/SS/URB/
LA/19), by the Economic Commission for Latin
America

(c) Urbanization and economic development (E/CN.12/
URB/24 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/24), by Thomas Victorisz

(d) Relationship between economic development,
industrialization and the growth of urban
population in Brazil (E/CN.12/URB/7 - UNESCO/SS/
URB/LA/7), by T.P. Accioly Barges

Discussion leader: Jorge Ahumada

Topic introduced by: Jorge Ahumada

Thursday, 9 July,
at 10.30 a.m. and
3.30 p.m. and
Friday, 10 July,
at 10.30 a.m. and
3.30 p.m.

Plenary meeting to discuss agenda item 4, (i): "The
social aspects of urbanization in Latin America:

(i) Human and social implications of urbanization
problems of assimilation and adaptation; effects upon
the social structure; the family in transition,
conditions of children (education, vagrancy, child
labour); status of women; extent of social services
available; delinquency and anti-social action; extent
of local community organization, self-help action
and fundamental education".

/Background documents:

Background documents:

- (a) Aspects of the adjustment of rural migrants to urban-industrial conditions in Sao Paulo, Brazil (E/CN.12/URB/3 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/3), by Juarez Rubens Brandao Lopes
- (b) Migration and urbanization. The barriadas of Lima; an example of integration into urban life (E/CN.12/URB/11 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/11), by José Matos Mar
- (c) Conditions of immigrant assimilation in urban Brazil (E/CN.12/URB/13 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/13), by Bertram Hutchinson
- (d) Movimientos migratorios internos y problemas de acomodación del inmigrante nacional en Sao Paulo, Brazil, (E/CN.12/URB/12 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/12), by Alfonso Trujillo Ferrari
- (e) Selected aspects of educational problems connected with the process of urbanization in Brazil (E/CN.12/URB/21 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/21), by Darcy Ribeiro
- (f) The urbanization process in Atlixco and Ciudad Sahagun, (E/CN.12/URB/22 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/22), by Ricardo Pozas A.
- (g) Some characteristics of personality related to upward social mobility in an unstable urban environment (E/CN.12/URB/8 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/8), by Carolina Martuscelli
- (h) The process of urbanization in Argentina (E/CN.12/URB/9 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/9), by Gino Germani
- (i) Inquiry into the social effects of urbanization in a working-class sector of Greater Buenos Aires (E/CN.12/URB/10 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/10), by Gino Germani
- (j) Psychological

- (j) Psychological and mental health problems of urbanization based on case studies in Peru (E/CN.12/URB/15 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/15), by Humberto Rotordo
- (k) Some characteristics of urbanization in the city of Rio de Janeiro (E/CN.12/URB/17 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/17), by Andrew Pearse
- (l) The culture of the "Vecindad" in Mexico City (Information Document N° 1), by Oscar Lewis
- (m) Comparative survey on juvenile delinquency, Part III, Latin America (ST/SOA/SD/1/ADD.2/Rev.1), United Nations

Discussion leader: Gino Germani

Topics introduced by: Gino Germani, Herbert Blumer, José Matos Mar, Darcy Ribeiro, H. M. Phillips.

Monday, 13 July, at
10.30 a.m. and 3.30
p.m.

Plenary meeting to discuss agenda item 4 (i): "Extent of social services available; extent of local community organization, self-help action and fundamental education".

Background documents:

- (a) International survey of programmes of social development, Chapter IX, "Public administration and social development"; and Chapter XIII, "Programmes and measures for meeting problems of rapid urbanization" (E/CN.5/332 - ST/SOA/39) United Nations
- (b) Report on a co-ordinated policy regarding family levels of living (ST/SOA/34), United Nations
- (c) Social progress through community development (E/CN.5/303/Rev.1 - ST/SOA/26), United Nations

Discussion leader: Diogo Lordello de Mello

Topic introduced by: Diogo Lordello de Mello, Carlos M. Rama

/Tuesday, 14

Tuesday, 14 July, at
10.30 a.m. and 3.30
p.m.

Plenary meeting to discuss agenda item 4 (ii):
"Material problems of community living with rapid urban growth; housing shortages, shanty-towns, lack of public services; environmental sanitation; health and nutrition."

Background documents:

- (a) Urbanization and physical planning in Peru (E/CN.12/URB/5 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/5), by Luis Dorich T.
- (b) La ciudad de Cochabamba (E/CN.12/URB/16-UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/16), by Ricardo Anaya.
- (c) Socio-económico problems of migration and urbanization in the town of Esmeraldas, Ecuador (E/CN.12/URB/20 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/20), by the National Planning Board of Ecuador
- (d) Certain conclusions relevant to Latin American urbanization which may be drawn from the United Nations Seminar on Regional Planning (E/CN.12/URB/25 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/25), by the Division of Social Affairs of the United Nations
- (e) El proceso de urbanización en la zona metropolitana de San José, Costa Rica (TAA/COS/4), by Sakari Sariola
- (f) Hacia una integración metropolitana de San José (ESAPAC/547/RM.32), report by the ESAPAC study groups.
- (g) Alajuelita: un cantón en crecimiento, by the Advanced School of Public Administration for Central America
- (h) United Nations Seminar on Regional Planning (ST/TAA/Ser.C/35), United Nations
- (i) Financing of housing and community improvement programmes (E/CN.5/323 - SR/SOA/32), United Nations

/Discussion leader

Discussion leader: Luis Dorich T.

Topics introduced by: Félix Sánchez, José Matos Mar

Wednesday, 15 July,
at 10.30 a.m.

Plenary meeting to discuss agenda item 4 (iii):

"Problems of labour and employment; urban underemployment, labour-management relations, labour instability, occupational mobility, etc."

Background documents:

- (a) Report on the world social situation, Part II (IX), "Urbanization in Latin America" (E/CN.5/324/Rev.1 - ST/SOA/33), United Nations
- (b) The process of urbanization in Argentina (E/CN.12/URB/9 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/9), Gino Germani
- (c) Inquiry into the social effects of urbanization in a working-class sector of Greater Buenos Aires (E/CN.12/URB/10 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/10), by Gino Germani
- (d) Creation of Employment opportunities in relation to labour supply (E/CN.12/URB/19 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/19), by the Economic Commission for Latin America
- (e) Wage structure and its influence on the selection of rural labour (Information Document No.2), by the Rev. Oscar Domínguez

Discussion leader: Wilbert E. Moore

Topic introduced by: Wilbert E. Moore

Wednesday, 15 July,
at 3.30 p.m.

Plenary meeting to discuss Part Two of the agenda:
"Conclusions and policy implications"

Background documents:

Some policy implications of urbanization
(E/CN.12/URB/2 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/2), by the
Division of Social Affairs, United Nations
Discussion leader: Phillip Hauser

/Topic introduced

	Topic introduced by: Diogo Lordello de Mello
Thursday, 16 July,	Drafting of the report of the Seminar by the Rapporteurs (Phillip Hauser and José Medina Echavarría)
Friday, 17 July, at 12 noon	Presentation of draft report to the participants
Friday, 17 July, at 3.30 p.m.	Plenary meeting: discussion and adoption of the report of the Seminar
	Closing of the Seminar

NOTE

In the course of the Seminar's proceedings, the following changes were made in the work programme:

1. Agenda item 4, (iii): "Problems of labour and employment; urban underemployment, labour-management relations, labour instability, occupational mobility, etc.", was discussed on Thursday, 9 July, at 10.30 a.m.
2. Item 4, (ii): "Material problems of community living with rapid urban growth; housing shortages, shanty-towns, lack of public services; environmental sanitation health and nutrition" was discussed on Thursday, 9 July, at 3.30 p.m. and at the two plenary meetings on Friday, 10 July.
3. The first part of item 4, (i): "Human and social implications of urbanization:...delinquency and antisocial action", was discussed at the plenary meetings at 10.30 a.m. and 3.30 p.m. on Monday, 13 July, and Tuesday, 14 July.
4. The remainder of item 4, (i) scheduled for Monday, 13 July, was discussed at the plenary meetings on Wednesday, 15 July.
5. Thursday 16 July and the morning of Friday, 17 July, were devoted to the drafting of the report of the Seminar by the Rapporteurs, Mr. Phillip Hauser and Mr. José Medina Echavarría.
6. Part Two of the agenda ("Conclusions and policy implications") was discussed on Friday, 17 July, at 5 p.m.
7. The draft report was presented to the participants on Friday, 17 July, at 5 p.m.
8. The closing meeting, at which the report adopted, was held on Saturday, 18 July at 9 a.m.

Annex III

LIST OF DOCUMENTS PRESENTED AT THE SEMINAR

1. Mimeographed documents

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Languages</u>
E/CN.12/URB/1 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/1	Tentative agenda	E S
E/CN.12/URB/2/Rev.1 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/2/ Rev.1	Some policy implications of urbanization	E S
E/CN.12/URB/3 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/3	Aspects of the adjustment of rural migrants to urban-industrial conditions in Sao Paulo, Brazil	E S
E/CN.12/URB/4 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/4	The main arguments concerning urban sociology presented and discussed at the Seventh National Congress on Sociology	E S
E/CN.12/URB/5 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/5	Urbanization and physical planning in Peru	E S
E/CN.12/URB/6 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/6	Note on the economics of urbanization in Latin America	E S
E/CN.12/URB/7 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/7	Relationships between economic development, industrialization and the growth of urban population in Brazil	E S
E/CN.12/URB/8 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/8	Some characteristics of personality related to upward social mobility in an unstable urban environment	E S
E/CN.12/URB/9 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/9	The process of urbanization in Argentina	E S

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Languages</u>	
E/CN.12/URB/10 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/10	Inquiry into the social effects of urbanization in a working-class sector of Greater Buenos Aires	E	S
E/CN.12/URB/11 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/11	Migration and urbanization. The <u>barriadas</u> of Lima: an example of integration into urban life	E	S
E/CN.12/URB/12 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/12	Movimientos migratorios internos y problemas de acomodación del inmigrante nacional en Sao Paulo (Brasil)		S
E/CN.12/URB/13 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/13	Conditions of immigrant assimilation in urban Brazil	E	S
E/CN.12/URB/14 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/14	Ensayo bibliográfico sobre urbanización en América Latina		S
E/CN.12/URB/15 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/15	Psychological and mental health problems of urbanization based on case studies in Peru	E	S
E/CN.12/URB/16 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/16	La ciudad de Cochabamba		S
E/CN.12/URB/17 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/17	Some characteristics of urbanization in the city of Rio de Janeiro	E	S
E/CN.12/URB/18 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/18	Demographic aspects of urbanization in Latin America	E	S
E/CN.12/URB/19 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/19	Creation of employment opportunities in relation to labour supply	E	S
E/CN.12/URB/20 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/20	Socio-economic problems of migration and urbanization in the town of Esmeraldas, Ecuador	E	S

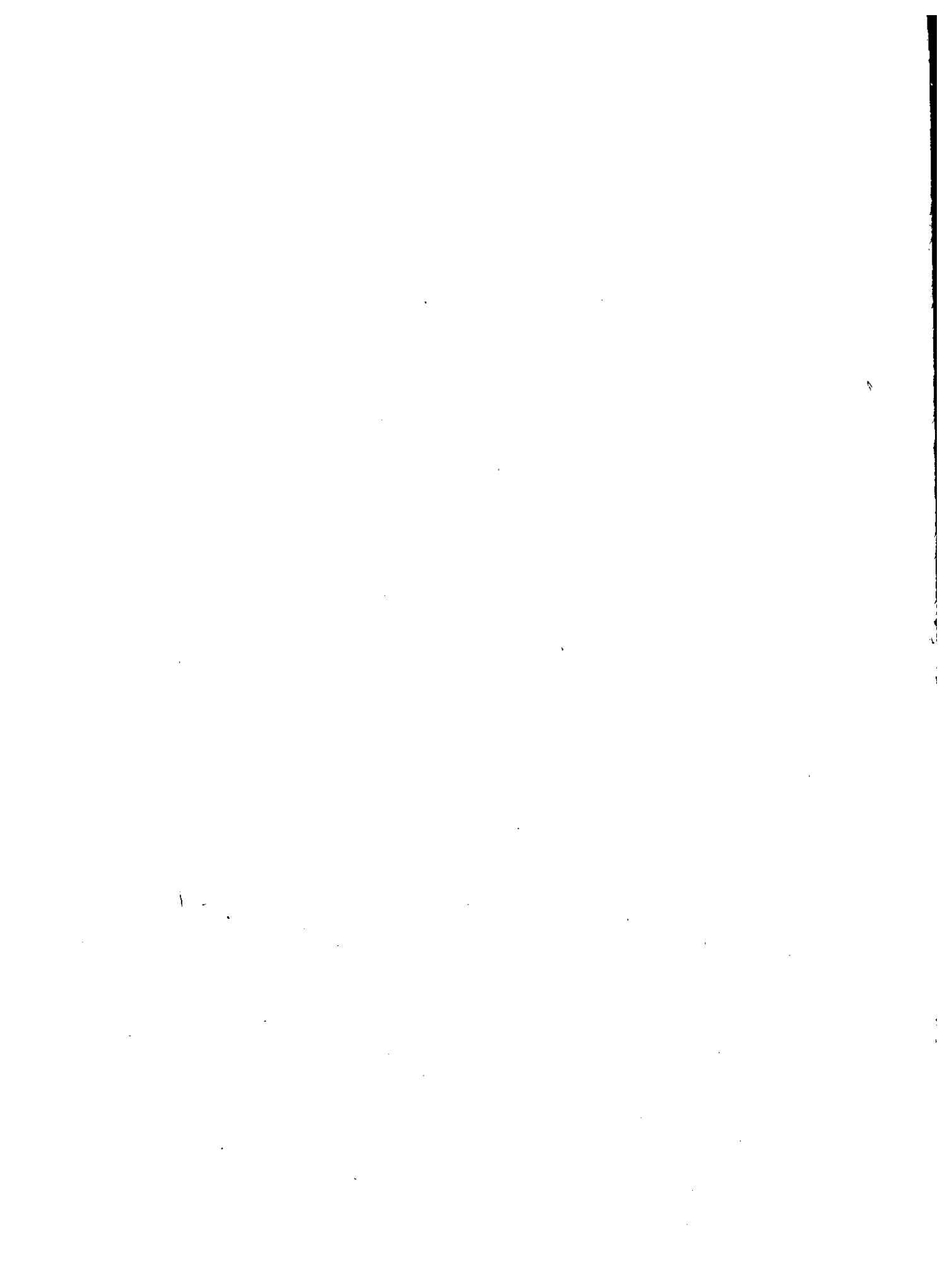
<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Languages</u>	
E/CN.12/URB/22 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/22	The urbanization process in Atlixco and Ciudad Sahagun		S
E/CN.12/URB/24 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/24	Urbanization and economic development	E	
E/CN.12/URB/25 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/25	Certain conclusions relevant to Latin American urbanization which may be drawn from the United Nations Seminar on Regional Planning	E	
E/CN.12/URB/26 UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/26	Provisional report of the Seminar on Urbanization Problems in Latin America	E	S
<u>Conference room papers</u>			
No.1	Programme	E	S
No.2	Programme of the Organization of American States connected with urbanization in Latin America	E	S
No.3	Introduction to Part One, item 4 of the agenda (Human and social implications of urbanization, etc.)	E	S
No.4	Applicability of community development to urban areas	E	S
No.5	Immigration and urbanization in Bogotá, Colombia	E	S
No.6	Special features of urbanization in Uruguay	E	S
No.7	Changes in the work programme	E	S
No.9	El proceso de urbanización en el Paraguay		S
No.10	Nuevas modificaciones al programa de trabajo		S

<u>Information documents</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Languages</u>	
No. 1	The culture of the <u>vecindad</u> in Mexico City	E	S
No. 2	Wage structure and its influence on the selection of rural labour	E	S
No. 3/Rev.1	Lista de participantes		S
No. 4	Inaugural address by His Excellency Pablo Pérez Zañartu, Minister of Public Works of Chile	E	S
No. 5	Statement by Mr. H.M. Phillips, Chief Economic and Social Questions, Department of Social Sciences, UNESCO	E	S
No. 6	Address delivered by Mr. Gustavo Duran of the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs	E	S
No. 7	Message from Mr. José A. Mora, Secretary-General of the Organization of American States, to the seminar on urbanization problems in Latin America	E	S

2. Printed documents

E/CN.5/303/Rev.1 ST/SOA/26	Social progress through community development	E	S
ST/SOA/34	Report on a co-ordinated policy regarding family levels of living	E	S
ST/SOA/SERIES No.21	The population of South America, 1950-1980	E	S
ST/SOA/SERIES No.16	The population of Central America (including Mexico, 1950-1980)	E	S
SS/57/V/74 UNESCO	Urbanization in Asia and the Far East	E	S
E/CN.5/332 ST/SOA/39	International survey of programmes of social development	E	S

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Languages</u>	
E/CN.5/324/Rev.1 ST/SOA/33	Report on the world social situation	E	S
E/CN.5/323 ST/SOA/32	Financing of housing and community improvement programmes	E	S
ST/SOA/SER.A/17	The determinants and consequences of population trends	E	S
ST/TAA/SER.C/35	United Nations Seminar on Regional Planning	E	S
ST/SOA/SD/1	Comparative survey on juvenile delinquency	E	S
TAA/COS/4	El proceso de urbanización en la Zona Metropolitana de San José, Costa Rica		S
ESAPAC/547/RM.32	Hacia una integración metropolitana de San José		S
ESAPAC	Alajuelita: Un cantón en crecimiento		S



SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA

Santiago, Chile - 6 - 18 July 1959

Conference room paper N°1.

P R O G R A M M E

Monday, 6 July,
10.30 a.m.

Opening meeting

1. Inaugural addresses
2. Adoption of the agenda and programme of the Seminar.

Plenary meeting to discuss agenda item 1:

Introduction: (i) Definition of concepts; and
(ii) The Latin American city in historical perspective.

Background documents:

- (a) The main arguments concerning urban sociology presented and discussed at the Seventh National Congress on Sociology (E/CN.12/URB/4 - UNESCO UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/4) by Lucio Mendieta y Núñez
- (b) Report on the world social situation, Part II (E/CN.5/324/Rev.1-ST/SOA/33, April 1957), United Nations
- (c) International survey of programmes of social development, Chapter XIII (E/CN.5/332 - ST/SOA/39, United Nations
- (d) Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, Chapters I and II (SS/57/V/72), UNESCO

Moderator: José Medina Echavarría

Topics introduced by: Philip Hauser (i) and Celestino Sañudo (ii).

/Tuesday, 7 July,

Tuesday, 7 July, 10.30 a.m.
and 3.30 p.m.

Plenary meeting to discuss agenda item 2:
The demographic facts of Latin American
urbanization

Background documents:

- (a) Demographic aspects of urbanization in Latin America (E/CN.12/URB/18 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/18) by the Population Branch, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
- (b) The population of Central America including Mexico, 1950 to 1980 (ST/SOA/Series A, Population Studies, N° 16), United Nations
- (c) The population of South America 1950-1980 (ST/SOA/Series A, Population Studies, N°21), United Nations
- (d) The determinants and consequences of population trends (ST/SOA/Ser.A/17), United Nations

Moderator: Carmen Miró

Topic introduced by: Jorge Somoza

Wednesday, 8 July, 10.30 a.m.
and 3.30 p.m.

Plenary meeting to discuss agenda item 3:
The economic aspects of urbanization in Latin
America.

Background documents:

- (a) Note on the economics of urbanization in Latin America (E/CN.12/URB/6 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/6) by Simon Rottenberg
- (b) Creation of employment opportunities in relation to labour supply (E/CN.12/URB/19 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/19) by the Economic Commission for Latin America

/(c) Urbanization

- (c) Urbanization and economic development
(E/CN.12/URB/24 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/24)
by Thomas Vietorisz
- (d) Relationships between economic development, industrialization and the growth of urban population in Brazil (E/CN.12/URB/7 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/7) by T.P.Accioly Borges
Moderator: Jorge Ahumada

Topic introduced by: Jorge Ahumada

Thursday, 9 July, 10.30 a.m. and 3.30 p.m., and Friday, 10 July, 10.30 a.m. and 3.30 p.m.

Plenary meeting to discuss Part One of agenda item 4 (i): The social aspects of urbanization in Latin America (i) Human and social implications of urbanization: problems of assimilation and adaptation; effects upon the social structure; the family in transition, conditions of children (education, vagrancy, child labour); status of women; extent of social services available; delinquency and anti-social action.

Background documents:

- (a) Aspects of the adjustment of rural migrants to urban industry conditions in Sao Paulo, Brazil (E/CN.12/URB/3 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/3) by Juarez Rubens Brandao Lopes
- (b) Migration and urbanization. The "barriadas" of Lima: and example of integration into urban life (E/CN.12/URB/11 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/11) by José Matos Mar
- (c) Conditions of immigrant assimilation in urban Brazil (E/CN.12/URB/13 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/13) by Bertram Hutchinson

/(d) Movimientos

- (d) Movimientos migratorios internos y problemas de acomodación del inmigrante nacional en Sao Paulo, Brasil (E/CN.12/URB/12 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/12) by Alfonso Trujillo Ferrari
- (e) Selected aspects of educational problems connected with the process of urbanization in Brazil (E/CN.12/URB/21 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/21) by Darcy Ribeiro
- (f) El proceso urbanístico en Atlixco y en Ciudad Sahagún (E/CN.12/URB/22 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/22) by Ricardo Pozas A.
- (g) Some characteristics of personality related to upward social mobility in an unstable urban environment (E/CN.12/URB/8 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/8) by Carolina Martuscelli
- (h) The process of urbanization in Argentina (E/CN.12/URB/9 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/9) by Gino Germani
- (i) Inquiry into the social effects of urbanization in a working class sector of Greater Buenos Aires (E/CN.12/URB/10 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/10) by Gino Germani
- (j) Psychological and mental health problems of urbanization (E/CN.12/URB/15 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/15), by Humberto Rotondo
- (k) Some characteristics of urbanization in the city of Rio de Janeiro (E/CN.12/URB/17 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/17), by Andrew Pearse
- (l) The culture of the Vecindad in Mexico City (Information Document N°1), by Oscar Lewis

/ (m) Comparative

(m) Comparative survey on juvenile delinquency,
Part III, Latin America

(ST/SOA/SD/1/Add.2/Rev.1), United Nations

Moderator: Gino Germani

Topics introduced by: Gino Germani, Herbert
Blumer, José Matos Mar, Darcy Ribeiro,
H.M. Phillips

Monday, 13 July, 10.30 a.m.
and 3.30 p.m.

