A territorial perspective

Towards the consolidation of human settlements in Latin America and the Caribbean

Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)

United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat)

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Preface

Since the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) was held in Istanbul in 1996, a global and regional human settlements agenda has been taking shape which focuses on the need to overcome the association between urbanization —especially in the case of developing countries— and poverty, overcrowding, violence and environmental and cultural degradation and, in so doing, to release the synergetic potential of the cities which is essential to the countries' socio-economic progress.

For Latin America and the Caribbean, this new approach has entailed an effort to achieve an efficient level of performance and a sustainable structure that will enable the region to improve its linkages with the global economy without turning a blind eye to the high concentration of poverty and marginalization in its cities or their severe environmental and urban management problems. The outcome of this effort was the Latin American and Caribbean Regional Plan of Action on Human Settlements, which constitutes an agenda for consensus-building and joint action and for collaboration among countries. This agenda focuses on the achievement of social equity, poverty eradication, increasing productivity in human settlements, fostering governance and civic participation, and the pursuit of more efficient public policies.

In the past 10 years, human settlements in the region have exhibited a tendency to expand outward into land that has traditionally had a low population density; a rapid urbanization of the population, economy and society; and large-scale migration from rural to urban areas followed by a

leveling off of such flows, which in turn has given way to increasing inter-urban and international migration. This has posed new challenges in terms of social integration and quality of life which must be met in order to make further progress in combating urban poverty, reducing socio-spatial segmentation and segregation, providing greater access to land and property, creating new employment opportunities and achieving urban environmental sustainability.

Many countries in the region have witnessed rapid economic growth, particularly in urban areas, which has opened up greater opportunities for their inhabitants. Economic policies have taken on a regional outlook which has made it possible to visualize the changes required to produce policy instruments based on a supra-national perspective. By contrast, the public institutions responsible for land-use and human settlements policies are just beginning to display the capacity to adopt a regional and subregional vision.

This study uses a multidimensional analytical approach in examining the main features of human settlements and reveals the enormous potential of a regional policy perspective for supporting a genuine, balanced development process in Latin America and the Caribbean. The priority issues are urbanization, social integration, economic progress, environmental sustainability and the building of citizenship, within the framework of increasingly effective and efficient habitat policies.

Land-use development in the region cannot be viewed simply as an aggregate of national and local policies, but rather calls for countries to adopt concerted, innovative initiatives in order to make the most of the region's potential synergies as a highly urbanized continent; only then will it be able to draw upon its rich diversity to promote the development of its countries, cities and inhabitants.

The special session the General Assembly of the United Nations held in June 2001 undertook an initial review and appraisal of the implementation of the Habitat Agenda. In preparation for this event, in October 2000 ECLAC, the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) and the Habitat Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean convened a Latin American and Caribbean regional preparatory conference in Santiago, Chile.

The Governments gathered at that preparatory conference approved this study and adopted the Santiago Declaration, which is reproduced in the annex. Both documents contain guidelines to be used in the coming years to consolidate a regional vision in which cities and countries form the basis for a coherent, intersectoral management of the region involving both the public and private sectors, with the term "private sector" being used in the widest possible sense to include social and citizens' organizations as well as business sectors.

This joint effort by ECLAC and the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) is a first step towards achieving more effective complementarity among the agencies and organizations of the United Nations system based on a more balanced vision of development that will enable the region to meet the challenges of globalization more effectively by adopting a spatial and territorial perspective that integrates both urban and rural areas.

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Abstract

This study was prepared as a contribution to the work of the Latin American and Caribbean Regional Preparatory Conference for the special session of the General Assembly for an overall review and appraisal of the implementation of the Habitat Agenda, which was held in Santiago, Chile, from 25 to 27 October 2000.

It reviews different land, urban and housing issues in Latin America and the Caribbean with a view to identifying the main challenges facing the region and in order to move towards spatial consolidation of the region as an area for interaction and complementarity of national and local interests and initiatives in the area of human settlements. The different social, economic, environmental, political and institutional processes taking place in the countries of the region are examined and the challenges posed by the development of existing potentials are identified.

Firstly, attention is focused on recent patterns of urbanization in Latin America and the Caribbean, a trend which has been, and continues to be, a powerful force in shaping the region's spatial configuration. The authors then consider how social processes have been expressed in the region and what remains to be done for it to become an effective stage for social integration. They examine the importance that economic forces now have in shaping the region and the challenges that must be met in order to manage these forces in a more balanced way in the near future. They also look at the subject from an environmental perspective, drawing attention to issues that need to be addressed urgently to improve the quality of life for

people, particularly in cities. Reference is also made to the need to build a culture of citizenship in a continent that is seeking to put democracy on a firm footing and to the additional tasks that this will call for at the regional level.

If true, balanced development is to be achieved and maintained in Latin America and the Caribbean, then human settlement policies must reconcile and take into account the numerous challenges emerging from each of the viewpoints considered here and formulate joint initiatives to optimize the efforts being made to construct the region. The study thus concludes with a series of proposals for joint measures that countries could adopt with a view to consolidating the region.

I. Introduction

The Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) was held in Istanbul, Turkey, from 3 to 14 June 1996. In Latin America and the Caribbean, this conference gave rise to a great deal of thought-provoking analysis of the enormous challenges that will be faced during this millennium in the field of land use and urban and housing development.

In the mid-1990s, great efforts were made in the different countries of the region to update human settlements policies as part of the preparatory work for Habitat II. Following the guidelines laid down by the organizers of this world event, national preparatory committees were set up to ascertain the views and suggestions of different actors and sectors (public, private, academic, civil society and grassroots groups) and incorporate them into national plans of action, which were then submitted at the Habitat II Conference. By the end of the first half of the 1990s, the active efforts of these national preparatory committees, and the contents of the plans that had emerged from them, gave grounds for thinking that the urban and housing situation of this region would thenceforth be addressed by far more integrative and participatory human settlements policies than the ones generally applied up until then.

These preparatory activities within the countries were supplemented by a process of consensus-building at the regional level, culminating in the Regional Preparatory Conference held in Santiago, Chile, in 1995, which saw the drafting and approval of the Latin American and Caribbean

Regional Plan of Action on Human Settlements that was eventually taken to Istanbul. On 16 December 1996, the General Assembly recognized the importance of regional and subregional activities and of the regional plans and declarations adopted during the preparatory process.

The Regional Plan of Action made at least three important contributions to the urban and land use policies of Latin America and the Caribbean. Firstly, it laid the groundwork for a multifaceted understanding of settlement processes that would later permit these policies to make a greater contribution to the sustainable development of human settlements.[1] In addition, it identified relevant subject areas in which efforts to improve the urban and housing situation of Latin America and the Caribbean needed to be concentrated, and it produced a range of policy agreements that are still adhered to in the region.

The Plan of Action's most important contribution, however, would appear to be that it increased the viability of the countries' efforts to forge a vision of the region's spatial dimension and a common approach to realizing the potentials of its territory and cities. The Plan set a series of goals for addressing the old problems and new challenges of urban and land use management in the region in a coordinated fashion, goals that were to be supplemented by the efforts that each country needs to make in the light of its own particular situation with regard to settlement policies.

By its resolution 53/180, the United Nations General Assembly invited ECLAC to consider convening a high-level regional conference to review the progress made with regard to human settlements in the region. At this meeting, proposals and recommendations from Latin America and the Caribbean are to be debated with a view to their submission to the special session of the General Assembly to be held in 2001 in order to review and appraise the implementation of the outcome of Habitat II.

As a preliminary assessment, we can expect to find that the Latin American and Caribbean region is still at an early stage in the process involved in building an integrative regional vision, as called for in the 1995 Regional Plan of Action. This may be due to a number of reasons.

On the one hand, the field of human settlements has not yet been clearly established at the regional level as an intermediate sphere providing a link between what is happening at the world level and in the individual countries. Both the Habitat Agenda agreed on at the world meeting and the initiatives pursued to put it into effect were oriented towards the individual

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[1] Its thematic structure and contents were based on the approach suggested by ECLAC in the early 1990s for conceptualizing the sustainability of development in this region while incorporating its social, economic and environmental aspects into habitat planning and management in a balanced fashion.

countries, and there was no sign of any explicit intention to create intermediate levels for dialogue and analysis, which is what the regional sphere would be. In fact, the countries of the region feel that the Regional Plan of Action which they presented at Habitat II did not make the impression they had hoped for there; nor were they successful in having it explicitly included in the world agenda as an intermediate level at which agreements could be reached, or in establishing it as an example of consensus-building to be adopted by the other regions of the world.

Again, the high level of urbanization now obtaining in the countries means that all or most human settlement matters tend to be understood and dealt with as "urban issues". While this approach may have some justification in a continent as highly urbanized as this one, it nonetheless provides no more than a partial view, as it ignores basic issues that will be encountered throughout this document. Centring almost exclusively on the "nodes" of the settlement system, it can lead to an undervaluation of the territory that serves as a "container" for those nodes and for the interrelationships between them. As we shall see further on, this exclusively city-centred understanding of habitat is accompanied, in the region, by approaches that stem from the decentralization process, which is placing greater and greater weight on the local level in the analysis and management of habitat. This not only makes it harder to manage land use and urban problems consistently at the national level, but also undermines efforts to consolidate a regional sphere whose development is a task that is incumbent on all the countries alike.

This document, which has been produced for the meeting by the secretariat of ECLAC, reviews different aspects of the land use, urban and housing situation of Latin America and the Caribbean with a view to identifying the main challenges that the region faces in seeking to consolidate the regional sphere as one in which national and local interests and efforts in the field of human settlements can be brought together and made to complement one another. Setting out from an interpretation of this regional sphere as the outcome of the territorially-based interaction of different social, economic, environmental, political and institutional processes taking place in the countries, it identifies the characteristics of this sphere from each of these standpoints, along with the challenges involved in developing its potential in each case.

First of all, the document reviews the continent's recent experience with urbanization, which has been and continues to be a powerful force in shaping this regional sphere. It then considers how social processes are expressed in the territory and examines what remains to be done in order for this territory to become a genuine sphere of social integration. Following on from this, it identifies the importance that economic forces now have in

shaping the regional sphere and the challenges that will be involved in managing these forces in a more balanced way in the near future. It then looks at the subject from an environmental point of view, drawing attention to issues that need to be addressed urgently if people's quality of life is to be improved, particularly in the region's cities. Reference is also made to the fact that the need to support the development of citizenship in a continent that is seeking to put democracy on a firm footing entails additional tasks that need to be addressed from a regional perspective.

The multifaceted approach that the document takes to the relevant endeavours at the regional level reveals the enormous potential of this sphere for supporting effective, balanced development in Latin America and the Caribbean. For this potential to be realized, habitat policies will have to reconcile and incorporate the numerous challenges that emerge from each of the viewpoints from which the regional sphere is considered here, and joint initiatives will be needed in order to optimize the efforts being made to construct it. The document therefore concludes with a series of proposals regarding joint measures that the countries could take in pursuit of the objective of consolidating the regional sphere.

II. The region's emerging spatial configuration

Some of the main developments to have marked the region's system of human settlements in the past few decades are:

(a) the progressive —and sometimes aggressive— settlement of what has historically been sparsely populated land in the heart of the region, particularly the Amazon and Orinoco river basins;

(b) the rapid urbanization of the population, economy and society;

(c) a massive shift of population from rural to urban areas and increasingly large inter-city migratory flows; and

(d) the establishment of an urban system characterized by a high percentage of large cities (with over one million inhabitants) and mega-cities and by a high concentration of the population in the largest (or two largest) cities, although it is also true that a faster growth rate in medium-sized cities and large cities other than the primate city has been observed ever since the 1970s.

Since these are long-term trends, it is not surprising that in the short amount of time that has passed since the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) was held in Istanbul, there has been no dramatic turn of events; instead, the region has witnessed a continuation of

existing trends, although perhaps with some slight variations that could be regarded as the first signs of an impending change. The course taken by trends during the 1990s will be examined here, with emphasis on the events of the five years that have elapsed since Habitat II.

1. The urbanization process proceeds

The urbanization process in the region has taken place on a vast scale and has enormous economic and social implications. This process has followed, and will probably continue to follow, a course of its own which bears little relation to other major economic and social variables (such as GDP growth, poverty trends or income distribution) and which is likely to generate a steadily increasing demand for housing and urban services in the decades to come. The urbanization process arose early on in the region's history and has continued apace, although with somewhat less momentum than in the past. With an urban population of 380 million and a rural one of 127 million as of the year 2000,[2] the region's urbanization coefficient climbed from 71% in 1990 to 75% in 2000 (see figure 1), which means world (United Nations, 2000a; Rodríguez and Villa, 1998). At the same time, however, a slowdown in the urban population's growth rate at the regional level became an established trend during the 1990s, as the natural growth rate declined (due to the demographic transition) and migration from the countryside dwindled. Current estimates therefore indicate that the population growth rate has remained positive but is very low in rural areas (see figure 2).

These regionwide figures are the net result of widely varying statistics for the individual countries, however, both in terms of the degree of urbanization and as regards the current speed of this process. The countries of the region can be divided into four different categories based on their degree of urbanization in 1995 (see table 1). The countries classified as being at a fairly early stage in the urban transition process (a degree of urbanization of 70% or less in 1995) are the ones that had the highest urbanization rates in the 1990s. In fact, most of these countries had average annual urban population growth rates of over 3% for the 1990s (more than twice as high as those of countries at an advanced stage in the urban transition) and are expected to maintain those rates in the coming decades (see table A-1 of the annex). In keeping with the swift growth of their urban areas, these countries also have the highest rural population growth rates (see table A-2 of the annex), and population pressure will therefore be felt in both types of zones.

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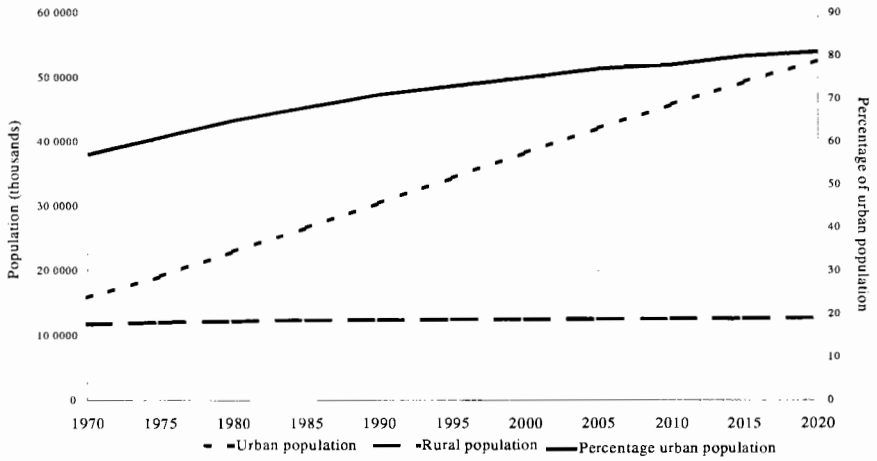
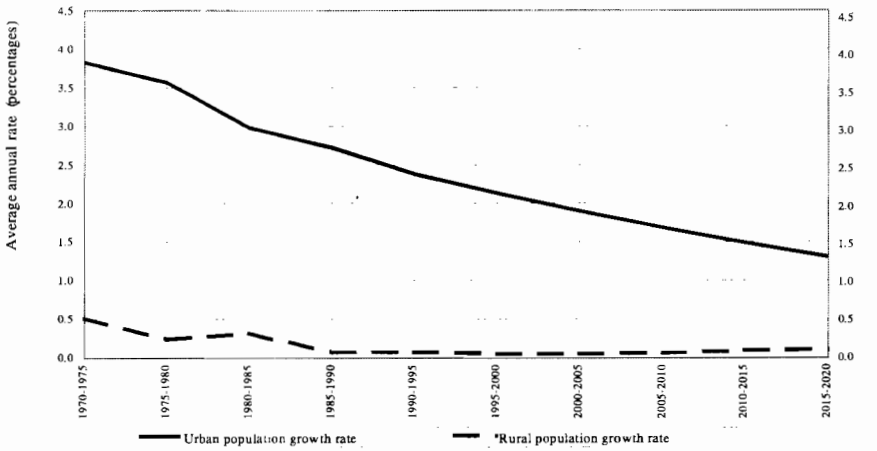
[2] This figure corresponds to the 20 countries that are usually included under the heading of "Latin America" (ECLAC-CELADE, 1999b); if all the nations of the region, including the Caribbean countries, are counted, then the urban population rises to 390 million (United Nations, 2000a).

Figure 1
LATIN AMERICA: TRENDS IN THE URBAN AND RURAL POPULATIONS AND DEGREE OF URBANIZATION, 1970-2020



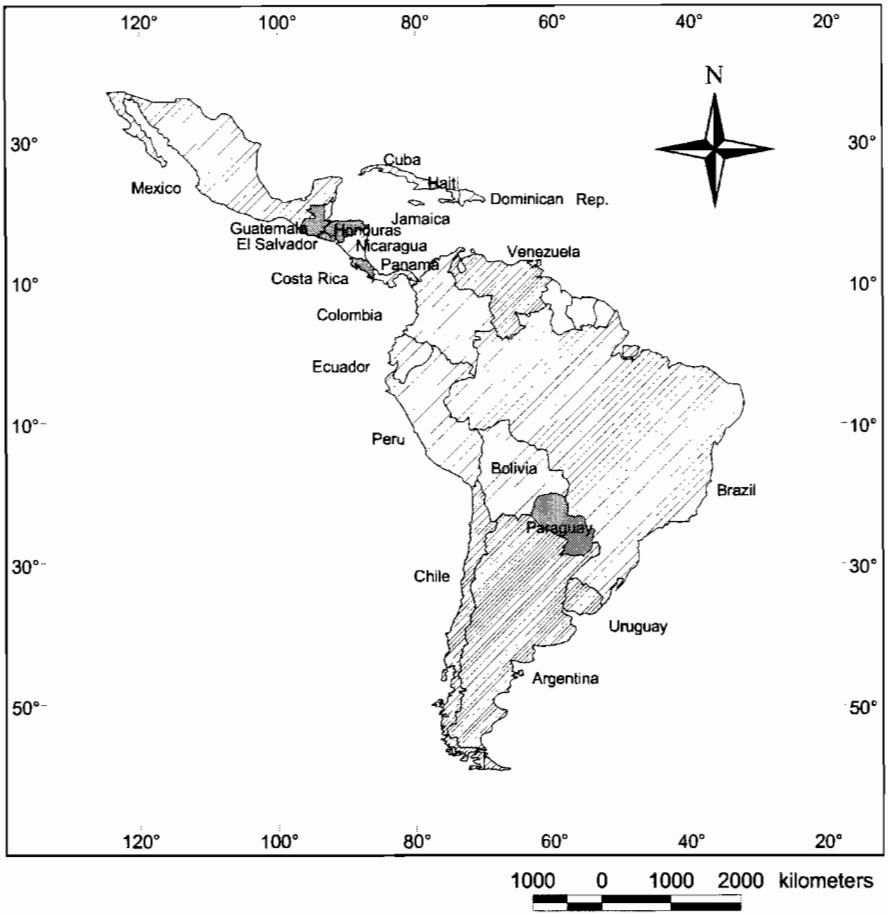
Source: ECLAC, Population Division - Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE), *Latin America: Urban and Rural Population Projections, 1970-2025*, Demographic Bulletin, year 32, No. 63 (LC/G.2052; LC/DEM/G.183), Santiago, Chile, January 1999.

