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SOME POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF URBANIZATION

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SOME POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF URBANIZATION[1/]

Introduction

The present paper explores the socio-economic policy implications of the rapid growth of cities in Latin America, and concentrates upon the implications of the present massive population shift from the rural areas and small towns into these cities.

The problems that are grouped under the term "urbanization" can be separated only arbitrarily from the wider range of problems involved in the government of cities, the growth and redistribution of national populations, and the processes of social and economic development. A period of rapid urbanization may demand some completely new programmes but, for the most part, this paper will assess measures that have been applied for other reasons, asking how effective they are for the promotion of human welfare under the specific conditions of rapid urbanization and how they can best be combined and adapted to make them more effective.

The fact that we are here assessing social and economic policies exclusively in relation to urbanization does not, of course, imply that national policy makers should do likewise. The broader policy decisions on such questions as rural development, which may in the long run have a more important impact on the urbanization process than any measures taken in the cities themselves, will not (or should not) be morivated primarily by the intention to foster or hinder urbanization.

This paper takes it for granted that the cities will continue to grow, and that a policy of <u>preventing</u> further urbanization would not be realistic.

1/ This paper is based largely on informal comments provided by social scientists and authorities on public administration, social welfare, housing and town planning, population problems and social defence in response to requests made by the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs, but also draws upon information from other sources, including information on programmes in regions other than Latin America. It complements Chapter IX of the <u>Report on the World Social Situation</u> which describes the main features of urbanization in Latin America. As in that report, the term "urbanization" is here used to refer to "the process whereby an increasing proportion of a country's population lives in urban localities".

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Such an outlook, however, does not imply disregard of the numerous warnings that have been made on the over-rapid and unbalanced character of Latin American city growth at present. It may well be desirable to slow down the rate of urbanization and to divert from the capital cities to provincial towns as much as possible of the stream of internal migrants. An "urbanization policy" limited to the raising of urban levels of living and the provision of social services for the urban masses would be self-defeating. Such a policy would increase the already excessive disparity in favour of the cities in government expenditures, social services, and income levels; a disparity that is not only unjust to the rural population but also a stimulant to the more unhealthy aspects of city growth resulting from the immigration of psychologically and vocationally ill-adapted rural people.

A brief survey of the many fields of policy that are relevant to urbanization will inevitably contain more questions than answers. On the one hand, the inhabitants of all cities need a roughly similar range of goods and services. In no rapidly growing city are these needs met with ideal efficiency, and some of the largest and wealthiest cities in the world appear to meet them through a series of expedients, with only sporadic efforts at co-ordination and long-range planning. It is of little service to the municipal policy maker to point out once again that rapidly growing cities need more and better housing, more effective control of the rate and direction of their growth, better schools and social welfare services, and more money to pay for these things. On the other hand, there is no reason to expect that any two countries or cities will be exactly alike in the priorities that they <u>should</u> give to different measures, or in the priorities that they <u>can</u> give, on the basis of their administrative capabilities and the relative strength of conflicting political pressures. It may be worthwhile, however, to set forth realistically the choices that are faced by administrators under conditions of rapid city growth and the inter-relationships of different measures.

In most of the Latin American countries, there can be no satisfactory solution to the major urban problems without a considerable rise in income

levels and in productivity, and it is clear that the priorities given to different social measures should depend to a large extent on the contribution they can make to progress toward this goal. Attempts to apply advanced social policies under present conditions of mass poverty and limited public funds are likely to lead to types of action that are wasteful and almost irrelevant to the real needs: a) small-scale "show-piece" projects that meet high standards but serve only a small and relatively well-off group of people; b) the creation of elaborate administrative apparatuses that cannot carry out their ambitious terms of reference because their funds are rarely sufficient to pay their own personnel; c) systems of financing social services by taxing the poor who are to benefit from them and that may take more from the poor than is returned in services. It is often desirable, of course, that new social programmes should begin as small-scale pilot projects, but in these cases it is essential to keep in mind from the very beginning the practicability of expansion or duplication, and the extent to which the project can serve purposes broader than the direct provision of aid to the needy - particularly the key purpose of stimulating greater initiative and income-earning capacity.

This paper does not discuss national population policies, but this subject must at least be mentioned. With the exception of Puerto Rico, no Latin American country is even considering policies intended to slow down population growth, and such policies are not likely in the foreseeable future. Except in a few of the smaller countries (El Salvador, Haiti, Puerto Rico) there is no immediate prospect of over-population, and several countries consider themselves "under-populated". Many rural areas that seem to be thinly peopled, however, do not provide a tolerable living for their present population, owing to loss of soil fertility as well as inefficient methods of cultivation and systems of land tenure. The high rate of population growth (between two and three per cent annually in most of the Latin American countries) means both that the ratio of children to population of working age is very high and that the potential future migration from the countryside to the cities can be overwhelmingly large. Some observers have even questioned whether it is possible for the Latin American countries to raise their levels of living under these conditions.

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Urbanization may in the long run be associated with a general slowing down of the rate of population growth, as has already happened in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, but it is not yet clear when and to what extent this will happen elsewhere.

Policies of direct control over internal re-distribution of population (by restricting the right of migrants to travel and settle in the cities or by forcing them to return to the countryside) do not require extended discussion in relation to Latin America. Such policies have not been applied in the region, and do not appear to have been particularly effective in other regions in which they have been applied. Few Latin American authorities would consider such measures to be either feasible or desirable. To the extent that the Latin American countries want to encourage a reduction in the rate of migration to the large cities they rely on a variety of indirect inducements and dissuasions, such as measures for rural development and for the relocation of industries.

Policy needs for data and for research

Up to the present, Latin American city administrators have made only limited use of demographic and other statistics and have rarely organized special surveys as a guide to policy. For one thing, most of the urban programmes have been on too small a scale to meet the plainly visible needs. For another, statistical information has generally been lacking, out of date, or too incomplete to offer a satisfactory basis for programming. Very few of the countries have until recently possessed social research institutions or qualified researchers.

By now, however, urban school systems, social insurance funds, housing programmes, etc. have expanded to a point at which their administrators demand a better acquaintance with the extent of the needs they are trying to meet, the consequences of existing programmes, the characteristics of the groups they are trying to serve (including their opinions and felt needs) and the probable future changes in needs. At the same time, the countries are beginning to acquire statistical and research resources that can respond to the demands. Most of the cities now have census data and vital statistics

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that permit them to make fairly accurate estimates of their population size. The majority have data, usually not entirely adequate, on age structure, family composition, occupations, income levels, and housing. These data can be used, and in a few instances are already being used, to calculate needs for different levels of schooling, for vocational training, for the size of dwelling units in public housing, etc.