Plenary meeting to discuss the second part of
agenda item 4 (i): "Extent of social services
available; extent of local community organization,
self-help action and fundamental education"

Background documents:

- (a) International survey of programmes of
social development, Chapter IX, "Public
Administration and Social Development",
and chapter XIII, "Programmes and
measures for meeting problems of rapid
urbanization" (E/CN.5/332 - ST/SOA/39),
United Nations
- (b) Report on a co-ordinated policy regarding
family levels of living (ST/SOA/34),
United Nations
- (c) Social progress through community
development (E/CN.5/303/Rev.1 -
ST/SOA/26), United Nations

Moderator: Diogo Lordello de Mello

Topics introduced by: Diogo Lordello de Mello,
Carlos M. Rama

Tuesday, 14 July, 10.30 a.m.
and 3.30 p.m.

Plenary meeting to discuss agenda item 4 (ii):
"Material problems of community living with
rapid urban growth; housing shortages, shanty
towns, lack of public services; environmental
sanitation; health and nutrition"

/Background documents:

Background documents:

- (a) Urbanization and physical planning in Peru (E/CN.12/URB/5 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/5), by Luis Dorich T.
- (b) La Ciudad de Cochabamba (E/CN.12/URB/16 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/16), by Ricardo Anaya
- (c) Socio-economic problems of migration and urbanization in the town of Esmeraldas, Ecuador (E/CN.12/URB/20 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/20), by the National Planning and Economic Co-ordination Board of Ecuador
- (d) Certain conclusions relevant to Latin American urbanization which may be drawn from the United Nations Seminar of Regional Planning (E/CN.12/URB/25 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/25), by the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs
- (e) El proceso de urbanización en la zona metropolitana de San José, Costa Rica (TAA/COS/4), by Sakari Sariola
- (f) Hacia una integración metropolitana de San José (ESAPAC/547/PM.32), report by the study groups of the Advanced School of Public Administration for Central America (ESAPAC)
- (g) Alajuelita: Un cantón en crecimiento, by the Advanced School of Public Administration for Central America
- (h) United Nations Seminar on Regional Planning (ST/TAA/SER.C/35), United Nations
- (i) Financing of housing and community improvement programmes (E/CN.5/323 - ST/SOA/32), United Nations

/Moderator: Luis

Moderator: Luis Dorich T.

Topics introduced by: Félix Sánchez, José Matos Mar

Wednesday, 15 July,
10.30 s.m.

Plenary meeting to discuss agenda item 4 (iii):
"Problems of labour and employment; urban under-employment; labour-management relations; labour instability; occupational mobility"

Background documents:

- (a) Report on the world social situation: Part II (IX), Urbanization in Latin America (E/CN.5/324/Rev.1 - ST/SOA/33), United Nations
- (b) The process of urbanization in Argentina (E/CN.12/URB/9 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/9), by Gino Germani
- (c) Inquiry into the social effects of urbanization in a working class sector of Greater Buenos Aires (E/CN.12/URB/10 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/10), by Gino Germani
- (d) Creation of employment opportunities in relation to labour supply (E/CN.12/URB/19 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/19), by the Economic Commission for Latin America
- (e) Wage structure and its influence on the selection of rural labour (Information Document N° 2), by the Rev. Oscar Domínguez

Moderator: Wilbert E. Moore

Topic introduced by: Wilbert E. Moore

Wednesday, 15 July, 3.30 p.m. Plenary meeting to discuss Part Two of the agenda: "Conclusions and policy implications"

Background document:

/Some policy

Some policy implications of urbanization

(E/CN.12/URB/2 - UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/2), by the
United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs

Moderator: Philip Hauser

Topic introduced by Diogo Lordello de Mello

Thursday, 16 July

Drafting of the report of the Seminar by the
Rapporteurs (Philip Hauser and José Medina
Echavarría)

Friday, 17 July,
12 noon

Submission of the draft report to the
participants

Friday, 17 July,
3.30 p.m.

Plenary meeting: discussion and adoption of
the report of the Seminar.

Closing of the Seminar.

SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA

Santiago, Chile - 6 - 18 July 1959

Conference room paper N° 2

PROGRAMMES OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES
CONNECTED WITH URBANIZATION IN LATIN AMERICA

Document prepared by the Programme of Planning,
Housing and Building, Department of Economic
and Social Affairs, Pan American Union

It has become fairly clear in the last few years that urban expansion has been taking place in Latin America, but it is no simple matter to ascertain the underlying reason for the growth of the towns and for the rural population shifts.

The hitherto uncontrolled phenomenon of urbanization, whose catalysts are social and technological change, is revealed in the decadence of the environment favouring collective association, the deterioration of rural living and the proliferation of communities lining roads and highways. It has often happened that rural workers migrated to the towns because urban life attracted them or because the salaries real or imaginary, were higher there than in the country. This is not the whole truth, however, since it has been proved that the years when urban expansion was at its peak coincided with those of agricultural depression. As a result, it is impossible to determine whether such shifts were due to the strength of the towns' attraction or to the fact that the rural environment has become so economically inhospitable that its inhabitants have no other choice than to emigrate. Or perhaps both factors complement and reinforce each other. Furthermore, if the first alternative is favoured, it is difficult to decide whether the migrants were attracted by the urban way of life or whether they were ready to tolerate it in order to draw the higher wages or work opportunities that the village and countryside were unable to offer them.

/If the

If the situation is analysed from a different angle, it is clear that the towns expanded because there was sufficient manpower demand to induce the people to settle there. The economic foundation of a town should of course be sufficient to support not only those who earn a day wage in the production of goods and services, but also those who, directly or indirectly, depend on them. In short, contemporary society has evolved a type of culture which lays emphasis on the type of values and activities which can only develop in the setting of a big town.

The consequences of economic development bring radical changes in their train, in both the physical environment of the town and its zone of influence. In some way or another, the large masses of people that converge on the populated centres have to be provided for. The families that are annually incorporated into urban life need houses, schools, work and recreation centres, commercial facilities, public utilities and community centres, means of transport and, in general, all those services and facilities which constitute the town, community or suburb. In addition, the geographical redistribution of the work centres and employment opportunities which accompanies technological and industrial progress urgently calls for the efficacious utilization of urban land, the balanced distribution of the population and the functional organization of the town.

Urbanization means an increase in the urban population and social mobility, whether spatial or horizontal, occupational or vertical. During the initial stages of the process, the motivating forces operate free of control and without the guidance necessary to channel the population currents and direct the ordered growth of the towns. This weakening of the social and economic base leads to the functional disorganization of the urban structure by marginal expansion and the disintegration of its central areas.

The number of dwellings to be reconstructed in Latin America's towns and capital cities amounts to some 4.5 million units at the present time; this is approximately the same as the number of families living in the urban slums and marginal shanty towns, which have been improvised in the vicinity of the population centres. Even without considering the dwellings needed for the families that arrive every year in the towns and for the vegetative

/growth of

growth of the population, the mere reconstruction of these housing units would represent such an enormous investment that it would have direct repercussions on our impoverished national economies. This is the reality of the present situation; it may well be asked what is the future of Latin America's urban areas; whether the population shifts can be checked; and whether the municipalities have the financial and technical means to shoulder the tremendous burden of urban rehabilitation and renovation.

The fact that millions of people have been assembled together in a single population centre represents a mighty effort. But there is no limit to the effort required in organizing the centre so as to provide these millions with food and livelihood, work and entertainment. In these days, the town is in itself a very serious problem because of its haphazard growth. It does not conform to the degree of progress that it should have achieved in view of technological advances in recent years. Its physical structure is not capable of absorbing with any speed the effects of urbanization and industrialization. Its natural social organization begins to break up when the primary groups disappear, the secondary groups become atrophied and the community instinct is absorbed by social stratification.

This natural process cannot be checked by the application of direct force. On the contrary, it is essential to investigate its causes in order to eliminate or control them so as to regulate industrial development and transport and make use of technological advances. In most cases, population shifts do not come equally from all directions but have a particular point of departure. In such circumstances, it would seem logical to work directly on the cause and create a new centre of absorption for the population surplus. In other cases, the policy of building new centres and of industrial decentralization might be a solution.

The urbanization movement and mushrooming of towns are not unavoidable in future nor need they continue indefinitely. Urban built-up areas may expand and have done so a hundred times over without the emergence of institutions which denote a "town" in the exact sense of the word, i.e. a place in which the social inheritance is concentrated and where the possibilities of trade and inter-action give man a greater potential of activity.

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There is no need to analyse statistics to demonstrate that virtually 70 million Latin Americans are living in urban areas and that about half that number is concentrated in 67 large metropolitan built-up areas of over 1,000 inhabitants each. In the last 25 years, the population of Mexico City has increased from 1 million to 5 million; São Paulo has added a further million inhabitants to its total population every ten years for the last two decades, and between 1940 and 1955, the population of Caracas increased from 400,000 to 1 million. Urbanization in Argentina and Uruguay is even more marked, since a quarter and a third of their respective total populations live in Greater Buenos Aires and Montevideo.

This growth is accompanied by innumerable and extremely serious problems which include the lack of any conscious expansion of the economic basis, the existence of overcrowded streets and highways, inadequate transport systems, insufficient public utilities, taxes which do not reflect municipal needs and, as a result, artificially high prices for urban land which prevents families in the lower-income groups from obtaining housing and public and community services. Industrialization, one of the foremost causes of the urbanization phenomenon, is necessary and unavoidable in Latin America. It has been estimated that the active population would increase by some 38 million between 1955 and 1975 and that this increment would be absorbed into productive activity, only 5 million going to agriculture and the remaining 33 million to industry in the towns and cities, which means an approximate population of 150 million in the urban areas and the consequent aggravation of existing urbanization problems.

There is no way of deferring these dynamic effects of economic development on the physical and social environment of communities, but, up to a point, they can be anticipated, and the process channelled or programmed in the direction of long-term targets or objectives, consistently with the resources at the disposal of the communities in question. So far, however, the method of tackling the problem has been fundamentally wrong, inasmuch as the "object" of town planning has been taken to be the physical structure of urban areas, the lay-out of the streets, the distribution of land use, the building alignment. The crux of the problem lies in the restoration, by means of organization of the urban environment, of a more natural way

of life for the population. Thus, town planning should not consist in a merely regulatory technique or set of techniques - something borrowed, static, inflexible. Current techniques are apt to be circumscribed by their own limitations, to fail to see the wood for the trees. Planning has been unduly dominated by borrowed techniques which give it claims to recognition, but have little to do with the human ends it is called upon to serve.

We have no science of human settlements, we have no theory by the light of which we can work out the salvation of the urban area. We lack specialists who are methodical and scientific, who base their proceedings on analysis and synthesis, on programmes, policies and strategies. We have more than enough tactics at our disposal for specific cases, which are of no help in winning the battle of urbanization, but we lack the well-planned strategy of which the groundwork is the conception of the town as an organic whole, growing not in isolation but deep-rooted in the area from which it draws its sustenance and with which it must be unified.

Hitherto, scant attention has been devoted to these problems by public administration (at the national, provincial and municipal levels) and by the advanced institutions for teaching and research. What is more, training of professionals specializing in the various aspects of urbanization and town-planning is virtually unknown in the Latin American universities, and in no country is such a study recognized as an independent profession.

The Organization of American States, cognizant of this situation, has established two activities of which the aim is to develop a science of human settlements. The first of these is the Inter-American Housing and Planning Centre in Bogotá, which since 1 January 1959 has constituted a standing activity of the Pan American Union, under the Planning, Housing and Building Programme of the Department of Economic Affairs.

One of the objectives of this Centre is to provide training, at the highest level, for professionals from all the American countries desirous of specializing in the technological, economic, social and administrative aspects of housing. Another of its aims is to conduct research and carry out experimental work using mainly indigenous techniques and materials which, applied to construction, help to reduce production costs. A scientific

document and exchange service and another of an advisory character broaden the Centre's radius of action and transmit the conclusions reached in studies and research to all those that may find such information useful.

The second of the activities mentioned relates to the creation of Regional Town Planning Institutes under the Technical Co-operation Programme of the Organization of American States. In 1952, the Pan American Union was authorized to launch this project. Twelve countries (Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Haiti, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and United States) expressed interest in participating in the project at that time, and four of them (Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica and Peru) offered local facilities in the event of their being selected for its headquarters. With the installation of this project in a Latin American country, technical assistance will be provided for the establishment of regional town planning courses in institutes of higher education. Their aim must be to train professionals not for a single country, but for a whole region. Besides helping to strengthen existing institutions, these courses can be used as a model for the organization of similar study programmes in other higher education centres in countries members of the Organization of American States.

The project will pursue the following three fundamental objectives: research, professional training and civic guidance. The training programme will be designed to give trainees a complete over-all picture of urban and regional problems, and of the administrative instruments of the planning process. Research will be concentrated on the relations between urban and metropolitan areas and their zone of influence, and among communities within the said areas. The focal point of this basic programme will have to be the analysis of the economic and social forces affecting towns, and will consist in predetermined projects which take into account the specific problems of the students' countries of origin.

With these two activities the Organization of American States has taken the first steps towards the formulation of a science of human settlements and towards the training of professionals who will restore the reign of common-sense that must succeed this growth crisis.

/In conclusion,

In conclusion, the Planning, Housing and Building Programme of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the Pan American Union hopes that this Seminar on Urbanization Problems on Latin America, for which it prophesies well-deserved success, will leave behind it deeply-engraved lessons of specialized knowledge and experience; and that a group of such highly-qualified technical experts will reassure others that they are not alone in their strivings and in the world of their own creations.

SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA

Santiago, Chile, 6 -- 13 July 1959

Conference room paper N° 3

INTRODUCTION TO PART I, 4 OF THE AGENDA
(HUMAN AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF URBANIZATION ETC.)

Introduction

In this part of our discussions we need to consider more specifically the implications of urbanization on individuals and families and how social workers and social services may help meet these problems. It is increasingly recognized that social services are a specific part of social policy and that they too may play an important part in the prevention as well as the solution of social problems. Realistically, are the social workers, who deal with human problems in various settings consulted regarding social policies and given a definite role to play in the planning and implementation of programmes to meet the human problems?

In reviewing the document Some policy implications of urbanization (E/CN.12/URB.2) one might take each section and consider it in relationship to social services for example what are schools of social work contributing to the studies of needs of people and ways of meeting such needs? The statement has been made that universities are often best equipped both to make studies and to stimulate public discussion of policy implications. The need for co-ordination has been pointed out: Within the social services what type or types of machinery are used to co-ordinate the various social agencies both to public and voluntary and to co-ordinate these with related services such as health and education? Are there social services measures which might be organized in rural areas which would discourage migration to the urban areas? These are just a few of the questions which might be raised in connexion with the Social Policy paper.

/Social problems

Social problems

The social problems caused by the rapid growth of towns are of a special character and place a heavy burden on social service. Many of these towns are not civic entities but agglomerations of people who have been attracted to an urban setting for a variety of reasons: to seek paid employment either permanently or temporarily; to satisfy the desire for travel and adventure made possible by improved means of communications; to escape from the restraints of customary society; to secure educational facilities which are more readily available in towns and, for the educated, to enjoy the greater opportunities for intellectual and cultural pursuits. Thus, the growth of towns is often haphazard, and few of them are adequately equipped to provide their citizens with the amenities and services which life in an urban setting requires.

In many of these towns, the population is still in that indeterminate state between town and country where loyalties are still rooted to the soil and the traditional pattern of life, but where, at the same time, the disciplines and customs which regulated the traditional pattern and conditioned its purpose and its relationship to the obligations of a traditional society can no longer operate. Among the migrants to such towns are found various grades of people; some who have completely accepted urbanization, some who have not broken their contact with the old society and are not in any sense of the word urbanized, and many more who have one foot in the town and the other in the country.

When thinking of the contribution of the social services one looks first at the human implications - urbanization frequently results in the disruption of family life. In many of the developing towns, new migrants leave their families in the country and may return to them from time to time, but extended separation weakens the family ties and the family tends to break up. The preponderance of men in the developing towns also produces special social and moral problems. Even when the family unit migrates to the town, the new conditions of life, the proximity of people often of an alien race or culture, create loneliness and a feeling of not belonging.

Again the burden of fitting the family into the pattern of urban life places a great responsibility on the woman, particularly if she has to go out

/to work.

to work. She often has to endeavour to bridge the gap between herself and the man, who may be more adapted to urban living, and she must find new satisfactions and traditions to replace or modify those in which she was brought up.

Many new problems face the family unit newly arrived in a town. For example, while there are obvious advantages in urban life for children, these do not always compensate for the loss of basic training common to the traditional way of life. The authority of custom is not always replaced by respect for the authority of parents who, for their part, are often at a loss to know how properly to carry out their duty of training their children. The consequent disturbance in family life is a most important factor in the growing need of care of children in the still unstable environment of many towns.

In many towns, and particularly in those which are rapidly developing, one of the most important causes of many social ills is the lack of a sense of community.

Social programmes

Recognizing that family life may be disrupted, are different types of social services needed for migrants than for other people living either in rural or urban areas? If so, what type of assistance is needed?

Would the extension and strengthening of the social services in the rural areas tend to decrease unwarranted movement to urban areas?

The paper on Some policy implications of urbanization includes a summary of special measures for potential migrants and actual migrants such as information and orientation, reception centres, temporary housing quarters, family maintenance and stabilization, etc. Although all these measures are used in one or more urban areas in Latin America as far as is known there has been no systematic attempt to evaluate their effectiveness, or to experiment with new measures or methods to meet urban social problems.

One group of international experts in the social services concluded that priority should be given to community services aimed at preventing social disintegration and at promoting, with the participation of the people themselves, improved living conditions and social relations. While benefiting the community as a whole, such services would be particularly

helpful to the migrant population in need of social adjustment to a new environment. Frequently, provision is made for a physical centre where individuals and families can get together for a variety of purposes. It is, however, a common mistake to imagine that the mere provision of such a centre will solve any problem at all. Experience has shown that neighbourhood or community centres are only really effective if they are established at the expressed wish of a group of people.

The social service worker has therefore a special function, first, in promoting associations through community effort and leadership, which will in turn require premises in which to carry out the activities requested by the group. Another prerequisite of the successful operation of neighbourhood centres is the appointment of social workers skilled in group work to serve in such centres and be available for advice and guidance, and at the same time, be able to do individual counselling and act as a link between the individual in need and other social agencies.

One of the main advantages of the neighbourhood centre based on community needs is that it provides opportunities for flexibility in designing programmes according to the wishes of its members and in the use to which the premises may be put. It may start as the result of a demand for purely recreational and cultural activities, and develop as a centre for a wide variety of functions and facilities for family and child welfare, youth clubs, women's groups and activities for older men. It may also become a means of strengthening the family unit, by providing a place in which the whole family from an overcrowded home can do things together. Also, it should stimulate in its members a sense of belonging to a community and willingness to take active steps to improve conditions within that community.

While the preventive and constructive measures of group and community services will, if sufficiently comprehensive, obviate and mitigate a number of social problems inherent in urbanization, there are a large number of problems of individual and family maladjustment which require more specialized treatment in urban areas than they do in rural districts. That they are accentuated during the process of industrialization and in an urban setting is clear.

In many developing countries and in large urban centres with low income standards, it will not for some time be possible to introduce the

full range of social services needed to deal with social and community problems. The role of social services in such areas is, as has been mentioned above, to enlist the co-operation of the community in taking steps through voluntary action to improve community life and whenever possible to stimulate public authorities to provide necessary services. But there is an urgent need for more specialized services which should be provided by social service in the field of counselling and casework. Under conditions of rapid city growth and continual changes in technology, ways of living, social standards and statutory rights and regulations affecting the individual, there is an urgent need for general information and guidance to help not only migrants but also the general population.

Counselling of an informative and educational character designed to help in the adjustment of migrants to urban areas is of great importance, and it is also an essential service for the population as a whole. Education in family living, nutrition, budgeting and hygiene may be undertaken in social centres and through maternal and child welfare services; its effectiveness depends on the availability of qualified workers in the fields of health, home economics and social service.

The effective use of counselling and casework services to deal with problems of personal maladjustment and family disruption is also limited in scope by the availability of trained social workers, but in many situations where counselling is required the provision of such services may have to be made initially through workers who have received a minimum of in-service training. The use of highly specialized casework methods is moreover limited by the very magnitude of the social problems involved in the process of urbanization.

In most developing countries, the growth of towns presents a large number of bewildering social problems some of which become so insistent that they demand immediate attention. It is, therefore, understandable that in many countries social service programmes concentrated on dealing with one or another social evil and so approached the problem from a remedial angle, and in very few places has it been possible to make or implement plans for the social development of the town as a whole. For example, the need to supply temporary shelter and assistance for migrants, to deal with

children deprived of a normal home, to assist the aged or give particular attention to juvenile delinquency, tends to increase during a period of rapid industrial development and urban growth.

In deciding on priorities in dealing with any or a combination of such problems, due regard must be given to the development of services which not only alleviate but prevent destitution, delinquency, etc. The social worker as one of his functions should mobilize public opinion in order to encourage the provision of and to work with the wider public services, such as health and education, and to foster the growth of voluntary societies to deal with specific social problems.

It is of the utmost importance that the local authority of the town or city should be encouraged to accept responsibility for the well-being of its citizens both through administrative decentralization and through the decentralization of essential services, always bearing in mind the responsibility of the central authority to ensure that standards of social service can be maintained within the scope and coverage given to local authority action.

It should also be pointed out that in the provision of social service no clear cut distinction can be made between that needed in rural and urban areas respectively. The aim should be a nation-wide service which would not only deal with social problems wherever they arise but would also, by preventive action, take steps to anticipate such problems. Social programmes which help to raise the standard of living in rural areas may help to regulate the drift to the towns, and it is therefore important that community development programmes should be integrated with over-all social development plans designed to deal with the social problems which are inevitable in rapidly changing conditions in whatever geographical setting they may appear.

Summary and future action

(1) Social services as part of social policy should become a reality by the participation of social workers with the other technicians in the planning and implementation of social policy.

(2) National planning for social services to meet the needs of people regardless of residence whether rural or urban is necessary.

(3) As no technical discussion by social workers has been held to discuss social problems of urbanization, types of social services needed or social work method or methods most effective, this seminar may wish to recommend the convening of such a meeting as one of the recommendations for future action.

SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA

Santiago, Chile - 6 - 18 July 1959

Conference room paper N° 4

Applicability of community development to urban areas

1. The subject of urban community development has been given a high priority by the Social Commission, the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations since 1957. The Social Commission recommended for inclusion in the work programme the "building up of experience of applicability of community development to urban groups through organization of and participation in seminars, field projects and pilot studies..." (E/CN.5/328). The Economic and Social Council recommended in Resolution 663 (XXIV D) "further exploration of the possibilities of extending the application of principles and programmes of community development to urban areas." The General Assembly requested that in the long-range programme for community development stress be laid on "the study of problems arising out of the migration of rural population to urban centres." (General Assembly resolution 1042 (XI)).

2. In Latin American countries where the population is predominantly rural and where the social problems of urbanization are perhaps as great if not greater than in the Middle East and South East Asia, it would be worthwhile to consider the applicability of community development principles and techniques to urban groups.

3. According to the definition which has been developed by the United Nations and its specialized agencies and commended by the Economic and Social Council, community development means the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of the government (1) to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of community life; (2) to integrate the communities into the life of the nation; and (3) to enable the communities to contribute fully to national progress.

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4. This definition is applicable to both rural and urban communities because in spite of differences in economic relationships and status and in needs and facilities which may call for different priorities, procedures and governmental organization, both rural and urban communities are seeking to improve their social, economic and cultural life; they both need to be integrated into the larger whole of the nation; and they are both striving to contribute to national progress. In short, the one basic concept common to both rural and urban community development is goal-directed social change. The goals may differ according to the differences in the social problems, but in both groups people's participation, government aided self-help and mutual aid are the common factors.

5. The problems relating to urban community development have been summarized in the Twentieth Report of the Administering Committee on Co-ordination to the Economic and Social Council (E/2931, Annex III footnote 1) in the following manner:

6. "Community development has been carried out mainly in rural areas. But there is a wide and growing range of economic and social problems in towns and cities, particularly in cases where urban growth is proceeding at a rapid rate because of migration from rural areas. The question therefore arises whether community development techniques are applicable to urban areas.

7. One important difference between rural and urban populations is in the nature of economic relationships expressed in the latter by the fuller growth of a money economy and of wage-earning groups. Another difference is that there is seldom any sense of belonging to the urban community. Finally, in cities, welfare services and facilities such as schools and hospitals are more fully developed, and there are usually more voluntary organizations giving various kinds of assistance.

8. Such differences in relationships among the people, in the nature of the needs and in the facilities, may require different priorities and procedures, and the organization of government services in a different way.

/9. The

9. The full significance of these differences needs to be carefully assessed before any conclusion is reached as to the applicability of the principles and techniques of community development to urban areas."

10. While the rural community is a cohesive, integrated well-knit corporate group and the members have a sense of belongingness, there is hardly any sense of cohesion or belonging in an urban community. The sense of belongingness is largely lost in the vastness of the cities and their multitudes. The refugee or newcomer from a village begins to feel lost and frustrated as he is regarded as a stranger, and this feeling of strangeness is intensified if he is not enabled to find a suitable substitute for the kind of corporate existence he enjoyed in his compact village life.

11. Rural migrants have an entirely different pattern of life and leisure in their rural areas. Institutions of commercialized recreation are absent in their villages. Neighbourliness and group participation constitute the chief outlets for recreation in the village. Co-operation and informal relationships are characteristic of all rural units of population. There is greater emphasis on non-material pleasures and culture. There are periods of abundant leisure among the rural folk and there are no fixed hours of recreation. At festivals the villagers enjoy their leisure to the fullest. The necessity for these rural migrants to live in the city away from their family for long or short periods is often the cause of social disorganization and sometimes also of personal demoralization.

12. Thus, the human problems of city and town dwellers are becoming perhaps as acute as the social problems of the villagers. The regulative authority of tradition becomes weaker, the ties of family responsibility grow less significant, and the opportunity for organized discontent becomes stronger in the newly developing industrial areas. This means that if industrial life is to proceed harmoniously and peacefully, the rural migrants who have become the recent town dwellers must be helped to achieve an active sense of co-operative existence and neighbourliness so that they co-operate with one another and with the government for the improvement of their living standards and of their educational, health and recreational facilities.

development are being tried out with some success. In Latin America, where the process of urbanization has been going on as rapidly and where the social problems of urbanization are as acute, the time has come to examine the applicability of these principles and techniques and see what benefits could be derived from utilizing existing social and governmental services for the purpose; creating new ones where necessary; and mobilizing voluntary and local government effort for securing better living standards for the rapidly growing urban population and a balanced economic and social development.

SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA
Santiago, Chile, 6 - 18 July 1959

Conference room paper N° 5

IMMIGRATION AND URBANIZATION IN BOGOTA, COLOMBIA

By Segundo Bernal, Chief, Research Department,
District Planning Office, Bogotá

Introduction

Colombia has been defined as a land of cities. Since international immigration has not assumed striking proportions in this country, the growth of the towns is mainly attributable to rural population shifts towards urban centres exercising a remarkably strong attraction throughout the surrounding areas. Sufficient evidence of this is afforded by a reminder that, in 1938, 71.9 per cent of the population of Colombia belonged to the rural sector, while thirteen years later, in 1951, the corresponding proportion was only 61.3 per cent.

In the case of the city of Bogotá, the population grew slowly until the end of the third decade of the current century, but in the last thirty years it has increased with dizzy speed. In 1905, the city had 100,000 inhabitants, and by 1951 its population was six-and-a-half times larger. The population increment between 1905 and 1918 was only 43,000 persons; in the twenty years that followed it was 286,318, and from 1938 to 1951 it was higher still, amounting to 318,012 inhabitants. The District Planning Office has estimated that by 1965 the population of Bogotá will number 1,358,000, or twice the 1951 census figure.

Immigration is undoubtedly one of the fundamental causes of this increase in the population. The 1951 census showed that only 43.2 per cent of the inhabitants of Bogotá were born there, while 58 per cent came from all parts of the country, with the exclusion of the 1.7 per cent of foreign birth.

One of the consequences of this inflow of new residents has been an exceptional expansion of the south-western, north-eastern and western suburbs. During the last interval between censuses, the south-western zone expanded by 403.8 per cent, the north-western by 291.8 per cent and the western by 260.2 per cent. The old city of Santafé de Bogotá, compact and radial, has been elongated into the crescent-shaped urban area of to-day.

As the population increased, speculators in real estate multiplied. These "urbanizers" - such is the local term - chiefly exploited land outside the jurisdiction of the old municipality of Bogotá. They broke up estates into lots, gave these "built-up areas" striking names, and, by promising public utilities, quickly sold the sites. Thus came into being those parts of Bogotá which are commonly known as "clandestine settlements". With the creation, four years ago, of the Special District of Bogotá, these settlements became an integral part of the city, and nowadays constitute the capital's many problem areas.

A number of these settlements are formed by immigrants from the rural areas and from small urban nuclei in various parts of the country. The purpose of this study is to describe in brief outline the socio-cultural characteristics of four districts of this type, in the conviction that the cultural patterns they display are a reflection of the environment from which they spring, and to call attention, as appropriate, to the influences connected with urbanization.

Characteristics of districts inhabited by immigrants

Towards the south-east extremity of the city, on the slopes of the Cordillera of the Andes, lie the districts known as Córdoba, Bello Horizonte, Santa Inés and San Vicente Suroriental. The first two are adjacent to the part of the city built on level ground, and are therefore closer to the urban services; the other two are higher up, and, consequently more remote from the city proper.

These four districts are contiguous; they share a steep and broken topography; almost all are above the level reached by the drinking-water supply; broadly speaking, they are recently developed; and they form one of the many clandestine settlements.

A study of Bello Horizonte was carried out in 1958 by the Inter American Housing Centre, for research purposes and at the request of the Planning Office. The other three were recently studied by the latter institution with a view to acquiring background information both on their physical characteristics and on the socio-demographic aspects essential for urbanization programmes, as well as to establishing bases on which to develop community action programmes.

Roughly speaking, this research represents a sample of 25 per cent of the buildings erected, which was determined with the help of the land use census. The survey was carried out by the interview method, on the first Sunday in April, because on that date all the members of a household were likely to be at home. Previously-trained fourth-year students of architecture from the Universidad Fundación de América collaborated in the study as well as a group of professionals from the Planning Office.

The survey included a housing and population census, specifying biological families and households, mortality, sex, civil status, level of education, occupations and crafts, present employment, income, place of work and travel time, and immigration and its causes, as well as a discretionary questionnaire, applicable only to heads of households, and designed to reveal basic institutions shaping a neighbourhood and a community.

The findings suggest that the four settlements are mainly made up of recent immigrants, and that their socio-cultural characteristics are primarily the inheritance of this group.

Population and immigration

The four districts have approximately 15,000 inhabitants; in other words, they account for 1.5 per cent of the city's present total population. Densities are higher in the settlements nearer the urban centres and lower in those situated on the upper slopes. In Córdoba, in fact, a density of 269 inhabitants per hectare is registered, whereas in San Vicente the corresponding figure is barely 63.7 (see table 1).

Table 1

District	Population	Built-up area (Hectares)	Density (Inhabitants per hectare)
Córdoba	4 734	17.6	269.0
Santa Ines	2 376	18.7	127.0
San Vicente	1 715	26.9	63.7
Bello Horizonte	5 500	35.0	157.0

Table 2

	Cordoba				Santa Ines				San Vicente			
	Male	Fe- male	Total	Per- cent- age	Male	Fe- male	Total	Per- cent age	Male	Fe- male	Total	Per- cent age
Bogota	218	183	401	38.26	118	106	224	51.9	117	102	219	48.13
Cundinamarca	176	159	335	31.96	30	31	61	14.2	48	59	107	23.51
Boyaca	71	73	144	13.74	23	23	46	10.6	35	36	71	15.60
Tolima	34	37	71	6.77	4	-	4	0.8	4	6	10	2.18
Caldas	6	11	17	1.62	7	8	15	3.5	2	1	3	0.65
Santander	4	3	7	0.67	5	11	16	3.7	10	5	15	3.29
Other depart- ments	30	29	59	6.98	31	35	66	15.2	13	17	30	6.64
<u>Total</u>	<u>539</u>	<u>495</u>	<u>1 034</u>	-	<u>218</u>	<u>214</u>	<u>432</u>	-	<u>229</u>	<u>226</u>	<u>455</u>	-

/Two-thirds

Two-thirds of the inhabitants of Córdoba and Bello Horizonte are immigrants, while in Santa Inés and San Vicente these represent over half of the population. The largest streams of immigrants come, in order of importance, from the departments of Cundinamarca and Boyacá, which are adjacent to the capital of the Republic and possess a large rural population as well as numerous, although small, urban nuclei (see table 2). There are rather more male than female immigrants.

Slightly over 60 per cent of the immigrants to Córdoba and Bello Horizonte came to the capital in the course of the present decade, and more than 50 per cent in the case of the other two districts, the inflow having been largest in the last four years (see table 3).

The percentage of immigrants in the four districts differs according to the length of time the settlements have been established, which is also reflected in the inhabitants' number of years of residence. Residents in the 4-years-and-under group constitute three-fourths of the population in Bello Horizonte, two-thirds in Córdoba, half in San Vicente and less than half in Santa Inés. Thus the last settlement is the oldest (see table 4).

The principal motives inducing immigrants to leave their places of origin have been the search for work, the desire to improve their living conditions and the political unrest which has been troubling the country during the last ten years. Another important factor was that a considerable percentage of the immigrants, especially in Santa Inés and San Vicente, had relatives already settled in the capital.

The causes of immigration unquestionably reflect unsatisfactory living conditions in the places of origin concerned; and a considerable number of the members of households interviewed had been agricultural workers and smallholders. All the evidence suggests that the former settled in San Vicente and the latter in Córdoba and Bello Horizonte (see table 5).

Thus, the districts under consideration are inhabited chiefly by recent immigrants who left their place of origin either to escape from its poor living conditions or driven by local outbreaks of violence.

Table 3

	Cordoba				Santa Ines				San Vicente			
	Male	Fe- male	Total	Per- cent- age	Male	Fe- male	Total	Per- cent- age	Male	Fe- male	Total	Per- cent- age
1955-1959	133	139	272	42.95	30	25	55	32.5	43	34	77	36.15
1950-1954	42	66	108	17.05	19	11	30	17.8	19	28	47	22.06
1945-1949	31	23	54	8.53	9	19	28	16.6	22	20	42	19.71
1940-1944	14	18	32	5.05	9	4	13	7.7	5	11	16	7.51
1935-1939	9	14	23	3.63	4	8	12	7.1	4	4	8	3.75
1930-1934	4	8	12	1.89	4	6	10	5.9	5	8	13	6.10
1920-1930	5	6	11	1.74	5	8	13	7.7	1	6	7	3.28
Before 1919	5	4	9	1.42	5	3	8	4.7	2	1	3	1.40
<u>Total</u>	<u>321</u>	<u>312</u>	<u>633</u>	-	<u>85</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>169</u>	-	<u>101</u>	<u>112</u>	<u>213</u>	-

Table 4

	Cordoba	Santa Ines	San Vicente	Bello Horizonte
	(Percentage)			
1 and under - 2	38.95	29.22	33.71	58.60
3 - 4	22.09	12.31	17.98	23.40
5 - 6	7.55	3.08	14.61	18.00
7 - 8	12.21	9.23	6.74	18.00
9 - 10	8.72	20.00	15.73	-
11 and over	10.46	26.36	11.23	-

/Broadly speaking,

Broadly speaking, all of them, as will later be seen, belong to a low cultural level, and possess limited economic resources or none at all, but are determined to survive in an urban environment with which they are unfamiliar. They are building settlements overnight, with little or no prospect of public utilities, with sketchy streets and wretched dwellings. They undoubtedly possess one great quality, namely, the capacity to save and build, since of the property-owners interviewed more than 75 per cent were immigrants. This quality, praiseworthy from every point of view, has unfortunately been given no technical guidance to channel it along lines beneficial both to the individual and to the community. On the contrary, it has been greedily and skilfully exploited by the speculators in real estate, who, with cheap land as their slogan, have added areas unfit for urbanization to the city's great urban problems. An enormous amount of energy has been poured into the building of these settlements. In the case of Bello Horizonte, the inhabitants, within a space of eight years, have invested a capital of 4 million pesos, which means an annual investment of 500,000 pesos in the construction of shanty towns.

What are the socio-cultural characteristics of the population of these districts, and how are they being affected by the phenomena of urbanization?

Demographic aspects

The population of the four settlements is young, since over 50 per cent is composed of persons under 14 years of age. The full significance of this fact becomes plain if it is borne in mind that, according to the 1951 census, the same type of population represented 34.2 per cent of the total population of Bogotá. In Córdoba and Bello Horizonte, women are more numerous than men, whereas in the other two districts the reverse is the case.

The proportion of the population in the group between 15 and 44 years of age fluctuates around 37 per cent - an undeniably low figure in comparison with that registered for the city as a whole, which was 53.0 per cent in 1951. The number of women slightly exceeds that of men. In

/the districts

the districts covered by the present year's survey half the individuals interviewed were above 15 years of age, and of these two-thirds were married. This shows that the adult population consists of young married couples, with a high birth rate, which is a characteristic feature of rural populations (see table 6).

If persons between 15 and 49 years of age are taken as the active population, it will be noted that this latter becomes more numerous as living conditions in the settlements deteriorate; that is, as per capita income decreases, the number of workers increases. In Córdoba the active population represents 60.1 per cent of the total, in San Inés 61.7 per cent and in San Vicente 63.0 per cent. Few women bring in income, as more than three-quarters of them work almost entirely at home (see table 7). This enables the mother to keep an eye on her children, although she has to work hard in the house.

A relatively small proportion of the population is over 45 years of age (see again table 6), especially in Córdoba and Bello Horizonte. The districts where living conditions are most unsatisfactory, show the highest frequency of paid workers among people of this age and above.

The population pyramids for both sexes in these four districts are characterized by broad bases and by irregular but not widely fluctuating outlines.

Average family size and type. The average family size in Córdoba, Santa Inés and San Vicente is 5.9, 5.6 and 5.3 respectively. These averages are high, and that of Santa Inés is exactly the same as the corresponding figure for the city. It is noteworthy that Córdoba, which is the most recent settlement with the largest number of immigrants, has the highest average family size. This phenomenon acquires increased significance if it is noted that Córdoba and San Vicente contain the biggest proportion of households (one-fourth of the total), while in Santa Inés 84 per cent consists of biological families. This shows that the older the district the more frequent the biological family becomes, while households multiply with recent immigration. Consequently, it seems safe to assert that urbanization influences are evidenced in the increase in the number of biological families and the decline in the average family size (see table 8).

Table 5

	Cordoba				Santa Ines				San Vicente			
	Male	Fe- male	Total	Percent- age	Male	Fe- male	Total	Percent age	Male	Fe- male	Total	Percent- age
Work	74	63	137	21.63	23	14	37	21.9	29	28	57	26.76
Attraction of better living conditions in towns	49	64	113	17.84	12	11	23	13.6	14	12	26	12.20
Political unrest	38	35	73	11.53	10	4	14	8.3	11	12	23	10.80
Family reasons	29	52	81	12.79	16	27	43	25.4	36	44	80	37.55
Study or military service	13	5	18	2.84	2	-	2	1.2	2	2	4	1.87
Other reasons	60	28	88	13.89	15	12	27	16.0	8	6	14	6.57
No data available	58	65	123	19.42	17	16	33	13.6	3	6	9	4.22

Table 6

District	Juvenile population (0 - 14 years)			Adult population (15 - 44 years)			Older population			Proportion of each sex		
	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total			
Bello Horizonte	27.5	31.7	59.2	17.9	17.2	35.1	2.4	2.1	4.5	47.8	51.0	98.8
Cordoba	25.5	25.6	51.1	18.3	20.7	39.0	5.3	4.2	9.9	49.1	50.9	100.0
Santa Ines	28.0	24.1	52.1	16.6	19.4	36.0	6.0	5.3	11.3	50.6	48.8	99.4
San Vicente S.O.	26.5	23.7	50.2	18.0	21.3	39.3	5.0	5.5	10.5	49.5	50.5	100.0

Table 7

	Cordoba				Santa Ines				San Vicente			
	Male	Fe- male	Total	Per- cent- age	Male	Fe- male	Total	Per- cent- age	Male	Fe- male	Total	Per- cent- age
Employed	192	72	264	57.5	73	27	100	57.1	79	33	112	59.3
Unemployed	9	3	12	2.6	7	1	8	4.6	6	1	7	3.7
Total active population	201	75	276	60.1	80	28	108	61.7	85	34	119	63.0
Non-workers	6	5	11	2.4	3	4	7	4.0	5	5	10	5.3
Students	8	6	14	3.1	2	7	9	5.1	2	2	4	2.1
Home workers	-	158	158	34.4	-	51	51	29.1	-	56	56	29.6
Total inactive population	14	169	180	39.9	5	62	67	38.3	7	63	70	37.0
Total 15-49 years	215	244	459	-	85	90	175	-	92	97	189	-

Table 8

District	Biological families		Households	
	Number	Percent- age	Number	Percent- age
Cordoba	134	75.7	43	24.3
Santa Ines	65	84.4	12	15.6
San Vicente	64	74.4	22	25.6

/Mortality.

Mortality. As the settlements are composed of young married couples with many children, the death rate relates essentially to infant mortality. Mortality is very high among children from birth until 4 years of age, and there is also a high percentage of still-born babies. Among children in their first twelve months of life, the death rate reaches 31.5 per cent in Córdoba, 40.6 per cent in Santa Inés and 46.3 per cent in San Vicente (see table 9). It is obvious that mortality increases as conditions in the settlements deteriorate. The chief causes of infant mortality are diseases of the respiratory and digestive systems. Deaths due to this last cause are most numerous in San Vicente, while in Santa Inés their number decreases and the lowest percentages are registered in Córdoba.

Marital status. In the recent settlements - Córdoba and Pello Horizonte - more than two-thirds of the population in the over-15 age group have gone through the ceremony of religious marriage, and rather more than half in the other two districts. In Santa Inés and San Vicente there is a marked increase in the number of free unions and of separated and widowed persons, while in the other two these phenomena are not much in evidence. Here, then, apparently, is another case of urban influence, since the situations in question are not common in the rural areas from which the immigrants come (see table 10).

Education. The predominance of primary education is almost absolute, reaching 100 per cent in San Vicente, while only 6.0 and 3.0 of the inhabitants of Córdoba and Santa Inés, respectively, have enjoyed the benefit of secondary education (see table 11). Women are the less well-off in this respect - a cultural pattern typical of rural areas and small urban nuclei. In Bogotá it survives among the manual worker and low-income employee groups in the type of secondary education received by the two sexes; boys are encouraged to pass their bachillerato and go on to the university, while girls take up professions for which the training required is short and easy. This is another instance of urban influence.

The following is the average number of years of attendance at primary schools: 3.3 in Córdoba, 2.8 in Santa Inés and 2.8 in San Vicente.

Table 9

Age	Cordoba	Santa Ines	San Vicente
	<u>(Percentage)</u>		
Still-born	16.3	6.25	7.41
Under 1 year	31.5	40.63	46.29
1 - 4 years	29.3	25.00	25.93
5 - 9 Years	11.9	3.13	1.85
9 years and over	11.0	6.24	18.52

Table 10

Civil status	Cordoba	Santa Ines	San Vicente	Bello Horizonte
	<u>(Percentage)</u>			
Married	61.0	56.3	54.26	73.8
Single	30.0	24.3	26.91	19.1
Free union	5.0	10.1	5.38	1.5
Widowed	3.0	5.4	8.97	4.2
Separated	1.0	3.9	4.48	1.4

/The level

The level of education is clearly higher in Córdoba than in the other two settlements, and this is of course reflected in higher income levels.

In Córdoba one-fifth of the inhabitants are illiterate, in Santa Inés more than one-fourth and in San Vicente one-third. It goes almost without saying that of these the major proportion is constituted by women (see table 12).

Of the school age population, 68.3 per cent attend school in the case of Córdoba, 52.0 per cent in that of Santa Inés and 60.0 per cent in that of San Vicente. Although absenteeism is high in all three districts, attendance is obviously most satisfactory in Córdoba and lower in San Vicente.