Figure 2
LATIN AMERICA: GROWTH RATES OF THE URBAN AND RURAL POPULATIONS, 1970-2020



Source: ECLAC, Population Division - Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE), *Latin America: Urban and Rural Population Projections, 1970-2025*, Demographic Bulletin, year 32, No. 63 (LC/G.2052; LC/DEM/G.183), Santiago, Chile, January 1999.

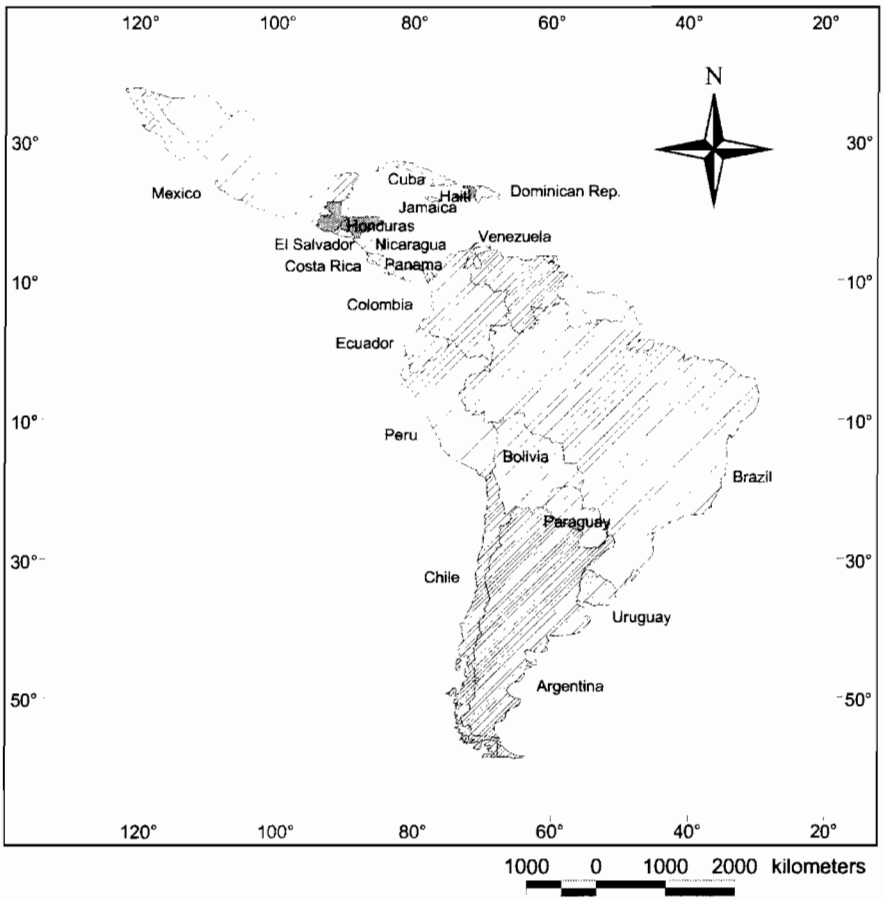
Map 1
LEVEL OF URBANIZATION, 1990



Source: ECLAC, Population Division - Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE), population projections. For the Caribbean, United Nations, *Population Growth, Structure and Distribution. The Concise Report* (ST/ESA/SER.A/181), New York, 1999. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.99.XIII.15.

Note: The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

Map 2
LEVEL OF URBANIZATION, 2000



Source: ECLAC, Population Division - Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE), population projections. For the Caribbean, United Nations, *Population Growth, Structure and Distribution. The Concise Report* (ST/ESA/SER.A/181), New York, 1999. United Nations publication, Sales No. E99.XIII.15.

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Table 1

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: URBAN POPULATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION, BY COUNTRY AND STAGE OF URBAN TRANSITION, 1970-2020

Country, by stage in urban transition	Year										
Advanced [a]	**1970**	**1975**	**1980**	**1985**	**1990**	**1995**	**2000**	**2005**	**2010**	**2015**	**2020**
Argentina	78.4	80.7	83.0	84.9	86.9	88.3	89.6	90.6	91.4	92.0	92.5
Bahamas	71.8	73.4	75.1	79.7	83.6	86.5	88.5	90.0	90.9	91.5	92.0
Chile	73.0	76.0	79.0	81.1	82.8	84.4	85.7	86.9	87.9	88.8	89.6
Uruguay	82.0	82.9	86.1	89.2	90.5	91.7	92.6	93.1	93.7	93.9	94.0
Venezuela	71.8	75.4	78.9	81.6	83.9	85.8	87.4	88.8	89.9	90.8	91.5
Midway [b]	**1970**	**1975**	**1980**	**1985**	**1990**	**1995**	**2000**	**2005**	**2010**	**2015**	**2020**
Brazil	55.6	61.4	67.3	71.0	74.7	77.5	79.9	81.7	83.1	84.2	85.0
Colombia	57.7	61.8	64.4	67.0	69.4	71.7	74.5	76.6	78.4	80.0	81.4
Cuba	60.1	64.1	68.0	71.6	74.8	77.6	79.9	81.9	83.4	84.7	85.7
Mexico	58.9	62.3	65.5	68.6	71.4	73.4	75.4	77.2	78.8	80.2	81.3
Peru	58.1	61.9	64.2	66.3	68.7	71.2	72.3	73.5	74.6	75.5	76.3
Trinidad and Tobago	63.0	63.0	63.1	66.2	69.1	71.7	74.1	76.1	77.8	79.3	80.7
Early [c]	**1970**	**1975**	**1980**	**1985**	**1990**	**1995**	**2000**	**2005**	**2010**	**2015**	**2020**
Barbados	37.1	38.6	40.2	42.5	44.8	47.3	50.0	52.8	55.6	58.4	61.1
Bolivia	36.2	40.5	45.4	50.5	55.6	60.4	64.6	68.2	71.0	73.1	74.8
Costa Rica	38.8	4.1.3	43.1	44.8	46.7	48.5	50.4	52.3	54.2	56.1	57.9
Ecuador	39.5	41.8	47.1	51.3	55.4	59.2	62.7	65.8	68.5	70.7	72.5
El Salvador	39.0	41.5	44.1	47.0	49.8	52.5	55.2	57.8	60.3	62.6	64.7
Jamaica	41.5	44.1	46.8	49.2	51.5	53.7	56.1	58.5	61.0	63.5	65.9
Nicaragua	46.8	48.8	50.1	51.4	52.5	53.9	55.3	56.7	58.1	59.4	60.6
Panama	47.6	48.7	49.7	51.7	53.8	55.7	57.6	59.5	61.2	62.9	64.5
Paraguay	37.1	39.0	41.6	44.9	48.6	52.4	56.1	59.6	62.9	65.7	68.2
Dominican Republic	39.7	44.7	49.9	52.3	53.7	57.1	60.2	62.9	65.3	67.4	69.1
Incipient [d]	**1970**	**1975**	**1980**	**1985**	**1990**	**1995**	**2000**	**2005**	**2010**	**2015**	**2020**
Guatemala	36.2	36.7	37.2	37.5	38.0	38.6	39.4	39.9	40.5	41.2	41.8
Haiti	19.7	22.2	24.5	27.2	30.5	34.3	38.1	41.8	45.3	48.4	51.3
Honduras	29.0	32.0	35.0	37.7	40.8	44.4	48.2	52.1	55.9	59.5	62.7

Source: ECLAC, Population Division - Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE), population projections. For the Caribbean, United Nations, *Population Growth, Structure and Distribution. The Concise Report* (ST/ESA/SER.A/181), New York, 2000. United Nations publication. Sales No. E.99.XIII.15.

[a] Urban population represented 80% of the total population or more in 2000.

[b] Urban population represented more than 70% but less than 80% of the total population in 2000.

[c] Urban population represented between 50% and 70% of the total population in 2000.

[d] Urban population represented less than 50% of the total population in 2000.

Box 1

CHANGES IN AGE AND HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS IN TERMS OF LIVING CONDITIONS IN URBAN AREAS

One of the main sociodemographic changes to occur in the region in recent years is a steep decline in fertility rates. The average number of children per woman has fallen from approximately 6 in the 1950s to 2.7 today. The figure does vary quite markedly, however; for the period 1995-2000, the total fertility rate ranges from nearly 5 in some countries to less than 2 in others. Midway through the twenty-first century, the region will have an average total fertility rate of 2.1 children per woman, the basic minimum required for the replacement of the existing population over the long term.

A sizeable decrease in mortality rates has also been seen, and life expectancy at birth will be about 79-80 years by the middle of this century. These trends, particularly the decline in fertility and the after-effects of the high population growth rates recorded in the past, have played a part in reshaping the population's age structure. This structure reflects the ageing of the region's population, as the group composed of people aged 62 or over is growing faster than all the other age groups. This situation varies from country to country, however; there are still countries where life expectancy was below 60 years of age during the period 1990-2000, while in others it is already close to or above 65 years.

The working-age population is also growing rapidly. Latin America's labour potential is already high, and in the coming 25 years it may well reach record levels.

Households are becoming smaller and more diverse; one-person and single-parent households are on the rise, as are households having one or two parents and adult children and households headed by women, as shown in table A-3 of the annex.

Source: ECLAC, "Informe del Seminario Regional sobre Estrategias e Instrumentos de Gestión Urbana para el Desarrollo Sostenible en América Latina y el Caribe" (Santiago, Chile, 6-7 December 1999), Environment and Human Settlements Division, 2000.

The countries' degrees of urbanization also vary enormously within their individual provinces or departments. For example, early in the 1990s, 53.8% of Panama's population was living in urban areas. In Panamá and Colón provinces, however, the figure was 76.0%, which was higher than the rates for such countries as Brazil, Cuba or Mexico at the time (Government of Panama, 2000). In contrast, in the early 1990s Argentina was highly urbanized, with only 13% of its population living in rural areas. In Tucumán and Mendoza provinces, however, the figures were 29% and 20%, respectively, and in most of the departments within the Province of Mendoza, around 50% of the population was rural (Palero and Pizarro, 2000; Dantur and Correa, 2000). Thus, these subnational zones bore a close resemblance to the region's most rural countries, such as Bolivia,

Nicaragua, Paraguay and others. The opportunities for the transfer of experiences in habitat management among these subnational territories are therefore much greater than those offered by comparisons across countries.

2. Cities and metropolitan areas

As may be seen from table A-5 of the annex, the 49 cities with populations of over one million in the year 2000 (see map 3) had seen their growth rates drop steeply during the 1980s as import-substitution industries failed, public-sector employment declined, investment dried up and urban planning was virtually abandoned as governments turned to the use of market mechanisms to manage urban development (Rodríguez and Villa, 1998);[3] all of this led to an exacerbation of the cities' long-standing problems in the areas of infrastructure, governance and quality of life, which in turn threatened to undermine the advantages they offered in terms of greater opportunity and made them less attractive to potential migrants. During the 1990s, however, their size relative to urban areas as a whole remained steady or even rose slightly. In fact, they came to be the home of 43% of the urban population, as they gradually regained their prime position as a site for both domestic and foreign investment projects (especially in labour-intensive activities) and as a link between domestic production agents and external markets.

Some of the largest urban centres (5 million inhabitants or more as of the year 2000) are now regarded as "global cities" by virtue of the size of their populations and economies. These centres have lower population growth rates than other cities owing to the advanced stage they have reached in the demographic transition and the low or even negative net rate of migration to some of these population clusters. In addition, there has been a growing tendency for these large cities to act as a hub for larger and larger territories and thus to serve as a mechanism for the social and economic integration of other nearby urban centres (Aguilar, 2000; Rodríguez and Villa, 1998).[4] The management of these integrated areas has

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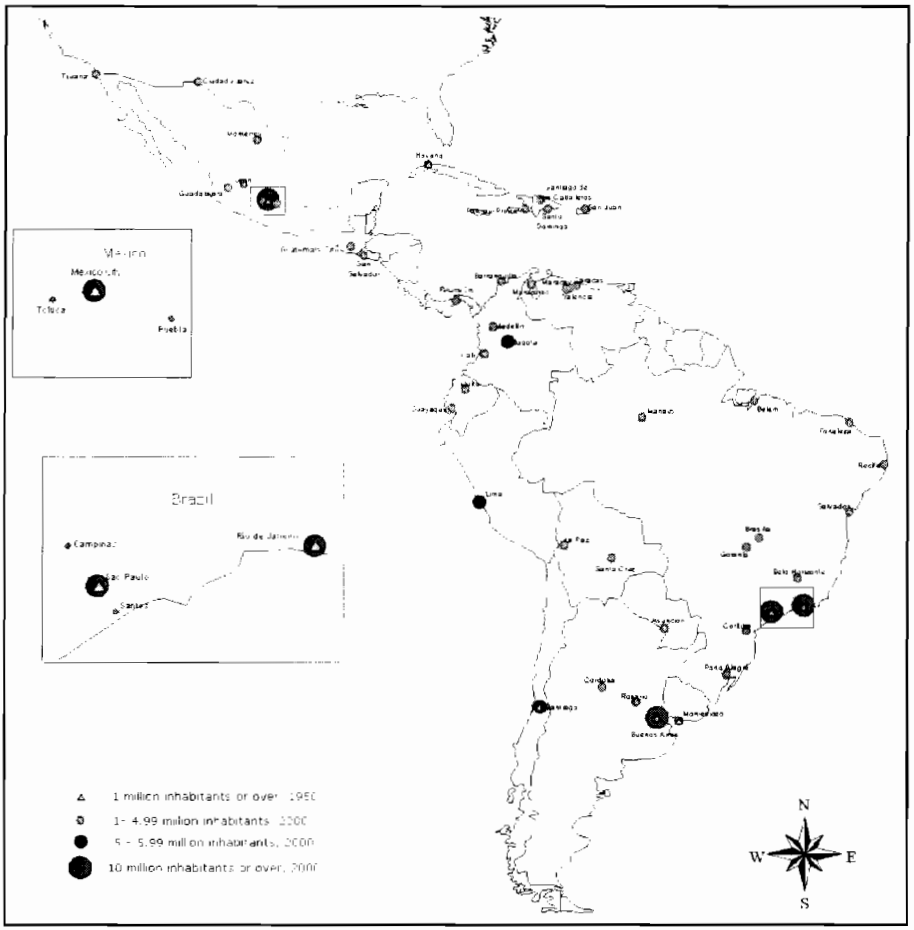
[3] The annual population growth rates for these cities plummeted from 3.6% in the 1970s to 2.3% in the 1980s.

[4] In addition to the incorporation of new territories into the urban zone and the expansion of road and other networks, the formation and consolidation of today's extended metropolitan areas have been accompanied by the movement of industries from downtown areas to the outskirts of urban centres, where sub-centres have developed that display relatively independent social and employment patterns. In any event, these expanded metropolitan areas exhibit far lower population growth rates than the original metropolises (or "seed cities") did in the years leading up to the 1970s. What is more, some metropolises have not yet regained their attractiveness, as is indicated by the figures for the Mexico City Metropolitan Area, whose reciprocal flows with the country's next

Map 3
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: CITIES WITH POPULATIONS OF OVER ONE MILLION, 2000



Source: ECLAC, on the basis of United Nations, *World Urbanization Prospects: The 1999 Revision* (ST/ESA/P/WP.161), New York, 2000.

Note: The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

four largest cities yielded a net outflow of about 150,000 during the period 1992-1997 (CONAPO, 1999).

been made even more complex by the lack of suitable urban planning and management tools that could be used to coordinate the activities of the relevant local governments. This situation thus provides us with a paradigm for the demands that are arising within the region in relation to the territorial integration processes that serve as a counterweight for the decentralization process and the increase in local autonomy.

3. Diversification of medium-sized cities

Medium-sized cities (generally speaking, those that have between 50,000 and one million inhabitants) had very high growth rates, although they were not as high as they had been in earlier decades (Rodríguez and Villa, 1998). In most of the countries in the region, they maintained their size relative to urban areas as a whole, and in many cases they hold out greater promise for a sustainable urban development process than the region's large cities. In the 1990s, however, a number of these cities began to encounter the same types of problems as their larger counterparts, which demonstrates that their intermediate size does not, in and of itself, guarantee them a bright future. The viability of these urban centres appears to hinge upon the nature of their economic base,[5] including their degree o f integration with their overall environment, their linkages with the national and regional urban systems and their success in making full use of their comparative advantages in terms of production, the supply of services, infrastructure, the generation of knowledge and information, living conditions, etc. As in the case of large cities, these urban centres must find ways of developing integrative policies that will link them with other cities and territories within a framework that extends far beyond local boundaries.

These trends suggest that over the past two decades most of the countries' urban systems have been steadily diversifying. This marks a sharp contrast with the trend towards the concentration of population in the primate city, which was prevalent in most of the Latin American countries until around 1970. In a number of these countries, this shift is reflected in a declining primacy index[6] and in a reduction of the percentage of the urban population residing in the primate city (see figure 3). In others, primarily

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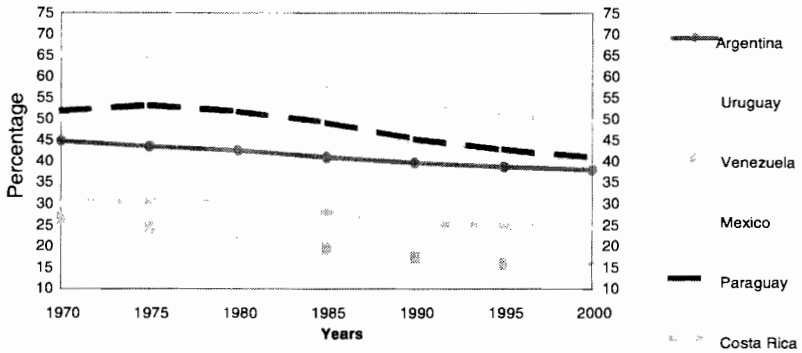
[5] Other factors that also play a part include the quality of management and the ability of the city's main actors to reach agreements, establish shared goals and undertake strategic commitments.

[6] The primacy index is the ratio between the population of the primate city and the sum of the populations of the three next largest cities. In some countries, this index does not clearly reflect the trend towards de-concentration which does, in fact, exist because the populations of the second-, third- and fourth-largest cities (or at least one of them) have been virtually constant since the 1980s; in such cases, the relative size of the largest city as measured in terms of the country's total urban area provides a better picture of the de-concentration process.

those in which a small percentage of the population lives in urban areas, a trend towards greater concentration is still in evidence. Although the region's population is more heavily concentrated in its primate cities than is the case in other world regions, as urban systems shift towards more highly diversified patterns, the countries' territories are once again taking on a complementary role in the articulation of the urban development process in Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC/ILPES, 2000; United Nations, 1999a).