The information that already exists will repay more careful study and work to put it into a usable form. The 1950 Census of the Americas, in particular, marked a significant advance over earlier consuses in coverage and reliability, but social scientists have pointed out that much of its potential usefulness has not been realized owing to insufficient analysis of the data and shortcomings in the tabulations used in some national census reports. The 1960 Census of the Americas will not only be able to benefit from this experience, but will also give an added value to the older data, which will be needed for comparisons and the identification of trends.

There are wide areas of nearly complete ignorance, however, on the demographic characteristics of the urban populations, let alone on their cultural traits and aspirations, a knowledge of which will be indispensable for effective social programming. Sociological or anthropological investigations of specific social classes, occupational groups, or neighbourhoods in the cities are only beginning to appear. Very little is known of the workings of social mobility among the different classes in the cities. It is natural that some of the widest gaps in our knowledge relate to (or derive from) the continuing addition to the city populations of thousands of internal migrants. Even countries with highly developed statistical systems find it very difficult, for both theoretical and practical reasons, to measure internal migration.[2/] In under-developed

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2/ United States data on internal migration, for example, were recently called "insufficient for some of the most routine demographic purposes". (William Peterson, "Internal Migration and Economic Development in Northern America", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1958, p. 52.) For a detailed discussion of the problems of measurement see Donald J. Bogue, "Methods of Measuring Internal Migration", Technical paper for a regional seminar on Population in Central and South America, Rio de Janeiro, December 1955.

/countries throughout

countries throughout the world, the migrants' low level of education, their distrust of official inquiries, and the limited resources that can be devoted to social surveys mean that dependable information about them is even scantier. In spite of the difficulties, however, it should be practicable for the Latin American countries to gain a good deal more information than they now possess both about the migrants and about the longer-urbanized population with which the migrants are interacting.

Census data provide a valuable framework for the study of urbanization, but if all the questions to which answers are needed for programming purposes were asked, the census itself might well become impracticably complicated and expensive. Furthermore, the ten-year period between censuses limits their usefulness in relation to migration, the currents of which can shift quite rapidly, responding to job opportunities or unemployment in the cities; floods, droughts, or political unrest in the countryside; or even the construction of new highways.

It appears that a combination of several methods of gaining information is needed, as well as some kind of central agency to assemble and analyse the data; such an agency might well be a section of a central planning body, working in cooperation with universities and other bodies qualified to conduct research. In many instances, municipal administrators are too much overwhelmed by immediate demands to go out of their way to seek guidance from research, and many of them are skeptical of its value. An effective central research agency should start with a clear conception of the policy requirements for information. It should be prepared not only to furnish data on request, make ad hoc studies required for specific programmes, and answer questions on the implications of alternative courses of action, but also to bring its findings to the attention of the administrators in as readily usable a form as possible and arouse the interest of the public at large. At present, the universities are often best equipped both to make studies and to stimulate public discussion of

/their policy

their policy implications,[3/] although their social science schools are short of funds and of trained researchers. In general, the planners and administrators do not need highly refined data, but information that is reliable enough to help them better to understand the major trends among the urban population. The following are among the methods of collecting such information that might be considered for combined use:

1) Sample surveys of localities in the city or its periphery, with special attention to slum districts believed to shelter important numbers of recent migrants or other groups presenting urgent policy problems (persons without steady employment, impoverished or unstable families, etc.). These surveys should gather qualitative information on cultural and psychological traits as well as quantitative information on demographic characteristics and levels of living. Valuable experience has already been gained by such agencies as the Instituto de Crédito Territorial of Colombia and the Instituto de Etnología, Universidad de San Marcos, of Peru, in the study of slum localities with practical aims for the re-housing and raising of the incomes of their occupants.

2) Identification of rural areas that have a high rate of out-migration to the cities, and organization of sample surveys and community studies in these areas, with particular emphasis on motives for migration and the process of "selection" of migrants. Up to the present, practically no studies have been made in rural areas with cityward migration as a primary concern, although a certain amount of information has been picked up through studies made for other purposes.

3) Information collected as a by-product of the operations of agencies such as schools, public health clinics, employment exchanges, social insurance funds and social assistance agencies, or by inquiries carried out by such agencies among their clientels. At present, the social agencies

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3/ The series of seminars on the problems and policy needs of different regions of Chile, including Greater Santiago, that has been organized by the University of Chile is an interesting example of the latter type of activity. See Universidad de Chile, Departamento de Extensión Cultural, Buletín Informativo, Número Especial Dedicado a la Primera Etapa del Seminario del Gran Santiago, April-May 1957, 118 pp.

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usually collect data for administrative purposes only; such data are not readily usable for the broader purpose of gaining information on the characteristics and needs of the urban population. Care should be taken, however, in attempting to obtain more useful information from such sources that data-collecting is not emphasized to a point at which it interferes with substantive activities of the agencies, or hinders people from using their services because of suspicion of the purposes of the questions asked, difficulties in filling out forms, etc.

4) Surveys of workers in factories and other places of employment. Such surveys can undoubtedly produce valuable information, but social researchers in the past have found it difficult to obtain the co-operation of employers.

5) Registration of migrants entering the cities. It is doubtful whether a system of compulsory registration for information purposes could be applied under present conditions without excessive expense and excessive police interference with the migrants. It may be possible, however, to gain worthwhile information through voluntary registration connected with the provision of advice and assistance (see below), and gradually to extend the coverage of such registration. Many of the cities already collect information on the numbers of persons entering or leaving by public transportation. It would be useful if the coverage of such statistics could be extended to include passengers on freight trucks and travelers on foot, and to specify places of origin.

Planning, co-ordination and administration

At the national level. An "urbanization policy" implies the integration of many types of measures that are now the concern of separate governmental or non-governmental bodies, national as well as local. The answer to the difficult question of how this can best be done depends mainly on the existing governmental structure. The creation of a permanent national agency devoted to urbanization policies would probably not, in most countries, be the best answer. Authorities on public administration have warned that some Latin American countries are over-ready to create new agencies with functions overlapping those of existing agencies, and that

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they often give inadequate attention to the alternative of strengthening the existing agencies and broadening their functions to meet new needs.

A number of Latin American countries already have national economic and social planning bodies. The overhead costs of rapid urbanization - costs of public works, housing, and social services suited to urban conditions - may absorb such a high proportion of national expenditures that a planning body can hardly avoid the subject, and such a body is best fitted to place it in the broader picture of national needs and resources. Where a planning body is active, it would seem advisable that the task of studying the implications of urbanization and advising the Government on needs for co-ordination of policies should be spelled out in its terms of reference and that it should be able to allocate a part of its staff to urbanization questions.