Place of work. The most frequent places of work are also illustrative of the type of workers living in each of the settlements. The active population of Córdoba includes the highest proportion of non-manual workers; 49.2 per cent work in the centre of the city and only 6 per cent in the industrial zone of Occidente. Only 34.9 per cent of the active population of Santa Inés works in the centre, but the proportion employed in the Occidente industrial area rises to 9.4 per cent. The percentage of workers in this area is higher still in the case of San Vicente, reaching 12.6 per cent. Hence it can be deduced that this last district is the home of the largest group of manual workers.

Original and current occupations or crafts. Differences between the workers' original occupations and those in which they are currently engaged naturally reveal a process of adjustment to urban life which will be the more significant, the greater the differences are seen to be (see table 13).

In Córdoba the original occupations and crafts which occur with the highest frequency are the following:

Masons	27.0 per cent
Agricultural workers	9.3 " "
Shopkeepers	14.9 " "
Self-employed	19.8 " "
Without occupation	17.6 " "

Table 11

District	Primary				Secondary				University			
	Male	Female	Total	Percentage	Male	Female	Total	Percentage	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
Cordoba	264	273	537	93.88	17	17	34	5.94	1	-	1	0.17
Santa Ines	114	95	209	96.76	3	4	7	3.24	-	-	-	-
San Vicente	112	83	195	99.99	2	5	7	0.01	-	-	-	-

Table 12

District	Illiterate population								Literate population							
	7-14 years				15 years and over				Total illiterate population				Male	Female	Total	Percentage
	Male	Female	Total	Percentage	Male	Female	Total	Percentage	Male	Female	Total	Percentage				
Cordoba	17	34	51	31.6	41	69	110	68.4	58	103	161	21.9	282	290	572	78.1
Santa Ines	15	11	26	29.9	22	39	61	70.1	37	50	87	28.5	117	99	216	71.5
San Vicente	11	14	25	25.0	26	49	75	75.0	37	63	100	31.4	123	98	221	68.6

Current employment figures show the following changes:

Masons	19.8 per cent
Agricultural workers	1.1 " "
Shopkeepers	15.5 " "
Self-employed	27.0 " "
Without occupation	0.0 " "
Non-manual workers	22.7 " "

As can be seen, there has been a notable decrease in the number of masons and agricultural workers, while shopkeepers and the self-employed (sellers of lottery tickets, carters, locksmiths, etc.) have increased. A fact of unique importance is the emergence of a high percentage of non-manual workers and the complete disappearance of the "No occupation" group. The implication would seem to be that this was the district settled by the best qualified immigrants, who were easily able to make their way as employees, a development not observable in the other settlements.

In San Vicente the following are the original occupations occurring with the highest frequency:

Masons	27.0 per cent
Agricultural workers	17.3 " "
Shopkeepers	8.7 " "
Domestic servants	14.4 " "
Artisans	21.2 " "

Present employment figures show the following changes:

Masons	28.9 per cent
Agricultural workers	4.8 " "
Shopkeepers	14.4 " "
Domestic servants	10.6 " "
Artisans	17.3 " "

The process of adjustment to urban life is more obvious in this district. The agricultural-worker group has almost entirely disappeared, and the proportion of women in domestic service and of artisans has substantially decreased, but there are more masons and,

/in particular,

in particular, shopkeepers. Driver-mechanics also increased by 1 per cent. The inference is that immigrants settling in this district were not skilled workers, and that on their arrival in Bogotá the men managed to learn new skills (becoming masons, for instance, or driver-mechanics), while women who began by entering domestic service very possibly, as the years went by, left this occupation and engaged in a form of commercial activity, setting up small shops in their respective homes. The "little shop" is an urban phenomenon characteristic of all districts inhabited by manual workers and by employees in the lower-income groups, and even seems likely to spread to the older and more well-to-do residential suburbs.

Since Santa Inés is the longest-established of the settlements under consideration, the situation as regards original and present occupations has undergone no major changes. The only noteworthy modification lies in the decrease in the proportion of masons (5 per cent), but this is offset by a corresponding increase in the non-manual worker group (5.7 per cent).

From the foregoing analysis, the following conclusions can be drawn:

(a) The immigrants come from rural areas and small urban nuclei, where they were engaged in occupations characterized by little diversification and specialization.

(b) The greatest occupational changes are registered in the districts which include the largest number of immigrants and which are the most recently developed.

(c) The best-qualified immigrants settled in Córdoba, while those who came to live in San Vicente were agricultural labourers wishing to look for work and improve their living conditions.

(d) The form of commercial activity constituted by the "little shop" represents a patently urban influence.

Employment. Almost everybody between 15 and 49 years of age is at work, as in Córdoba the number of employed represents 97.1 per cent of the total active population and in Santa Inés 98.1 per cent, while in San Vicente the number of employed persons is actually higher than the active population figure, the excess being no doubt attributable to the work of old people. This confirms the previous statement that as income-levels decline the number of workers - especially women, old people and children - increases (see table 14).

Table 13
(Percentages)

	Cordoba		Santa Ines		San Vicente		Bello Horizonte
	Original occupation or craft	Present occupation	Original occupation or craft	Present occupation	Original occupation or craft	Present occupation	Occupation
Masons	27.01	19.78	30.20	25.50	27.00	28.90	30.00
Agricultural workers	9.33	1.10	1.88	1.88	17.30	4.80	-
Driver-mechanics	4.48	4.10	8.70	4.70	1.92	2.88	5.75
Shopkeepers	14.92	15.50	18.90	18.90	8.65	14.42	9.20
Domestic servants	8.21	8.21	5.70	5.70	14.42	10.58	10.40
Artisans	1.86	1.86	18.90	17.90	21.15	17.30	3.40
Self-employed	19.79	26.99	-	8.50	8.65	8.65	-
Non-manual workers	-	22.70	-	5.70	-	-	5.75
No occupation	17.60	-	16.90	-	-	-	-

Table 14

District	Employed				Total	Total active population
	Male		Female			
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage		
Cordoba	194	72.4	74	27.6	268	276
Santa Ines	80	75.5	26	24.5	106	108
San Vicente	99	71.7	39	28.3	138	119

/It is

It is also highly enlightening to note the relative importance of salaries and wages, as the former are received by people selling skills and the latter by those selling manpower. Salary-earners are more frequent among property-owners than among tenants, and the highest percentages are found in Córdoba, where the largest number of non-manual workers lives; next comes Santa Inés, and lastly San Vicente, whose population includes the biggest proportion of manual workers (see table 15).

Family income. Low income levels are the common denominator of all four settlements. Among property-owners in Córdoba, San Vicente and Bello Horizonte, the most frequent income levels fall between 151 and 200 pesos, and in Santa Inés between 201 and 250 pesos. Tenants in Córdoba, Santa Inés and Bello Horizonte earn incomes in the 101 - 150 pesos category. Only in San Vicente do they reach the same income level as the property-owners (see table 16). Family income in Córdoba is higher than in the other districts because of the larger percentages at income levels of above 200 pesos. In San Vicente, and Bello Horizonte, on the contrary, most incomes are below the 200-peso level.

Social-cultural characteristics

Sixty per cent of the population of the three districts purchases goods in the centre of the city, the explanation being that few general stores are to be found in the vicinity. Items for every day consumption, on the other hand, (groceries, etc.) are bought in the small local shops, but it is significant that 46.1 per cent of the inhabitants of San Vicente go to markets a long way off. Very possibly the purchases made have to last for a week - an essentially rural marketing pattern.

In the event of illness, people go to doctors. In Córdoba, 47.0 per cent visit a private doctor, while the remainder resort to the services of the hospitals, social security institutions and hygiene centres, in that order. Only 2.7 per cent ask for advice at chemists' shops. In Santa Inés, 24.2 per cent go to a private doctor and the remainder turn to the hospitals, hygiene centres and social security institutions, again in that order of importance. They do not ask advice from druggists. In San Vicente 32.6 per cent go to hospital, 29.2 per cent to doctors and the remainder to the hygiene centres, social security institutions and chemists' shops. The services of quacks or healers are not obtainable in the districts in question.

Table 15

District	O w n e r s				T e n a n t s			
	Salary earners		Wage earners		Salary earners		Wage earners	
	Num-ber	Percent- age	Num-ber	Percent- age	Num-ber	Percent- age	Num-ber	Percent- age
Cordoba	55	67.9	26	32.1	44	59.5	30	40.5
Santa Ines	19	55.9	15	44.1	10	26.3	28	73.7
San Vicente	16	30.8	36	69.2	5	15.2	28	84.8

/Table 16

Table 16
(Percentages)

Income levels	Cordoba		Santa Ines		San Vicente		Bello Horizonte	
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants
10-100	3.22	9.19	17.1	4.8	16.36	10.52	5.00	7.4
101-150	9.67	20.68	17.1	21.4	14.50	15.78	15.00	33.3
151-200	21.50	16.08	11.4	9.5	21.80	23.68	25.00	22.2
201-250	13.97	16.08	20.0	9.5	9.10	21.05	21.70	11.1
251-300	15.05	11.49	11.4	17.0	12.72	18.42	16.60	-
301-350	4.30	3.45	-	7.1	5.45	5.26	5.00	3.7
351-400	9.67	6.89	2.9	-	5.45	-	3.30	7.4
401-450	2.15	1.14	5.7	11.9	7.27	2.63	↓	3.7
451-500	2.15	3.44	2.9	-	-	-		↓
501-600	4.30	2.30	5.7	7.1	1.81	-	↓			11.1
601-700	3.22	1.14	-	-	-	-		5.00
701-800	3.22	1.14	-	-	-	-	↑	11.1
801-900	2.15	-	-	-	-	-		
901-1000	-	1.14	-	-	-	-	↑	11.1
Over 1000	-	-	-	2.4	-	-		

/Social intercourse

Social intercourse among the families living in these settlements is rare. They pay very few visits, and these, when they do occur, are usually to relatives living in the city, friendly calls being relegated to second place. To the institution known as the compadrazgo religioso,^{*} which plays an important role in rural areas, due importance is not attached in these settlements.

No associations of any kind exist, and in Córdoba no recognition is accorded to local political leadership, as it is in the other three districts, which also have Improvements Boards, the most active being that of Bello Horizonte.

Almost everybody stays at home on Sundays and other holidays, rather than going to parks or cinemas. For this it would seem that the somewhat farouche and isolationist attitude typical of country-dwellers is mainly responsible, apart from the limitations imposed by economic circumstances.

Almost everybody attends Mass on Sundays, especially at the parish church in the neighbouring district of Veinte de Julio.

Those interviewed declared that their respective settlements differed from the neighbouring districts, adducing the existence of a superior class of workers (Córdoba and Santa Inés), lack of services (San Vicente), better housing (Córdoba). Nevertheless, a large majority acknowledged that they shared problems in common, especially in connexion with public utilities and transport, which together accounted for 80 per cent of the replies received. Consequently, the local residents approved of the idea of an association among these districts as a means of striving for the satisfaction of their common requirements.

Land tenure, land use and housing

The smallest number of property-owners (45.6 per cent) is found in the oldest district, Santa Inés, but it likewise has most tenants and, consequently, the biggest housing shortage. The highest proportion of property-owners (59.1 per cent) is registered in San Vicente, which consequently has the fewest tenants.

In Santa Inés, the land was originally divided up into small holdings ranging from 300 to 1,000 square metres in area. In the more

^{*} Translator's note: Compadrazgo is the very close relationship existing between the parent(s) of a child and its godparent(s).

recently settled districts of Córdoba and San Vicente, on the other hand, the sites were of a smaller type, with an approximate area of 100 - 200 square metres. Nowadays, the original lots in all three districts have been subjected to such drastic subdivision that technical and economic constructions are virtually impracticable.

The land is mainly used for working-class housing, but since Santa Inés is the oldest of the settlements it contains a larger proportion of shops with living quarters.

Temporary shacks represents 26.2 per cent of total housing in San Vicente, but only 13.0 per cent in Santa Inés and Córdoba. Although it is feasible to assume that such accommodation is a little better than that occupied by the immigrants in their place of origin, the relative proportions noted serve to corroborate the statement that those who left their former homes in order to look for work settled in San Vicente. The type of housing in the settlements is of course bound to be conditioned by the cultural background of the immigrants and their economic possibilities. The poorest housing is to be found in San Vicente, as will be seen below.

The average space of ground on which a house is built in San Vicente is 34.8 square metres (the highest frequency lies between 15 and 19 square metres), while in Santa Inés it is 43.4 square metres (the highest frequency corresponding to 30 and 34 square metres).

Thirty-four per cent of the flooring in San Vicente, is made of durable materials, 44.0 per cent in Santa Inés and 60.0 per cent in Córdoba.

Roofs in all three districts are of Eternit tiles and zinc, but in Córdoba a larger proportion of roof terraces is observable, either for reasons of social prestige or because the owner was in a position to build a second storey.

Contact between one dwelling and another is slight in Santa Inés and San Vicente, since the lots are separated by barbed wire fences.

/The average

The average number of rooms in San Vicente is two and of bedrooms 1.5, which gives an overcrowding index of 3.88 persons per bedroom; in Santa Inés the corresponding figures are 3.07, 2.2 and 3.71 respectively; while, lastly in Córdoba they are 2.99, 2.32 and 3.47. The overcrowding indices in themselves bear eloquent witness to the living conditions in these settlements, but this deplorable situation is seen to be still worse if it is borne in mind that one or two rooms may be sublet or used for little shops.

In San Vicente, where there is no water laid on, no electricity, no sewage system, sanitary conditions are as bad as they can be. Eighty-five per cent of the houses have no sanitary facilities and only 40.0 per cent are equipped with proper kitchens. In the other two districts the situation is undoubtedly better, as water-pipes and drains have been partly laid.

An outline description of the subnormal districts shows that while there are marked differences between them, among the immigrants the family unit is firmly established - a level of integration which should be protected and turned to proper account in social welfare programmes. Again, it can be noted that the city of Bogotá is capable of absorbing the energies of the new residents, but this does not imply that there is no rational limit to its capacity in that respect. On the contrary, the aim of urban, regional and national programming should be to establish equilibrium between urban and rural activities.

SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA
Santiago, Chile 6 - 18 July 1959

Conference room paper N° 6

SPECIAL FEATURES OF URBANIZATION IN URUGUAY

by Carlos M. Rama

I

Urbanization in the Republic of Uruguay displays certain characteristics which set this country apart from the rest. They may, however, be of interest for other areas as a sort of large-scale social "experiment", which enables certain social effects of urban society to be studied in a microcosm with a similar environment.

The special features of urbanization in Uruguay may be briefly outlined as follows:

- (a) The urban sector has been numerically larger than the rural ever since the eighteenth century, and the social effects of urbanization have therefore been making themselves felt for several generations;
- (b) Uruguay is at the present time the most highly-urbanized national society in Latin America, and this produces a set of very clearly-defined and stable social situations;
- (c) Urbanization in Uruguay is further characterized by the predominance of one metropolitan city, Montevideo;
- (d) The country's agrarian structure is dominated by livestock-producing latifundia;
- (e) These phenomena occur in a small country of 187,000 square kilometres, with an estimated population of 2,600,000 inhabitants, and a useful territory of 17,536,000 hectares.

II

In almost all the countries of Europe, and even in some of those of Latin America, such as Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, etc., the towns of to-day are based on a dense and long-established population of agricultural workers, strongly attached to the soil. When the Spaniards first began to found these towns, stable agrarian societies with a high cultural index were already in existence.

In Uruguay the situation was very different. The country was peopled by very small groups of indigenous inhabitants whose stage of culture was that of nomads, who did not submit peaceably to the conquistadores and who maintained their resistance virtually until their final extermination in 1842.

But, in addition, Uruguay, which at that time, as a province of the River Plate, was called the "Banda Oriental" (Eastern Belt), was a veritable "boundary mark" between Spain and Portugal.

In the struggle between the colonial empires of the Iberian powers for access to the River Plate, the geographical position for which they were contending represented territories in part of which Uruguay is situated. After the foundation of the Colonia del Sacramento by the Portuguese in 1680, the urban population settled in strongholds or fortified towns, the site of which was dictated by immediate or fairly short-term strategic motives. For much of the Colonial period, and even subsequently during the Independence, up to at least 1851, the pivot of Uruguay's social problems was constituted by the frontier and by military requirements.

If these circumstances are taken in conjunction with the facts accounting for the structure of agrarian society, it is readily understandable that by the end of the eighteenth century the majority of the population was living within the walls of Montevideo, or had taken refuge in such towns as Maldonado, Colonia, Canelones, Salto, Melo, Paysandú, San José, Florida, Minas, Rocha, etc.

Later, when the country was opened up to immigration from Europe, this latter contributed Uruguay's largest volume of population. The writer has established that in about 1830, at the time it became independent, Uruguay had only some 74,000 inhabitants, but from that date

up to 1930 it received an inflow of approximately 1,000,000 Italians, Spaniards, Brazilians, Frenchmen, Argentinians and other European nationals.^{1/}

With the sole exception of the Brazilians, who settled in rural areas in the north, this tide of humanity surged into the towns, and almost exclusively into Montevideo. The 1908 population census registered 309,231 inhabitants for Montevideo out of a total population of 1,042,680, but while in the country as a whole there were 82.62 per cent Uruguayans as against 17.38 per cent foreigners, in the capital the corresponding figures were 68 and 32 per cent respectively. If a new census had been taken in 1913, the proportion of foreigners in Montevideo would have exceeded 40 per cent, since it was precisely in 1908-13 that the maximum immigration from Europe took place, and the new population continued to settle mainly in the capital.^{2/}

Although a halt was called to immigration as from 1934, it may still be noted to-day, as a field study carried out under the author's supervision shows, that in a break-down of manual labour by place of origin, such proportions as the following appear: Montevideo 32, interior 45 and external sources 18 per cent.^{3/}

In other words, even at the manual worker level, and in contrast to the situation in other large Latin American towns, the proportion represented by rural migration from the Uruguayan hinterland falls short of 50 per cent, and therefore does not exceed the worker population born in the city itself or of foreign birth.

The age and firmly-established character of the towns in Uruguay is also linked to the early introduction of industrialization, especially in the capital.

In a report submitted to the Fifth Latin American Congress on Sociology (Montevideo, July 1959), the present writer called attention:

1/ Carlos M. Rama, Ensayo de Sociología Uruguaya, Montevideo, Medina, 1957, chapters V and VII.

2/ For the pertinent data, see Eduardo Acevedo, Anales Históricos del Uruguay, volume V, pp. 435 et seq.; and Economía Política y Finanzas, pp. 30 et seq.

3/ From the report to the V Latin American Congress on Sociology entitled Actitud Política de los Obreros Montevideanos (mimeographed edition). The methodological premises of this study had been presented at the IV Latin American Congress on Sociology, held at Santiago, Chile, in 1957.

to the following stages in the history of industrialization in Uruguay:

- (a) Introduction of steam-driven machinery in factories and transport media, when Uruguay was incorporated into the great international trade flows, together with the emergence of a free labour force trained for industrial work. This took place in the 1840's.
- (b) Appearance of a Uruguayan bourgeoisie; application of the first protectionist policy; the earliest trade unions; establishment of State primary and industrial education; and rapid development of the manufacture of popular consumer goods. This second stage corresponds to the 1870's.
- (c) A third phase coinciding with the Batlle Administration (1904-23, approximately) during which the active population engaged in commerce and industry began to exceed the agricultural labour force. Manpower was supplied by substantial immigration from across the Atlantic and a democratic political system was introduced.
The State began to purchase or install industrial and commercial enterprises which were to give the Uruguayan economic structure its very special pattern.
- (d) The period 1936-58, when Uruguay's industrialization process acquired its present characteristics, and during which there was likewise an increase in the extent and importance of State intervention in the economy.

Owing to the interaction of all these factors, urbanization in Uruguay is particularly firmly established, as urban society has been formed and integrated for several generations.

It is common knowledge that Uruguay not only is the most highly urbanized country in Latin America, but also figures among those parts of the world where the urban population is proportionally largest.

/According to

According to the author's estimates for 1958, Uruguay's urban sector accounted for 2,046,000 inhabitants out of a total population of 2,600,000; or, in other words, its rural sector comprised only about 554,000 persons, that is, 21 per cent of the total for the country. ^{4/}

The resulting urban population figure of 78 per cent slightly exceeds that of 75 per used by ECLA for 1950, although it is much higher than the 55 per cent cited by Kingsley Davis and Ana Casis in their 1946 study, which is by now a classic. This latter estimate, however, was based on data for 1931-44, and took into account only towns with more than 5,000 inhabitants. ^{5/}

Among the countries of Latin America, or at any rate some of them, the position of Uruguay is outstanding, as can be seen from the following table:

LATIN AMERICA: PERCENTAGE OF URBAN POPULATION ^{6/}

Country	Gross per capita product (in dollars)	Urban population	Percentage in towns with over 100,000 inhabitants	In other towns
1. Uruguay	(1958) over 400	78	43	57
2. Argentina	(1947) " 400	66	57	43
3. Chile	(1952) 300-400	59	49	51
4. Cuba	(1953) 300-400	55	40	60
5. Venezuela	(1950) over 400	54	31	69
10. Brazil	(1950) 200-250	33	40	60
20. Haiti	(1950) under 100	12	37	63
LATIN AMERICA	(1950) 250	42	43	57.5

^{4/} These are estimates made by the present writer, in his as yet unpublished work Las Clases Sociales en el Uruguay. Estructura-Morfología, mainly on the basis of the partial censuses taken for agriculture and industry, since there has been no national population census since 1908.

^{5/} Urbanization in Latin America, which the present author consulted in the anthology compiled by Hatt-Reiss, Cities and Society, Elencoe, Free Press, 1957, p.142. See also the same author's "Recent populations trends in the new world: an over-all view", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, volume 316, Philadelphia, March 1958; and, in collaboration with Hilda Hertz Golden, "Urbanization and the development of pre-industrial areas", Economic Development and Cultural Change, volume III. N°1 Chicago, 1954.

^{6/} See ECLA, Study on manpower in Latin America, tables VI-1 and VI-6, supplemented with the present author's estimate for Uruguay for 1958.

Uruguay's position would seem to be analogous, not only to that of Argentina, where conditions are much the same in many respects, but also to that of other countries which have a similar agrarian economy (Australia, New Zealand) or a similar type of European immigrant population (Canada), or where the population has traditionally (as in the United Kingdom) or more recently (as in the United States) tended to concentrate in towns.