Figure 3
LATIN AMERICA (SELECTED COUNTRIES): SIZE OF PRIMATE CITY RELATIVE TO ALL URBAN AREAS, 1980-2000



Source: ECLAC, Population Division - Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE), *Latin America: Urban and Rural Population Projections, 1970-2025*, Demographic Bulletin, year 32, No. 63 (LC/G.2052; LC/DEM/G.183), Santiago, Chile, January 1999.

4. New settlement areas in the continent

The settlement of less densely populated inland areas of Latin America and the Caribbean has continued in recent years as individuals and businesses are drawn to the region's generous endowment of renewable and non-renewable resources. As the government settlement programmes of earlier decades are cut back or eliminated, these migratory movements have often run out of control and have done serious damage to ecosystems and to the cultural traditions of indigenous populations that are unable to compete with these new settlers (Necochea, 2000).

Maps 1 and 2 of the annex, which indicate the presence of towns having 20,000 inhabitants or more in areas of the Orinoco and Amazon river basins that were virtually uninhabited in 1950 (see box 2), illustrate how the land settlement process has proceeded in South America.[7]

[7] Of course, if this comparison were made using smaller towns, the expansion of the demographic frontier would be even more striking.

Box 2

THE ORINOCO AND AMAZON RIVER BASINS: THE RESUMPTION OF SETTLEMENT PLANS

In South America, government plans to promote the settlement of the Orinoco and Amazons river basins were carried out up to the 1980s. For a variety of reasons, these plans have not been pursued as zealously in the 1990s, but people and capital have continued to flow into these areas. Within the framework of the Ninth Plan of the Nation, in the first half of the 1990s Venezuela resumed the type of initiative it had launched in the 1970s (known as the "Southern conquest", or "Codesur"), which provided for an ambitious and aggressive move to settle and develop the Guayana region. The Southern Sustainable Development Project (Prodessur) provides for: (a) the creation of a network of settlements in the sparsely populated inland areas of the states of Bolívar and Amazonas, especially along the border with Brazil, Colombia and Guyana, where a number of indigenous communities are settled; (b) a 15% increase in the population through the promotion of migration to rural areas in the states located to the south of the Orinoco; (c) the rapid development of primary economic activities (mining, oil, agriculture and forestry); and (d) the construction of access and production infrastructure.

Numerous settlement plans have been designed and implemented in Brazil. One of them, which was called the Calha Norte and was proposed in 1985, was intended to strengthen the country's sovereignty and protect its borders both from drug traffickers nd guerrilla movements operating in neighbouring countries, especially in the State of Romaira, the home of the Yanomani. The plan included the construction of military settlements along the border, the extension of roadways and the promotion of economic activities, especially large-scale mining. These settlement plans have had the effect of opening up access to valuable resources. They have also successfully channelled migratory flows along routes that have, by and large, persisted over time, despite the fact that in the 1990s these settlement initiatives received limited support and little funding. The most recent figures available show that between 1990 and 1995, the Amazon states had a positive net migratory flow (with the exception of Peru), and this was one of the reasons why these states' populations grew faster than any others in the entire country in the 1990s.

Although these changes may be regarded as signalling the success of the plans that were undertaken to settle virtually uninhabited areas in the heart of South America, these initiatives have become the object of a great deal of criticism, inasmuch as the net balance of their economic and social contributions has been less positive than national authorities had expected while their environmental costs have greatly exceeded initial estimates.

Source: Marta Miranda and others, *All That Glitters is Not Gold: Balancing Conservation and Development in Venezuela's Frontier Forests*, Washington, D.C., World Resources Institute (WRI), 1998; Rosana Baeninger, "Redistribución espacial de la población: características y tendencias del caso brasileño", Notas de población series, year 25, No. 65 (LC/DEM/G.177), Santiago, Chile, June 1997; Beatriz David and others, *Transformaciones recientes en el sector agropecuario brasileño: lo que muestran los censos*, Libros de la CEPAL series, No. 53 (LC/G.2064-P), Santiago, Chile, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 1999. United Nations publication, Sales No. S.99.II.G.48; ECLAC, Population Division - Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE), Database on spatial distribution and urbanization in Latin America and the Caribbean; Parlamento Amazónico, "Los mitos de la Amazonia" (http://www.webmediaven.com/parlamaz/amazonia.html), 2000.

The settlement of new areas knows no boundaries. Thanks to the increasing volume of trade in goods and services taking place among countries in the region within the framework of the globalization process and the consolidation of subregional trade agreements such as the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) or the Southern Common Market (Mercosur), a number of border areas now offer advantages in terms of localization economies and job creation. Some of these areas have actually become bi-national zones, in which economic complementarity goes hand in hand with a high degree of labour mobility among the countries involved. The striking population growth seen in a large part of eastern Paraguay[8] illustrates how powerful an attraction can be exerted by the externalities associated with border areas, in this case along the border with Brazil, and by the possibility of tapping energy and other natural resources. It also demonstrates how well-designed governmental measures (subsidies, public investment, assistance for migrants, tariff preferences, etc.) can help bring about a better distribution of the population within a given territory.

In the case of Mexico, Baja California stands out among the states lining Mexico's long border with the United States in that it has a subsystem of cities located along the international border that are structurally linked to the economy of its northern neighbour.[9] The economic buoyancy and the pattern of job creation promoted by these linkages and by government incentives[10] have helped to attract migrants from other states of Mexico (CONAPO, 1997).

5. City-to-city migration

The predominantly rural-urban migratory flows that have traditionally characterized population movements in Latin America and the Caribbean have recently given way to a more diversified pattern that includes migratory flows from one urban area to another, intra-metropolitan migration, new forms of rural migration and international migration.

Inter-urban migration is now the predominant type of population movement, as is illustrated by the case of Mexico, where nearly half of all population movements from one state to another originate and end in cities (see table A-6 of the annex);[11] in Brazil, the same type of situation could

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[8] Measured as a percentage of the national population, the population of the Department of Alto Paraná more than doubled between 1950 and the mid-1990s.

[9] These linkages actually take on a physical form in several instances, as in the case of the Tijuana-San Diego cluster (Vanneph and Revel-Mouroz, 1994).

[10] These incentives include a tax regime designed for export-oriented *maquila* industries (Alegría and others, 1997; ECLAC, 1996b; Gutiérrez and Vásquez, 1995).

[11] These data are based on stringent criteria, inasmuch as they refer to population centres having 20,000 inhabitants or more and do not include the typical urban-urban movements

clearly be seen in the 1980s.[12] Since inter-urban migration will increase even further in the coming decades, urban and land management policy makers are realizing that migration from the countryside is no longer the main cause of urban problems.[13]

Intra-metropolitan mobility also became much more visible during the 1990s[14] as the spatial, demographic and socioeconomic differentiation of the population of large cities increased, with the well-to-do concentrating in certain sectors having high-quality infrastructure and urban services while the poorer segments of the population have tended to find themselves in neighbourhoods having a lower-quality environment.

6. Rural migration: new problems

Rural migration has taken on new features in recent years. Despite the predominantly agricultural and primary-sector orientation of the region's exports, the cities have not lost their attractiveness, and the demographic retention capacity of Latin America's countryside remains low. This is largely due to the fact that, in the great majority of cases, living conditions in the rural areas of the region continue to lag far behind (ECLAC, 2000b, 2000c, 1999a and 1999b), given the difficulties entailed in providing social services and access to the opportunities associated with the modern world to widely scattered populations.[15] As shown in table 2, in the cases of Brazil and Mexico, for example, rural migration's contribution to urban growth is now far outweighed by the "endogenous" gain in population. Migration to the cities is still a major cause of the decline in rural areas' population,[16] however, as is illustrated by the negative

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that take place between the Federal District and the adjacent cities that form part of the Mexico City Metropolitan Area. Consequently, the figures given in this table overestimate rural-urban migration and underestimate urban-urban migration.

[12] In Brazil, 61% of the 26.9 million inter-municipality migrants counted in the period 1981-1991 moved from one city to another (Baeninger, 1997).

[13] Studies on inter-urban migration should be included on the regional research agenda since few country studies on this subject are available (Tuirán, 2000; Martínez, 1999).

[14] For example, in 1990-1995, movement between the Federal District and Mexico State (the great majority of which was intra-metropolitan, since Mexico State contains the municipalities forming part of the conurbation of the Mexico City Metropolitan Area) represented 22% of the total (CONAPO, 1998).

[15] The draw of employment opportunities in rural areas has tended to generate seasonal or daily forms of mobility, rather than actual migration; the fact that 20% of the economically active population (EAP) in the farm sector in 1995 (an estimated 8 million people) lived in urban areas (Dirven, 1997) supports this hypothesis.

[16] In Cuba, recent research has shown that poor living conditions in rural areas are what prompt many State farm workers to move to locations offering services and infrastructure, although they do not change their occupation.

Table 2
RELATIVE SIGNIFICANCE OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION: TRENDS, DISAGGREGATED BY SEX, IN SELECTED COUNTRIES OF THE REGION

Country and reference period	Percentage of urban population growth accounted for by migration or reclassification, by sex[a]	
	Female	Male
Brazil, 1980-1990	42.7	41.2
Brazil, 1990-1995	34.5	33.1
Chile, 1982-1992	10.7	7.6
Guatemala, 1984-1994	44.3	43.0
Mexico, 1980-1990	33.9	33.9
Mexico, 1990-1995	24.4	24.0
Nicaragua, 1985-1995	31.4	28.0
Uruguay 1986-1996	32.1	36.4

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of official census data.

[a] The results shown here correspond to the growth, migration and reclassification of the population aged 10 and over as of the last census, calculated on the basis of the inter-censal survival ratios method.

population growth rates registered for the rural population in many countries of the region (see box 3). Since a considerable percentage of these migrants are more highly educated, young (working-age) adults, the rural population structure in a number of countries in the region is older than would be expected on the basis of the stage the countries have reached in the demographic transition,[17] and this represents another disadvantage in terms of the development of these zones. Migratory flows moving away from the region's countryside also include a disproportionate number of women (United Nations, 1999a); this phenomenon is closely related to the types of job opportunities seen as being available, among which domestic service is a major component.

Widespread civil violence of the type experienced by the people living in rural zones and small towns located in areas of guerilla activity in Colombia or by the Guatemalan population in the past has also led to large-scale movements of rural or semi-rural population groups in a number of countries which have exacerbated the poverty and social exclusion that were already affecting many of these people. In Colombia, unofficial figures indicate that around one million displaced persons have seen the quality of their lives worsen considerably as they are obliged to leave their means of livelihood, their social networks and their assets in the hands of different factions of combatants.

[17] By way of example, while the proportions of the population aged 65 years or over in the urban and rural areas of Latin America is at present quite similar (about 5%), in rural areas the population between the ages of 15 and 64 is 8.5 percentage points smaller than it is in urban areas (ECLAC-CELADE, 1999b).

Box 3

LATIN AMERICA: YOUTH AND MIGRATION

In the region as a whole, some 15.5 million rural youths (aged 15 to 29) have swelled the ranks of the young urban population by 16.5% in the past 15 years, while the young rural population has shrunk by nearly one third during the same period (see table 6). These young migrants are generally more highly qualified than the youths who remain in rural areas, but they nonetheless lack the necessary skills to find appropriate employment in urban areas. As a result of migration, the difficulty of finding a mate[a] and the declining birth rate,[b] the number of births in rural areas in the region has been diminishing for several decades now, as may be seen from the following table and table A-4 of the annex. Of course, what is true of the region as a whole is not necessarily true for individual countries within it, such as Costa Rica, Haiti, Nicaragua and especially Guatemala and Paraguay, where the demographic transition is still at an incipient stage.

An opinion poll conducted in Chile, whose results may be considered to be valid for other countries as well, indicates that people appreciate the tranquillity and safety of rural areas but also consider them to be boring, lacking in opportunities and extremely resistant to change. On the other hand, the cities are seen as being "where things happen", where "everything is available", although they are also regarded as unsafe and ridden with crime and drug addiction. These same types of views are expressed when people are asked to compare rural areas with medium-sized cities, medium-sized cities with regional capitals, and regional capitals with national capitals. Most rural youths expect change to come from outside because they do not feel capable of bringing about change themselves (De la Maza and Vicherat, 1999).

Rural population

Age group	1985		2000		2015
0-14 years	53 991 606		47 444 897		40 576 184
15-29 years	32 367 343	-39.7%	32 574 098	-36.1%	30 317 944

Urban population

Age group	1985		2000		2015
0-14 years	94 498 537		113 051 382		122 264 802
15-29 years	78 484 724	+16.5%	110 067 008	+11.1%	125 625 565

Total population

Age group	1985		2000		2015
0-14 years	148 490 143		160 496 279		162 840 986
15-29 years	110 852 067	-3.9%	142 641 106	-2.8%	155 943 509

Source: ECLAC, Population Division - Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE), *Latin America: urban and rural population projections, 1970-2025*, Demographic Bulletin, year 32, No. 63 (LC/G.2052; LC/DEM/G.183), Santiago, Chile, January 1999.

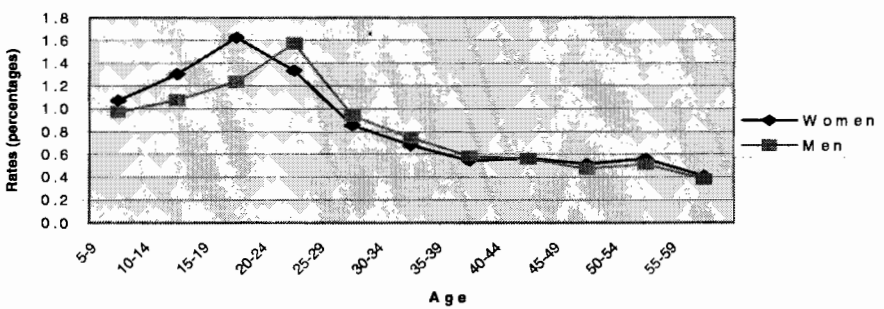
[a] For Latin America, there are an average of 12.7% more young men than young women living in rural areas (ranging from 32.2% in Venezuela to a negligible difference in Mexico); this sharp imbalance obviously creates difficulties for young people seeking a partner.

[b] Nevertheless, the number of children per household continues to be higher in rural areas than in urban ones, as does the number of unwanted births.

7. International migration

International migration is another component of the region's demographic patterns that has been changing. Latin America and the Caribbean are shifting from being a recipient of such flows to being a net population exporter, mainly to the United States and, to a much lesser extent, to Canada, Europe and Oceania. Out-migration has become a trend of major significance in Central America, in particular. This phenomenon, which is eroding urban and rural communities alike (Lungo, 1998), is associated with the formation of international migratory circuits having domestic or internal links (see box 4). In the English- and French-speaking Caribbean, international migration is in many cases the primary determinant of the pattern of population dynamics, the social and demographic structure, and the spatial distribution of the population. Recent studies have shown that nearly every Caribbean resident has family members, friends or acquaintances who have emigrated from the region (chiefly to the United States or to the metropolises of former colonies), which facilitates the formation of safety nets and makes people more willing to migrate (Thomas-Hope, 1999). Another international migratory pattern that has long existed in Latin America and the Caribbean involves intraregional flows, primarily into Argentina, Venezuela and Costa Rica from other neighbouring or nearby countries.

Figure 4
BRAZIL: NET RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION RATES BY AGE AND SEX, 1990-1995



Source: ECLAC, on the basis of calculations performed using indirect estimation procedures (inter-censal survival ratios).

Box 4

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Up until the mid-1970s, migration in Central America was almost entirely composed of domestic or intraregional movements that were spurred by localized job requirements or structural changes, such as the mechanization of agriculture and the emergence of infant industries in urban areas. The bulk of the international migration that did take place was between neigbouring countries and was temporary in nature, since it was associated with fluctuations in agricultural exporters' demand for labour. By the same token, most of these migrants were low-skill farmworkers.

Since that time, emigration from Central America has undergone a radical change in terms of numbers, routes, origins, destinations, motivations, objectives and duration. The migratory pattern has become more complex; migratory flows headed away from the region (chiefly to the United States) have been consolidated, as has definitive migration, refugees who have fled from violence, and the migration of women and entire households or families. Back-and-forth flows between border-area labour markets certainly continue, but they are no longer the primary manifestation of international population movements.

There has been no return flow of migrants on a mass scale since this subregion's internal sociopolitical conflicts have been resolved. Refugees in nearby countries have tended to return, but those who went to countries outside the region (particularly to the United States, Canada, Australia and Sweden) have not. These people's decision not to return can be accounted for by the persistence of the social and economic gap existing between their Central American countries of origin and the developed host countries, since the advent of peace and democracy has not resolved the severe social and economic problems plaguing these countries.

The spectacular increase in Central American emigration and its diversification have had a strong influence on the settlement patterns of these countries and have sparked a veritable revolution in the expectations of migrants and in the reconfiguration of migratory processes, which now include direct routes to the United States as well as other staged routes involving stopovers in Mexico. The networks formed between those who have left and those who have stayed behind have boosted migratory propensities. Many of these networks link one urban area with another, and emigration to the United States therefore appears to be exerting a substantial influence on demographic and sociocultural change in Central America's cities.

Source: ECLAC, Population Division - Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE), *Latin America: Urban and Rural Population Projections, 1970-2025*, Demographic Bulletin, year 32, No. 63 (LC/G.2052; LC/DEM/G.183), Santiago, Chile, January 1999; M. Castillo and S. Palma, "Central American international emigration: trends and impacts", *Emigration Dynamics in Developing Countries, Volume III, Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean*, Reginald Appleyard (ed.), Aldershot, Hampshire, United Kingdom, Ashgate, 1999, pp. 285-334 .

In 1990, 48% of all international migrants in the region were women (Daeren, 2000). These women generally have lower living standards, are employed as domestic servants or in the services sector, and have less access to social security and health care. Many of these flows take the form of cross-border emigration (Peruvians emigrating to Chile, Paraguayans emigrating to Argentina, etc.), although the number of women who emigrate from the region (United States, Europe) to work as domestic servants is steadily rising as well. Recent data also indicate that highly skilled women are also emigrating to take high-quality, well-paid positions in host countries.

III. Social integration

In the context of the progress made and the challenges yet to be faced in the struggle against poverty and inequity, human settlement policies have contributed to the establishment of a fairer and more integrated society in Latin America and the Caribbean. Actions in this field have ranged from those focusing mainly on distribution to other more complex types of programmes. The more general and well-known types of efforts made in this regard have been aimed at improving the distribution of urban and housing-related goods and services and have been based on targeting criteria and progressive policies. Some problems remain, however, when it comes to increasing the production of such goods and services in a manner that is commensurate with overall needs and demand. As noted below, the issues of coverage and accessibility still have to be addressed and continue to pose a major challenge for habitat policy.

1. Progress in the struggle against urban poverty

Measurements of the poverty line (ECLAC, 1999b and 2000b) show that in the late 1990s, six out of every ten poor people in Latin America lived in urban areas. Latin America is therefore the developing region that provides the clearest example of the worldwide process known as the "urbanization of poverty", which began during the 1980s (by contrast with Asia and Africa, where most of the poor population still lives in rural areas). At the same time, during the 1990s, the positive change in overall

poverty levels was mainly accounted for by trends in urban areas.[18] The recent crisis caused poverty levels to rise again during the late 1990s; although no definitive figures are available, it has been found that the decade ended with higher relative poverty levels than those recorded in the 1980s. Even the countries that had been most successful in reducing poverty were not able to make any substantial reduction indigence, especially in rural areas.