In some countries a national government agency supervises local governments and is responsible for the provision of various kinds of assistance to them. Such an agency also might be found best fitted to assume leadership in co-ordinating urbanization policies. In other instances, the best solution may be the setting up of an ad hoc committee of representatives of government departments and voluntary agencies, or of outside experts, to review the situation and advise the government. Elsewhere, primary responsibility may be given to an existing national housing and town planning or social welfare agency, if such an agency is already carrying out broad programmes in the cities, and seems qualified to take the load. The goal is to secure effective co-ordination without adding to central governmental machinery that is often already over-complex.

It is also important that whatever arrangements for planning and co-ordination are made at the national level should counteract rather than strengthen the prevalent administrative over-centralization. In many Latin American countries the municipal administrations have become habituated to the control of most funds and most social programmes by national agencies, and thus have acquired a conviction that the only way to get anything done is to exert influence in the capital. There is a danger that a national planning agency might confirm the local inertia by requiring approval in

detail of all local actions, or by handing down ready-made plans to the provincial towns. The national governments might well consider a system under which the municipal governments would be required to prepare their own plans, or induced to do so by conditional grants-in-aid, and given a maximum of freedom in carrying them out. Under such a system, the national agency would set up standards for the municipal plans, would ensure that the municipal government did not ignore important problems, and would provide technical assistance to the municipalities in making studies, preparing plans, and improving administrative practices. If there is an existing national agency that deals with local governments, it may be relatively easy to strengthen it to perform these tasks.

It may also be found that a general review and reform of the present functions of the municipal governments and their powers to tax, borrow money, plan, and enter into co-operative arrangements with each other is an indispensable element in a national urbanization policy. Authorities in several countries have stated either that present laws do not give the municipalities power enough to control undesirable phenomena or that these laws are excessively complex and inconsistent with one another.

At the local level. The municipal governments themselves face a choice among alternative arrangements for planning and co-ordination, with the most suitable local answer depending on the size of the city, the present administrative structure, the degree of local self-government, and the distribution of responsibilities between the municipal government and the local dependencies of national (or state) agencies. An expert planning bureau advising the city government, or a co-ordinating committee including representatives of municipal agencies, local branches of national agencies, and voluntary bodies, or both a planning bureau and a co-ordinating committee, may be needed.

In Latin America as in the rest of the world, however, the administrative boundaries of most of the larger cities no longer correspond with the area of continuous urban settlement, let alone the larger "metropolitan" area that forms an inter-dependent economic unit. In these instances, effective action on many problems demands that the government of the central city

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either extend its jurisdiction or co-operate with neighbouring units of government. The Latin American countries have some advantages in meeting this problem that are denied countries with different traditions of municipal government. In Latin America, the central city is not usually faced by suburban municipalities dominated by upper-income groups or other special interests intransigently opposed to annexation. A single unit of government often has jurisdiction over a district (municipio) that includes the suburbs and adjacent rural areas as well as the central city, and is able to expand the area subject to urban regulations as new districts become urbanized. If not, the national government is generally in a position to require the municipalities to expand their boundaries or federate to meet metropolitan needs. The fact that the central city in most of the larger metropolitan areas of Latin America is also the capital of the country means that the national government is particularly concerned with its problems and often has special legal powers over it.

Up to the present, however, these opportunities have been neglected. Uncontrolled land speculation and urban sprawl are rapidly diminishing the cities' capabilities of planning for and benefitting from the growth of the peripheral areas. This problem will be discussed in more detail below, in connexion with housing and land use. At this point, it is enough to emphasize the need for some type of metropolitan government or planning machinery with jurisdiction over an area large enough to include all future urban expansion, and with powers adequate to forestall undesirable lines of development. This can be a merger of municipalities, as in the "Special District" covering the metropolitan area of Bogotá, created in 1954; here the former municipalities have retained only limited administrative functions. It can be a formal federation, with an agreed division of powers between the metropolitan government and the existing municipal governments, as in the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, created in 1953. The goal can also be reached more slowly through joint planning arrangements, as in the Oficina del Area Metropolitana de San José, set up jointly by eleven municipalities with the co-operation of the Instituto Nacional de Vivienda y Urbanismo (INVU), which relies less on legal powers than on the exertion

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of increasing influence over the thinking of officials and the public.

An objection often made to the setting up of metropolitan governments is that they are too big, that they cannot give the citizen any sense of participation in the affairs of his community. This objection should be particularly valid when many of the inhabitants of the metropolitan area are recent migrants with limited education, perhaps familiar with some kind of informal village self-government, but quite unacquainted with the politics or the administrative complexities of the metropolis. "Two-tier" systems, in which the metropolitan government shares responsibilities with elected councils dealing with small areas within the metropolis and with strictly local issues, have been recommended to meet this objection. It is difficult, however, to reach agreement on what is strictly local or to find a politically practical way of dividing up a large urban area for purposes of local government. Most of the two-tier systems that now exist result from the federation of existing units, and thus are likely to include units that are too large to foster citizen participation.

It may be that the most hopeful method of securing citizen participation in local affairs will not be through a formal system of "two-tier" government, but through encouragement of forms that appear spontaneously or arise from local traditions. In some cases, completely voluntary community development techniques may be effective; in others, it may be preferable to recognize formally organized local councils with budgets and limited powers of compulsion.

Most of the Latin American cities are divided into barrios (often coinciding with the Church parishes) that have some degree of traditional community cohesion. In several countries, elected councils have appeared within these barrios, either spontaneously or with Government encouragement. In Colombia they are called juntas de mejoras, in Costa Rica juntas progresistas, in Ecuador asociaciones barriales. These councils have no legal powers and depend for funds on voluntary contributions, often raised through barrio festivities. They represent barrio interests before the municipal government and exert pressure for local improvements, and in some instances organize the barrio population for co-operative self-help

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activities. In Colombia, elections to the juntas de mejoras are officially recognized and regulated, and a national association of juntas holds periodic congresses.

This type of local organization is beginning to reach the groups that need it most: the inhabitants of the peripheral shantytowns. In Lima, in particular, occupants of the barrios marginales have organized for co-operative labour and have even taxed themselves, partly to provide their own water supplies and other public services, partly to act as pressure groups to prevent their own eviction, obtain services from the Government, and obtain annexation to the city of Lima.