A table grouping Uruguay with the countries mentioned gives the following figures:

URBAN POPULATION: PERCENTAGES IN SELECTED COUNTRIES^{7/}

Country		In towns	In largest towns	In towns with over 100,000 inhabitants
1. Uruguay	(estimate for 1958)	78	43	43
2. Argentina	(1947)	66	25	43
3. Australia	(1939)	62.1	13.4	47.3
4. New Zealand	(1941)	43.8	13.7	31
5. Canada	(1946)	43	7.8	23
6. United Kingdom	(1946)	81.7	20.5	45.2
7. United States	(1946)	52.7	5.7	28.8

The foregoing table shows Uruguay to be the most highly urbanized country in the world next to the United Kingdom, which is traditionally adduced as a typical example of this social phenomenon. Although if these figures were brought up to date considerable changes might have to be introduced, Uruguay would still be among the countries in the world that are outstanding in this respect.

Similarly, Uruguay seems to be among the four countries in the world - the others being Argentina, Australia and the United Kingdom - where over

^{7/}In default of strictly contemporary, recent and fully comparable data, the author has used those supplied in the study by Jack P. Gibbs and Walter T. Martin, "Urbanization and natural resources: A study in organizational ecology", American Sociological Review, volume 23, N°3, New York, 1958; for data on Latin American countries, ECLA, op. cit.; for Canada, United Kingdom and the United States, Kingsley Davis, Urbanization in Latin America, op. cit.; and for Uruguay the estimate cited above.

40 per cent of the population lives in towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants. Contrary to what the United Nations experts assert, it is apparently the only Latin American country where an absolute majority of the population lives in towns with over 20,000 inhabitants. ^{8/}

But the most remarkable of the unique features distinguishing urbanization in Uruguay is the role played by a single city (Montevideo) in urban society and in the country as a whole. Study of the statistical tables of percentages given above reveals that the one town with over 100,000 inhabitants is the home of 43 per cent of the country's total population, the corresponding figures for the United Kingdom being thus doubled. If attention is confined to "towns with over 100,000 inhabitants", however, Uruguay appears exactly at the level of the Latin American average and below that of the percentages registered for Argentina and Chile.

This is no new development, and stress must again be laid on the fact that up to 1951 Montevideo was a fortified town, and almost the only safe place in the country in the event of the wars between Spain-Portugal and Argentina-Brazil being waged in Uruguayan territory. From 1951 to 1904, during which period the country was ravaged by civil war, Montevideo was still the only centre which constituted a safe refuge.

All this has been intensively discussed (although not studied) by Uruguayan writers, and "macrocephalic centre", "the giantism of Montevideo", "oil-stain that threatens to spread over the entire country", are only a few of the epithets with which the capital has been stigmatized. Uruguayan politics are to a considerable extent centred around this problem, and it deserves detailed scientific study.

The present author shares the view of Bert Hoselitz - expressed in his essay Generational and Parasite Cities (1954) - that a town which has lived and developed for centuries in these conditions is self-justified. Were Montevideo merely a parasitic centre, it could not have survived for decades, particularly since it is situated in a small country with very limited natural resources.

As regards the factors accounting for its size today, although many of these are identical with the features of any typical metropolitan city, the author has previously developed the following points:

^{8/} The nearest percentages would seem to be those registered for Argentina (48), Chile (40), Cuba (33), and Venezuela (31). See Report on the World Social Situation (E/CN.5/324/Rev.1 - SI/30A/33), p.173.

(1) It is the political and administrative capital of the country; (2) it is the cultural centre of Uruguay; (3) it is the agricultural centre, especially for the surrounding districts; (4) it is the country's communication centre; (5) its industries appropriate 80 per cent of the capital, production and employment of the whole of Uruguay; (6) it has the only complete services (commercial, professional, community resources, etc.); (7) as the place where most European immigrants settle, it is the cosmopolitan centre par excellence.^{9/}

A few precise details are needed so that a clearer idea may be formed of the position of Montevideo within Uruguay. According to an estimate prepared by the Regulatory Programme Department of the Departmental Council of Montevideo, (Dirección del Plan Regulador del Concejo Departamental de Montevideo), in 1958 the population of the department of Montevideo numbered 909,616, 663,675 inhabitants, representing the strictly urban and 296,198 the suburban population. Hence the estimated figure of 900,000 which we have been using here is conventional.

A study, not of the departmental administrative division, but of the metropolitan area, as defined by the United States Bureau of the Census, suggests that since 1950 the population of Montevideo (now a standard metropolitan area) has greatly exceeded 1,200,000. If in addition Mc Kenzie's newspaper circulation techniques and those of Dickinson and others were strictly applied, the startling conclusion would be reached that for all practical purposes THE WHOLE OF URUGUAY IS INCLUDED IN THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF MONTEVIDEO.^{10/}

The explanation is that Montevideo is the only metropolitan city in Uruguay, and the expansion of its services has no competition to face, except, very erratically, from the Argentine city of Buenos Aires in the area bordering on the River Plate (the western zone and the River Uruguay). Another determining factor is that all these issues arise in a small territory of 187,000 square kilometres (500 x 400 kilometres approximately North-South by East-West), where communications are easy and the

^{9/} Las Clases Sociales en el Uruguay, op.cit., chapter III.

^{10/} R.D. Mc Kenzie, The metropolitan community, New York, Mc Graw Hill, 1933, p.107 and Robert E. Dickinson, City, region and regionalism, New York, Oxford University Press, 1947, chapter VI, p.170.

characteristics registered are virtually those of a single geographical area. The United States writer K.H. Silvert has adduced weighty arguments in support of the thesis that Uruguay is a "city-State" like the Greek polis or the city of Renaissance times.

This unique urbanization pattern is also linked to the special features of agricultural production in Uruguay. 11/

From a study of the social strata in rural areas the present author has drawn the conclusion that the characteristic features of rural society in Uruguay are determined by the following circumstances:

- (a) predominance of stock farming (out of the 17,536,000 hectares farmed in Uruguay, 16,703,000 are used for livestock production);
- (b) concentration of land ownership in the hands of a few;
- (c) low productivity;
- (d) shortage of services, communications and transport facilities;
- (e) marked cultural backwardness.

Except for the first of these features, the position is much the same in the other Latin American countries, but a variety of factors combine to aggravate the situation in the case of Uruguay. 12/

In the first place, the very preponderance of urban society is constantly enhancing the value of farm property, upon which it depends for its subsistence and even for its supplies of foreign exchange. Due account must be taken of the small size of the country, its lack of mineral resources and the relative maturity of its industry.

Particular importance attaches to the combination of stock farming with the predominance of large latifundia. It is calculated that to date about 600 families own 35 per cent of the national territory. The rural upper class, while representing only 2 per cent of the agricultural population, has control of approximately 75 per cent of the exportable production of wool, hides, meat, etc. The rural economic enterprise

11/ This is noted by Harley L. Browning in "Recent trends in Latin American urbanization", page 116, published in The Annals of the American Academy, etc., op. cit. (The March 1958 issue dealing with A Crowding Hemisphere; population change in the Americas).

12/ The study by Thomas Pompeu Accioly Borges, Relationships between economic development, industrialization and the growth of urban population in Brazil (E/CN.12/URB/7, UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/7), calls attention to the similar characteristics of his country's "antiquated and defective agrarian structure".

which is most typical of Uruguay is the large estancia, and this is almost always a socio-economic machine run by routine methods and conducive to depopulation, as only one shepherd or cowherd (a labourer or gaucho) is needed per square kilometre. An establishment worth several million pesos in land, livestock and installations is regularly looked after by a permanent staff of 4 or 5 workers.

Many workers are employed only when sugar-cane and other crops are being harvested, or at shearing and branding time, etc., and live in underdeveloped hamlets known as rancherios, the total population of which is estimated at 100,000 inhabitants.

Again, this type of enterprise does not oblige owners to live on their estates, and absenteeism is common among landed proprietors, who reside in the departmental capitals or in Montevideo and visit their establishments periodically.

Needless to say, this type of socio-economic structure promotes the depopulation of the rural areas, accounts for the low density of inhabitants per square kilometre in the interior of the country, and constitutes a sort of pressure pump which forces a voluminous and steady stream of country dwellers into the towns.

III

The study of long-term statistics relating to these problems in Latin America shows a fairly constant trend which is bringing the situation in other countries daily closer to that registered in Uruguay. As was noted at the outset, in many respects Uruguay would seem to be a kind of forerunner, a veritable "social experiment" on a large scale, which should rather be studied as an object lesson than held up to notice as an original and unique situation.

The following are, in essence, the major trends registered in Latin America in this field:

- (1) The steady upward trend followed by the proportion of the population living in urban areas in the Latin American countries;
- (2) The special tendency towards expansion observable in the case of large towns with over 100,000 inhabitants; ^{13/}

^{13/} See Simon Rottenberg, Note on the economics of urbanization in Latin America (E/CN.12/URB/6, UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/6), pp. 13 et seq.

- (3) The steady decrease of the rural population in both absolute figures and percentage terms;
- (4) The emergence of a rural-urban environment, that is, a way of life presenting some of the features of urbanized society, although the built-up areas concerned do not, strictly speaking, constitute towns. 14/

The fact that Latin America is in general progressing in the direction that has already become traditional in Uruguay also calls for some mention of the interest attaching to the social effects of Uruguay's urbanization process, and particularly the relevant problems.

It would be very useful to analyse how far political and cultural life, living conditions, public opinion, etc., owe their existence in Uruguay to the size, the deep roots and the antiquity of urban society, especially in the capital.

Perhaps for foreign readers it is of more value to emphasize those of Uruguay's problems in the mid-twentieth century which are directly linked to the development of urbanization. These vary in nature and calibre.

Thus we have, for example:

- (1) Problems deriving from the unplanned growth of the metropolitan urban nucleus (especially transport, vocational training, housing, etc.);
- (2) The small number and relative vitality of the local economic, cultural and administrative centres appearing as towns of medium size;

14/ In the light of Uruguay's experience, the present author has made a critical study of the classic theory of the opposition between urban society and rural society, in Ensayo de Sociología Uruguaya, op. cit., chapter XII, page 303. While the two preceding trends are almost universal, the last is for the moment apparent only in specific countries - e.g., Costa Rica, Puerto Rico, and Argentina, where it is confined to the province of Buenos Aires and the seaboard - while it is also registered in France, the United States, etc.

- (3) The rapid rate of internal migration, which takes place almost entirely away from the rural areas and towards the towns;
- (4) The critical situation of the agricultural sector, to the effects of which such decisive importance attaches not only for the towns but for the entire country. ^{15/}

It would be well worth while to devote a separate report to these topics.

^{15/} The present author shares the views of the United Nations experts when they assert: "Perhaps the most intractable problem for the Latin American countries is not the growth of cities but the relative stagnation of the countryside - a phenomenon deriving partly from the urban bias of Latin American civilization. Measures to improve agricultural productivity and raise rural levels of living have received much less attention than measures to stimulate industry and benefit the city populations. Without a steady improvement in rural productivity and levels of living, the continued growth of Latin American cities will rest on increasingly precarious economic foundations." (See Report on the World' Social Situation, op. cit., pp. 171-172.)

SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA

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Conference room paper N°7

CHANGES IN THE WORK PROGRAMME

In connexion with the Programme set forth in Conference room paper N°1, participants are asked to take note of the following changes in dates and timetables, the adoption of which was decided upon at the morning meeting on Wednesday, 8 July.

1. Agenda item 4 (iii): "Problems of labour and employment; urban under-employment; labour-management relations; labour instability; occupational mobility", will be discussed on Thursday, 9 July, at 10.30 a.m.
2. Agenda item 4 (ii): "Material problems of community living with rapid urban growth; housing shortages, shanty towns, lack of public services; environmental sanitation; health and nutrition" will be discussed on Thursday, 9 July, at 3.30 p.m., and the discussion will be continued on Friday, 10 July, at the two plenary meetings, which will begin at 10.30 a.m. and 3.30 p.m. respectively.
3. Agenda item 4 (i): "Social aspects of urbanization in Latin America" will be discussed at the plenary meetings on Monday, 13 July, and Tuesday, 14 July, at the times indicated, i.e., 10.30 a.m. and 3.30 p.m.
4. Discussion of the second part of agenda item 4 (i), which was to take place on Monday, 13 July, will be deferred to the two plenary meetings (at the times indicated) on Wednesday, 15 July.
5. The part of the agenda concerned with "Conclusions and policy implications" will be discussed on Thursday, 16 July, at 10.30 a.m.

6. The afternoon of Thursday 16 and the morning of Friday, 17 July, will be devoted to the drafting of the report of the Seminar by the Rapporteurs, Mr. Philip Hauser and Mr. Jose Medina Echavarría.
7. The draft report will be submitted to participants on Friday, 17 July, at 5 p.m.
8. The closing meeting and adoption of the report will therefore take place on Saturday, 18 July, at 9 a.m.

These changes will, of course, in no way affect the background documents for the Seminar, although they may, on the other hand, affect the order of specific conference room papers which had been prepared as far as possible in conformity with the earlier programme, but which will in any event be distributed at the appropriate time.

SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA

Santiago, Chile - 6 - 18 July 1959

Conference room paper N° 9

THE URBANIZATION PROCESS IN PARAGUAY

by Mohammed Yampey and Carlos Williams

I. THE GROWTH OF THE TOWNS

As the war of 1870 substantially changed Paraguay's population structure, a study of urban-rural relations should begin with the 1887 census. During the 63 years that separate this from the 1950 census, the population has become stabilized and shows an age pyramid and masculinity ratio that closely resemble those in other Latin American countries.

During the same lapse of time, Paraguay's total population increased from 328,000 to 1,408,400, i.e. it expanded five-fold. In 1887, town-dwellers amounted to 132,429 and accounted for 24 per cent of the total population. By 1950, 37 per cent (373,091) of the population was living in towns, the increment being equivalent to 2.8 per cent of the population in 1887.

The town of Asunción has absorbed most of the population increment. The 1887 census gave the number of inhabitants as 28,838 which rose to 201,340 (in the urban area alone) by 1950. The increment was equivalent to 8.3 of the original population. This indicates that the capital has grown more rapidly than the country as a whole and also than the total urban population.

Asunción has expanded at the expense of the rural population and of the inhabitants of the smaller towns. Emigration from abroad does not appear to have played a decisive part in its growth. If the figure for the urban population in 1887, excluding the inhabitants of Asunción, is compared with that for the urban population in 1950, again with the same reservation, an increment of almost 1.6 per cent is observable i.e. from 107,631 to 171,751 inhabitants. Asunción has therefore expanded five times as quickly as the other towns.

Table 1 gives the population of the different towns in 1987 and 1950 respectively. It is evident from a comparison of the data that very few towns have expanded to any marked degree and that, on the contrary, the population has declined in the majority of cases.

Table 1
THE POPULATION OF PARAGUAYAN TOWNS OF 2,000 OR MORE INHABITANTS,
1886 AND 1950

	1950	1886		1950	1886
Asunción	201.340	24.438	Piribebuy	2.938	4.210
Villarrica	14.680	10.733	Sapucaí	2.849	....
Concepción	14.640	7.239	Iturbe	2.828	....
Encarnación	13.321	3.579	Orqueta	2.817	3.663
Luque	6.867	6.453	Eusebio Ayala	2.618	....
San Lorenzo	5.994	3.729	Coaguazú	2.610	
Coronel Oviedo	5.804	....	General Artigas	2.574	....
Pilar	5.061	....	Villeta	2.526	3.311
Paraguari	4.658	4.506	Pirayú	2.496	....
San Juan Bautista	4.602	2.657	Carapeguá	2.495	7.915
Itá	4.499	4.744	San Pedro	2.464	4.087
Ypacarai	4.306	....	San Juan Nepomuceno	2.452	732
Pedro Juan Caballero	3.968	....	Benjamín Aceval	2.416	....
Coronel Bogado	3.758	....	Ybycui	2.335	....
Caacupé	3.739	2.600	Carmen del Paraná	2.310	....
Puerto Pinasco	3.457	....	Villa Hayes	2.242	....
San Antonio	3.422	....	San Pedro del Paraná	2.233	1.787
Guarambaré	3.173	1.252	San Estanislao	2.209	4.196
San Ignacio	3.030	1.699	Quiindez	2.150	3.882
Caazapá	3.003	9.269	Yuty	2.146	4.960
Areguá	2.986	3.008	San José	2.073	....
Rosario	2.968	....	Yaguaron	2.033	2.804

Source: Anuario Estadístico de la República del Paraguay 1948-53.

/In the

In the process of demographic concentration, Asunción had attracted slightly more than half the country's urban population by 1950, whereas in 1887 it had had no more than one-fifth of the total population living in towns of 2,000 and more inhabitants. Table 2 shows the distribution of the urban population among 151 municipalities in 1950, and brings out the importance of Asunción and the concentration of the population in towns of 2,000 to 5,000 people.

Table 2
URBAN POPULATION BY SIZE OF MUNICIPALITY AND BY SEX, 1950

	Number of municipal ities	Aggregate population		
		Both sexes	Males	Females
Total urban population	151	459,729	216,763	242,963
100,000 or more inhabitants	1	201,340	96,068	105,272
50,000 - 99,999	"	-	-	-
20,000 - 49,999	"	-	-	-
10,000 - 19,999	"	3	42,641	19,738
5,000 - 9,999	"	4	23,726	11,014
2,000 - 4,999	"	36	105,384	48,396
1,000 - 1,999	"	40	53,620	25,866
500 - 999	"	31	22,711	10,654
200 - 499	"	24	8,633	4,170
Less than 200	"	12	† 1,671	857

Source: See table 1.

The information contained in the table indicates a strong population shift towards the capital. This flow seems to originate in the towns of the interior and in the more populous rural zones. An investigation made in 1950 of the birthplace of every inhabitant of Paraguay shows that less than half the population of Asunción was born there, and that the principal migratory influxes are from the central region which has a greater population density than any other part of the country as shown in table 3. Table 4 reveals the importance of the central region as a source of migration towards Asunción and other areas.

Table 3

POPULATION AND DENSITY BY REGIONS, 1950

Region	Census population	Area	Density
The Republic	1,328,452	406,752	3.3
Asunción	206,634	200	1,033.2
Norté	216,719	72,599	3.0
Central	635,557	28,553	22.2
Misiones	94,310	21,703	4.3
Alto Paraná	120,955	36,772	3.3
Chaco	54,277	246,925	0.2

Table 4

POPULATION AND DENSITY BY REGIONS, 1950

Region	Total population	Region of birth						
		Capital	Norte	Central	Misiones	Alto Paraná	Chaco	Abroad
The Republic	1,328,452	116,796	209,384	731,149	98,233	90,130	30,716	52,054
Asunción	206,634	96,938	12,336	75,270	5,246	2,646	3,538	10,660
Norte	216,719	2,482	176,742	25,032	833	513	3,056	8,061
Central	635,557	11,988	7,423	602,318	3,455	1,928	1,238	7,204
Misiones	94,310	788	289	46,717	83,816	710	82	3,948
Alto Paraná	120,955	1,074	3,177	14,107	4,171	84,099	104	14,223
Chaco	54,277	3,526	9,417	9,745	712	234	22,698	7,945

In general terms, the demographic survey in Paraguay shows a strong tendency towards a concentration of the population in Asunción, chiefly owing to the migratory movement from the central region. Of the capital's 206,634 inhabitants in 1950, 96,938 were born there, 75,270 came from the central region, 10,660 were foreigners and the remaining 23,766 were born in other parts of the country.

/II. CONCLUSIONS

II. CONCLUSIONS

Demographic data alone are not sufficient to explain the whole of the vast problem of migration or its repercussions on the country's economic and social structure. It is apparent that in order to obtain a better understanding of the problem more research is required, together with greater participation on the part of economists and sociologists.

Nevertheless, it can be seen at a glance that the exaggerated growth of a single population centre has led to the deterioration of living conditions in certain towns in the interior, and to the evils of overcrowding in the capital in relation to the facilities it has to offer.

In the urban area of Asunción, the public utilities are frankly inadequate to meet demand, accommodation is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain and employment opportunities are decreasing.

With respect to housing, it would perhaps be timely to point out that the situation of Asunción is slightly different from that of other Latin American capitals. The disparity derives from sociological, economic and climatological conditions that are peculiar to Paraguay as a whole, as well as from a certain amount of foresight displayed by public bodies when allotting urban land in the capital.

Class stratification is virtually alien to the social structure of Paraguay, there is abundant urban land at a fairly reasonable prices and the new level of incipient economic development has standardized the resources of all sectors of the population and given rise to a large number of owner-tenants.

On the whole there are very few towns which have complete public utilities. Asunción will not have finished its own until some time in 1959. Of the 244,724 dwellings in Paraguay in 1950, only 2,008 had running water (0.8 per cent of the total) and 23,698 (9.7 per cent) electric light including 17,495 in Asunción.

The custom of invading and occupying public land has been observed in Asunción although on a less dramatic scale than in other Latin American towns. Some settlements known as "Chacaritas" are situated on low-lying land which is periodically flooded by the River Paraguay. The population estimate of 1957 found that 846 families were living there. Similar sites are the "Apuro o Nudo" and the Cachurga district, with a total of 2 or 3,000 /inhabitants.

inhabitants.

In 1953, a survey was made of the different uses of land in the urban area of Asunción. It was found that 17.4 per cent was occupied by temporary housing, i.e. dwellings built with non-durable materials or left unfinished. From this it may be inferred that at least a fifth of the population of Asunción lives in sub-standard conditions.

It is important to bear in mind the high index of householders in Paraguay as a whole, as well as in Asunción itself. The average percentage is 79.2 for the República region, 56.1 per cent for Asunción and 83.6 per cent for the interior. These indices are reflected in the large proportion of cases of one family per house which is 79 per cent in Asunción and 95.3 per cent in the rest of the country.

The fact that urban land is readily available and can be sold to private persons without involving them in additional expense for the installation of public utilities had reduced the price of urban lots and brought them within the reach of families with small means or a low economic level.

SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA

Jointly sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs and the secretariat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, in co-operation with the International Labour Office and the Organization of American States

Information document N° 1

THE CULTURE OF THE VECINDAD IN MEXICO CITY

by Oscar Lewis

Department of Sociology and Anthropology,
University of Illinois,
Urbana, Illinois

N O T E

This paper was delivered on August 22, 1958, in San Jose, Costa Rica, at the 33rd International Congress of Americanists. I am grateful to Guggenheim Foundation for a fellowship in 1957 which made this field research possible. I am also grateful to the Graduate Research Board of the University of Illinois for their continued support of my Mexican research. Data from this paper should not be cited in publications without the author's permission.