Although urban poverty levels vary from country to country, poverty is usually more widespread in secondary cities than in metropolitan areas. High levels of rural poverty and the slow rate at which it has declined pose the risk that urban poverty may increase again as a result of migration in less urbanized countries where rural areas still account for a significant percentage of the population (Bolivia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Paraguay). This is also true of subnational units with large rural populations, where the migration of poor populations to medium-sized cities is likely to increase.

The path taken by events in some of the Caribbean economies has led to an increase in poverty levels in certain instances, although with considerable differences from country to country. In Haiti, 65% of the population lives below the poverty line, while only 8% and 5% are in that situation in Barbados and the Bahamas (see table A-7 of the annex). Most of the countries have implemented poverty eradication plans which include job creation and training programmes.

In general, the progress made in the struggle against poverty in Latin America has been associated with a steady increase in public resources for social spending, which rose from 10.1% of GDP in 1990-1991 to 12.5% in 1996-1997, and with improvements in targeting and in the effectiveness and efficiency of social programmes. With respect to habitat, efforts have mainly focused on helping urban families gain access to equity capital (for example, a dwelling) since this, along with improvements in income and in the employment situation, can help break the cycle by which poverty is reproduced (ECLAC 1999b and 2000a). To a large extent, the serious problem of rural poverty in the region is due to the lack of basic services and to inequalities in land distribution. Human settlement policies have addressed the isolation of the rural population through projects such as those designed to bring certain services to small rural villages.

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[18] During the 1980s, the worsening of social conditions in cities was the main factor contributing to the countries' impoverishment. In 1990-1997, urban poverty (measured as the percentage of poor households) fell from 35% to 30%, while in the rural areas it declined from 58% to 54%.

Box 5

TRENDS IN POVERTY AND UNMET BASIC NEEDS DURING THE 1990s

A study of recent trends in poverty in Latin America using two parameters —inadequacy of income (as measured by the poverty-line method) and unmet basic needs (UBN)— makes it possible to establish certain specific criteria for three types of human settlements: metropolises, secondary cities and rural populations.

When poverty is measured in terms of UBN, household surveys point to the existence of fairly constant (flat) levels over the last two decades. This may be associated with the positive impact of urbanization on non-monetary indicators of well-being.

In urban areas, structural poverty (in which material lacks are coupled with low income) has been replaced, to a considerable degree, by another form of poverty that is most clearly expressed in terms of insufficient labour income. This situation is confirmed by the non-monetary indicators of human development compiled by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

Available data from household surveys for six countries covering various demographic and economic characteristics also show that between 1990 and 1997, gaps in the coverage of basic services for different social group (water and sanitation) declined in urban areas. In the case of rural areas, the data available for countries such as Chile, Honduras, Mexico and Venezuela show that poor households' access to drinking water and sanitation rose during the first half of the 1990s —although more moderately than in urban areas— except in the case of Honduras, where the increase in coverage of drinking water service in rural areas was significant. Thus, the UBN differentials by area of residence remain very high.

Although UBN measurements show that the urban poor have higher material living standards than those in rural areas, this fact should be viewed with some caution, since some unmet needs remain at persistently high levels. The fact that land is much scarcer in the urban environment leads to overcrowding. This indicator, which is rarely evaluated, is shown in the 1990s census data for four countries as being the most significant lack faced by urban populations, and ranks considerably higher than the unmet needs in material conveniences, water supply and household sanitation.

Source: Camilo Arriagada, "Pobreza urbana: nuevos escenarios y desafíos de políticas", Santiago, Chile, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 2000 (to be published in a forthcoming issue of the Medio ambiente y desarrollo series).

2. The difficult task of improving equity in the region

Although poverty has been reduced thanks to economic growth and increased social spending in all the countries of the region, national inequality indices have remained high or have actually worsened. During the 1990s, increased social spending helped improve equity in the region's

more egalitarian countries (Bolivia, Mexico and Uruguay), but did not prevent the accentuation of inequity in countries where there is a greater concentration of wealth.[19]

Studies conducted by ECLAC show that, as in the case of poverty, factors pertaining to ownership influence inequity. In the cities, in particular, access to housing and urban services has improved considerably, and this may have somewhat mitigated the negative trend in this respect. The campaigns initiated after the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) in Istanbul have been quite effective in improving the environment and living standards of the poor. In particular, the effort to guarantee secure ownership of land has been closely associated with the demands of groups that support the right to housing for all, the activation of women's right to own property and goods, and the high priority given to children in government programmes (UNCHS, 2000). Nevertheless, the sharp differences existing in terms of the quality of life and opportunities for progress enjoyed by inhabitants of different territories and cities in the region pose a serious challenge to habitat policies for the coming years.

3. Segmented cities

Within cities, socio-spatial segmentation has become more pronounced. As high-income groups move into exclusive residential areas, the poor have been driven out of some of the best urban areas. State housing initiatives have also fostered the establishment of low-income strata on the city outskirts, where the land is cheaper.

Segregation is a very negative feature of the region's cities. In most cities, high-income groups tend to isolate themselves defensively in self-sufficient neighbourhoods containing expensive dwellings, services and places of employment, so that they do not need to occupy the rest of the city or interact with other social sectors. At the same time, poor households continue to be located in outlying or high-risk areas, with substandard housing and a serious shortage of services. Deteriorating physical conditions in such areas are compounded by the inadequacy of the social services offered by poorly financed municipalities and by a lack of private investment. This has all led to a weakening of the traditional integration

[19] Uruguay may be the only country where a decline in poverty levels has been accompanied by a relatively equitable distribution of income. Even in this case, however, distribution levels are not yet as positive as they were up until 30 years ago. Cuba has maintained the most equitable income distribution of the region, and although it has experienced a significant drop in per capita consumption levels, its standard-of-living indicators have retained their characteristic evenness. In general terms, there is less inequality in the English-speaking Caribbean than in Latin America.

mechanisms —public education, public health systems, central areas for recreation and culture— that used to exist in Latin American cities.

The policies and actions that countries have carried out with a view to attenuating urban segregation have been unable to counter the strong exclusionary forces that operate in the real estate market. Some housing policies have been geared towards limiting the size of social groupings so as to avoid the concentration of large poor populations in certain areas; however, such measures have not been broadly implemented because of the difficulty of influencing the urban real estate market.[20]

4. Access to land and property

Even though the population growth rate in the region's cities is slowing down, there is still a great deal of pressure on the land owing to the expansion of demand for housing, services, equipment, recreational areas, industrial land and road systems. In Rio de Janeiro, for example, the pressure on urban land and services has not declined substantially in recent years, even though the city's population is growing very slowly, as evidenced by the statistics available in the relevant prefecture. A similar phenomenon is evident in all the major cities of the region, whose urban boundaries are rapidly encroaching on rural lands.

The limited availability of urban land for the expansion of human settlements can become a serious problem, particularly in the Caribbean islands, given their topographical limitations and the small size of some of their territories. The availability of land is further reduced by other factors, such as the absence or weakness of mechanisms for ensuring the rational distribution of land for different competing uses, the scarcity of suitable land in non-vulnerable areas (particularly for low- and middle-income families), patterns of land ownership and settlement —particularly when owners are foreigners or when very large estates (*latifundios*) are involved— and the inadequacy of titling systems.[21]

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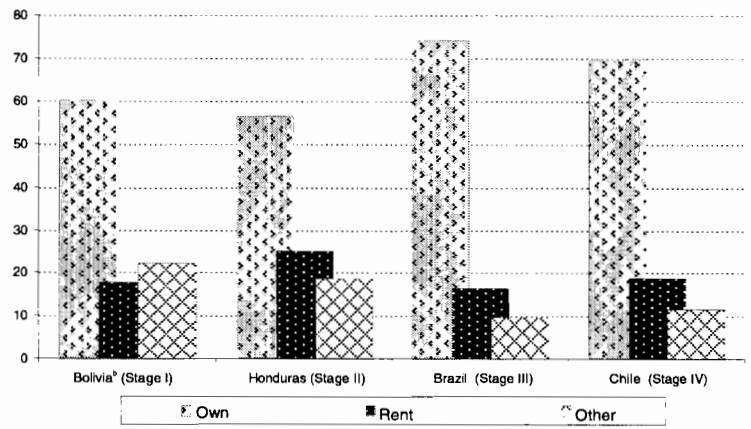
[20] In Santiago, Chile, the law provides for "conditioned urban development zones" in which private investors are required to reserve 5% of the area under development for low-income housing (Duveauchelle and others, 2000).

[21] In some islands, such as Saint Vincent, the limited availability of residential areas is reflected in high land and housing costs, which exclude lower-income families (for example, when migrants with a higher payment capacity return). Since 1996, in an effort to expand the supply of land for housing, control land prices and make land available at affordable prices for low-income housing, the Government of Barbados has been carrying out a land bank programme. The idea is to make land that is suitable for residential purposes available at below-market prices. In Saint Kitts, the State fully subsidizes the cost of land for basic housing (ECLAC Subregional Headquarters for the Caribbean, 2000b).

Land access differs for the wealthy and the poor. The market offers suitable legal and secure lands for the wealthy, who are also able to exert pressure to extend the urban boundary so as to include new areas for their use; low and very low income households, on the other hand, are forced to develop survival strategies, occupying high-risk lands on steep slopes or riverbanks (with the associated risk of flooding) or areas that are exposed to natural hazards or problems created by the city itself. Informality and uncertain land tenure have seriously limited their access to housing and prevented them from participating fully in civic affairs.

As shown in the following figure, owner occupancy is the predominant form of tenure in countries that have different patterns of urbanization and are at different stages in the demographic transition.

Figure 5
LATIN AMERICA: HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE OF TENURE.[a] SELECTED COUNTRIES, BY STAGE IN DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION
(Percentages)



Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of the results from household surveys conducted in the relevant countries.

[a] The latest years available are 1997 for Bolivia, 1998 for Honduras, 1997 for Brazil and 1998 for Chile.

[b] The data for 1998 refer to eight major cities.

Table 3 shows recent data on tenure in several Latin American countries, in all of which home ownership is quite high; nevertheless, national averages often do not reflect the situation in subnational units. This is the case with the Province of Mendoza, Argentina, where improperly documented or informal tenure is considerably higher than in the country

as a whole (Palero and Pizarro, 2000). The table also shows that there are significant percentages of renters in such countries as Colombia and the Dominican Republic as well as of tenure modalities other than ownership and rentals in the cases of Bolivia, Honduras and Uruguay.

Table 3
LATIN AMERICA: HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE OF TENURE
(*Percentages*)

Country	Year [a]	Type of home tenure		
		Own	Rent	Other
Argentina [b]	1998	75.2	15.7	9.1
Bolivia	1997	60.1	17.8	22.1
Brazil	1997	74.1	16.3	9.6
Chile	1998	69.9	18.7	11.4
Colombia	1997	60.6	34.8	4.6
Dominican Rep.	1997	58.0	34.8	7.3
El Salvador	1998	66.6	21.7	11.7
Honduras	1998	56.5	25.1	18.4
Mexico	1998	69.9	18.1	11.9
Paraguay [c]	1997	70.5	18.5	11.0
Uruguay	1998	69.3	18.0	12.6
Venezuela	1998	82.1	10.5	7.4

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of the results from household surveys conducted in the relevant countries.

[a] Latest year available. [b] Greater Buenos Aires. [c] Asunción Metropolitan Area.

Some studies indicate that informality in housing tenure has risen in certain South American cities over the last few decades (see table A-8 of the annex). In Lima and Caracas, informality rose from approximately 15% and 20% in the 1950s and early 1960s, to 35% and 50% in the 1970s and early 1990s, respectively. It is estimated that over 40%-50% of the population of Lima is now living in informal settlements. In Rio de Janeiro and Belo Horizonte, 20% of the population live in *favelas*; in São Paulo, the rate is 22%; in Salvador and Fortaleza, around 21%, and in Recife, 46%. In Quito, approximately 50% of all settlements are illegal; in 1992, there were 214 low-income *barrios*[22] in an area of 4,035 hectares, which were created as a

[22] Low-income *barrios* that have sprung up illegally cover a very high percentage of the area of Quito; this was especially true prior to 1985, when a legalization ordinance entered into force. The number and size of such areas had been rising rapidly: whereas in 1981, there were 87 *de facto* settlements covering 2,498 hectares, in 1985, there were 134 (4,545 hectares); in 1991, the figures were 202 settlements covering 3,979 hectares.

result of land take-overs and illegal subdivisions or the illegal conversion of housing cooperatives[23] or agricultural cooperatives into urban ones (Clichevsky, 2000). Finally, in Venezuela, 48% of the built-up area of the city of Maracaibo is made up of illegally-established housing (Petzold, 2000). In Venezuela, land take-overs are still a very dynamic mechanism for "producing" urban land, thanks in part to the permissive attitude of the State housing authorities, which even go so far as to grant loans to settlers that do not have title to the land they occupy.

In Central America, informality has its own particular characteristics. In San José, Costa Rica, and in San Salvador, centrally located tenements were predominant during the 1980s. After the earthquake of 1986 and in the wake of the armed conflict, the illegal land market in San Salvador became very active, and housing in *mesones* (tenements) fell from 31.7% in 1971 to 8.6% by the late 1980s. Because of the difficulty of reconstructing the central urban system, many people moved from such tenements to illegally-established subdivisions.

Home ownership in the Caribbean is generally high (between 60% and 80%). Land ownership, however, is considerably lower; in some islands, land is mostly public or belongs to the British Crown, and the legal certainty of land tenure is therefore not an issue. There is a high level of uncertainty in connection with rental dwellings located on large plantations, however (ECLAC Subregional Headquarters for the Caribbean, 2000b).

The activism seen in the past as movements were formed to demand access to urban land dropped off sharply during the 1990s as urban growth slowed down and there was less and less land that could be taken over.[24] Progress towards greater political democracy has also made it possible to deal with certain urban conflicts by non-confrontational means and to increase collaboration between settlers and the authorities.[25] These demands were aimed mainly at obtaining urban services (water, roads, transport, educational and health infrastructure, waste disposal) and a greater role in decision-making at the municipal level.

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[23] These cooperatives are legally established organizations.

[24] In 1976, for example, the slum districts in Lima had an average population of 3,214, but by 1997 this figure had fallen to 1,324 as a more scattered pattern of the informal appropriation of land took shape.

[25] The Mexican Government has adopted a policy of ensuring the legal certainty of tenure for settlements through programmes whereby title deeds are issued on a mass basis. This has lowered the cost of notarization by more than 1,000%. In recent years, an effort has been made to include urban land located on *ejidos* and communal property in order to discourage informal and high-risk settlements, to relocate existing ones in protected areas and to regularize settlements that are located on suitable lands, thus preventing land speculation (Government of the United Mexican States, 2000).

Nonetheless, housing tenure in most Latin American and Caribbean cities is still subject to a high level of legal uncertainty. In some cases, there has been a gradual consolidation of informal settlements.[26] In other cases, ownership remains ambiguous, which creates a considerable degree of uncertainty for settlers and hinders progress in housing and urban development. As the experiences of a number of cities demonstrate, this unstable balance can easily be upset by natural disasters, pressure on real estate or electoral processes. Consequently, even though it is not now a high-conflict political issue, there is an urgent need for the region to address the issue posed by settlements whose legal status is in question.

The experience of the 1990s also shows that there is a significant relationship between territorial dynamics and land tenure in rural areas. Indeed, the legal certainty of land tenure has been fundamental to encouraging investment in the agricultural sector in countries such as El Salvador.[27] Moreover, giving young people access to land ownership could improve their opportunities and discourage migration, and must be considered a priority in actions aimed at improving access for small farmers to land ownership.

Table 4 lists those actions that appear to warrant a high priority in view of the present land tenure situation in Latin America and the Caribbean (UNCHS, 2000).[28]

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[26] In Trinidad and Tobago, the Land Settlement Agency was created in June 1999; as of this date, it has regularized the situation of over 7,000 families. The Government of Saint Kitts is currently implementing a programme for improving low-income neighbourhoods in rundown areas, such as Irish Town, McKnight, Newtown and Market Street (ECLAC Subregional Headquarters for the Caribbean, 2000b).

[27] Legally certain land tenure gives owners the assurance that they will receive a return on their investments and thus creates incentives for investment in production infrastructure and inputs. Moreover, possessing title makes it possible to use land as collateral to obtain financing, thus facilitating access to working capital for landowners and land transfers. However, the issuance of land deeds is not enough, in and of itself, to galvanize the agricultural sector unless it is accompanied by investment opportunities, access to financing and inputs, and other factors.

[28] In many countries, a number of obstacles prevent women from having access to and control over housing, even though some countries have implemented programmes or policies that incorporate the gender perspective, as noted in box 6.

Box 6

MEASURES AND ACTIONS FOR IMPROVING GENDER EQUITY IN ACCESS TO HOUSING

As the regional focal point for all activities in follow up to regional and global agreements relating to gender equity and the advancement of women, ECLAC has developed a system of indicators to be used in monitoring developments concerning the housing situation of women as compared to that of men. The following two indicators have been proposed:

1. An indicator of equality of access to social housing programmes for families with both spouses and for women with no spouse.
2. An indicator of the gender gap in home ownership for poor households, calculated as the difference between the percentage of female heads of household with no spouse who own the home where they live, minus the percentage of male heads of household with no spouse who own the home they live in.

Only a few countries made any use of these indicators in the country reports submitted in connection with the review of the agreements included in the Beijing Platform for Action and the Regional Programme of Action for the Women of Latin America and the Caribbean, 1995-2001. **Ecuador** measured access to social housing programmes by gender and found that in a universe of over 11,000 applications for low-income housing, 6,300 had been awarded. Of these, only 30.5% had been given to women (no reference was made to the existence of a spouse, as recommended by ECLAC). **Argentina** measured the gender gap indicator in terms of individuals who owned the home they lived in and found the overall gap to amount to -1.9; the gap in the poorest quartile was -0.4, while in the wealthiest quartile it was -6.5. This indicates that the situation is unfavourable for all women, particularly in higher-income households. Argentina also has a programme for vulnerable groups which helps find housing for female heads of poor households who have no spouse and have children. **Colombia** runs a home improvement programme in urban areas for female heads of poor households. In **Costa Rica**, around 40,000 housing bonds (*bonos de vivienda*) were awarded between 1990 and 1997 to poor households headed by women landowners to help them finance the construction of dwellings. In **Mexico**, the special housing loan and subsidy programme targets women heads of household, including both wage earners and self-employed women. In **Saint Vincent** there are programmes that provide economic support to women for use in housing construction, and in **Suriname**, women have priority access to low-income housing. In **Venezuela**, 40% of the housing units awarded over the last 35 years by the Directorate of Sanitation Works were given to female heads of household.

Between 1995 and 1999, Mexico implemented housing programmes that took gender equity into account. For example, in 1998, the National Worker Housing Fund Institute (INFONAVIT) amended its lending rules so as to grant additional points to single female heads of household and facilitate their access to loan programmes. During the period in question, more than one million loans were granted, and in 2000, the number of home loans made available by the institution has increased by almost 8% with respect to 1996.