The housing projects that have been organized as neighbourhood units offer opportunities for similar action, especially for the purpose of enlisting community participation in maintenance of the schools, clinics, parks, playgrounds, etc. that have been incorporated in them. Up to the present most of these projects appear to have been managed rather paternalistically by the housing agencies but in the long run only the initiative and organized support of the occupants can guarantee their maintenance.

Measures intended to reduce the rate of urban growth or its concentration in primate cities: rural development; decentralization of administration, social institutions and industry

A high proportion of the replies to the United Nations request for opinions on urbanization policies emphasize the need for a wide range of rural development programmes to ensure that cultivators are not forced off the land and to counteract the lure of the cities: better rural schools, social services, amenities and recreation (cinemas, radios, etc.); better marketing and credit facilities; better rural roads; electrification; land reform; colonization of thinly populated regions; water storage and irrigation in regions that are periodically depopulated by drought; minimum wages and protective legislation for agricultural labour; changes in the content of education to raise the present low prestige of agricultural work.

The impact of such measures on cityward migration cannot be predicted with any confidence. For one thing, there has been too little research into

the reasons for migration for it to be easy to determine which policies will remove the reasons. For another, almost any measure is likely to have contradictory effects. A new road, for example, may at the same time help the peasants to market their crops more profitably and make it easier for them to move to town. Better schooling may help them to raise their levels of living as peasants but may also make them more discontented with their lot and more confident of their ability to make a living in the city. Nevertheless, even if cityward migration should continue unabated, a strong emphasis on rural development measures is justified. They would reduce the importance of the "push" factor in migration and raise the quality of the migrants, from the standpoint of adaptability to city life and industrial work. Such measures would also place the cities in a healthier relation to the national economy by expanding the markets for urban industrial products and the sources of urban food supplies.

It is also generally considered desirable that urban growth should be more evenly distributed that it is at present, preferably within the framework of regional plans, and thus that part of the flow of migrants to huge "primate" cities should be diverted to provincial towns. The national capitals at present exert an unhealthily strong attractive power, draining the rest of the country of the better educated, more ambitious, and wealthier people, and tempting the governments to spend a disproportionate amount for prestige purposes on their public buildings and institutions.[4/] The most relevant measures are decentralization of the public administration, decentralization of various social services and institutions, and decentralization of industry.

4/ It has been pointed out, however, that attacks on the "parasitic" character of the primate city in Latin America may have become somewhat exaggerated through repetition, and that "there has been loose thinking and remarkably little actual research on this important matter." (Harley L. Browning, "Recent Trends in Latin American Urbanization", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1958, p. 116). In particular, there is an unfulfilled need for research into the relative costs and advantages of construction, the provision of public services, and industrial development in large, medium-sized, and small towns.

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Some of the Latin American governments already have stated policies of counteracting administrative centralization, but find it difficult to overcome the political tradition and the resistance to change of the army of functionaries in the capital. Many of the countries would find it worthwhile to undertake a general inventory of their government services in order to determine what responsibilities can advantageously be delegated to provincial and local governments or "deconcentrated" to local offices of the national government agencies so as to give provincial towns a maximum of initiative for the promotion of their own development, eliminate the need for private citizens to make frequent trips to the capital to settle routine transactions with the government, and eliminate as far as possible special administrative or political advantages that industries or commercial enterprises derive from being in the same city as the central government. The setting up of local offices, of course, will not have the desired effects and may only add complications to the administrative system unless these offices receive enough authority to avoid referrals to the central agency on matters of daily administration.

In a number of countries decentralization can be promoted by giving the provincial cities a fairer share of the construction of secondary and higher educational institutions, hospitals, and research institutes. Such a policy requires restraint and planning on a national or regional scale, however, if it is not to result in an excessive number of poorly staffed and under-financed institutions.

Decentralization of industry can take several forms. A few countries are creating important new urban centres in the course of developing their own steel industries. These centres of heavy industry are likely to become increasingly important goals for migrants, and since the industries have been established largely under government control and in districts not yet urbanized they offer favourable opportunities for planning to meet the needs of the newcomers. A number of new small urban centres for the processing of oil and other minerals or of plantation crops (particularly sugar) also offer opportunities for planned development, whether under the auspices of the government or the employers. A number of private companies have taken

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the lead in planning towns and providing social services for their workers when starting operations in areas not yet urbanized, and in various countries such companies are required by law or induced by tax exemptions to provide schools, clinics, housing, etc.

The type of industrial decentralization that is most widely applicable, however, is the establishment in provincial towns and cities of small and medium-sized factories making textiles, garments, shoes, plastic articles, etc. and processing food products. A few capital cities that are particularly troubled by congestion and over-rapid growth have initiated or considered policies of prohibiting the creation of new industries or of persuading existing industries to go elsewhere. In general, however, it will be more important to provide positive inducements for the establishment of new industries where they are wanted than to try to exclude them from cities where they are not wanted. The inducements most often suggested are: improvement of electrical power supplies and transportation; selective tax exemptions; provision of factory buildings at low rentals; help in recruiting, housing, and training labour; advisory services to help prospective investors decide where to locate. A number of European countries have successfully integrated several of these inducements through the construction of "trading estates" that provide both factory buildings and most of the economic infrastructure. It has also been suggested that such inducements should be complemented by special taxes on industries created in or near the big cities, so that the industries themselves would meet the urbanization costs (particularly the cost of subsidized workers housing) resulting from their presence.

Mexico has initiated a policy of creating satellite industrial towns that combine the advantages of moderate size with the advantage of being fairly close the country's main urban market, Mexico City.

A considerable number of small towns in Latin America have had industries for many years, but these industries have usually remained stunted and unprogressive, whether for lack of entrepreneurial talent, cheap power, or adequate markets. Studies are needed of the existing pattern of industrial decentralization, of the reasons why small-town

industries have failed or succeeded, and of the kinds of aid they need. In general, aid to towns that already have some industry is likely to be more immediately fruitful than the promotion of new industries in regions that have no industrial background.

The policies discussed above, of course, require integration with national economic programmes and with regional plans if they are not to result in excessively expensive aid to industries that are too rickety to survive without the continuation of such aid, in higher prices to the consumer because of the industries' need for protection, and in towns wastefully bidding against each other to attract industries through subsidies and special privileges.

Special measures for potential migrants to the cities: information and orientation

Several authorities have questioned the desirability of starting in the rural areas any measures such as orientation courses for potential migrants that might stimulate more people to move to the cities. Some of these authorities would prefer a policy of discouraging migration through publicity disseminated by official agencies. It may be questioned, however, whether rural people in general are sufficiently impressed by information from official sources for the latter policy to be effective.