THE CULTURE OF THE VECINDAD IN MEXICO CITY:
TWO CASE STUDIES

The recent shift in anthropology from the study of tribal peoples to the study of peasants, and, as in the case of this paper, to urban dwellers, lends a potentially new and practical significance to the findings of anthropologists. It also calls for a re-evaluation of the relationship between the anthropologist and the people he studies, most of whom are desperately poor. Although poverty is quite familiar to anthropologists, they have often taken it for granted in their studies of pre-liberate societies because it seemed a natural and integral part of the whole way of life, intimately related to the poor technology and poor resources or both. In fact, many anthropologists have taken it upon themselves to defend and perpetuate this way of life against the inroads of civilization.

But poverty in modern nations is a very different matter. It suggests class antagonism, social problems, and the need for change; and often it is so interpreted by the subjects of the study. Poverty becomes a dynamic factor which affects participation in the larger national culture and creates a sub-culture of its own. One can speak of the culture of poverty, for it has its own modalities and distinctive social and psychological consequences for its members. It seems to me that the culture of poverty cuts across regional, rural-urban, and even national boundaries. For example, I am impressed by the remarkable similarities in family structure, the nature of kinship ties, husband-wife relations, parent-child relations, time orientation, spending patterns, value systems, and the sense of community found in lower class settlements in London, (Zweig 1949; Spinley 1953; Slater and Woodside 1951; Firth 1956; Hoggart 1957) in Puerto Rico, (Stycos 1955; Steward 1957) in Mexico City slums, in Mexican rural villages (Lewis 1951) and among lower class Negroes in the United States.

To understand the culture of the poor it is necessary to live with them, to learn their language and customs, and to identify with their problems and aspirations. The anthropologist, trained in the methods of direct observation and participation, is well prepared for this job,
/whether in

whether in his own or in a foreign country. Unfortunately, in many of the underdeveloped countries, the educated native elite generally have little first-hand knowledge of the culture of their own poor, for the hierarchical nature of their social system inhibits communication across class lines. In Mexico, for example, practically nothing of a scientific nature is known about lower-class family life. In one of the few recently published studies on the Mexican family, (Bermudez 1955) the author had to rely almost entirely upon the insights of the novels, many of which were admittedly second-rate. This is not to minimize the insights of novelists; but there have been very few great contemporary novels dealing with the lower classes of underdeveloped countries.

In Mexico City most of the poor live in slum-like housing settlement known as vecindades. Usually, vecindades consist of one or more rows of single story dwellings with one or two rooms, facing a common patio or courtyard. The dwellings are constructed of cement, brick or adobe, and form a well-defined unit with some of the characteristics of a small community. The size and type of vecindades vary enormously. Some consist of only a few dwellings, other of a few hundred. Some are found in the commercial heart of the city, in 16th and 17th century, two and three story Spanish-Colonial buildings which have become rundown, while others, on the outskirts of the city, consist of wooden shacks or jacales and look like semi-tropical Hoovervilles which were so common in the United States during the depression.

In this paper I will describe and compare my preliminary findings on two vecindades in Mexico City, which I studied during 1956-57, in order to illustrate the variations as well as some of the common factors of vecindad life. The first vecindad I have called the Casa Grande, the second the Panaderos vecindad.

The Casa Grande stands between the Street of the Barbers and the Street of the Tinsmiths, only a short distance from the Thieves' Market. This is a giant vecindad or one-story tenement which houses over 700 people. Spread out over an entire square block, the Casa Grande is a little world of its own, enclosed by high, cement walls on the north

/and south,

and south, and by rows of shops which face the streets on the other two sides. These shops - food stores, a dry cleaner, a glazier, a carpenter, a beauty parlor -, together with the neighbourhood market and public baths, supply the basic needs of the vecindad, so that many of the tenants, particularly those who come from rural areas, seldom leave the immediate neighbourhood and are almost strangers to the rest of Mexico City. This section of the city was once the home of the underworld, and even today people fear to walk here late at night. But most of the criminal element has moved away and the majority of the residents are poor tradesmen, artisans, and workers.

Two narrow, inconspicuous entrances, each with a high gate open during the day but locked every night at ten o'clock, lead into the vecindad on the east and west sides. Anyone coming or going after hours must ring for the janitor and pay to have the gate opened. The vecindad is protected by its two patron saints, the Virgin of Guadalupe and the Virgin of Zapopan, whose statues stand in glass cases, one at each entrance. Offerings of flowers and candles surround the images and on their skirts are fastened small shiny medals, each a testimonial of a miracle performed for someone in the vecindad. Few residents pass the Virgins without some gesture of recognition, be it only a glance or a hurried sign of the Cross.

Within the vecindad stretch four long, cement-paved patios, or courtyards, about fifteen feet wide. These are formed by wide rectangular cement buildings divided into 157 one-room apartments, each with a barn-red door, which open onto the patios at regular intervals of about twelve feet. In the daytime, rough wooden ladders stand beside most of the doors, leading to low flat roofs over the kitchen portion of each apartment. These roofs serve many uses and are crowded with lines of laundry, chicken coops, dove cotes, pots of flowers or medicinal herbs, tanks of gas for cooking, and an occasional TV antenna.

Just inside the door of each apartment is a small kitchen that serves as a passageway into the sleeping room. To the left of the door is a washtub and a small toilet enclosed by a half-shutter swinging door. To the right, is a stove, a table and chairs and

/perhaps a

perhaps a cabinet. In kitchens with more elaborate equipment there is usually no room for a table, in which case it is kept in the bedroom. In some apartments, the bedroom too has become jammed with beds, matching bureau and dressing table, a wardrobe, sewing machine, TV set, and other furniture, forcing the tenants to build a tapanco or balcony for extra sleeping space, which they reach by ladder.

The Casa Grande is a melting pot of Mexico. Its residents have come from as many as 24 of the 32 states and territories of the Mexican nation. About a third of the heads of households were born in small villages, a third in provincial towns or cities and another third in Mexico City. The central states of Guanajuato, Jalisco, Mexico, Hidalgo, Michoacan, and Puebla account for most of the residents, but some are from as far south as Oaxaca, Yucatan and Chiapas, and others from the northern states of Chihuahua and Sinaloa. The process of fusion of regional cultural elements which goes on in the vecindad makes for the development of a new composite. It also leads to the development among vecindad tenants of a much greater sophistication and awareness of Mexican regional differences than exists among the more provincial rural dwellers.

About 10 per cent of the residents have been in the city 10 years or less, 59 per cent, 11 to 25 years, and 31 per cent over 25 years. Residence in the vecindad is quite stable. Seventy-seven per cent of the heads of households have lived there 6 to 21 years and 56 per cent more than 11 years. The median length of residence was 12 years. This stability of residence is due to the low-fixed rentals in the vecindad and shortage of medium priced housing in the city. Some families of higher incomes are waiting to move to better quarters, but the majority are contented, indeed proud, of living in the Casa Grande.

About seventy-two per cent of our sample of 71 households in the vecindad were occupied by the simple biological or nuclear family and 28 per cent by some form of extended family. Of a total of 158 married people living in the 71 households, 91 were women and 67 were men. In other words, twenty-four married women were living without a husband, either as heads of households or with some relative. Nine women were

/widowed and

widowed and the remaining 15 were either separated, divorced or deserted. Twenty per cent of all marriages were of the common law type with most of them in the lower income group; and in twenty per cent of all households in the vecindad there was at least one woman who had been deserted.

Partly because of the stability of residence, the vecindad has taken on some of the characteristics usually associated with a small community. About a third of the households were related by blood ties, and about a fourth by marriage and compadrazgo. Although the majority of related families had relatives in only one other household, there were several that had blood relatives in three, four, and even seven different households. Forty-six of the households were related through females as compared to only 15 through males. For example, there were 16 sister-sister relationships, and 11 daughter-mother relationships, as compared with only 6 brother-brother, one father-daughter, and no father-son relationships. This suggests that the extended family ties were quite strong in the vecindad, particularly among women. It is apparent that the mother provides the most solid and stable nucleus for family life.

The closeness and crowding of the households and the sharing of a common patio by many families makes for much interaction on the part of the vecindad and reinforces the sense of community. Women chat as they hang up clothes, do household tasks outside their doors, or queue up for water. Children play here because it is safer than in the streets. In the afternoons, gangs of older boys often take over a patio to play a rough game of soccer and adolescent girls go in two's and three's on errands for their mothers. The young people attend the same schools, belong to the Casa Grande gang, and form loyalties and lifelong friendships. On Sunday nights there is usually an outdoor dance in one of the patios, organized by the youth and attended by people of all ages.

Most adults have a few friends whom they visit and borrow from. Groups of neighbours may buy a lottery ticket cooperatively, organize raffles and tandas or informal mutual savings and credit plans in an effort at self-help. They also participate in religious pilgrimages and together celebrate the festival of the vecindad patron saints, the Christmas Posadas and a few other holidays. But these group efforts are /occasional; for

occasional; for the most part adults "mind their own business" and try to maintain family privacy. Most doors are kept shut and it is customary to knock and wait for permission to enter when visiting. Some people visit only relatives or compadres and have actually entered few of the apartments. It is not common to invite friends or neighbours to eat, except on formal occasions such as birthday or religious celebrations. Although some neighbourly help occurs, especially during emergencies, it is kept at a minimum. Quarrels between families over the mischief of children, street fights between gangs, and personal feuds between boys in the Casa Grande, are not uncommon.

The people of the Casa Grande earn their living in a large miscellany of occupations which practically defies classification. The Census of 1950 listed 72 occupations for this single vecindad! The largest occupational groups were shoemakers, petty tradesmen, salaried workers, chofers, seamstresses, and mechanics. About a third of our household sample had at least one member whose full time or part time occupation was carried on at home. Some women take in washing or do dressmaking. Some men are shoemakers, hat cleaners, or sellers of fruit or candy. Many men, however, go outside of the vecindad to work as chauffers, as factory workers, as push-cart peddlars, etc. The one single occupation that is most numerous is shoemaking, most of which is contracted from small manufacturers in the neighbourhood. Each shoemaker usually confines himself to a speciality, the making of heels, for example, or the sewing of shoe linings. This trade is more or less typical of the small scale home industry still found in many large cities in Mexico.

Although the living standards of the Casa Grande are low they are by no means the lowest to be found in Mexico City. Monthly incomes per capita per household range from 23 to 500 pesos, and can be classified into four groups. (See Table 2.) Twenty-seven per cent of the households showed less than 100 pesos per capita income, 41 per cent showed between 101-200 pesos; 22 per cent between 201-300 pesos, and 10 per cent between 301-500 pesos.

In an effort to delineate the range of levels of living in the vecindad, a material culture inventory consisting of 34 items was constructed and applied in each of our sample households. Eleven

/items were

items were then selected as luxury items which might be diagnostic of standard of living as follows: radio, gas stove, wrist-watch, the use of knives and forks in eating, sewing machine, aluminum pots, electric blender, television, washing machine, automobile, and refrigerator. We found that 79 per cent had radios, 55 per cent gas stoves, 54 per cent wrist-watches, 49 per cent used knives and forks (spoons were quite common but most eating was done with tortilla and the hands), 46 per cent had sewing machines, 41 per cent aluminum pots, 22 per cent electric blenders, (informants referred to the traditional stone mortar and pestle as the Mexican blender) 21 per cent televisions, 10 per cent washing machines, 6 per cent automobiles, and 4 per cent refrigerators. The increase in the standard of living in the five years since I first began to study this vecindad was notable. Radios had become so common that they no longer served as diagnostic items for wealth. The distribution of the 11 luxury items in the vecindad is shown in the following table.

Table I
DISTRIBUTION OF LUXURY ITEMS IN THE CASA GRANDE
VECINDAD, MEXICO CITY, 1956

Item	Number	Percent of Total Households
Radio	56	79
Gas Stove	39	55
Wrist-watch	38	54
Knives and forks	35	49
Sewing Machine	33	46
Aluminum Pots	29	41
Blender	16	22
Television	15	21
Washing Machine	7	10
Automobile	4	6
Refrigerator	3	4
Total	275	

/We found

We found that gas stoves, T.V. sets, the use of knives and forks for eating, and wrist-watches, were the most diagnostic items for general level of living and income level. The relationship between the possession of luxury items and income per capita is seen in the following table.

While some households did not own a single luxury item, others owned nine of the eleven items. Although there is considerable overlapping in the number of luxury items owned by the different income groups the average number of items goes up steadily from 2.00 for the lower income group to 5.57 for the upper group. However, the average number of items per household in the upper middle and upper groups is about the same, i.e. 5.53 and 5.57 items, respectively. The relationship between luxury items and income levels is much more striking for the lower group, the lower middle group and the upper middle group.

T.V. ownership was concentrated in the two upper income groups which had ten of the 15 sets. There were no sets in the lowest group. One-third of the families that were three months delinquent in rent owned T.V. sets. T.V. is widely appreciated as a medium of entertainment in the vecindad by owners and non-owners alike. Among the wealthier families T.V. is maintained exclusively for the use of the family, except for occasional invited guests. The poorer families, however, charge a fee of twenty-five or thirty centavos to the children of the vecindad and several lower income families who have bought their T.V. set on time hope to pay for the machine in this way.

The gas stove is even more indicative of socio-economic levels than the T.V. set. Thirty-six of the thirty-nine gas stoves are found in the three upper groups. Most of the lower group uses a kerosene stove or charcoal. Two families of the middle income group who have T.V. still uses kerosene and eight families with kerosene still use charcoal.

From a statistical point of view the use of tableware for eating would seem to be the single most diagnostic trait for socio-economic levels. Whereas 100 per cent of all the upper group households had tableware, only 22 per cent of the lowest income group had it.

There seems to be little positive relationship between the time spent in the city and membership in the higher economic groups. However, whereas

Table II

DISTRIBUTION OF LUXURY ITEMS BY HOUSEHOLDS AND INCOME GROUPINGS IN A
MEXICO CITY VECINDAD, MEXICO, D.F. 1956

Monthly income per capita (pesos)	House- holds		Average number of items per fa- mily	Tele-		Gas		Blender		Wrist		Silver		Alum.	
				vision	stove			watch	ware	pots					
	N°	%	N°	%	N°	%	N°	%	N°	%	N°	%	N°	%	
Upper group 301-500	71	10	5.57	3	43	6	86	3	43	5	72	7	100	4	57
Upper middle group 201-300	15	22	5.53	7	47	12	80	6	40	10	67	10	67	9	60
Lower middle group 101-200	27	41	4.21	5	18	18	67	6	22	18	67	14	52	12	44
Lower group 100 or less	18	27	2.00	0	0	3	17	1	5	5	28	4	22	4	22
Total	67		4.06	15		39		16		38		35		29	

/only 14

only 14 per cent of the members of the upper group were born in rural areas, 41 per cent of the lower group were born in rural areas.

There is a wide range of level of education in our vecindad sample, varying from 12 adults who have never attended school to one woman who attended for 11 years. The average number of years of school attendance among the 198 adults of our sample is surprisingly low at 4.7 years. Those born in Mexico City have a somewhat higher level of education (4.9) than those born in other urban centers (4.0) and in rural areas (3.0). Education also shows a positive correlation with income: those in the upper income group of the sample have approximately one year more schooling than those in the upper middle group, and about a year and a half more than the lower middle and lower groups.

The children of the vecindad show a substantial educational advantage over their parents. Among the children of school age, there are none who have never been to school and none who are illiterate. Furthermore, the younger generation, many of whom were still attending school at the time of this study, already had significantly more schooling than their parents. Children of people born in rural areas have thus far, an average of 5.7 years of schooling, or 2.7 more than their parents. The children of those from urban areas other than Mexico City, have an average of 6.4 years or 2.4 more than their parents. Children of Mexico City-born parents show the least difference with an average of 6.1 years or 1.2 more than their parents. Among city-born children, females have a higher average school attendance, in contrast to the parental group in which males had the advantage.

Let us now turn briefly to a description of our second case, the Panaderos vecindad. The Panaderos vecindad, huddled between two brick buildings on a bare lot a few blocks from the Casa Grande, is one of the poorest housing settlements in Mexico City. Unprotected from the street by a wall or a closed entranceway, the row of miserable one-room connected dwellings and their makeshift additions, built along the left side and across the back of the lot, are exposed to the gaze of the passers-by. Also in full view, for the use of the fifty-four residents, is a large cement water-trough where the women wash their dishes and laundry and bathe
/their children

their children, and two broken-down toilets curtained by pieces of torn burlap and flushed by pails of water. The bare earth of the thirty-foot wide lot is dotted with rocks and stones and forked poles that hold up the clothesline stretched criss-cross between the two neighbouring buildings. Here and there, a hole dug by the children or an unexpected sewer opening, haphazardly covered by a rock, makes walking precarious.

Five of the twelve dwellings have sheds or lean-to's constructed in front of them, made by setting up two poles and extending the kitchen roofs made of scraps of tarpaper, tin and corrugated metal, held down by stones and piled high with firewood and odds and ends. The sheds were built primarily to provide a dry, shady place to work for the artisans who live there. Two of them make tin pails, another makes toys from scrap metal and the fourth makes miniature water-bottles and repairs bicycles. Piles of equipment, tin sheets, bundles of waste steel strips, wire, nails and tools, kept on old tables and benches, clutter up the space under the sheds.

The other men of this vecindad work at various jobs; three in shoe factories, one in a belt factory and one selling newspapers. Because their earnings are small and much of it is spent on drink, every one of the wives and many of the children, work to add to their income. Some of the younger women work in shops, others as ambulant pedlars, but most prefer to work at home, doing piecework, making sweets or cooked food to sell in the street nearby, dealing in old clothes, and taking washing and ironing. The clotheslines are almost always hung with the laundry of others, providing a multi-colored curtain behind which life in the vecindad can be conducted with a bit more sense of privacy.

The heads of families of the Panaderos vecindad come from six of the central States of Mexico, Guanajuato, Querataro, Mexico, Hidalgo, Aguascalientes, and Morelos. Four were born in small rural villages, seven in urban centers outside of Mexico City, and ten in Mexico City. Only three couples came to the vecindad already married, having lived in other parts of the city previously. As in the case of the Casa Grande, most of the immigrants were brought to the city by their parents or came themselves at an early age. The time spent in the city by those from

/other areas

other areas ranges from 12 to 49 years. The average time in Mexico City is 26.2 years. This is greater than the average for the other vecindad. This suggests that the greater persistence of rural traits in this smaller vecindad is not a function of the recency of arrival from the country. As we shall see, it is a function of poverty and lower class membership.

The Panaderos vecindad is a more cohesive community than the Casa Grande. Nine of the twelve households are related by kinship ties, and constitute three extended families. One mother has a married daughter in the vecindad; another mother has a married son and a married daughter; and a third has two married sons and one married daughter. All the families of the vecindad are related by compadrazgo. However, it is difficult to maintain the traditional formal respect relations between compadres in these crowded quarters; quarrels among the children of the vecindad often lead to quarrels among compadres. Visiting and borrowing is very frequent among the vecindad inhabitants who drift easily in and out of each others rooms. There is little privacy here and everyone knows each others business. However, in some ways there is less organization here than in the Casa Grande. The Panaderos vecindad has no protecting patron saint, no gang of boys and girls, (perhaps because it is so small) and no weekly dance.

Family Structure

The biological or nuclear family is the predominant type in the vecindad. Six of the thirteen families found in the twelve households are of the simple biological type consisting of husband, wife and children. Three apartments are occupied by widowed or abandoned women living with their grown children, and two apartments are occupied by men who have separated from their wives. In only one apartment is there a real extended family consisting of a man and his wife and their married daughter and grandchildren.

There are a total of 13 marriages in five of which the partners have ceased to live together. Six of the 13 (46 per cent) were common-law marriages, five were married by both civil and church authorities, one by

/the church

the church exclusively and one by civil law alone. The high proportion of 46 per cent common-law union contrasts sharply with the much lower rate of 20 per cent in the Casa Grande.

Education

The average number of years of school attendance of the 25 individuals who have completed their education is 2.1 years per person, as compared to 4.7 in the Casa Grande. Moreover, the upper limit of schooling here was only five years as compared with 11 years in the larger vecindad. Probably the most striking contrast between the two vecindades is the much higher rate of illiteracy; 40 per cent as compared with 8 per cent in the Casa Grande! Within each vecindad the highest rate of illiteracy is found among those from rural backgrounds. However, while only 17 per cent of the city-born were illiterate in the Casa Grande, forty-two per cent were illiterate in the Panaderos vecindad. Also, the younger city-born generation of the Casa Grande had a definite educational advantage over their parents which was not the case in the Panaderos vecindad. This suggests a much greater emphasis placed upon education in the Casa Grande families and is undoubtedly related to the higher income, higher standard of living and in general to the operation of middle class values as opposed to lower class values.

Material Culture, Income, and Level of Living

The much greater poverty of the Panaderos vecindad is revealed in the lower income per capita and in the absence of most of the luxury items found in the Casa Grande, as seen in the following table.

The income ranged from 28 pesos per capita per month to 280 pesos. There was no household that could be classified in the upper income group of the Casa Grande. In Panaderos we found only 17 luxury items (an average of 1.42 per household) while the Casa Grande had a total of 275 items (an average of 4.06 per household). As in the case of the Casa Grande, most of the houses had radios so that radios even here were not diagnostic of level of living. The complete absence of knives and forks and gas

/Table III

Table III

RELATIONSHIP OF MONTHLY INCOME PER CAPITA AND MATERIAL CULTURE ITEMS
IN A MEXICO CITY VECINDAD, MEXICO, D. F., 1956

Monthly income per capita (pesos)	House- holds		Average number of items per heouse- holds	Tele- vision		Gas stove N°	Blend- er N°	Wrist watch N°	Silver ware N°	Alum. pots N°
	N°	%		N°	%					
Upper group 301-500	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Upper middle group 201-300	2	17	2	1	100	0	0	1	0	0
Lower middle group 101-200	5	41.5	1.8	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Lower group 100 or less	5	41.5	.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	12	Aver. =	1.42	1		0	0	2	0	1

/stoves is

stoves is especially diagnostic of the low standard of living and of lower class membership. The Panaderos families live at more or less the same level as the group of lower income families of the Casa Grande.

Another interesting difference between the two vecindades can be seen by comparing the relationship between income levels and education in each. In the Casa Grande we find a small positive relationship, i.e. as we go from the lower to the higher income groups the educational level rises from an average of 4.7 years to 6.1 years. In the Panaderos vecindad there is no such positive relation, again indicating that education is not viewed as a means of upward mobility.