Source: ECLAC, Women and Development Unit. Summary based on country reports presented at the eighth session of the Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean, Lima, February 2000.

Table 4

CURRENT SITUATION AND LINES OF ACTION FOR THE SECURE TENURE CAMPAIGN

Situation in the region	Possible action
Promote mass regularization and/or improvement programmes for settlements of uncertain status	
– Some countries adopt rules for awarding title deeds for properties in informal, improvised settlements, but the extent to which they are applied depends on the political will of national and local authorities. – Some large municipalities have undertaken *barrio* improvement programmes, usually with loans from international banks. – In other regions, governments prefer to relocate squatters in new developments.	– Promote broader application of rules allowing for the regularization of informal settlements. – Promote comprehensive *barrio* improvement policies and programmes based primarily on the mobilization of domestic financial resources. – Encourage greater participation of squatter organizations in relocation programmes.
Encourage the adoption of appropriate legal frameworks and the operation of national/local institutions	
– In most countries, national housing legislation includes provisions relating to the legal and physical regularization of settlements. The problem lies in how they are applied. – Legal and institutional bottlenecks include overlapping and ambiguities regarding the jurisdictions of local and national governments in the area of land management and regularization.	– Comparative study of legislation relating to housing and residential tenure, and compilation of best practices relating to regulations and legal procedures. – Support for harmonization of jurisdictions among different levels of government. – Support for development of human and institutional capabilities in local and national entities.
Guarantee gender equality and prevent discrimination in connection with the right to housing and secure tenure	
– In most countries progress has been made in terms of legal frameworks providing recognition of women's ownership and inheritance rights, but practices and mechanisms remain that limit their actual application. – The most vulnerable groups are women, poor youth, indigenous populations, Afro-Americans and migrants, whose access to housing and secure tenure is limited.	– Documentation of national cases where there is still discrimination in access to housing and secure residential tenure on the basis of gender, age, nationality, ethnic origin or religion. – Promotion of affirmative action to protect and guarantee the rights of vulnerable groups. – Establishment of systems for monitoring and following up on indicators that specifically focus on these population groups.

Table 4 (concl.)

Situation in the region	Possible action
Prevent forceful eviction, establish rules for eviction in cases when it is in the public interest, risks, development projects	
– Forceful evictions are no longer conducted on a mass scale and are not frequent; on some occasions they may reflect circumstances associated with election cycles. – The main cases: take-overs during election campaigns, disasters, armed conflict, infrastructure works, urban renewal.	– Monitoring and documentation of the main cases in each country, with special attention to responses by government actors and the media. – Development of civic mediation procedures and mechanisms and appropriate treatment of evictions in cases when it is in the public interest or when it is required for development projects.
Encourage regulatory frameworks for the urban land market through functional and transparent land registry systems and public access to information	
– Greater interest and awareness of municipal authorities in planning land use and modernization of land registries, along with development of more user-friendly and less costly technologies, provide opportunities for innovative experiments.	– Support for modernization of land registry systems, through joint efforts of municipalities and the relevant national agencies. – Encourage the establishment of public information systems, urban regulations and real estate markets.
Supplement measures for ensuring secure tenure with programmes for providing access to basic services and financing	
– Few countries are consistently implementing comprehensive urban improvement and housing programmes. Most resources and efforts are devoted to narrow programmes that focus simply on providing a plot of land and a roof.	– Support for the design and execution of comprehensive urban improvement and housing programmes that include an adequate supply of services, access to financing that does not represent an undue burden and the use of appropriate technologies.
Promote the adoption, over the medium term, of an international agreement to consolidate, expand and structure international rules relating to the right to housing	
– International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; regional institution for the protection of human rights and/or work on the development of rules.	– Promote national, subregional and regional forums on the right to housing and the need to move towards the adoption of international rules in this field.

Source: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), "Hipótesis de trabajo para una estrategia regional de la campaña por seguridad en la tenencia: analizando la pertinencia y relevancia regional de los ejes conceptuales y operativos de la Campaña Global pro Seguridad en la Tenencia para Vivienda", Rio de Janeiro, Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean, 2000.

5. Few changes in housing patterns

Despite the countries' efforts to improve the housing situation, serious shortages remain, especially among the poorest sectors of the population.[29] In earlier studies, ECLAC has estimated the need for housing in the region at approximately 38 million units (MacDonald and others, 1998). Approximately 45% of this figure represents the quantitative shortage, while the remainder represents the number of units that need to be repaired or improved. It will not be possible to update this estimate until new census data become available in the next few years. Nonetheless, it appears that the annual need for new dwellings has continued to rise despite the slowdown in population growth, especially in the cities, as households now tend to be smaller. Also, the increase in new forms of residential association, in addition to the typical nuclear family that had been the prevalent form in previous decades, has created a more diverse demand even among lower-income households. Finally, in some countries there has been an increase in the number of dwellings that need to be replaced. This is particularly true of the low-income housing stock; this situation is due to the lack of adequate technical specifications and the absence of maintenance programmes, all of which has shortened the useful life of many housing developments built after the 1950s.[30]

The public- and private-sector supply has not increased substantially during the last 10 years and thus continues to fall short of the demand generated by the formation of new households.[31] The sector responsible for producing low-income housing is plagued by a chronic shortage of funds that is associated with a continuing downturn in spending on housing since the 1980s and with the fluctuating levels of expenditure in this sector. In the new economic and fiscal context of the 1990s, there are very few governments in the region whose macroeconomic position is such that they are able to maintain housing policies based on conventional production

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[29] It should be noted, however, that countries such as Chile made significant progress during the decade in reducing the housing shortage. In that country, production rose from 79,000 units per year in 1990 to 144,000 in 1996. In the social sector, the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development of Chile added 912,000 dwellings to the housing stock through the granting of building contracts and subsidies, thereby reducing the housing deficit to half the level of the early 1990s.

[30] In Venezuela, for example, housing projects that were built during the 1950s and 1960s are of superior quality in terms of services, facilities and construction materials than those being built today. Thus, the dwellings that were built earlier, which are now 40 or 50 years old, are becoming obsolete at the same time as more recent ones, which will inevitably have a shorter useful life.

[31] In Maracaibo, Venezuela, for example, 18,170 housing units were built between 1990 and 1997, during a period when 48,207 new housing units were needed. Thus, the net deficit is estimated to have increased by 63% (Petzold, 2000).

methods. Nevertheless, they are reluctant to acknowledge this limitation when the meagre figures for annual production of low-income housing are compared with those showing the needs of the poorest households. Many countries still hold to the sectoral policies of past decades, such as those involving the use of payroll deductions or pension plans, or they apply high standards that are not compatible with the low incomes of the poorest households.[32]

Other housing programmes have had to rely on funds from external sources, be they multinational banks or bilateral cooperation agencies. These sources have sometimes made the provision of funds conditional upon the adoption of more realistic standards, such as programmes that provide lots with service hook-ups and incremental dwellings, and procedures for combating poverty, such as territorial targeting and coordination with health, education, employment and other programmes. External cooperation and credit clearly play a major role in the development of housing policies in the region, as they have supported or helped initiate most of the programmatic innovations in the sector. The technical assistance that comes with financial cooperation has made it possible to transfer innovative techniques for improving efficiency to the region and to individual countries. However, such programmes have not always been successful over the long term. Cooperation for specific purposes, such as in providing relief in the wake of natural disasters in Central America, has not produced sustainable policies on low-income housing. Moreover, cooperation has promoted —and sometimes even imposed— stereotyped intervention models that may have been successful in some countries but are not necessarily appropriate in others, at least not without carefully-designed adjustments. In view of the declining interest to be observed on the part of external cooperation agencies in channelling resources to the region as they concentrate on aiding the poor countries of Asia and Africa instead, programmes that depend on these sources of funding may be downscaled in most countries, except perhaps in emergency situations. Under these circumstances, the region needs to make a greater effort to develop sustainable human settlements policies.

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[32] In the case of Venezuela, standards for housing are so high that as much as 60%-80% of the cost of a dwelling have to be subsidized. This limits the coverage of such programmes so much that in any given year, they only benefit one out of every 100 contributors to the fund. In addition to this meagre numerical impact, there is a dangerous regressive effect, since the poorest workers end up financing housing for a privileged few (Necochea, 2000).

6. New approaches to low-income housing policy

As a consequence of the structural changes that have taken place in Latin America and the Caribbean over the last few decades, a number of new features have been added to the housing policies that the countries of the region developed during the second half of the twentieth century. On the one hand, more realistic standards have been adopted for initial housing arrangements in the context of comprehensive, progressive and participatory settlement programmes. In Mexico, for example, lots equipped with service hook-ups, as well as self-help housing construction and temporary job programmes, have been provided for low-income families. This has made it possible to expand access to housing by means of joint arrangements in which both the government and society participate. In addition, in coordination with state and municipal governments, the Programa de Lotes con Traza Urbana (urban lots programme) provides low-income families with the opportunity to obtain a dwelling on soft terms (Government of the United Mexican States, 2000). In Argentina, one of the housing policy strategies used in recent years has been aimed at increasing the role played by civil society organizations in habitat improvement and in helping people to meet their own basic needs. These programmes are designed to promote the development of highly vulnerable population groups (indigenous groups, *criollos*, rural population groups in areas where unmet needs are endemic, poor households in substandard settlements, etc.) by helping them to resolve their housing problems based on arrangements under which the beneficiaries provide inputs of labour, land or other resources and by promoting job creation (Government of the Argentine Republic, 2000).

There have also been changes in the financial arrangements that exist for providing low-income households with access to housing. Since traditional models of home finance based on fixed nominal interest rates, set payments and set terms and conditions within a context of high inflation were not adequately meeting the needs of the poorest sectors, in some cases housing policies have switched over to three-pronged financing schemes consisting of State subsidies, prior savings and mortgage loans. The programmes implemented in Chile, Colombia and Costa Rica are interesting examples of such market-oriented demand-side subsidization policies in the housing sector. Comparative studies conducted by ECLAC provide some valuable conclusions as to how these reforms may be further refined and transferred to other countries (Held, 2000).

The management of housing policy based on direct subsidization programmes has called for a considerable effort in two particular aspects. In the first place, care must be taken to reach the targeted group of

beneficiaries, which has proven to be a particularly complex task.[33] The screening mechanisms used must be transparent and objective, so as to ensure that the people who obtain the subsidies are fully aware of their options and meet the eligibility requirements. In addition, the subsidies must be progressive and give priority to the most needy households.[34] The level of funds available for subsidies, as well as its sustainability over time, is an important aspect to be considered. These resources must allow for adequate coverage, and the subsidies provided must be in line with income levels and housing costs.[35]

Although the advance-saving component has not yet been fully incorporated into housing policies in the region, it has been useful in assessing the willingness of families to solve their housing problems and to transfer some of their financial efforts to the application process. This could lower default rates, which are a matter of concern in the various countries. In Chile, Colombia and Costa Rica, savings requirements have been explicitly established as a factor in setting priorities for the selection of beneficiaries; this system has operated continuously only in Chile, however. To prevent savings requirements from limiting access to the system for lower-income families,[36] realistic amounts and maturities need to be set within the context of a sound financial system that ensures the profitability, security and liquidity of the funds.[37]

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[33] In Costa Rica, for example, the first two wage strata have been targeted, but this has been done at the expense of the next higher income strata, which has entailed problems in terms of market segmentation and the neglect of middle-income sectors. Colombia's programmes also target the two lowest wage categories, but leave out the higher segments. The Chilean experiment with a diversified range of "windows", consisting of 13 programmes offering different levels of subsidies has allowed for a more integrated access system, at least in theory, but serious problems remain with regard to the targeting of urban centres in which there is no supply for certain income strata.

[34] In order to meet this requirement, housing subsidies for the extremely poor in some countries may cover up to 100% of the price of the housing unit, but only part of the cost for income strata above that level. The subsidies are supplemented with advance savings and mortgage loans.

[35] The experiences of Chile and Costa Rica indicate that the public resources required for this purpose amount to around 1% of GDP.

[36] The possible exclusionary effect of requiring poor families to contribute savings also applies to the mortgage loans that are usually a component of low-income housing programmes. It should be noted, however, that in many countries the difficulties that beneficiaries might have in meeting loan payments is not taken into account, and high-risk loans are often granted.

[37] This entails establishing some sort of indexing system or allowing for variable nominal interest rates that reflect both the scarcity of funds and expected inflation. The countries that have adopted this scheme successfully (such as Colombia and Chile) have used systems whereby assets and liabilities are expressed in a common unit of account the value of which is adjusted for inflation.

Mortgage loans are the third component of the region's low-income housing policies. Both conventional policies and policy reforms have attached fundamental importance to this component of financing. At present, the preferred approach is to provide these loans on hard terms, with mortgage payments being indexed for inflation. This sometimes has a political cost, however, especially at the beginning, as beneficiaries see their instalment payments increasing month after month.

The countries of the region have encountered two major problems in connection with these kinds of mortgages: a shortage of medium- and long-term funds, and the shortcomings of the financial market. This has made it necessary for the State to take action to protect funds against inflation and thus minimize the uncertainty generated by high rates of inflation. Moreover, financial markets have had to be deepened in order to expand the long-term capital market, and thus increase the supply of medium- and long-term funds, and to create a secondary mortgage market.[38] Other efforts have been geared towards expanding the activities of commercial banks to include mortgage loans, establishing explicit rules concerning collateral, creating an insurance scheme that includes mortgage insurance and devising procedures for dealing with insolvency. Consideration has also been given to the option of subsidizing the cost of transactions in cases where commercial banks show little interest in such transactions because of their relatively high operating costs.

High default rates are another problem that many countries have had to face. It is therefore important to adopt realistic standards that will enable households to repay the financing that is not covered by subsidies and to tie ownership of subsidized dwellings to loan repayment performance. Mortgage insurance has been proposed in order to protect mortgage lenders against involuntary defaults resulting from unemployment during a recession or significant drops in a debtor's income relative to the amount of the loan.

Over the last few years, another tool has been developed for mobilizing resources for the housing sector: the securitization or sale of loans or mortgages on the stock market. This involves the bundling of individual loans or mortgage assets having a given payment schedule and using them to back up an issue of standardized securities that can be traded

[38] In Chile, the pension reforms implemented in 1981 created a huge source of long-term liquid funds and spurred the growth of the life insurance industry. This led to a dramatic expansion of the capital market. The reform of the housing system has led to the creation of mortgage instruments and endorseable mortgage loans, which are necessary to finance this activity. This attests to the importance of developing these agents (pension funds and insurance companies). Reforms in this area do not necessarily have to follow along the same lines as those implemented in Chile, of course.

on the secondary market and purchased by institutional investors that need long-term financial investment instruments.

Some developments in the housing finance market may set the stage for a supranational regime in the region in the near future. For example, the shortage of funds for home finance throughout the Caribbean islands is such that most countries have only been able to meet between 25% and 30% of the yearly demand. Although there are incipient markets for secondary mortgage loans, the small size of these markets in the individual countries suggests that such programmes would probably be more successful if managed at the regional level.[39]

7. Required adjustments

Housing policies in the region have placed so much emphasis on finance that there has been a tendency to overlook other important modifications that could improve the efficiency and effectiveness of housing programmes. National programmes are almost always geared, either explicitly or implicitly, towards facilitating the purchase of new homes, but do not consider other options, such as the improvement or expansion of existing homes. This is a shortcoming of programmes both in the less urbanized countries where the main problem is a qualitative deficit[40] and in those countries where urban dynamics have accelerated mobility and changed lifestyles. There have been many obstacles to the use of subsidies for home improvement, despite the fact that quality problems account for a high percentage of the housing deficit. In practice, reforms have continued to follow the conventional pattern of addressing the quantitative deficit by building large housing projects rather than providing options that take into account the growing need for flexibility and rehabilitation of the region's urban areas.[41]

Experience has also shown that in order for demand-side subsidies to be successful, the supply side must also be taken into account. Care must be taken to ensure the existence of an entrepreneurial and technological base

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[39] The Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) is seeking funding for this purpose from the Eastern Caribbean Central Bank.

[40] The case of Bolivia is an example of the fact that in urban sectors, the quantitative deficit is a greater problem, whereas in rural areas, the problem is more one of quality. The Bolivian Government is setting up a demand-subsidy programme as a pilot project aimed at addressing the qualitative deficit (Jaldin, 2000).

[41] The more conventional loan-based programmes are being altered to provide greater opportunities for home improvements. In Mendoza Province, Argentina, loans for expansion and improvement have increased. During the year 2000, 17% of services will be for improvements, which is significantly greater than in other cases (Palero and Pizarro, 2000).

that is willing and able to operate on the low-income housing market.[42] Another important issue is that of finding land at prices that are in line with the cost ceiling for low-income housing. The absence of efficient mechanisms for ensuring that suitable land is available has significantly raised the cost of dwellings and thus also affects coverage and targeting policies. This has also reinforced the tendency to locate low-income housing on the outskirts of cities, which has exacerbated segregation and increased the cost of building low-income settlements. State intervention in the implementation of land policies still falls short of what is needed. Colombia has found a way to transfer part of the infrastructure costs incurred by the Government to landowners; this is done by charging a percentage of the value added of the land in question. In a number of countries, new programmes for improving and increasing the density of settlements are aimed at meeting the need for low-income housing without requiring the purchase of more land.

Box 7

LOW-INCOME HOUSING POLICIES IN CHILE, COLOMBIA AND COSTA RICA

In the late 1970s, **Chile** began to implement a market-oriented housing policy that provided for demand-side subsidies. This new policy has proven useful and has been well received by applicants for housing subsidies. An objective and transparent point system takes into account advance savings requirements and the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of households. The Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, through its Housing and Urban Development Service (SERVIU), regulates and monitors compliance with standards for low-income housing, administers the housing subsidy programme, provides incremental basic housing as a "subsidiary" measure for households and individuals with very low incomes, and grants them loans. It also provides guarantees for mortgages for low-income housing in order to encourage private banks to enter this market. Private companies play a major role in the construction of low-income housing and help organize demand for such housing. Banks and other financial institutions handle special housing savings accounts and the mortgage loans needed to supplement home finance (the latter are processed by selling mortgage bonds and mutual funds on the capital market). The demand-subsidy system has encouraged production and increased access to low-income housing, thus significantly reducing the housing deficit. Among the factors that limit the effectiveness of this policy is the shortage of land for low-income dwellings.

[42] The existence of attractive business opportunities at the high end of the housing market has discouraged the supply sector from building low-income housing even though the demand is there.

Box 7 (concl.)

In 1991, **Colombia** developed a two-pronged policy on low-income housing which entailed the creation of the National Institute for Low-income Housing and Urban Renewal (INURBE) and the establishment of a system of demand-side subsidies. INURBE, which is the public institution in charge of the new low-income housing policy, regulates the subsidy system, administers subsidies for low-income sectors and provides technical assistance to local agencies and organizations involved in low-income housing programmes. The family allowances fund and private agencies manage subsidies for households with incomes ranging between twice and four times the minimum wage. The funds are provided by workers' payroll deductions. In 1997, a land policy was established for low-income housing that sets Colombia apart from Chile and Costa Rica. The new housing policy has been consolidated since it was first launched, but it still has not played a major role in reducing housing deficits because of the inadequate amount of public resources available for subsidies (Held, 2000).