Moreover, information on city job opportunities and living conditions is now disseminated, sometimes with surprising effectiveness, by relatives and fellow-villagers who have already gone to the cities. The workings of this informational grapevine are little known and deserve study, but it is probable that few migrants come to the city without some word-of-mouth information on what to expect, correct or incorrect, and some contacts to lock up. Many of them also get a first opportunity to observe city life during their term of compulsory military service. There is only very limited and superficial evidence from a few urban public opinion studies as to whether the migrants' experiences in the cities fall below their expectations, but in most cases these experiences are not disappointing enough to motivate a return to the countryside.

Effective efforts to influence the potential migrants will require a

better understanding of their present motives and attitudes. It may be tentatively suggested, however, that selective information programmes, carried out partly through the radio, partly through the cinema (by means of mobile units travelling from village to village), and partly through the schools, might be useful. In view of the prevailing rural living conditions, the potential migrants would probably not be much impressed by warnings of bad housing, etc. in the cities, but they may be insufficiently aware of the need for skills and education to hold city jobs paying decent wages and of the higher city price levels that are likely to eat up the higher wages. In some regions, it may also be practicable to set up a network of rural employment exchanges to give the migrants reliable information on jobs and to refer the qualified to urban employers.

In cases of the planned development of new cities or regions more extensive action in the rural areas may be desirable. For example, temporary offices might be set up in rural districts that have a surplus of labour so as to publicize opportunities, interview and select potential migrants, and help those who meet the requirements to make the journey. Such measures have already been initiated on a small scale, but mainly in agricultural colonization schemes.

Special measures for migrants in the cities: reception and orientation

Up to the present, according to the administrators and experts questioned by the United Nations, there have been very few attempts to create special services in the cities to meet the needs of migrants. The existing urban social agencies, however, are aware that migrants make up a high proportion of their clientele, and to the extent that their limited resources permit are experimenting with methods of adapting their activities to the special needs of the migrants.

In general, the further strengthening and adaptation of existing services seems more advisable than the setting up of new agencies to help the migrants. The migrants are not a group clearly distinguishable from the urban lower class in general, except in the problems they face immediately upon arrival, and it would be a mistake to set them apart

/through policies

through policies giving them a distinct status or treatment. Furthermore, in a setting in which the most obvious shortcomings of the existing agencies are their small size, poor co-ordination, and shortages of funds, the creation of new agencies is more likely to accentuate the present dissipation of efforts than to serve the interests of the migrants. Those newly arrived in the cities do need some special kinds of assistance, as indicated below, and it would be worthwhile for the municipal administrations, or for some co-ordinating body of social agencies, to study how these needs can best be met under local conditions - whether by existing agencies or by new ones. Better co-ordination may also reveal unfilled needs and lacks in existing services that do not receive attention from separate agencies carrying out specialized tasks.

Reception centres and temporary living quarters. In some cities, the administration may be justified in creating reception centres and hotels to feed and lodge newly arrived migrants until they can find other accommodations. The extent of the need, of course, could be determined only by a study of the local situation. A few social agencies that have provided such temporary living quarters have found that most of the migrants dislike them and prefer to stay with relatives or friends. In other instances, the migrants now go to private lodging houses, tambos, etc. that are overcrowded, very deficient in sanitation and sometimes frequented by criminals. The most immediate need may be to raise the standards of such lodging houses through inspection and control.

At the same time, there may be a very real need for living quarters for especially vulnerable groups: single women and adolescents coming to the city to look for work; and sick, handicapped, or aged persons seeking medical treatment or admission to institutions. In the former case, it may be possible to develop co-operative arrangements for shelter and board (as well as recreation), under supervision by social workers but with a modicum of self-government, and with the residents doing most of the work of maintenance and cooking. Such a system would enable the women and adolescents to support themselves at low cost in an environment that would reduce the likelihood of their drifting into prostitution or petty crime.

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The group of the sick, handicapped and aged presents a relatively clear-cut and small-scale problem that has been singled out by social workers in a number of countries. The hospitals and institutions for the aged, the blind, etc. are found almost exclusively in the larger cities. Appreciable numbers of would-be patients or inmates are coming to the cities to seek help, usually bringing little or no money. The institutions are crowded, and if there is to be a long wait for admission, or if they can offer only out-patient treatment, the person in need is left stranded, in no condition to work and support himself, or becomes a burden upon relatives in the city. In the long run this problem can be solved by better rural public health services, with a system of referring patients from rural clinics to city hospitals, and by decentralization of the institutional and other aid provided for the aged and handicapped, but such measures are not likely to become extensive enough in the near future to stop the spontaneous movement of people in need of treatment, and living quarters should be provided for them.

Information and guidance centres and services. Under conditions of rapid city growth, associated with continual changes in technology, ways of livelihood, social standards, legal rights and regulations affecting the individual, there is an unquestionable need for general information and guidance services to help not only the migrants but also the low-income urban population in general as broadly as possible, and to ensure that they are not deprived of available help because of ignorance or inability to cope with administrative complexities. Such a service assumes that there are effective specialized sources of aid to which it can refer persons in need, and most of the larger Latin American cities have already reached this position, at least in relation to some types of aid.

Information and referral services may be sponsored by existing public welfare agencies, by municipal offices limited to this activity, or by many kinds of private organizations (at present, churches, trade unions, and local political party leaders are often the main sources of such aid). Whatever the organizational form, the goal is a network of offices conveniently located throughout the city, within easy reach of the slums

/and shantytowns,

and shantytowns, open at hours convenient to workers, with personnel who will give a sympathetic hearing to all comers. As far as possible, the whole urban population should be made aware of the existence and purposes of these offices. At best, such offices cannot be expected to reach all migrants who are unaware of existing social services; home visiting by social workers and nurses, as well as neighbourhood centres and clubs, can be important complementary channels of information and advice.

Help to stranded individuals and families in finding husbands or other relatives in the city, help to those who wish to return to their place of origin, and help to workers in sending remittances to their families in the countryside are among the important functions that are already performed to a limited extent by welfare agencies in the cities, but it is probable that most migrants who need help of this kind do not know where to seek it.

Various Latin American authorities on social welfare believe in particular that more should be done to encourage and assist rural migrants to return to the countryside. Such a voluntary movement would probably be on too small a scale to have any significant effect on the rate of growth of the cities, but it might alleviate their social problems by removing a certain proportion of the families least likely to make a success of city life and thus most likely to contribute to the lower depths of apathetic poverty and delinquent behaviour.