As a final point of comparison between the two vecindades we will examine briefly the celebration of the Day of the Dead. Although most families celebrated the occasion in both vecindades there was a sharp difference in beliefs. In the Panaderos vecindad 10 of the 11 families studied believed in the coming of the dead. In the Casa Grande only 34 per cent said they believed, 29 per cent were doubtful and 37 per cent said they did not believe. The offerings and celebration were much more elaborate in the Panaderos vecindad. Here four families used charcoal and incense, 8 left an offering of food, 9 left flowers, and 10 left a glass of water and a candle. By contrast, in the Casa Grande a much smaller percent used charcoal and incense and the percent of the families that left a food offering was only about half that of Panaderos. The distribution by households is shown in the following chart.

There appears to be a regular and predictable order of elimination of items as one moves from the group of believers to non-believers. The order of elimination is first, charcoal, then flowers, water, and candles, respectively. Thus, if an informant used charcoal it is certain that she used all the other items.

/Items

Items	Casa Grande		Panaderos	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Charcoal	8	19	4	36
Offerings	16	39	8	72
Flowers	29	71	9	81
Water	32	79	10	91
Candles	39	95	10	71

CONCLUSIONS

Our preliminary findings suggest that the lower class residents of Mexico City show much less of the personal anonymity and isolation of the individual which has been described as characteristic of residents of large cities in the United States. The vecindad and the neighbourhood break the city up into small communities which act as cohesive and personalizing factors. Many people spend most of their lives within a single neighbourhood or colonia and even when there are frequent changes of residence it is usually within a restricted geographical area. Most marriages also occur within the neighbourhood or colonia. Moreover, the extended family ties are strong, especially in times of emergency. We found that a large number of kin, living and dead, were recognized and remembered. (For similar results see, Firth, 1956.) Compadrazgo is also a cohesive factor and much stronger in the smaller vecindad.

In spite of the cult of machismo and the overall cultural emphasis upon male superiority and dominance, we found a tendency toward matri-centered families in which the mother plays a crucial role in parent-child realtions even after the children are married. One of the factors responsible for this situation may be the frequency with which men abandon their wives, and the existence of a casa chica pattern in which the men spend relatively little time with their children. Perhaps just as important is the demoralizing effect on men who have difficulty in fulfilling their expected roles as the economic mainstay and head of the family in a culture where unemployment, irregularity of jobs, and low wages are chronic conditions.

/The vecindad

The vecindad acts as a shock absorber for the rural migrants to the city because of the similarity between its culture and that of rural communities. Indeed, we found no sharp differences in family structure, diet, dress and belief systems of the vecindad tenants, according to their rural-urban origins. The use of herbs for curing, the raising of animals, the belief in sorcery, spiritualism, the celebration of the Day of the Dead, political apathy and cynicism about government seemed just as common among persons who have been in the city for over thirty years as among more recent arrivals. One might well call these people urban peasantry.^{1/}

Various socio-economic levels must be distinguished within the lower class in Mexico City. It may be useful to develop a typology along the lines of Lloyd Warner, distinguishing between the lower-lower, middle-lower and upper-lower, in terms which are meaningful for the Mexican milieu. In such a scheme our smaller vecindad would probably fall into the lower-lower and middle-lower, while the Casa Grande shows all levels with the beginnings of a lower-middle class. The Panaderos vecindad shows a much higher incidence of extended family ties, of compadrazgo, of illiteracy, of working women, and of common-law marriages. The income level is much lower, as is the average number of luxury items. Some of the diagnostic items for an intra-class and inter-class typology would seem to be attitudes toward education and upward mobility, attitudes toward cleanliness, income, types of clothing (for example, a coat and a tie would seem to be diagnostic of middle class membership), the use of knives and forks for eating, the gas stove, etc. It is interesting to note that the vecindad residents of peasant background who come from small landowning families showed more middle class aspirations in their desire for a higher standard of living and education for their children than did city-born residents of the lower income group.

^{1/} Eliot Freidson in a review of Hoggart's book on the lower class English suggests this term. He writes: "The view that he gives us of a kind of urban peasantry - concrete and personal in thought, indifferent, skeptical, suspicious, and even hostile toward the nation outside the neighbourhood..." American Journal of Sociology, July 1958, p. 98.

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SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA

Jointly sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs and the secretariat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, in co-operation with the International Labour Office and the Organization of American States

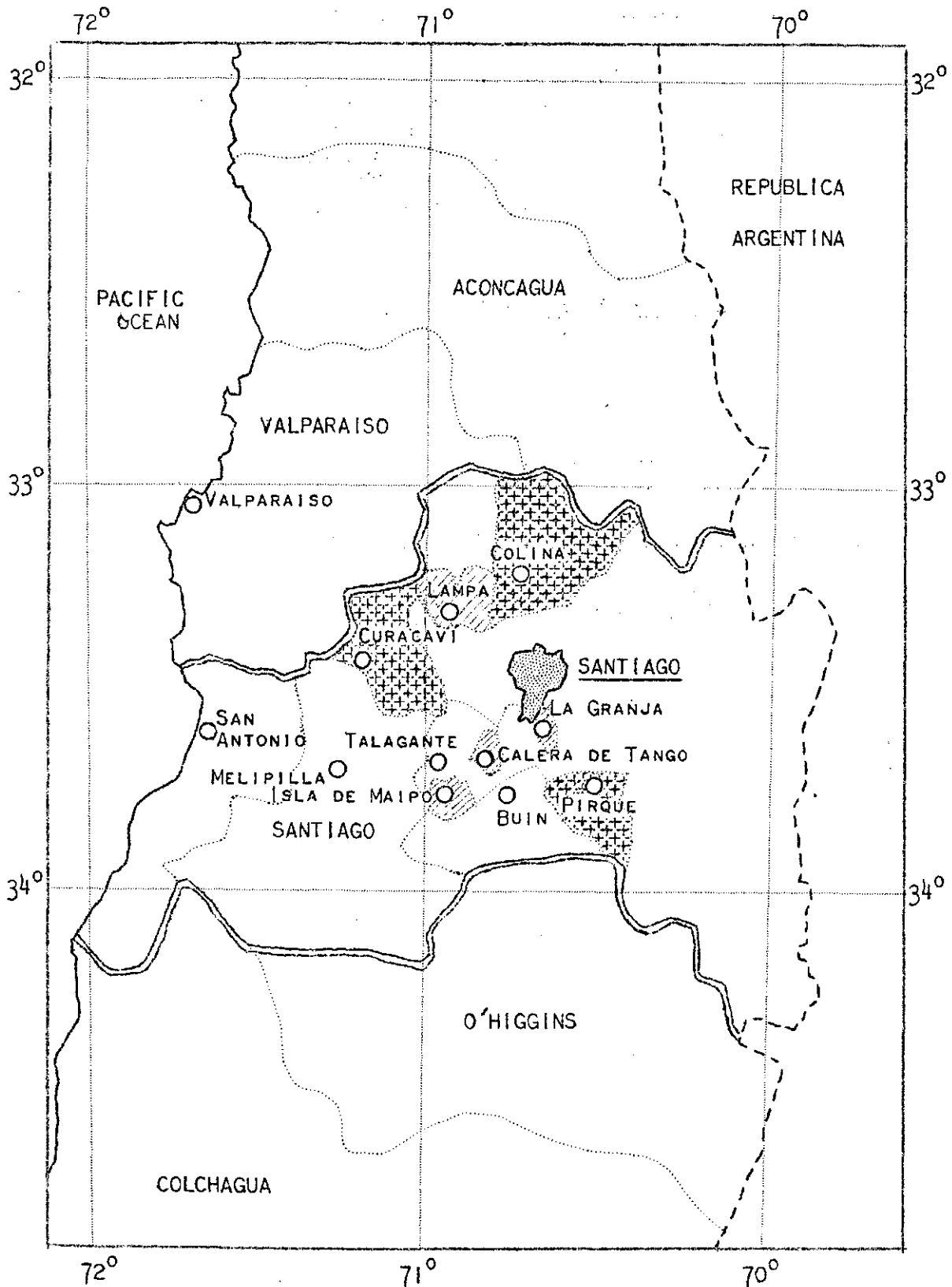
Information document N° 2

WAGE STRUCTURE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE
SELECTION OF RURAL LABOUR

(Survey of a number of rural communes in the Santiago area)

by The Rev. Oscar Domínguez

SANTIAGO PROVINCE
COMMUNES COVERED BY SURVEY



Introduction

The present paper discusses the position of the rural populations of the communes of Calera de Tango, Colina, Curacaví, Isla de Maipo, La Granja, Lampa and Pirque; it is based on surveys in these communes and the results of the 1952 General Population Census and the 1955 Agricultural Census.

Before defining the scope of the study, it may be useful to mention a number of factors which influence the selection and distribution of the rural population; these factors will merely be listed in view of the lack of data and the fact that they are outside the purview of the study.

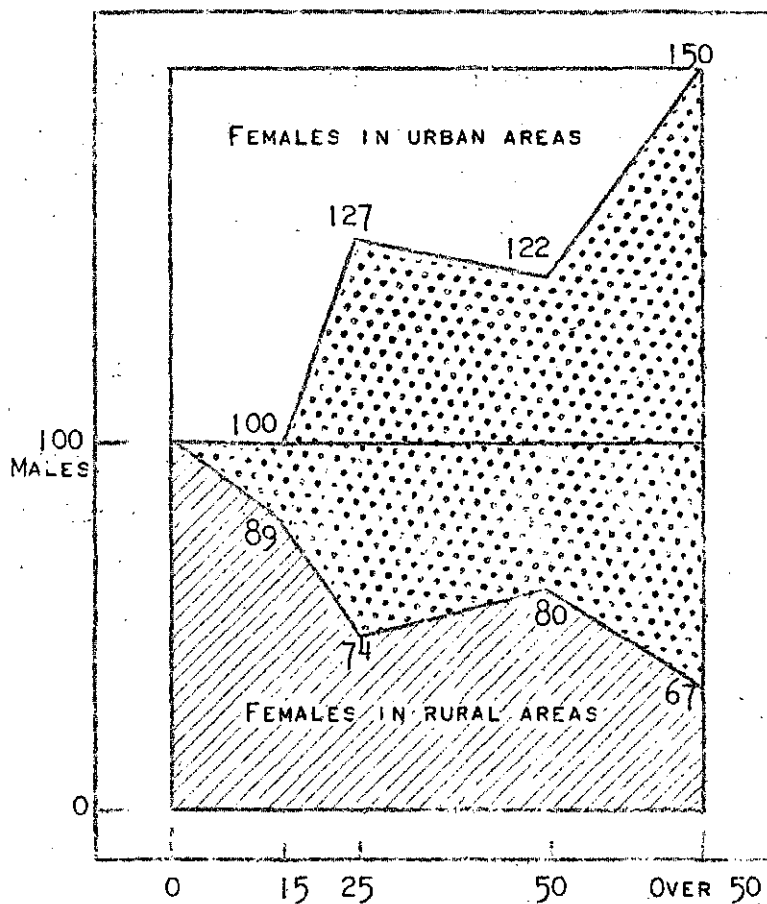
(1) The effect of the backwardness and isolation of rural communities. In rural areas all services are less developed than in urban areas and may be non-existent. In rural areas, educational, social welfare and medical care facilities are greatly inferior to those in the cities and it is more difficult to ensure that social legislation is properly enforced.

(2) The conditions in which the present migration of the rural population to urban centres is taking place. There has been much discussion of "shantytowns" but it is still impossible to say whether the shantytowns house migrants from rural areas or marginal elements of the urban population. The shantytowns seem to be an outgrowth not so much of rural migration as of the unemployment, delinquency and poverty prevalent in some urban population groups. Little is as yet known about the integration of rural migrants in urban life; many of the women find employment as domestics, but there is little information about the men.

(3) The selection of migrants to the cities. Is the process taking place in accordance with a rational policy or has it been left to chance to create its own mechanisms?

In this paper it is proposed to consider the effect of the wage structure in Chilean agriculture on the process of selection of rural labour and of the surplus population which migrates to the cities, in particular, to Santiago.

FEMALES PER 100 MALES IN THE URBAN POPULATION OF SANTIAGO PROVINCE AND THE RURAL POPULATION OF THE COMMUNES STUDIED, ACCORDING TO THE 1952 POPULATION CENSUS



Effects of rural emigration; demographic disequilibria

(a) Women are leaving the country and concentrating in the cities.

In Chile, according to the 1952 census, males outnumber females up to ten years of age; after ten the relationship is reversed, reaching a peak of 122 females to 100 males among persons aged sixty-five and over. The average for all ages is 104 females to 100 males.

In the communes studied, there are more males than females in all age-groups. The difference is accentuated between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four and after the age of fifty. In the urban population of Santiago Province the position is reversed: females outnumber males from the age of five years, the difference increasing with age to a peak of 150 females per 100 males in groups over fifty years of age. The difference decreases between twenty-five and fifty years of age and progressively increases after the age of fifty. The disproportion

DISTRIBUTION OF <u>INQUILINOS</u> BY AGE			
			%
UNDER 30		21	11
30 - 39		65	34
40 - 49		42	22
OVER 50		51	26
NOT STATED		12	7
TOTAL COVERED BY SURVEY....		191	100

between males and females in the rural communes, especially between fifteen and twenty-four years of age, shows the effects of excessive female emigration to the cities. The disproportion is even greater than would appear, since male mortality is higher than female mortality at all ages; the difference should therefore diminish with age, instead of becoming greater, as is the case in the rural communes under consideration.

(b) In agriculture adult male workers are most in demand.

The figures for the distribution by age of the inquilinos (agricultural workers paid partly in land) covered by the survey show that adult males over thirty years of age predominate.

Although there are of course other categories of agricultural worker - obligados, voluntarios,^{1/} share-croppers, migrant labour, contract labour, etc. - it should be borne in mind that the Chilean system of agricultural labour and wages centres upon the inquilinos and their families.

^{1/} See page 6.

The age pyramid of the rural and urban populations of Santiago Province clearly shows the small size of the active rural population in comparison with inactive groups, the aged and the children - especially the last. It can be seen that the surplus rural population moves to Santiago, from the age of fifteen years in the case of women and upon completion of military service in the case of men.

The inquilino system and the selection of rural labour

An outstanding feature of Chilean agriculture is the fact that most of the cultivated area is in large holdings which employ paid labourers. Although there are many small land-owners, the area of land they farm is very small in relation to the total cultivated area.

Agricultural work, unlike industrial work:

- is spread over a period of time, since it continues from the preparation of the soil until the harvest, which takes place several months later;
- is uncertain, since it is affected by unpredictable factors such as weather, pests, availability of water, animal diseases, etc.;
- requires a stable and interested labour force; agriculture needs workers who are settled on the land.

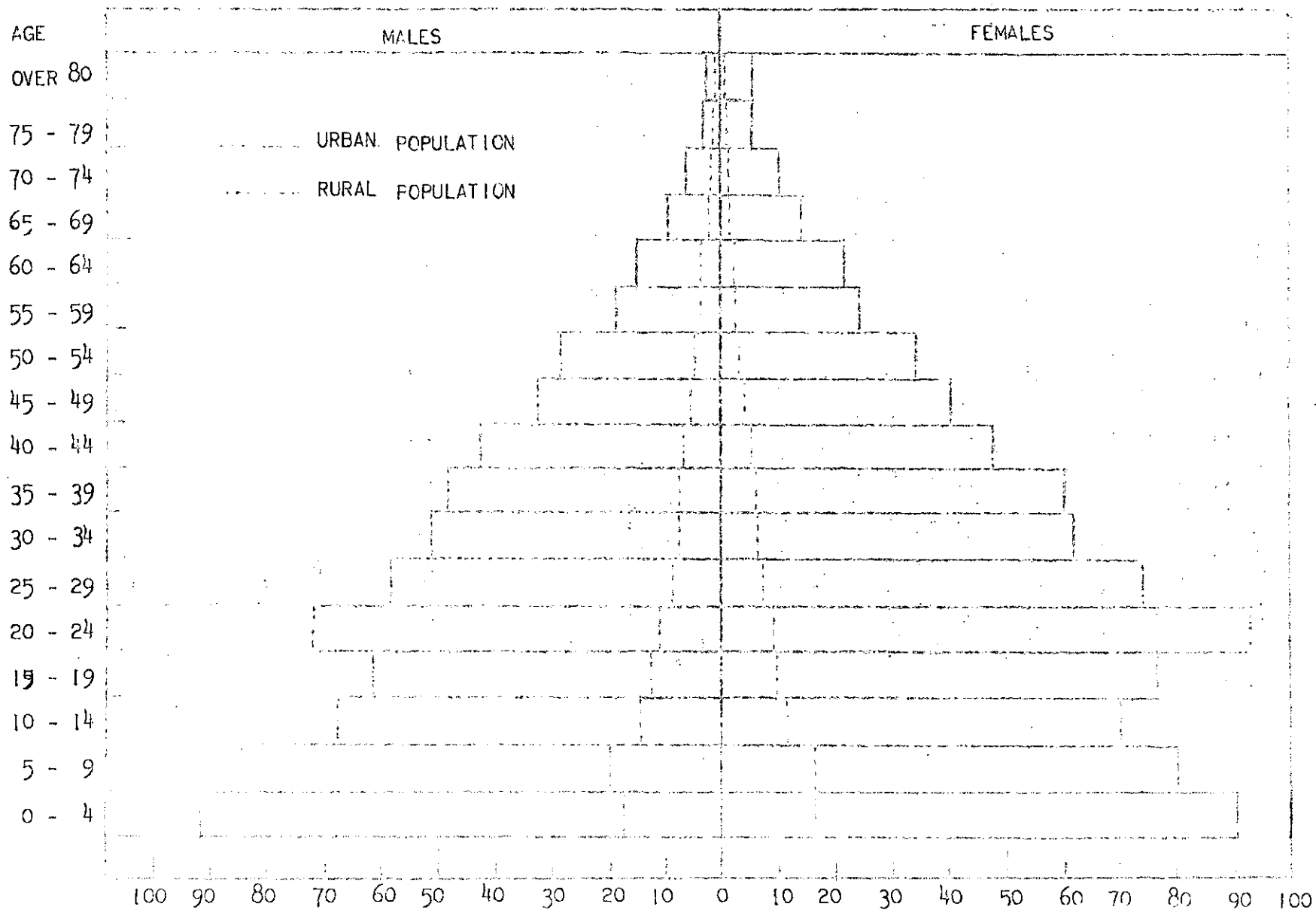
Under present conditions agriculture requires a stable, paid labour force in order to obtain a satisfactory yield from crops and livestock. The agricultural worker cannot be a mere wage-earner working by the day; he must be constantly ready, over a protracted period of time, to undertake the work that can or must be done at a particular time.

An analysis of the inquilino system, the predominant system in Chilean agriculture, follows.

From the employer's point of view, the inquilino system means:

Abundant labour: the inquilino is an adult with grown sons; if he has none, he usually undertakes to have in his house another worker, commonly known as an obligado or a voluntario, who also works on the employer's land. Where there is an undertaking that each inquilino household will provide two or three workers, the additional workers are known as obligados. Where there is no such undertaking, they are called voluntarios and work on the employer's land when they choose.

AGE PYRAMIDS OF THE URBAN AND RURAL POPULATIONS OF SANTIAGO PROVINCE: DISTRIBUTION BY AGE AND SEX



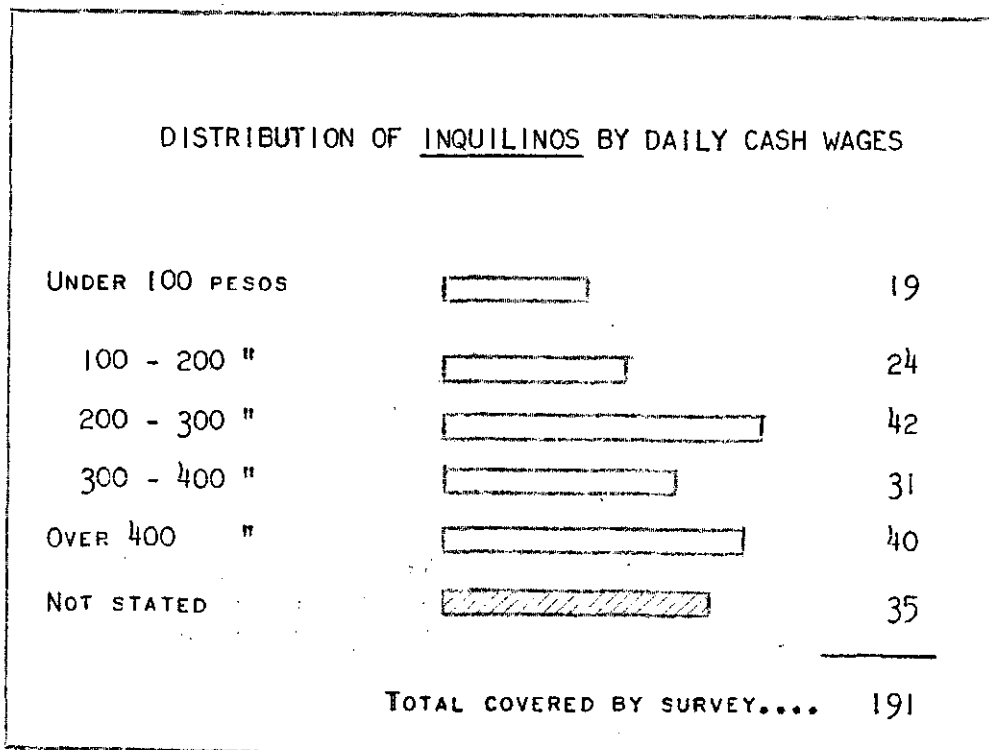
Cheap Labour:

Cheap labour: the farmer pays the inquilino more than half his wages in "benefits in kind", chiefly in land. In view of the fact that, according to an ECLA survey, more than one-fifth of the irrigated land in Santiago and Valparaiso Provinces is not sown in annual crops it is clear that the inquilino's wages in kind, usually land of poor quality, cost the employer little.

Inefficient labour: under the inquilino system the agricultural worker is permanently dependent on his employer; in most cases, this relationship does not mean a community of interests but a mere carrying out of orders. As a rule the inquilinos' sense of initiative and responsibility is destroyed and, because they only do the work they are told to do, instead of working as partners in a common enterprise, the productivity of labour is very low. The payment they receive falls into two categories: cash or subsistence wages, and wages in kind, which create the dependency on the employer.