In 1986, **Costa Rica** created the National Home Finance System (SFNV), which was designed to take advantage of the potential offered by home finance institutions and instruments. The Home Mortgage Bank (BANVHI) is the public agency responsible for administering SFNV; its duties are: (a) to channel funds for low-cost housing to the authorized first-tier agencies (banks, savings and loan cooperatives, and savings and loans), and (b) to administer the Housing Subsidy Fund (FUSOVI), which is funded out of the public budget for housing subsidies. BANVHI allocates these subsidies through certain authorized agencies. The distinctive features of SFNV include demand-side subsidies to heads of household, the granting of mortgages to heads of household on market terms, and the construction of dwellings by private-sector companies and agencies. The new low-income housing policy has allowed for flexible joint action on the part of the public and private sectors, which has led to a sizeable increase in the supply of low-income housing and a significant reduction in the quantitative housing deficit. The programme is currently faced with new challenges, including the need to adjust the relevant regulations and objectives so as to strengthen the programme financially and, from the institutional standpoint; the need to address the growing qualitative housing deficit and to promote the development of a secondary market for low-income housing. The capital market also needs to be developed further so that long-term funds can be obtained for mortgage loans.

Source: Günter Held, *Políticas de viviendas de interés social orientadas al mercado: experiencias recientes con subsidios a la demanda en Chile, Costa Rica y Colombia*, Financiamiento del desarrollo series, No. 96 (LC/L.1382-P), Santiago, Chile, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), June 2000. United Nations publication, Sales No. S.00.II.G.55.

Finally, it is important to mention a new challenge to housing policy that has arisen only recently. In many countries, especially those that have produced a significant amount of low-income housing over the last few decades, large segments of the housing stock are deteriorating and becoming obsolete, and no programmes have been put in place for the maintenance or rehabilitation of such dwellings and community facilities. Urban dynamics have led to significant changes in the lifestyles and expectations of low-income sectors that have not been taken into account in the design, grouping and location of low-income housing. Policy makers are beginning to realize that flexibility in housing policy design is not enough, but that they must also take into account the mobility of low-income sectors. In countries such as Chile, subsidies can now be used to purchase used dwellings. Over the next few years, there will be a need for a secondary market in low-income housing; up to now, the necessary instruments for this purpose have not been available.

IV. Economic progress

There is no question that the fast pace of change in the economies of the region during the 1990s was a reflection of many of the major changes taking place in the region in general and in its urban centres in particular. Paradoxically, sectoral policy has been slow to recognize and take advantage of these forces in order to promote the balanced development of human settlements. In most cases, policies have not reflected economic change or have come too late to attenuate negative effects. There are only a few cases in which urban land management policy has been forward-looking enough to welcome change or channel it in a way that will promote the balanced development of the region's territory.

1. Growth, liberalization, productivity and territory

During the 1990s, Latin America experienced a new spurt of growth. GDP grew at a higher rate than it had during the previous decade (3.2% per year between 1990 and 2000, compared with 1% during the 1980s). The Caribbean experienced a similar phenomenon, although its average growth rate has continued to be somewhat lower (2% during the 1990s, compared with 0.1% during the 1980s) (ECLAC, 2000b).[43]

[43] Nevertheless, average growth in the region is still not fast enough to close the gap between it and the more developed countries or to overcome the serious problem of

Considerable progress has also been made towards opening up the economies of the region. Although the Latin American and Caribbean region still accounts for only about 5% of global exports, the actual volume of exports has grown at the fastest rate in the history of the region (8.9% per year between 1990 and 1999). This is a sign that the Latin American and Caribbean economies are truly becoming a part of the world economy, even though progress in diversifying exports has been patchy and generally inadequate. At the same time, more vigorous intraregional trade has led to the formation or revitalization of economic integration and free trade agreements, most notably two subregional agreements —the Southern Common Market (Mercosur) and the Andean Community (with annual growth rates of 22% and 19% between 1990 and 1998, respectively)— and, although showing somewhat slower growth, the Central American Common Market and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM). The positive trend in foreign direct investment has also helped further the region's integration into the world economy. Factors contributing to this process have included the deregulation of resource-intensive sectors, the privatization of sectors that had traditionally been reserved for the State, the use of free trade agreements or of trade preferences granted by more industrialized countries or regions, and the restructuring of production sectors. Production patterns changed during the 1990s as foreign investment increased, a large number of transnational corporations appeared on the scene, the privatization process followed its course, and small and medium-sized businesses struggled for survival. The development of industrial clusters in the region has also influenced the way in which settlements have evolved.

This greater stability and openness has certainly strengthened the economic position of many cities and has fostered a greater awareness of the importance of ensuring that urban areas are functional from the standpoint of globalization. Urban growth has led to substantial investments in real estate and infrastructure, although these types of projects are still subject to the economic cycles of the individual countries. At the same time, progress in information technology and the growth of a diverse and complex services sector have helped change the territorial dynamics of urban areas. As mentioned earlier, however, urban land management policies have not yet taken full advantage of the opportunity to provide leadership for the processes of growth, liberalization and changing production patterns that have taken place throughout the region or to keep step with them. By the same token, these policies have done little to compensate for some of the weaknesses of recent economic processes,

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poverty in Latin America and the Caribbean. In order to achieve that, the region would have to grow at an annual rate of between 6% and 7%.

including the slow pace of improvements in productivity and many economies' inability to generate enough high-quality jobs.[44]

In the region's urban centres, differences in the population's living conditions and quality of life have sharpened, and there has been an increase in dysfunctional social behaviour, including urban violence, segregation and the deterioration of social harmony and interaction.

In the coming years, economic liberalization and globalization will pose new challenges for policy-making on territorial issues. The main challenge will be to find ways to prevent national and subregional territories from being divided up into, on the one hand, integrated units experiencing rapid growth and, on the other, units that continue to be bypassed by such progress. Thus, new economic dynamics need to be used to improve the region's territorial balance, and the urban system needs to be transformed into a more efficient and competitive structure that will be more attractive to global investment and will, at the same time, foster an atmosphere that is more people-friendly, environmentally sustainable and socially equitable. At the same time, the regions that have lagged behind will need to be strengthened through compensatory support mechanisms. Some countries of the region have already made progress in strengthening their territorial management mechanisms. In Mexico, for example, federalism has been strengthened so as to allow state and local governments to take the initiative in pursuing development projects, comprehensive land management programmes and programmes aimed at promoting ecological management as an environmental policy tool. A federal inter-agency coordination mechanism has been set up to promote sustainable development in priority regions (defined as rural micro-regions), and an effort is being made to consolidate a management mechanism for coordinating state initiatives with a sustainable development strategy at the national and regional levels (Government of the United Mexican States, 2000). Trinidad and Tobago has adopted a growth pole strategy for the its cities and has identified sectors for diversified development (agriculture, industry, trade, housing, recreation and services) with a view to narrowing the gap between urban and rural areas (ECLAC Subregional Headquarters for the Caribbean, 2000b). Cuba has updated its urban plans for provincial capitals and cities of national

[44] In fact, open unemployment rose by nearly three percentage points during the 1990s; this happened quite suddenly in some countries, particularly during the Mexican crisis of 1995 and during the economic crisis of the Asian countries in the late 1990s. Indicators of a deterioration in job quality are even more telling, as evidenced by the relative growth of employment in low-productivity sectors, especially the informal sector. These problems arose during a period when conditions were favourable for increasing employment and productivity, as the working-age population was growing rapidly, household dependency rates were falling, and women were in a better position to participate in the labour market.

importance and has brought them all under the umbrella of a general territorial and urban management plan that is regional in scope. The plan assigns those cities identified as playing an important role in terms of the country's land management scheme a territorial role and identifies their strengths and weaknesses as they relate to the development or growth process (Government of the Republic of Cuba, 2000).

2. Reassessment of the role of settlements as spheres for progress

During the 1970s and 1980s, there was such an upwelling of problems in the region's urban areas that the cities' prospects looked very dim; during the 1990s, however, there has been a renewed interest in and appreciation of urban areas, despite their well-known problems and limitations. There has been greater awareness of the vital role that cities can play in promoting production, innovation and adjustment to the new scenario of competition and globalization, provided they manage to improve their socio-economic environment and offer a suitable level of services, conveniences and connections. There is an increasing sense of urgency in addressing the tremendous lags in infrastructure, institutional stability and the production base that plague many urban centres and in striving to overcome the serious inequalities that exist in relation to the distribution of goods and services among residents.

From a territorial standpoint as such, as the economies of the region have become more and more a part of the global economy, patterns of urban growth have been changing in ways that favour the growth and fragmentation of cities. Recent structural and morphological changes in the region's cities may be associated with the new economic and social conditions brought about by globalization. These changes have also been influenced by new modalities of urban management which include the deregulation and privatization of certain areas of production and services, the reduction of State investments and the political decentralization or deconcentration of jurisdictions or areas of responsibility in this regard (De Mattos, 1999). All this has set the scene for the growth of urban centres as part of a process that has been spurred by the real estate industry and that fact that a large percentage of the population has access to motor vehicles. The combination of these factors has heightened urban polarization and social segregation, and has opened the way for the appearance of all the myriad external signs of globalization, such as business centres, real-estate megaprojects, industrial parks, malls, large hotels and buildings, and gated residential complexes that are segregated from the rest of the city.

Over the next few years, the challenge for large cities will be to take better advantage of the potential benefits of globalization while minimizing its disadvantages. This also holds true for intermediate cities, which, as links with the rural environment, must take care to avoid reproducing the problems that have arisen in large cities while at the same time competing with them in the task of driving and supporting production activity. Regional and subregional associations of cities and territories will continue to play a major role in this articulation of interests and opportunities.

Recent experience indicates that the countries still need to work on balancing the goal of empowering cities as centres of progress with that of developing the nation's overall territory. In Bolivia, for example, decentralization made it possible to increase the complementarity of urban and rural territories as basic planning units at the municipal level. This allowed for a better distribution of investments in the territory and thus benefited the rural population. It should be noted, however, that the fact that local governments were responsible for managing the territories under their jurisdiction placed considerable limitations on the national government's ability to develop a more competitive structure of human settlements that would promote the economic and production processes of the country (Jaldin, 2000). At the same time, some territorial policies that are aimed at balancing the development of the different regions, as is the case in Venezuela, could cause a country to miss the opportunities offered by the globalized economy because of their focus on devoting resources to the development of cities and areas that have less economic potential. The comparative advantages of other, better endowed areas, should not be neglected, however.

3. Occupational spheres of activity

During the 1990s, the urbanization of the workforce and of the economically active population (EAP) continued, the size of the working-age population increased, and the economic activity rate for women rose (CELADE/IDB, 1996). The growth of potential demand for jobs has slowed down as a result of the demographic transition in the region, but it will still continue to rise in absolute terms throughout the first quarter of the twenty-first century.[45] Although disequilibria in the labour market have not led to a significant increase in the unemployment rate (except during the period

[45] This pressure, along with the economic development pattern currently prevailing in the region, which does not generate a high level of modern employment, is reflected in the fact that employment is growing more slowly than the urban workforce (2.9% compared with an average annual growth rate of 3.1% for the 1990s) (ILO, 1999).

Box 8

PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND ASSOCIATIONS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF MERCOSUR

A project on local government and policies on women's issues has been set up within the framework of Mercosur, a grouping which includes Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay and, more recently, Chile. This regional integration framework has very significant social and cultural implications for women. The Thematic Unit on Gender and Local Government was created in September 1999 at the fifth Summit of the Merco-cities Network, held in Belo Horizonte, as a forum for assessing progress made at the local level in the formulation and implementation of municipal programmes and projects to promote equal opportunity for women and women's rights.

The project is designed to contribute to the deepening of democratic processes with a view to the development of tools and instruments for mainstreaming the gender perspective in public policy at the municipal level and thus empowering civil society, particularly women. It is also aimed at strengthening women's leadership positions and their participation in decision-making for better governance at the local level.

The project includes the following activities:

- Production and dissemination of specific tools for municipal policies dealing with women's issues;
- Organization of international conferences and agreements among member countries in the region based on the various world conferences convened by the United Nations, with special emphasis on the commitments undertaken in the field of equal opportunity and gender equity;
- Systematization of available statistical data on the status of women in the Mercosur countries, with special reference to critical areas and to gender and social gaps;
- Development of guidelines for the formulation and application of municipal policies addressing women's issues, including basic principles for the formulation and application of such municipal policies and identification of training materials;
- Development of urban gender indicators, based on the work done by a group of experts;
- Creation of a Web page for the Women and Habitat Network which will present the tools that have been developed and other useful information for women interested in this area.

Source: United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), "Gobiernos locales, políticas para mujeres, Red Mujer y Hábitat, América Latina", CD ROM version, Córdoba, Argentina, 1999.

following the Asian crisis), the ranks of the unemployed grew throughout the decade. The International Labour Organization (ILO, 1999a) estimates that there were 18 million unemployed people in the cities in 1998, many of whom were young people, women and members of poor households.

In terms of the occupational structure, the shift away from employment in the production of goods and towards the services sector has continued. Around 1998, the tertiary sector accounted for 73% of all urban jobs, and the share of jobs in the industrial sector had fallen from the level seen at the start of the decade.

The informalization of the region's occupational structure has also proceeded.[46] The informal sector generated six out of every 10 new jobs during the decade, and this process can therefore no longer be considered a temporary phenomenon, as it was during the 1970s. In the late 1990s, 52 out of every 100 urban workers in the region were in the formal sector, while 48 were employed in the informal sector, and 32 of the latter were located in the subsistence segment of the informal sector (24 were unskilled own-account workers and 8 were domestic workers). Only 16 of the informal occupations were in microenterprises, which is indicative of how little a share of the informal sector is accounted for by its most productive and best-paying segment (ILO, 1999). Between 1990 and 1998, however, one-third of the growth of urban informal jobs was generated by microenterprises, which increased their share of urban employment with respect to the 1980s. Thus, there is a long-term trend towards the "modernization of informality" in the region (ILO, 1998 and 1999).[47]

Despite the enormous increase in the number of women joining the labour force, men continue to have a higher participation rate than women. Virtually all the economic indicators, including employment, unemployment, income, property ownership and administrative positions, show women to be at a disadvantage, and women's incomes are 50% lower than men's (Gálvez, 2000). The following table provides a comparison of women's and men's total incomes in the different countries, based on an indicator constructed by ECLAC.

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[46] Considered in terms of the non-agricultural EAP and of jobs in establishments hiring 5-10 workers, the rate of informal employment amounts to nearly 60% (ILO, 1999).

[47] In Paraguay, for example, 53% of the urban EAP worked in urban microenterprises during the mid-1990s. Only one out of every four microenterprises was engaged in production activity, while the remainder were involved in trade and services (Ríos and Peralta, 2000).

As the table shows, the income-generation capacities of men and women in the region are still extremely unequal, although the gap did narrow somewhat between 1990 and 1997, as did the gap in labour force participation rates, access to pension benefits and participation in decision-making.[48]

Table 5
WOMEN'S TOTAL INCOME AS A PERCENTAGE OF MEN'S TOTAL INCOME

Country	Value of indicator		Variation:
	Around 1990	Around 1997	1997 minus 1990
National level			
Brazil	36.1	44.6	8.5
Chile	32.6	37.6	5.0
Costa Rica	32.4	38.8	6.4
Honduras	30.5	44.4	13.9
Mexico	27.2	33.3	6.1
Panama	48.6	46.6	-2.0
Venezuela	31.5	39.3	7.8
Urban level			
Argentina	34.9	42.5	7.6
Bolivia	38.7	41.8	3.1
Colombia	40.6	52.1	11.5
Ecuador	35.2	43.6	8.4
Paraguay	36.7	46.7	10.0
Uruguay	37.0	53.5	16.5

Source: Thelma Gálvez, "Aspectos económicos de la equidad de género" (DDR/7), reference document presented at the eighth session of the Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean (Lima, Peru, 8-10 February 2000), Santiago, Chile, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 2000.

[48] Certain aspects of the female participation rate show how women are at a disadvantage in terms of employment in the production sector. In all countries, independently of their relative development status, women have entered the workforce via the services sector (especially its informal segment). In fact, as of 1998, 52% of all female employment was in the informal sector, a rate that is 7 percentage points higher than the figure for the male EAP. In addition, a larger percentage of women are employed in unstructured economic sectors and report that they holding lower-quality jobs than men. Finally, female unemployment almost doubled, as the increase in women's employment during the 1990s was lower than the increase in women's participation rate (ECLAC-CELADE, 1999b; ILO, 1999).

Efforts to increase productivity in the region include a number of initiatives to which the housing and urban development sector can make a valuable contribution. In the first place, it is generally agreed that policies for reducing disparities in the coverage and quality of education will have the greatest long-term impact on the existing cycle of interaction between the job market, poverty and income concentration. The contributions made by housing policies can, when combined with educational services and infrastructure investment programmes, certainly improve access to education. In the short term, the problem of inadequate labour incomes, which is a major cause of urban poverty, has been addressed through increased job training programmes, loans to the informal sector, and programmes for providing both temporary jobs and training to vulnerable groups (women, youth and indigent heads of household), and the inclusion of housing components in such programmes has proven to have a positive effect.

Likewise, consideration should be given to locating low-income housing on sites which will give these vulnerable groups access to neighbourhoods or locations where they can find jobs and which will be equipped with the necessary facilities and services (e.g., day-care centres) to allow more women to participate in the labour force. Sanitation and housing programmes can also improve the income-generation capacity of the poor, and these types of initiatives should be coordinated with job-training programmes and the provision of production infrastructure through new sorts of territorial intervention schemes.[49]

[49] In Bolivia, the Office of the Deputy Minister for Microenterprises is working to strengthen job programmes and support the informal economy. A strategic plan for the development of microenterprises and small businesses has been created which gives special priority to creating employment opportunities for women (Jaldin, 2000).

Box 9

SUCCESSFUL INITIATIVES LED BY WOMEN

In 1997, the Women's Popular Education Network (REPEM) launched a Latin American competition for production initiatives led by women, the goal being to focus attention on the accomplishments of poor women, as well as on the potential and limitations of such undertakings.

Prizes were awarded for a number of production initiatives in particularly disadvantaged rural and urban areas. The rural areas were mainly located in places where the prevailing pattern was one of very small holdings, with inadequate levels of income from agricultural production, high rates of male migration and substandard services systems. The urban areas were characterized by high migrant populations, a scarcity of employment opportunities for females (particularly middle-aged women), domestic and street violence and substandard services systems. The initiatives consisted of stores selling different types of products, small-scale crafts production and even a street-cleaning service. The women are responsible for the entire production process, as well as for marketing, administration and the economic turnout of their projects.