Elimination of unintended by-products of laws and regulations

Conditions of rapid change also mean that long-established urban regulations as well as new measures are likely to have unforeseen and unwanted by-products. Some of these can be obviated without much trouble or expense, once the authorities realize their existence and importance; others may require difficult political, economic, and social, as well as legal adjustments. Often a social survey or a capable observer can bring into the open problems of this type that have been ignored by official agencies following separate and narrow routines. One useful function of the information and orientation offices described above might well be that

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of collecting information on such problems and bringing them to the attention of planning and co-ordinating agencies.

One example that appears to be of importance in at least a few Latin American countries is the gap between the normal school-leaving age in the cities (which is likely to be 11 or 12) and the minimum legal age for employment (usually 14). In these countries, the laws governing the period of compulsory education and the minimum employment age were passed at different times and without consideration of this gap. In some cases the law provides that the youths under 14 can obtain permission from the labour authorities to work as apprentices in occupations that do not require strenuous physical effort, as errand boys, etc., but elsewhere if the family of the youth needs his earnings his only opportunities for work are in unregulated street occupations, domestic service or sweatshops that evade the law. If he does not work, the period of idleness favours his participation in street gangs and in delinquent behaviour. Many of the cities cannot afford immediately to raise the school-leaving age to 14, and the Governments would be unwilling to lower the minimum employment age, but there is an obvious need under urban conditions to fill the gap through some combination of prolonged schooling, vocational training, and organized youth activities.

Difficulties that are more easily remedied and that mainly affect the migrants arise from the various identity papers, permits, and registrations that are needed in the cities. Birth certificates may be required for admission to school, or as proof that legal working age or voting age has been reached. Proof of identity or citizenship may be required for admission to various categories of jobs, for a driver's license, or for social assistance. Proof of legal marriage may be required for receipt of family allowances or for admission to public housing.

A good many rural births and marriages, however, are not registered. Even if the registration has been made, the migrant may have no documentary proof and would find it hard to obtain the proper document from some distant provincial office. In some regions there is also a good deal of unregulated crossing of national boundaries that separate peoples linguistically and

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racially identical, so that the migrant may be unable to prove his nationality. Because of such factors, and because of distrust of official agencies, it is probable that a good many migrants in the cities remain in a legally irregular situation.

It may be found desirable to review the whole situation regarding identification documents to ensure that such documents are available to all who require them with a minimum of expense and red tape, that as far as possible motives for evasion or falsification are eliminated, and that people are not barred from social benefits by non-essential documentary requirements.

Social policies in relation to mass poverty

In the Latin American cities a varying proportion - sometimes a small minority, sometimes a majority - of the adult workers are without skills relevant to modern urban occupations, are without any clear vocational goals, have too little schooling to be functionally literate, and inevitably have very low and precarious incomes. This group is sometimes apathetic and easily exploited, sometimes prone to unrealistic expectations and violent outbreaks of protest against its poverty. It is to a large extent recruited from rural migrants, but by no means all migrants fall into it and some of its poorest and most unstable elements were born in the city slums. This problem is not so overwhelming in most Latin American cities as in the cities of Asia and Africa, either is the proportion of the urban population involved or in the degree of poverty and maladjustment, but the attempt to apply advanced social policies in its presence has given rise to some intractable difficulties.

The Latin American countries have, for example, adopted a wide range of measures for the protection of urban workers. These measures have been cited as one of the contributing reasons for excessive migration to the cities; at the same time, the presence of a large reserve of unstable and unskilled labour means that enforcement of the laws has some unforeseen consequences. If the laws are enforced rigidly in the occupations in which they can most easily be enforced (industry, transport, the larger commercial undertakings), a dividing line appears between the protected workers and

the mass of casual labourers and self-employed. The responsible employers sometimes hesitate to expand their operations or hire more workers, because of the legal difficulties of discharging the incompetent. At the same time, in many of the cities there has been a mushroom growth of small sweatshops that escape regulation and exploit the cheap labour of recent migrants. Many observers have pointed to needs for simplification of the labour laws and also for more universal inspection and enforcement. It is an even more difficult problem, as yet hardly touched upon, to find means of protecting the casual labourers, self-employed pedlars and artisans, piece-workers in the home, etc., without setting standards that would either make it impossible for them to find work or force them to evade the law.

Some of the social services provided for low-income groups in the cities - health services and to some extent public housing - are financed through social insurance funds. The mass of casual labourers and self-employed cannot contribute to a significant extent, both because of their meager earnings and because of difficulties in collecting contributions from them. Thus, either they are excluded from the services or services for them are supported by the regularly employed workers. The greater part of the social security tax is usually paid by the employer, but it has been pointed out that when this tax becomes a significant proportion of the wage (the high point is 30 per cent, in Bolivia) this makes little practical difference; the employer is paying into the social security fund money that could otherwise be used to increase wages. There is need for a broad study of alternative or complementary ways of financing social services, and of the optimum level of social insurance payments under the present conditions of Latin American workers.

Several countries have vocational training programmes that are effective in relation to the more ambitious among the steadily employed urban workers, and the schools are beginning to provide some vocational training. In addition to a considerable expansion in such programmes, however, new methods are needed to produce a general improvement in the vocational aptitudes, attitudes toward work, and educational levels of

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the bottom strata of the urban populations, which are now poorly qualified even for what is considered "unskilled labour" in the urban setting.

One promising approach is the stimulation of initiative by family counselling, home economics, community development, fundamental education, and aided self-help housing programmes in the slums. Consultations with families and individuals offer an opportunity to find out what vocational resources they can contribute to improve their incomes and what kinds of guidance and training can best assist them. Even workers that are unskilled and undependable in terms of urban requirements are likely to have some experience of several different kinds of work and this can be built upon. The techniques used in aided self-help housing should in themselves have direct vocational implications, since many of the unskilled workers in the cities seek jobs in construction and there are shortages everywhere of skilled and semi-skilled construction labour. This potential by-product of self-help housing has not yet been taken into account in Latin America, but has already entered into the planning of self-help projects in the North African countries.

Family maintenance and stabilization: children and youth

Low incomes and lack of vocational aptitudes are linked to family instability among the urban poor. The man drifting from one temporary job to another, practically without property, living in a worthless shack, is likely to feel little responsibility for the support of his wife and children. Temporary and extra-legal marital ties are common in rural as well as urban areas, but the fact that women and children are more of an economic asset in the countryside means that desertion is probably more common and certainly more damaging to the women and children in the city. In these cases, the burden of supporting the children falls upon the woman, until the children are old enough to take to the streets to forage for themselves.