(a) Cash wages

Cash wages are very low. Surveys in the Santiago area show that 10 per cent of the inquilinos receive less than the legal minimum wage and that only 22 per cent are paid cash wages equivalent to the statutory minimum for rural areas.



Analysis of the variations in cash wages in the communes studied shows that there is a relationship between cash wages and the extent to which the inquilino is settled on the land. In communes where wages are mostly in cash, fewer workers are native to the commune and the workers are younger; thus, in Isla de Maipo, where cash wages are the rule, only two of the thirty inquilinos covered by the survey were born in the commune and only one is over fifty years of age. The situation is reversed in the commune of Pirque where cash wages are exceptionally low. Fifteen of the twenty-seven inquilinos covered by the survey were born in the commune and ten are over fifty years of age.

Cash wages appear to loosen the agricultural worker's ties to his native village and give him greater mobility. Agricultural workers from other areas who are dissatisfied with conditions in their own villages or wish to make a move to the city with some degree of security, settle in communes where cash wages are the rule in order to give their children a better education and look for employment in the cities.

The rental value and not the value added by the taken labour was used as the basis in estimating the value of payments in kind (arable and pasture land).

DISTRIBUTION OF <u>INQUILINOS</u> BY PAYMENT IN KIND RECEIVED			
NONE			9
UNDER 60 000 PESOS PER YEAR			57
60 000 - 100 000 " " "			88
OVER 100 000 " " "			23
NOT STATED			14
TOTAL COVERED BY SURVEY....			191

THE RENTAL VALUE AND NOT THE VALUE ADDED BY THE TAKEN LABOUR WAS TAKEN AS THE BASIS IN ESTIMATING THE VALUE OF PAYMENTS IN KIND (ARABLE AND PASTURE LAND).

(b) Payments in kind or "wages of dependency"

The payments in kind in fact determine the economic position of the inquilino and his family for the condition of his house and the area and quality of his plot of land decisively affect his well-being. The inquilino is more attracted by the "guarantees" which payments in kind represent, than by cash wages, since these benefits enable him to obtain a larger income by making an additional effort. However, the wages in kind do not increase his income very much; on the basis of the rental value of the house, lands and pasturage received and the real value of foodstuffs, only a minority earn over 100 000 pesos a year.

The payment of wages in kind means:

1. Selection on the basis of age: employers select as inquilinos men who have grown sons and who bring other workers to the estate;
2. Economic absorption of the inquilino's family, which benefits the head of the family only; the children are in a poor position and few have prospects. The subsidiary workers brought in by the inquilino receive no benefits in kind;
3. The virtual absence of any attractive and well-paid employment for young people, especially for girls; only very rarely does a young man wishing to marry obtain a house as an inquilino;
4. The dependency of the inquilino upon the estate, although the inquilino has no interest in the fruits of his labours. The workers on estates which pay mainly in benefits in kind are very easy to handle but entirely passive, even in their attitude towards religion;
5. The retardation of agricultural progress, since the system results in the perpetuation of primitive methods of work and provides no incentives to progress, either among the inquilinos (because they do not share in the profits) or among the landowners (because labour is cheap).

/Suggestions

Suggestions

An urbanization policy must take into account the mechanisms of selection of rural labour which cause or promote demographic disequilibrium and accelerate the growth of the large cities. Before these mechanisms can be corrected, the conditions of rural life must be thoroughly studied.

Agricultural development must be accelerated in order to prevent the migration of all young people, in particular the best educated and most progressive of them, to the urban centres.

Women must be given a place in the family economy, not as dependents but as potential wage-earners. The development of cottage industries and arrangements to market their products might improve this situation; a policy of administrative and industrial decentralization might also provide attractive employment opportunities for female labour.

SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA

Santiago, Chile - 6 - 18 July 1959

Information document N° 4

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY PABLO PEREZ ZAÑARTU,
MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS OF CHILE

It gives me great pleasure to greet, on behalf of the Government of Chile, the representatives of the Latin American peoples who are attending this Seminar on Urbanization Problems, organized by the Economic Commission for Latin America.

A rapid urbanization process, chiefly due to population shifts from rural areas to towns, where the better economic, social, cultural and material prospects act as a magnet, is common to most of the Latin American countries. It may also be noted that this growth of the urban population is so intensive in some of the countries of the region that they can be classified among those with the highest urbanization indices in the world. A characteristic feature of the urbanization process in question is the concentration of the urban population in a few large towns, or, most frequently, in the capital only.

The causes of this steady flow of rural population towards the large and small towns can be seen to be closely related to the industrialization process, as well as to the current economic - social conditions in which the agricultural population of Latin America lives.

Thus, here in Chile the Development Corporation (Corporación de Fomento de la Producción) has created the fundamental conditions required for the industrialization of the various areas and provinces through the execution of electrification programmes and the establishment of such basic industries as steel making, the petroleum and heavy chemicals industries, etc. In this way it has contributed to the improvement of the country's over-all economy and the development of a decentralizing economic policy aimed at a more balanced distribution of the population.

/The rapid

The rapid rate of growth of our urban population has had serious human and social repercussions deriving from the need for the mass assimilation and adaptation of rural dwellers to the new patterns imposed by town life.

Again, over-concentration of a population not as a rule properly adjusted to these new requirements intensifies the existing problems of housing shortages and lack of public utilities, and ultimately, therefore, aggravates the already critical situation with respect to environmental sanitation in the towns.

Given the nature of the problems arising out of the urbanization process in the Latin American countries, short-term solutions are of no avail. In order to tackle them, it is necessary to adopt forthwith an economic development policy providing for satisfactory regional planning on which the smooth and well-balanced growth of our rural and urban areas can be based.

It is my conviction that the conclusions and recommendations arising out of this Seminar will be of positive value to our country's institutions, as well as, undoubtedly, to all the other participants, as a guide to effective action.

On behalf of the Government of Chile, I thank you for your presence here and extend a cordial welcome.

SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA

Santiago, Chile -- 6 -- 13 July 1959

Information document N° 5

STATEMENT BY MR. H. M. PHILLIPS, CHIEF, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS,
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, UNESCO

I have much pleasure on behalf of the Director General of UNESCO in adding some words of greeting to the distinguished and eloquent statement made by His Excellency, Pablo Pérez Zañartu.

This seminar is part of a series which are being held in different regions of the world by the United Nations and UNESCO working in close co-operation. I need not enlarge on the problems of urbanization since many of you here have already made important contributions to their analysis and solution. The social and economic implications of the process of urbanization are making themselves felt all over the world, from villages in Africa and Asia, which are turning rapidly into townships, to the great cities of the world - like Tokyo now the biggest of all and still growing at the rate of 200,000 people a year - which are still seeking to control their expansion, and other great cities like London which have succeeded in checking their growth.

The Latin American region itself presents a variety of problems in this field, from its huge modern cities which continue to expand, to the more rural areas where urbanization is developing for the first time.

The contribution of UNESCO to the preparation for this seminar has been to sponsor studies by distinguished Latin American social scientists of the problems in their countries, and to provide for their participation here so that they can discuss the results of their studies and their implications. I would like to express the gratitude of the Director General to all of these social scientists who have given their collaboration to us so willingly and ably in the preparation of the studies for the seminar, and to Professor Philip Hausser who has kindly consented to serve as general Rapporteur for this session as he did for the similar seminar held in 1956 in Bangkok in collaboration with the UNESCO and ECAFE.

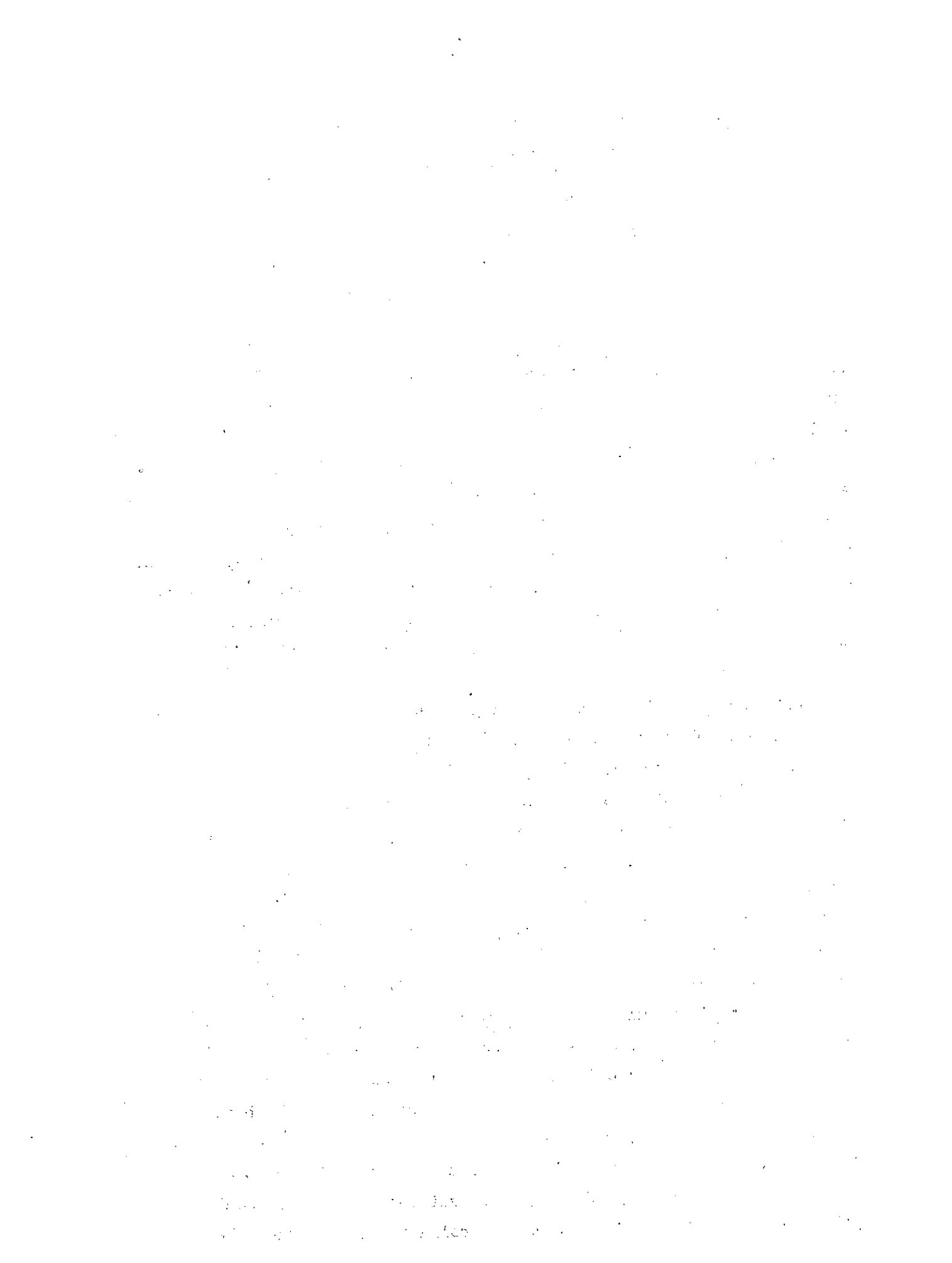
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Although in the UNESCO Department of Social Sciences our prime concern is with the objective and scientific study and analysis of the process of urbanization, we are very conscious of the need for developing policies and practical action in this field. The problems of urbanization call for an integrated approach involving both multi-disciplinary study and many sided action. The rapid growth of cities leads to economic and social problems touching the competence of many agencies and we cordially welcome the collaboration of the ILO, FAO, WHO and, of course, the OAS. UNESCO itself, in addition to its social science interests, is deeply concerned in the educational problems associated with urbanization, and during the seminar I shall be making a statement on behalf of UNESCO's Department of Education.

Although there has been a special international initiative in this matter arising from the United Nations Economic and Social Council and the General Conference of UNESCO, the solution of these problems rests of course in the end with each individual country. We are happy to see that so many of the Governments of Latin American countries have sent experts to participate. Theirs is the task of producing and working out practical action based on the findings of the seminar. We hope that there will be fruitful exchanges of views, so that policy may be based on research and research in its turn be directed towards the key subjects of interest to policy makers and administrators.

The Economic Commission for Latin America has assumed the major share of the organizational arrangements for the seminar and to them and the Bureau of Technical Assistance Operations of the United Nations our thanks are due. I would also like to add our special thanks to the Government of Chile in which country this seminar is taking place. The Chilean Government has made a major contribution to the teaching of the social sciences in the region by setting up, here in Santiago, with the sponsorship of UNESCO and the collaboration of the other Latin American States, the organization known as FIACSO (Inter-American Faculty of Social Sciences). Another regional centre, specializing in

/research in



research in the social sciences, set up with the collaboration of the Latin American States and UNESCO and generously supported by the Government of Brazil, to which our warm appreciation must also be expressed, is at work at Rio de Janeiro and has contributed documentation to the Seminar.

I would like to finish by conveying to you the warm personal greetings of the Director General. He has asked me to say that he wishes you every success in your work and is confident that the outcome of the seminar will be of the greatest interest and value both for the countries of Latin America, and for this series of seminars as a whole covering the different regions of the world.

SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA
Santiago, Chile, 6-16 July 1959

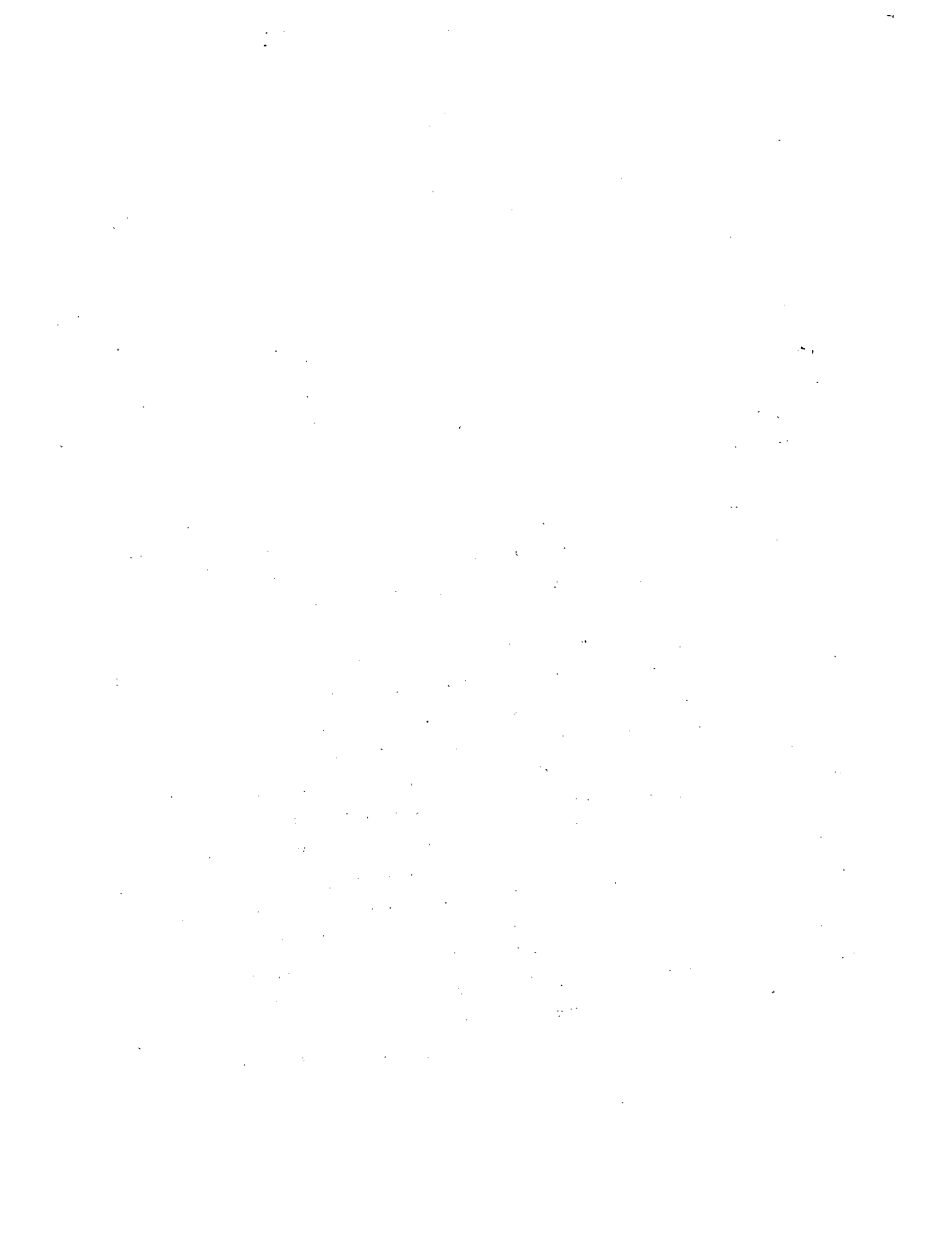
Information Document N° 6

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY MR. GUSTAVO DURAN OF THE UNITED NATIONS
BUREAU OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Phillips has just passed on to you a cordial greeting from the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. It is now my pleasant task, since I have the honour of representing the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs at this Seminar, to welcome you on behalf of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, as well as in the name of the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Latin America; to wish you every success in the work you are about to undertake; and to thank the representatives of the Government and cultural institutions of Chile both for the hospitality that their country has offered us and for the honour of their presence here, which imparts to this opening meeting the importance warranted by the occasion.

This is not the first time that the United Nations and UNESCO have convened a conference of specialists and public officials to study the problems raised by the process of demographic evolution and economic and social change which is currently known as "urbanization" - a term that in Spanish may perhaps be a trifle ambiguous. The magnitude and intensity of the problems involved - together with the fact that they constitute one of the characteristic phenomena of our time, in both the under-developed and the more highly industrialized countries - have in recent years attracted the attention of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, whose concern and interest have been explicitly expressed in the recommendations submitted by the Economic and Social Council to the Secretary-General.

In response to these recommendations, and in order to draw the attention of Governments to the problems deriving from the urbanization process, the United Nations, in co-operation with UNESCO, has taken steps to sponsor a series of seminars in different parts of the world. In August 1956, a /session similar



session similar to this was held at Bangkok, at which the situation created by the rapid growth of urban centres in the countries of Asia and the Far East was discussed; and two years previously, in September 1954, UNESCO had arranged a conference in Abidjan to explore the nature and scope of the problems arising in the African countries south of the Sahara, as a result of their industrialization and increasing urbanization. At the end of the current year a study tour of some of the Mediterranean countries will be carried out for a similar purpose, and later, at a date not yet settled, another conference will be held in one of the African countries, the proceedings of which will cover all the nations and territories of that continent.

The validity of the conclusions reached at the Abidjan and Bangkok sessions is not confined to the areas studied on those occasions. Much of what was then said is applicable, broadly speaking, to the countries of Latin America. But the history of the Latin American republics has followed a different course from that of the Asian or African countries, and, obviously, their economic and social structure is not the same. The fact that two or more countries in one region and another have attained a similar stage of economic development does not mean that what is applicable to one of them can be effectively applied, without substantial modification, to the rest; and even if the nature and magnitude of the problems were identical, the environment in which they develop would still be different, and so would the special combinations in which they occur. Naturally, each new combination calls for a new method and approach.

For, in addition, what is needed is needed is to solve these problems not individually and in isolation, but in the aggregate and in terms of their mutual inter-relationships. As is pointed out in one of the reports prepared for this Seminar, it is not enough to promote more and better housing, channel the expansion of urban population on rational lines or develop such-and-such a service commensurately with the town's growing requirements. Although of course all this is involved, what is most important must be looked for at a higher level, in the smooth co-ordination of such measures and services, the establishment of a strict order of priorities and the determination of the necessary financial
/resources.



But such programming would yield results of little value - and might even defeat its own ends - if the area covered did not extend beyond the town itself and its immediate zone of influence. If our aim is to prevent the shift of the rural population towards the urban centres from continuing as rapidly and at times chaotically as at present, the measures adopted in the centres in question must be accompanied by others of a similar or complementary nature at the national and not merely at the provincial or area level. Town and area planning, it should be recalled, are integral parts of economic, administrative and social programming for the country as a whole.

At the same time, as an indispensable prelude to this over-all action, the category, nature and origin of the problems to be solved must first be defined as accurately as possible, as well as the importance and degree of priority of the measures that it is desirable to apply, with due regard to the precise enumeration of the purely administrative requirements which such measures will entail. The statistical data available in most of the countries of the world are almost always incomplete, and mistakes may sometimes be made in consequence of their fragmentary character; but it would be a truism to add that total ignorance of such data might lead to much more serious and costly errors.

The fact that a group of sociologists, economists and demographers has met here to-day together with another composed of Government representatives, experienced in the application of the various kinds of economic and social measures required to meet the needs of urban areas, is in itself a significant advance. I am sure that discussion based on so wide a range of experience and opinion will help to clarify the terms of the problem and thus to facilitate its solution. Darwin, who had to deal with so many and such formidable problems in the course of his monumental work, used to say that it was always harder to define than to solve them. Let us, then, achieve the former, and the latter will follow of its own accord. Besides, I believe you will agree that the problem which brings us here is fraught with fewer mysteries than the origin of species.

SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA

Santiago, Chile - 6 - 18 July 1959

Information Document N° 7

MESSAGE FROM MR. JOSE A. MORA, SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, TO THE SEMINAR ON
URBANIZATION PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA

It can safely be asserted that one of the major revolutionary advances is to be found, not in the new nationalist States, nor in fanatical ideologies, but here, among us, in this noble city of Santiago, Chile, where the Seminar on Urbanization Problems in Latin America is to be held, and in almost all the urban centres of the American continent. To-day this revolution is transforming the whole of the Atlantic seaboard of South America, the sandy coasts of Peru, the central valley of Chile, the tablelands of Mexico, the savannahs of Colombia, and, in a word, the ancient heart of all those many cities that we have inherited from Colonial times.

I therefore offer my congratulations to the organizers of the Seminar, who have chosen as the subject of discussion the topic of urban expansion, which has a direct bearing on the economic, social and cultural development of our peoples, and is making increasing claims on the attention of the Organization of American States and its Secretariat, the Pan American Union.

In greeting the delegations and observers on behalf of the Organization of American States, I send my best wishes for a successful issue to the discussions now beginning, to the benefit of the entire American community.