The prize-winning initiatives were located in: Cabreto, Municipality of Guerra, **Dominican Republic**; Monte Carmelo, State of Lara, **Venezuela**; Gaulaceo Canton, Azuay Province, **Ecuador**; Bico de Papagaio Region, State of Tocantins, **Brazil**; Izogog, Cotoca, Lomerío, Vallegrande, Los Tajibos, Ichilo, Urubichá, Guarayos, Ascensión and San Miguel de Velazco, in the Department of Santa Cruz, **Bolivia**; Gardel, Pedernal and Tapia in the Department of Canelones, **Uruguay**; Colonia Emiliano Zapata, City of Hermosillo, **Mexico**; and the Provincial Municipality of Cajamarca, **Peru**.

Source: Women's Popular Education Network (REPEM), "Así se hace, emprendimientos exitosos liderados por mujeres y un manual de lobby propositivo", Montevideo, December 1998.

V. A better quality of life

Awareness of the environmental aspects of urban and territorial development has gradually come to be reflected in the public policies of Latin America and the Caribbean and has given rise to the creation of institutions, strategies and programmes to promote the sustainable development of human settlements. Nonetheless, in a number of countries environmental sustainability is still treated as a secondary consideration when decisions come to be made. In much the same way as with the economic considerations discussed earlier, sectoral policies and instruments tend to generate environmental regulations that are reactive in nature rather than encouraging environmental excellence in human settlements. Examples of proactive land use policies would include those that provide for the preservation of nature reserves or seek to regulate the use of land that is in great demand by real estate brokers and producers, such as the coastline.[50] In general, however, the ability of institutions to incorporate the environmental dimension into urban policies still falls far short of what is needed, and it is for this reason that there are still no clear signs of an end to the processes of environmental degradation affecting today's cities.

[50] In Chile, the introduction of the National Policy on Use of the Coastline of the Republic (1994) should lead to more harmonious development of the country's 4,200 km long seaboard, encouraging private investment and orienting public initiatives towards uses deemed conducive to sustainable development (Duveauchelle and others, 2000).

Among the main needs identified during this decade to improve the quality of the environment in human settlements are the extension of drinking water and sanitation coverage to poorer areas, measures to reduce environmental pollution and congestion in cities, and steps to make settlements less vulnerable to natural disasters.

1. More healthful settlements

Unmet needs for basic services are shown in the table below, which quantifies the shortfalls still existing in certain countries.

Table 6
LATIN AMERICA: URBAN HOUSEHOLDS LACKING BASIC SERVICES
(Percentages)

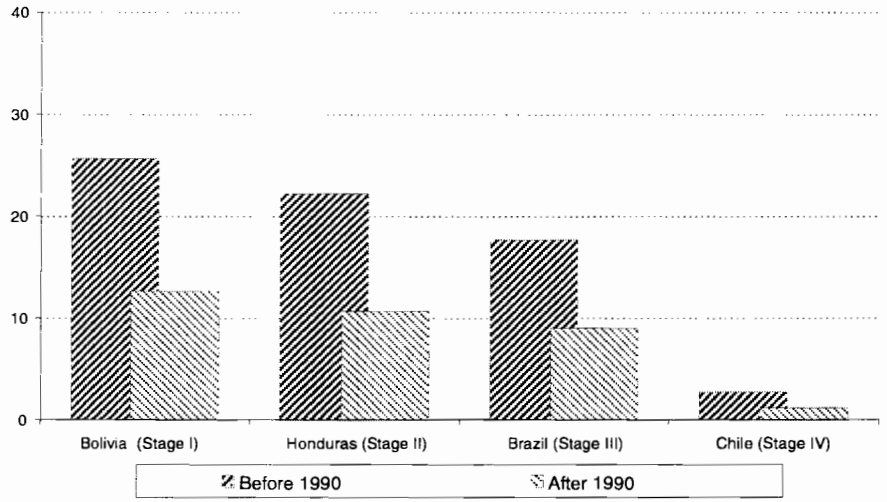
Country	Year [a]	Not provided with drinking water	Not provided with sewerage
Argentina [b]	1998	1.8	42.0
Bolivia [c]	1997	12.6	54.3
Brazil	1997	9.0	51.0
Chile	1998	1.2	10.9
Colombia	1997	1.6	7.4
El Salvador	1998	41.3	41.4
Honduras	1998	10.7	39.5
Mexico [d]	1998	24.1	18.4
Paraguay [e]	1996	28.6	77.0
Uruguay	1998	6.5	38.1

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of the results from household surveys conducted in the relevant countries.

[a] Latest year available.
[b] Figures for Greater Buenos Aires.
[c] 1989 figures are for eight major urban areas.
[d] The Income and Expenditure Survey was used as the source for these figures.
[e] Asunción Metropolitan Area.

The countries have made a major effort to rectify the existing shortcomings in terms of access to drinking water, as shown in table A-9 of the annex and in figure 6.

Figure 6
LATIN AMERICA: URBAN HOUSEHOLDS NOT SUPPLIED WITH DRINKING WATER. SELECTED COUNTRIES, BY STAGE IN THE DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION
(Percentages)



Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of the results of household surveys conducted in the relevant countries.

With the exception of a few Caribbean islands, it would not be true to say that water was a scarce resource at the national level within the region. In its cities, however, particularly the larger ones, there are severe shortages of water, which means that rationing and long interruptions in supply are commonplace. In many countries, rural households, in particular, have to obtain their water from wells, chain pumps or other sources (see table A-10 of the annex).

Poor women have to cope daily with shortages and difficulties in obtaining access to drinking water when it is not available within the home, the collection of water being one of the household tasks carried out particularly by women, girls and boys, and very occasionally by men. Women are also actively involved in all the various schemes undertaken to improve the quality of life in the areas where they live, such as those involving volunteer community work as part of a cooperative effort to improve the coverage of basic services. Since in many cases women's participation is confined to the construction work phase, while they are excluded from decision-making, management and control of the systems

they have helped to build,[51] procedures for involving women directly in water projects and giving them decision-making powers over them are being developed in the region as a way of ensuring the upkeep and sustainability of these projects.[52]

Box 10
AN EXAMPLE OF COMMUNITY COOPERATION

In 1993 Aguas Argentinas, a Franco-Argentine consortium, won a 30-year contract to operate the drinking water concession for the metropolitan region of Buenos Aires. Although coverage is being expanded at a rate of 200,000 users per year, some parts of the city will not receive the service for several years yet, and in some cases the waiting period is estimated at up to 20 years. Aguas Argentinas has gradually begun working with local communities, NGOs and municipal governments to find alternative ways of hooking households up to its distribution networks earlier than scheduled. The cost of connection is put at around US$ 120, which has to be met by means of a joint strategy applied by these actors. In neighbourhoods of from 500 to 2,000 residents, community groups have been persuaded to pay their connection costs and carry out construction work under the supervision of engineers from the company, while the municipalities meet the cost of technical work and materials.

In larger neighbourhoods (up to 150,000 residents), municipal governments have agreed to hire local workers to build the distribution network and are using funds obtained from a provincial public works programme to meet the corresponding cost. The workers receive a modest wage while the network is being built, and the municipalities pay the service connection charge, which residents then repay within a period of five years.

Past experience indicates that the initial cost of expanding such networks into low-income areas will invariably require a combination of outside financing and cross-subsidies involving other consumers.

Source: Official Webpage of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), (http://www.iadb.org/exr/IDB/stories/1999/).

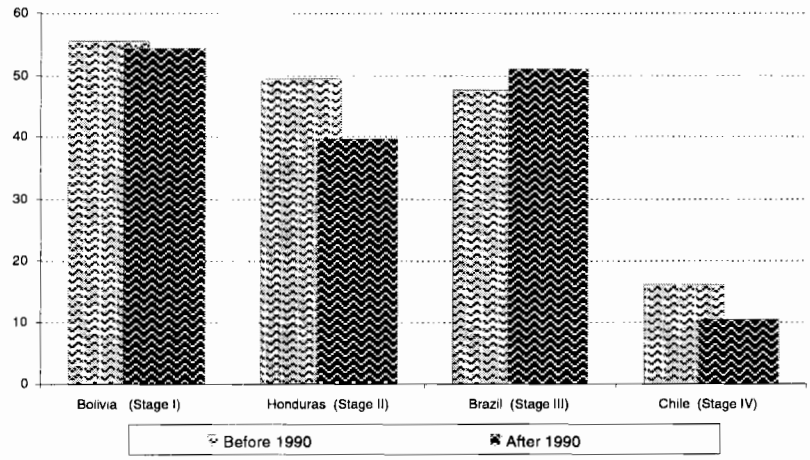
As shown in table 6, the coverage gap for sewerage systems is considerably greater than it is for drinking water. In this field, too, major efforts have recently been made by the relevant governments, as indicated in table A-11 of the annex. Because of the cost and the greater technical difficulties involved, however, these efforts have not been enough to

[51] In Costa Rica, for example, women have carried out much of the work involved in building rural water works, but have then been excluded from the management associations controlling these facilities.

[52] In Bolivia, 20% of the management, maintenance and operating committees controlling water systems built in rural areas are run by women, who have proved more efficient than men in this work (Rico, 1998).

remedy this situation. Figure 7 provides an idea of the limited progress made in some countries.

Figure 7
LATIN AMERICA: URBAN HOUSEHOLDS LACKING SEWERAGE SERVICE. SELECTED COUNTRIES, BY STAGE IN THE DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION
(*Percentages*)



Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of the results of household surveys conducted in the relevant countries.

The situation with regard to sewage treatment is even less satisfactory. As water consumption rises and sewage collection is expanded to some extent, the small amount of installed treatment capacity is proving insufficient, and the rivers, lakes, beaches and coastal areas and seas into which effluent is discharged are becoming polluted. The Caribbean countries have proved particularly vulnerable in this regard, given the effects that inadequate treated sewage has on marine and coastal resources and its impact in terms of the contamination of groundwater (ECLAC Subregional Headquarters for the Caribbean, 2000b). Similarly, there are major shortcomings in systems for the final disposal of solid wastes, even though they have been expanded substantially in an effort to keep pace with economic growth. In the Caribbean countries, for example, the quantity of solid waste produced by the local population has been augmented enormously by the large numbers of tourists and cruise ships. In these countries, problems arise at every stage of the waste flow

(collection, disposal and treatment), and substandard forms of waste disposal, such as open-air tips and illegal dumps, are still being used.[53]

Only the biggest municipalities, which are the ones with the greatest problems, are starting to attach greater importance to designing and using different kinds of sanitary dumps to put an end to the pollution of watercourses and seas. Progress has been made in the area of system management thanks to the use of schemes that are open to participation by private companies or by mixed enterprises in which both municipal companies and private capital are involved. Promising efforts are being made to develop small, self-managing companies to conduct collection and screening work in the poorer parts of cities and to recycle rubbish using on-site classification methods.

2. Privatization of services

One important characteristic of the new forms of urban utilities management has been increased linkages between the public and private sectors. The different formulas that have been tried out lead to different sorts of relationships among three main types of actors that are involved in all cases (State bodies, private companies and consumers or users of services), plus a fourth category, made up of social or grassroots actors, that become involved in participatory models.

Privatization processes have varied a great deal in terms of their scope. At one extreme, there is the model whereby private firms are in charge of the service, taking responsibility essentially for production, but also for stages in provision. In these cases, the service is provided entirely through "market procedures". This model, applied, for example, in Buenos Aires since 1993, has generally led to increased efficiency in the production of services, but also to higher charges, as it introduces economic agents with a high accumulation capacity and great deal of power that have a tendency to subordinate the service completely to the dictates of the market. The State remains involved as a regulator, providing the legislative framework and overseeing service provision through specialized technical bodies. In other cases, a mixed system has been implemented in which the State performs a State oversight function, the government apparatus retaining control over provision (how many or few of the processes involved it keeps under its own control will depend on the individual case) and private companies are brought in at various stages of the provision process,

[53] Some countries belonging to the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) are carrying out a project on solid and ship-generated waste management in an effort to achieve environmentally sound, integrated solid waste management in the Caribbean islands (ECLAC, Subregional Headquartes for the Caribbean, 2000b).

particularly production. This is a mixed or public/private management system because it involves both government bodies and private companies or, to put it another way, governmental and market procedures. State control makes it possible to orient the service towards the public interest and to apply financial policies involving subsidies for poorer sectors of the population (see box 11).

Box 11

MIXED MANAGEMENT WITH STATE CONTROL AND DECENTRALIZED STATE MANAGEMENT. THE CASES OF SANTIAGO, CHILE, AND TIJUANA, MEXICO

(a) Mixed management

In Santiago, Chile, the Empresa Metropolitana de Obras Sanitarias (EMOS) (a metropolitan sanitary works company which is a subsidiary of the Corporación de Fomento a la Producción or "Production Development Corporation") serves 90% of the population. EMOS is an autonomous public enterprise organized as a joint stock company. It has entered into service contracts with private firms, and its billing system incorporates social policy strategies (subsidies) that enable lower-income groups to use its service. EMOS has subcontracted activities out to private companies in cases where the scale of operation is such that they can benefit from the introduction of technological improvements and developments. Subsidies provide direct support to low-income consumers and are financed out of the national budget, these subsidies are awarded on the basis of socio-economic conditions. There are also credit programmes and special payment plans so that the poorest families can meet the cost of new connections.

The results show that of the municipal districts served by EMOS, 15 have drinking water coverage of more than 90% of all households, another 15 have coverage of between 80% and 90%, and only two have coverage of less than 80%, these being among the poorest in the metropolitan area. Service quality is described as good, although the standard is not the same for all users, as it varies by income group and geographical area within the city. The company has maintained a steady level of investment which is financed with internal resources and, in part, World Bank loans. Charges are uniform, but the lowest-income households can obtain a subsidy if they consume less than 20 cubic metres per month. This subsidy covers 50% of consumption up to 20 cubic metres and is provided by the Regional Governor's Office, which pays it out to the corresponding municipality. The municipality then passes it on to the company. People who do not have water hook-ups in their homes obtain it for free from public taps or wells. Where these facilities do not exist, the municipality is responsible for distributing water.

Box 11 (concl.)

(b) Decentralized State management

In the late 1980s, water and sewerage services in Tijuana were the responsibility of the government of the State of Baja California and were provided by a decentralized authority operating in the municipality. Tijuana has had the fastest population growth rate in all of Mexico, and this has made it difficult to maintain service coverage and quality. A new administration has reoriented the management approach of the Commission in an effort to achieve efficient water management schemes: charges have been adjusted in the light of the objectives set by national guidelines in order to reflect the real cost of providing the service, cross-subsidies have been introduced to bring fees into line with the payment capacities of different types of users, and efficient water use has been encouraged. The administrative improvements that have been made are reflected in the ratio of employees to service users, the increase in the number of connections (particularly for water), and reduced water wastage.

Source: P. Pírez, *Los servicios urbanos y equidad en América Latina: un panorama con base en algunos casos*, Medio ambiente y desarrollo series, No. 26 (LC/L.1320-P), Santiago, Chile, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 2000. United Nations publication, Sales No. S.00.II.G.95.

In many cases, privatization has not resolved the problem of how to extend coverage to low-income groups, and this has given rise to considerable political difficulties and reservations. One interesting approach, tried out in Buenos Aires, has been to secure the participation and assistance of potential users in bringing services to poor areas (see box 12). In other cases, privatization was begun before mechanisms and clear regulatory frameworks had been put in place to stimulate private investment in urban infrastructure and private-sector involvement in its operation, which has limited its effectiveness. Privatization has often come up against resistance from political and citizens groups, partly owing to the dissemination of inaccurate information about its implications. In Panama, for example, plans to award a concession for the distribution of drinking water became so politically controversial that they had to be suspended (Government of Panama, 2000).

Box 12

PRIVATE MANAGEMENT INVOLVING SOCIAL PARTICIPATION. EXPANDING THE NETWORK INTO POOR AREAS IN THE BUENOS AIRES METROPOLITAN AREA

Efforts to bring water and sanitation services to low-income sectors in Buenos Aires were hindered by the privatization of these services since, although it had the potential to enlarge the networks, did not mean that people would actually be able to access these services, owing to their cost. The company, which was contractually obliged to expand coverage, realized that it would not be enough simply to lay more pipes, but that it also had to reach out to new users by resolving the financial difficulties involved.

Accordingly, the company joined forces with an NGO to implement a plan of action for the provision of drinking water and sewerage services in deprived areas. One example of the kind of project carried out was the scheme applied in the Barrio San Jorge, in the municipality of San Fernando. The company agreed to abandon the traditional management structure used for water and sewerage systems and to introduce a new, innovative system. For the water distribution system, new billing and maintenance procedures were negotiated that involved lower fees. In the case of the sewerage service, the solution was to develop a system that did not involve the transfer of solids, which was more appropriate for the conditions existing in the area concerned. Different parties contributed to the construction of the networks: members of the School of Architecture of the University of Buenos Aires drew up the plans; Aguas Argentinas provided the technical assistance, training and materials; the local government approved the plans and subsidized part of the cost; the community, organized as a cooperative, carried out the work; a foreign foundation provided financial support; and the NGO acted as the coordinator and manager of the overall project.

Source: P. Pírez, *Los servicios urbanos y equidad en América Latina: un panorama con base en algunos casos*, Medio ambiente y desarrollo series, No. 26 (LC/L.1320-P), Santiago, Chile, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 2000. United Nations publication, Sales No. S.00.II.G.95.

3. Air pollution

Air pollution represents an on-going health hazard for more than 80 million of the region's inhabitants and accounts for around 65 million working days lost.[54]

[54] Air pollution is the main cause of some 2.3 million cases of chronic respiratory insufficiency among children per year, and of more than 100,000 cases of chronic bronchitis among adults. The effects of air pollution on health are even more evident in the case of vulnerable individuals, chiefly older people and infants.

Two factors have contributed to the rise in air pollution in large conurbations: the alarming increase in the number of motor vehicles, and the growth of industry. In Mexico City there are well over four million vehicles, and the number of vehicles in Santiago, Chile, is doubling every five years. The use of motor vehicles is the biggest single contributor to pollution in cities, accounting for between 80% and 90% of the lead in the atmosphere, even though lead-free gasoline has been available in most of the region's countries for some time. Besides the increase in the number of private vehicles, inadequate public transport and functional segregation in the cities have contributed to the rise in vehicle emissions and have had a direct influence on air pollution levels. Air and water pollution is particularly hard to control in cities that contain large numbers of industries, which in many cases have relocated there from countries that have stricter emissions controls.

A distinction should be drawn between cities that have a good air quality measurement system and those that do not. The first group includes Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Santiago and Buenos Aires, which are among the 21 most polluted cities in the world. The rest of the region's cities, which do not have clear, regular or reliable information on air quality, are in the second group. Centres such as Lima and Quito also have serious air pollution problems, but do not show up in world reports because of the lack of information. In the last 10 years, the cities belonging to the first group have made substantial progress in introducing new technologies, not just to measure air quality but also to forestall critical conditions by predicting drops in air quality so that prompt emergency and preventive measures can be taken.