Among the measures that have been recommended by various observers to meet this situation are: stricter enforcement of the father's legal obligation to support his children; cheaper and more easily accessible facilities for legal marriage, and incentives to legal marriage through

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the provision of family benefits.

Such measures, however, can hardly be very effective among people without property, without steady jobs, and without any tradition of stable family life. A gradual change of outlook is needed in conjunction with improving opportunities for family life at an adequate level of living. The woman is often the only stable element in the family, but she is caught from an early age in a narrow round of child-bearing and struggle to feed her children. She is usually not functionally literate and has less opportunity to pick up new ideas and become acquainted with the larger urban setting than has the man. The need here is for a variety of services - family counselling, maternal and infant health clinics, neighbourhood clubs, literacy classes, home economics classes, etc. - that can not only give the woman immediate practical aid but also make her more conscious of herself as a personality, and of the possibility of attaining a more satisfying way of life. Such services are found in most of the Latin American cities, but as yet reach only a small fraction of the women in the slums. According to observers in some of the countries, the social workers who are now trying to cultivate greater family stability and responsibility are handicapped by the fact that most of them are recruited from well-to-do classes quite different in culture and mores from the urban poor, and that many of them have not received a thorough enough training to enable them to take a sympathetic, imaginative, and non-censorious attitude toward the ways of life of the poor.

Large numbers of city children and youth spend their days (and sometimes nights) in the streets. It is impossible to say how many of them have been abandoned, or have drifted away from their parents, or have mothers working outside the home, or simply have nowhere to play except the streets. Parks and playgrounds are few, and in the slum districts are generally non-existent; the schools are often on double shifts or take the children only on alternate days. Supervised recreation programmes and youth centres are found here and there, but only on a small scale. The implications for the spread of delinquency and vagrancy are obvious. In many cases, vagrant youths who are brought before the courts cannot be committed to institutions

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since the few that exist are overcrowded. It is clear that more services for the youth are needed, but only a study of the local situation can determine what emphasis should be given to playgrounds and recreation, to expanded school activities, to foster homes, to the training of social workers for work with pre-delinquent youth, to institutions for vagrant or delinquent youth, etc.

Housing and related urban services

The inability of low-income families (and in many cases, middle-income families) to secure decent housing is the most immediately conspicuous problem of the larger Latin American cities. Most authorities take it for granted that a satisfactory solution of this problem depends as much upon the raising of incomes and family standards of living as upon the building of more houses. At the same time, higher incomes and better family life would not by themselves solve the housing problem and public housing programmes may be a particularly effective way of entering upon or focussing a broader programme for the stimulation of popular initiative to obtain better living conditions in general.

Most of the Latin American countries already have programmes of urban public housing. Their basic unsolved problem is that the incomes of a high proportion of urban families are too low to permit them to pay the costs of dwellings that meet generally accepted standards, while the governments cannot afford to allocate enough funds to the housing agencies to provide heavily subsidized housing on a large scale. (The main exception is Venezuela, where oil revenues have supported relatively large-scale public housing projects.)

With a few very recent exceptions the housing agencies have not tried to meet this situation by lowering the standards and costs of their dwelling units closer to the ability to pay of the poor, and they have made only a few small-scale experiments in urban aided self-help housing. There have also been few attempts, either by housing agencies or by national planning bodies, to determine realistically what the countries can afford to spend on housing and what relationship housing programmes should have to other forms of public investment.

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The consequence, according to statements by authorities on public housing throughout Latin America, has been that the neediest part of the city populations has received practically no benefit from public housing programmes. Most of these programmes have been aimed at families with incomes falling within a range permitting them to amortize the costs of the housing over a period of 15 to 20 years through payments ranging from 15 up to 25 or 30 per cent of their incomes. This group included the lower middle class, the white collar employees and civil servants, and some of the better-paid workers in industry, transport, etc. The housing programmes help such families to escape from the slums, but they do not appreciably reduce the slum population. At best, they enable some of the dwellers in shantytowns to move into vacated tenements. Some of the projects have involved the demolition of clandestine shantytowns, but these can quickly spring up elsewhere. They have rarely involved the demolition of the older tenement slums where land costs are high.

Since the applicants for public housing are several times as numerous as the new dwelling units, the housing agencies have generally been able to select their tenants not only within a given income range, but also by criteria of legal family ties and acceptable ways of life, and sometimes even to have prior investigations of the families carried out by social workers. In many projects, occupants are further limited to employees in industries or businesses covered by specific social insurance funds.

The fact that the families are rarely selected on the basis of greatest need has meant that some problems that have become acute in the United States, in particular, have not yet become prominent. A policy of limiting low-cost public housing to the neediest families may result in a kind of negative selection that prevents the development of acceptable ways of life in the housing projects. First, the movement of families into public housing disrupts whatever neighbourhood ties or community controls they may have had in the slums. Then the families that are potential community leaders and setters of standards gradually improve their economic status and are forced to move out of the project once they have passed a fixed maximum income level. They are continually replaced

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by new families with lower standards of living and no ties to their neighbours in the project. Urban planners are now troubled by a contradiction between the desirability of giving priority to the neediest in the allocation of limited public housing funds and the desirability of fostering balanced and stable neighbourhoods, including representatives of middle as well as low income groups.

Since the occupants of public housing in most of the Latin American cities have been a relatively privileged group, the problems that have arisen have been of a more limited character. The housing agencies, for example, have often been unable to prevent over-crowding when families in the projects accept relatives as lodgers, or when grown-up children marry and continue to live with their parents. As long as there is a general housing shortage for all except the wealthy, such difficulties are unavoidable. The agencies also have often been unable to prevent the occupants from carrying on home industries in their dwellings, or to evict families whose incomes have passed the maximum for public housing, or to raise rents after inflation has wiped out the planned ratio between rents and incomes.

The more the Latin American housing programmes expand to cover the lowest income groups, including the semi-urbanized migrants in the peripheral shantytowns, the more complicated the problems they will have to face - even apart from the enormous problem of financing. Many of the families in the slums and shantytowns are unwilling to devote a significant part of their incomes to housing, even if they are able, and they are unprepared to live in and maintain modern types of housing, particularly multi-story apartment buildings. In some cases, they also reject any arrangement that would expose them to easier identification and control by the police, school attendance officers, and health inspectors.

A recent broadly planned effort to remove the entire population of a slum district of Barranquilla, Colombia, into a new public housing project revealed dramatically the importance of such factors. A preliminary survey was made of the slum population and plans were made to subsidize the rent of families that could not afford to pay and to help them increase

their earning power. Nevertheless, only about 20 per cent of the slum population moved into the new houses when their dwellings were demolished. The remainder scattered to other slums in the city, some because they did not like the type of housing provided, others, according to an official of the housing agency, because of distrust of official interference.

The opinions of housing and city planning authorities indicate that a general improvement in the housing situation may demand action along several lines:

1) Assistance and guidance to the families that are now building homes around the outskirts of the cities. At present, while officially-sponsored aided self-help projects are rare, there is a great deal of unregulated building by workers who want something more than shacks. These workers, who have a little capital to buy land and building materials, are often exploited by speculators who sub-divide peripheral land for sale in tiny plots without any provision for paved streets, water supplies, sewers, etc. (see below). Different kinds of aid and advice are needed by families that want to buy plots for building at reasonable prices and with safeguards against fraud and by families that are poorer and have less initiative; aid to self-help should not be limited to formal "aided self-help projects". (There may, however, be social advantages in mixing the different types of families within a single neighbourhood). The municipality of housing agency should have adequate powers to prevent unauthorized shack-building. At the same time, it may be found that the most practical course is to permit the home-builder to throw up a temporary shack on his plot, then build a more substantial house as his time and ability to buy materials permit. The main drawback is that the first-comer, once he moves into his permanent house, will try to rent the temporary shack rather than tear it down.

2) Adaptation to the self-help neighbourhoods of the current Latin American policy of organizing public housing projects as "neighbourhood units". This policy means that primary schools, public health clinics, playgrounds, community meeting places, marketing centres, etc. are constructed as part of the project, in accordance with its expected

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population and the services already available in neighbouring parts of the city. In the best examples, it also means that a staff of social workers and home economists is attached to the project from the beginning to help the residents adapt to new ways of life.

3) Experiments in the mass production of small and simple houses, departing to some extent from present minimum standards of space and amenities. Most housing agencies are understandably reluctant to take this step, but they may have no choice if they are to reach the masses in the shantytowns. This policy is now being followed in a new housing programme of Mexico's Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda; the small houses intended for the lowest income groups are being combined in neighbourhood units with larger houses for families able to pay a higher rent and with the kinds of community services mentioned above.

4) "Urban renewal" programmes to rehabilitate as far as possible neighbourhoods of deteriorating housing, tenement slums, and localities of occupant-built dwellings, in cases in which there is no immediate prospect of their replacement by new houses. Such programmes imply technical and material aid to the occupants, inspection, and enforcement of maintenance obligations upon the owners of rented dwellings. Up to the present, efforts to prevent deterioration and rehabilitate existing houses have received surprisingly little attention in Latin America; and rigid rent controls have often left the owners without incentives to keep their buildings in repair.

5) Efforts to improve the efficiency of the building industry, both by training workers (including training in the course of self-help house construction) and by experiments with prefabricated building components and cheaper building materials.

6) Co-ordination of public housing programmes with other types of programmes - community development, in particular - that are intended to raise the earning capacity and the standards of living of families below the income levels now served by public housing.

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Planning and controls of land use

It has already been observed that recent city growth has not been subject to effective planning and that the boundaries of the larger cities, or the areas subject to urban land use regulations, often do not coincide with the area that is now urbanized. Several resulting problems urgently demand remedies:

1) Shantytowns are mushrooming outside the city limits, often on waste land that is unsuited to any kind of urban development because of steep slopes or periodic flooding. In many cases, their occupants are anxious to win annexation to the city, but the municipal authorities are understandably reluctant to assume responsibility for the provision of urban services to poverty-stricken groups that cannot pay taxes to support them.

2) Industries settling outside the city limits evade regulations and taxes, create city-wide problems of air and water pollution, and stimulate the growth of shantytowns in their vicinity.

3) Land at the periphery of the city has become one of the most profitable forms of investment. Owing to the low or non-existent taxes on vacant land outside the city limits, purchasers have been able to hold such land unused in the assurance of eventually gaining high profits from the expansion of the city. In many cases also landowners are able to sell such land to would-be home owners without provision for paved streets and urban services and without any restriction on the minimum size of building lots.

4) The high price of land at the periphery also results in the location both of dwellings built by the poorer families and of public housing projects at a considerable distance from the city limits, where land is still cheap. As a result, the areas of many urban agglomerations are growing several times as rapidly as their populations. This "urban sprawl" makes the provision of water, electricity, sewerage, streets, and public transportation unnecessarily expensive - if they are provided at all - eats up the open spaces that were recently accessible to the city dweller, and deprives cities that are enclosed by deserts or mountains of the limited

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cultivable land on which they depended for fresh vegetables and dairy products. At the same time, the centres of the cities have become congested to the point of paralysis through a construction boom without adequate control of building heights, land coverage, or attention to traffic needs.

Authorities agree on the need for long-range planning, unified controls over an area large enough to include future metropolitan growth, an enforceable system of zoning, and requirements that sub-division of land for residential purposes should be permitted only in conjunction with a planned and simultaneous extension of urban services. Long-range planning for metropolitan growth should provide not only for future residential and industrial districts - including satellite towns - but also for adequate open spaces, parks, and green belts.

There is also general agreement on the need for a system of land taxes that would discourage the holding of vacant land for speculative purposes, and for wider municipal powers to condemn and purchase land. Cities that are sufficiently foresighted can gain incalculable advantages by acquiring land well in advance of needs, at low prices, eventually using part of it for housing projects and other public purposes, and selling the rest for approved private purposes at the higher prices that result from urban expansion. The city of Stockholm, in particular, has benefitted from such a policy.

From the social point of view, land use regulations should be framed so as to work as little hardship as possible on the families that are struggling to obtain homes in the chaotic expansion of the cities. In at least one city, it has been noted that the administration at present has no power to prevent speculators from selling plots of land but does have legal power to prevent the purchasers from building on such plots until requirements for urban services have been met. As a result, the purchaser is likely to be defrauded - if the law is enforced - or to live in legal insecurity, without any right to demand urban services, if he builds without a permit.

The clandestine shantytowns built by squatters without any right of occupation present particularly thorny human problems. It is useless as

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well as inhuman to demolish the existing ones until the authorities can offer their occupants something better. Some of their worst features derive from insecurity; families that know their shacks may be torn down at any time have no incentive to improve them. The advantage of giving the families a stake in improvement by recognizing their right of occupancy must be balanced against future difficulties in eliminating the shantytown. Strict enforcement of regulations and frequent inspection of vacant land can usually for a time prevent the appearance of new shantytowns or the expansion of existing ones, but such measures by themselves only back up population pressure in the slums. If this is not relieved the eventual result is likely to be an organized mass invasion of vacant land that the authorities are unable to stop without risking large-scale violence.