Progress in air quality management has also been reflected in the establishment of standards to serve as guidelines for government policies and other measures. Cities such as Santiago, São Paulo and Mexico City have established standards close to those recommended by the World Health Organization (WHO), except in the case of carbon and sulphur dioxide, where the standards used by Latin American metropolises are more permissive (Iizuka and Nicod, 2000). The countries have also developed measures for implementation when the permitted thresholds are exceeded. Those countries that have made progress with anti-pollution efforts combine long-term programmes (changes in production methods, improvements in the types of fuels used, etc.) with these temporary measures for use in emergencies (shutdown of some industrial activities, vehicle restrictions, etc.).

In some of the region's large cities, the measures introduce to reduce air pollution have had a positive effect. By implementing a series of measures that include a ban on the use of leaded gasoline and the

introduction of a programme prohibiting the use of specified vehicles on particular days, Mexico City has succeeded in reducing the amount of lead and particulate material in the air. Similar results have been achieved in Santiago, Chile, a city where the number of air quality emergencies is falling year by year (Lacy and others, 2000). In São Paulo, measures such as the elimination of leaded gasoline and controls on industrial emissions have helped to reduce the level of certain air pollutants in recent years (Jacobi and Valente de Macedo, 2000). In general, however, air quality in the cities of the region cannot yet be regarded as satisfactory. In order to achieve better results, the first thing the countries would need to do would be to improve the efficiency of existing institutional arrangements in the public sector. The multisectoral approach called for in environmental management in general, and air quality management in particular, requires the involvement of a wide variety of sectors (transport, industry, health care, etc.) in a coordinated effort that will use the available resources efficiently to structure sectoral public policies aimed at improving air quality.[55]

Another major challenge for the cities of the region in this connection is the construction of a social covenant for air quality management, in which citizens are not merely subject to public policies but are involved as proactive agents in dealing with pollution and are mobilized collectively through citizen participation mechanisms and agenda-setting social movements. To achieve this, municipal and regional governments will have to develop social communication strategies to restore citizens' confidence in the State and then to develop a joint management scheme for reducing pollution.

4. Seeking ways to deal with congestion in cities

The operation of urban transport systems consumes 3.5% of Latin America's gross domestic product (Thomson, 2000a). The cost represented by the time spent commuting accounts for a further 3%. For a variety of reasons, including the growth of cities and the longer commutes this entails,

[55] Mexico and the United States, acting through an innovative binational participation mechanism set up by the two Governments, have decided to support the creation of a Joint Consultative Committee for the Atmospheric Basin of the Metropolitan Area of Ciudad Juárez-El Paso-Doña Ana. This programme envisages, for the first time ever, integrated action by the three levels of government, social organizations and the academic sector aimed at preventing and solving the problems of air pollution in this transborder area (Government of the United Mexican States, 2000).

it is very probable that these percentages will rise in the future, as is suggested by the increasing congestion of urban traffic.[56]

Meanwhile, public transport, other than in exceptional cases, is still the main means of travel for the urban population. Whereas in previous decades public transport systems encountered problems because the State ran them inefficiently or because they were subject to poorly designed or incorrectly applied regulations, now the main hindrance to high-quality public transit is the mass use of private transport that has come about in recent years and the pressure this puts on the road network. Economic liberalization, which has led to lower import tariffs and, in some cases, to an easing of the regulations applying to imports of used vehicles (Thomson, 1997a), has been instrumental in increasing the number of cars. The particular relationship that exists in the region between rising incomes, especially in the middle-income sectors of society, and automobile ownership suggests that the steep upward trend in the number of private motor vehicles will remain in evidence in the faster-growing cities. The case of São Paulo, where the population grew by 3.4% between 1990 and 1996 and the number of vehicles by 36.5%,[57] illustrates just how rapidly the number of automobiles is climbing in the cities of the region, and the main factor behind this trend is the increasing earnings of middle-income groups (see table A-13 of the annex in connection with the case of Santiago, Chile).

A high level of vehicle ownership would not necessarily lead to serious congestion problems if Latin Americans, like their counterparts in many cities in the developed world, used public transport to travel to their workplaces. This happens in Curitiba, where the quality of mass transit systems is outstanding, and possibly in Lima, where this type of transport (including taxis) is plentiful, albeit not necessarily of high quality. Usually, however, vehicle owners, who generally belong to the middle- and high-income sectors, rely entirely on their automobiles, even when they have to travel along highly congested roads. Private automobile users and public transport users are thus two economically segmented groups,[58] and this makes it difficult to contemplate raising charges in order to improve public transport.

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[56] There is little in the way of data on congestion trends over the years; among the few sources available, the most reliable seems to be the Companhia de Engenharia de Tráfego of the City of São Paulo (CET), one of the institutions that has made the greatest efforts to reduce congestion. Whereas in 1992 acute congestion affected an average of around 28 km of the main São Paulo road network in the mornings and 39 km in the evenings, by 1996 the figures had risen to 80 km and 122 km, respectively.

[57] Estimates based on the data provided in tables 3.1 and 3.2 of Companhia de Engenharia de Tráfego (CET) (1998).

[58] According to an estimate based on data produced by the 1991 origin-destination study carried out by the Executive Secretary of the Transport Investment Planning Commission in

All city dwellers suffer from the effects of congestion. Certainly, those who are better off financially are not isolated from its consequences when they travel in their motor vehicles. But the poor, too, have to put up with its effects as they travel for hours by public transport, even though they are not responsible for the congestion. The value placed on the time lost by these people is generally low, even though congestion reduces their quality of life, impairs their prospects for advancement and raises transport costs (see table 7).

Table 7

BRAZIL (SELECTED CITIES): INCREASES IN THE COST OF MASS TRANSIT CAUSED BY CONGESTION

City	Increase in bus operating costs caused by congestion (%)
Belo Horizonte	6.2
Brasilia	0.9
Campinas	6.4
Curitiba	1.6
João Pessoa	3.7
Juiz de Fora	2.1
Porto Alegre	2.6
Recife	3.5
Rio de Janeiro	9.6
São Paulo	15.8

Source: Asociación Nacional de Transportes Públicos (ANTP), "Estudio de deseconomías del transporte urbano en Brasil: los impactos de la congestión", Boletín de los transportes públicos de la América Latina, year 5, No. 30, São Paulo, 1999.

Some of the measures implemented by the countries to reduce congestion have taken the form of supply-side mechanisms. In some cities, the road network has been expanded as a way of reducing congestion. Because municipal or governmental investment resources are not sufficient to finance this type of undertaking, large urban road investment concessions are beginning to be offered to private companies, which recover their outlay by charging a toll for road use, as in the case of Santiago and Buenos Aires. Outside the region, it has been recognized for decades that building new roads or widening existing ones does not solve the problem (ECLAC, 1999d). ECLAC studies also suggest, furthermore, that the construction of underground railway lines will not reduce peak period congestion significantly either, unless complementary measures to influence demand are taken at the same time (Thomson, 1997b). Other measures, such as the computerization of traffic lights, have yielded good results in

Santiago, the average household income of bus passengers was 99,321 Chilean pesos while that of automobile users was 308,078 Chilean pesos.

the short term, but over the long term the improved traffic flow that they initially produce often ends up stimulating greater automobile use. Executive-class mass transit services, which made their appearance in Rio de Janeiro in the mid-1970s and can now be found in a small number of cities, such as Buenos Aires, could make a substantial contribution to reducing congestion (Thomson, 2000b).

Separating bus traffic from other vehicles has proved to be a successful way of speeding up the flow of mass transit vehicles in a number of the region's cities, many of them in Brazil. In Curitiba, mass transit trunk lines run in special lanes, which are physically separated from other traffic. In Santiago, on days where the air pollution indices are high, six main avenues are reserved for the exclusive use of buses and taxis, so that mass transit can run more smoothly.

A variety of demand-side measures have been developed as well. Cities such as Mexico City, Bogotá, Santiago and São Paulo have introduced vehicle restriction measures based on the last digit of automobile license plates. The immediate results have been encouraging; in São Paulo, for example, rush-hour speeds have increased by about 20% (Companhia de Engenharia de Tráfego, 1998). Their effectiveness, however, declines over the years, as citizens acquire more cars or find ways of getting around the system. Road tolls have been proposed as a way of making automobile users internalize the congestion costs they produce, but the idea has a number of conceptual and practical drawbacks. Measures to limit the amount of parking available at destinations that contribute the most to congestion have comparable disadvantages (Diez and Bull, 2000).

Studies carried out at ECLAC, in collaboration with the Executive Secretariat of the Transport Investment Planning Commission of the Chilean Government, suggest that in order for the countries to achieve adequate congestion control, they will need a combination of supply-side measures, such as segregated lanes and higher-quality buses, and demand-side instruments, such as restrictions on the availability of parking. Generally speaking, transport should offer fertile ground in the coming years for sophisticated collaboration among cities willing to share experiences and maintain a dialogue in the interests of resolving transit problems, so that new solutions can be added to the arsenal of urban management methods.

5. Disaster prevention and sustainable reconstruction

The devastating effects of recent natural disasters in the Andean area (El Niño), the Caribbean (Hurricane Georges), Central America (Hurricane

Mitch) and Venezuela have highlighted the existence of a combination of physical factors and socio-economic difficulties that increase environmental vulnerability and make the prevention and mitigation of natural disasters one of the main challenges for urban and land use policies. In most cases, the population groups that are affected are living in naturally high-risk areas (river beds, steeply sloping areas or areas with fragile or marginal soils) because rules regulating land use according to suitability for settlement do not exist or are not applied. This is compounded by inappropriate ways of using and managing natural resources which damage the physical and biological environment, exposing certain areas and their inhabitants to the direct and indirect effects of these events.

Most of the Caribbean States are particularly subject to natural disasters owing to their greater ecological, environmental, social and economic vulnerability (see table 8).[59] In the last four years, the island of Montserrat, which has not been included in the following table, has lost almost half its territory, including the capital city, because of volcanic activity (ECLAC Subregional Headquarters for the Caribbean, 2000a).

Table 8
LEVEL OF VULNERABILITY OF SELECTED CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES

Country	Vulnerability
Antigua and Barbuda	high
Bahamas	high
Belize	high
Dominica	high
Grenada	high
Guyana	high
Saint Kitts and Nevis	high
Saint Lucia	high
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	high
Suriname	high
Barbados	medium-high
Haiti	medium-high
Jamaica	medium-high
Dominican Republic	medium-low
Trinidad and Tobago	medium-low

Source: ECLAC Subregional Headquarters for the Caribbean, The Vulnerability of the Small Island Developing States of the Caribbean (LC/CAR/G.588), Port-of-Spain, 13 March 2000.

[59] This situation is the reason for the particular interest expressed by sectoral authorities at recent MINURVI forums in including the issue of vulnerability in the Latin American and Caribbean Regional Plan of Action on Human Settlements as an area of special importance for human settlements policy.

Table 9 provides an overview of the scale of some recent natural disasters based on the number of people affected and the total damage caused to each country.

The scale of the human, physical, material and environmental damage caused by natural disasters has not always borne a direct relation to their magnitude. Instead, the determinants are often such factors as the fragility of the urban and industrial infrastructure, the quality of the housing stock, the existence or absence of a land use planning system, the degree of preparedness and effectiveness of early warning mechanisms, and the extent to which the country is institutionally and politically prepared to deal with the emergency and reconstruction stages. The countries that have proved best able to handle these stages are the ones which have recognized that the technical, regulatory and institutional resources employed to prevent and mitigate the impact of natural disasters are investments with a high rate of return, since they are more efficient and effective and less costly than rehabilitation measures. In some countries, such as those of the Caribbean and Central America, where these phenomena are recurrent, consideration has also been given to promoting and subsidizing home insurance, particularly for low-cost housing.[60] Recent experience also seems to argue for realistic yet rigorous development planning and land management backed up by legislative and budgetary measures. An innovative concept that is beginning to be implemented in the field of land management in the region is that of bioregional planning, which provides scope for coordinated measures to protect and restore biophysical systems (river basins, coastlines and mountainous areas, for example) that are shared by more than one country, so that the environment and natural resources can be managed in an integrated fashion.

6. Implementing sustainability at the local level

To a greater or lesser degree, solving the main urban environmental problems of the region will require not only good policies and effective instruments, but also the construction of a broad social consensus that includes

[60] The stock of low-cost housing, which represents a major investment for countries and individuals, is generally not protected against these risks in the same way as major infrastructure works, which do have insurance coverage (ECLAC Subregional Headquarters for the Caribbean, 2000b).

Table 9

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: DISASTERS OCCURRING BETWEEN 1997 AND 2000

Date	Place	Type of event	Number of people affected		Total damage (in millions of 1998 dollars)		
			Dead	Suffering direct loss	Total	Direct[a]	Indirect[b]
1997-1998	Costa Rica	El Niño (flooding and drought of abnormal scale, location and duration)		119,279	93	51	42
1997-1998	Andean Community	El Niño	600	125,000	7,545	2,784	4,910
		Bolivia (droughts and flooding)			527	217	320
		Colombia (droughts)			564	57	518
		Ecuador (flooding and changes in sea water level and temperature)	286	29,023	2,882	863	2,076
		Peru (flooding and changes in sea water level and temperature)			3,501	1,644	1,925
		Venezuela (droughts)			71	3	70
1998 Sept. 22-23	Dominican Republic	Hurricane Georges (winds of 98 knots or 170 km/h)	235	296,637	2,193	1,337	856
1998 October 23 to November 4	Central America	Hurricane Mitch (sustained winds of up to 144 knots or 285 km/h with gusts above this and rainfall in excess of 600mm)	9,214	1,191,908	6,009	3,078	2,930
		Costa Rica	4	16,500	91	54	37
		El Salvador	240	84,316	388	169	219
		Guatemala	268	105,000	748	288	460
		Honduras	5,657	617,831	3,794	2,005	1,789
		Nicaragua	3,045	368,261	988	562	425

Table 9 (concl.)

Date	Place	Type of event	Number of people affected		Total damage (in millions of 1998 dollars)		
			Dead	Suffering direct loss	Total	Direct[a]	Indirect[b]
1999 January 25	Colombia	Earthquake in coffee-growing zone (5.8 on the Richter scale, epicentre close to the District of Córdoba, Department of Quindío)	1,185	559,401	1,508 [b]	1,391	188
1999 17/18 November	Anguilla	Hurricane Lenny (rainfall in excess of 480 mm)			189.3 [b]	134.6	54.7
1999 16 December	Venezuela	Heavy rainfall, flooding, landslides and avalanches. States affected: Vargas, Federal District, Miranda, Carabobo, Yaracuy, Falcón, Zulia, Táchira	Between 3,000 and 10,000	68,503	3,237 [b]	1,961	1,276

Source: Adapted from ECLAC, América Latina y el Caribe: el impacto de los desastres naturales en el desarrollo, 1972-1999 (LC/MEX/L.701; LC/MEX/L.402), Mexico City, ECLAC Subregional Headquarters in Mexico, 1999.

[a] The effects of a natural phenomenon are classified according to whether they affect existing property (direct damage) or affect goods and services production flows (indirect damages).

[b] 1999 dollars.

civil society. The local Agenda 21 programmes that have been set up and implemented in some cities are a still untried but potentially powerful way of approaching the issue of environmental sustainability in human settlements. In accordance with the guidelines laid down by Agenda 21 at the world level, these programmes no longer focus exclusively on the State, as the actor that has traditionally taken the lead in implementing the agreements included in this agenda, but also assign responsibilities to local authorities and actors from civil society through wide-ranging processes of consultation and concerted decision-making between public- and private-sector actors.

In conjunction with the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI), the United Nations has carried out a study on implementation of the environmental agenda at the local level by 1,800 local governments in 64 different countries.[61] The study identified 181 cases in which these instruments were being put into effect in developing and transition countries. The most noteworthy case in Latin America is that of Bolivia, since in Brazil, Colombia and Peru these programmes are of more recent date. In these countries both national and local agendas exist, whereas in other countries in the region it was found that only a limited number of cities had developed their own programmes.

Associations of municipalities, at both the national and international levels, have worked to provide information and training to enable local governments to lead these processes. The main thrust of these agendas is the organization of citizen participation and the establishment of integrative, participatory associations to set environmental and social priorities. Among the main problems they have come up against are lack of resources, difficulty in agreeing on priorities and limited support from national governments. Although they have not brought about any spectacular changes as regards environmental sustainability, local Agenda 21 programmes have made it possible to bring about a qualitative change in local environmental management. In centres where these instruments are available, there is greater awareness of environmental problems and it is easier to set in motion participatory processes to draw up local development plans and/or policies.

The experience gained during these years shows that isolated initiatives on the part of local governments cannot have the desired impact unless they have the support of the national government in articulating activities and standards covering larger areas of territory. There is a need to strengthen horizontal cooperation among the public sector, the private sector, civil society and development agencies, alongside vertical

[61] The countries studied in Latin America and the Caribbean were: Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Saint Lucia.

cooperation with participants ranging from local, regional and national government to international bodies, in the quest for the sustainable development of human settlements.

Box 13

COORDINATION IN ORDER TO REDUCE VULNERABILITY IN CENTRAL AMERICA

The Governments of the Central American countries have adopted a common strategic framework for the progressive reduction of the physical, economic, environmental and social vulnerability that puts them at high risk when natural disasters strike. This framework forms part of the region's transformation, integration and sustainable development process, within the context of the Alliance for Sustainable Development (ALIDES). It embraces policies and measures for reducing and mitigating damage along with initiatives designed to prevent, minimize and cope with emergencies.

The specific objectives are regional as well as national in scope, and include:

- Improving the security of human settlements;
- Using land management as an instrument to reduce vulnerability;
- Introducing prevention and mitigation variables, together with preparation and risk management components, into all development programmes and projects.

At the regional level, provision is made for coordination among the institutions concerned with the issue of vulnerability to disasters, the General Secretariat of the Central American Integration System and the coordinators of national plans in each country. All social and economic sectors are involved in formulating and implementing plans and strategies to reduce vulnerability and manage risk in order to protect the population, production, infrastructure and the environment.

Source: Official Web page of the Centro de Coordinación para la Prevención de los Desastres Naturales en América Central (CEPREDENAC) (http://www.cepredenac.org/).

Box 14

THE EXPERIENCE OF TWO CITIES WITH THEIR LOCAL AGENDA 21

The cities of Santos (Brazil) and Quito (Ecuador) have developed programmes to improve conditions in their cities. In the case of Santos, the aim has been to increase understanding at the municipal level of where responsibility for applying the local Agenda 21 lay and to associate this process with city planning functions. To reverse the environmental degradation affecting the municipality, seminars, meetings and informational courses were organized to raise the awareness of both local officials and actors in civil society about the need to create alliances and jointly identify a programme of action. The main difficulties that were encountered were the lack of interest initially shown by these actors in participating and differences in training levels. With time, however, the participation of lower-income, less skilled segments of society increased, as did the awareness of environmental problems and of the prospects for solving them; thanks to these developments, the programme succeeded in institutionalizing participation in spheres extending beyond the political cycles of municipal government.

In Quito, the Metropolitan District Law passed in November 1996 made it possible to involve local communities in tackling environmental problems through consultation and participatory agenda-setting. In one of the administrative districts in the southern portion of the City of Quito, a decision was taken to restore the ecological balance of the ravines located there and improve the quality of life of residents in the surrounding neighbourhoods by drawing up a plan of action with the participation of community leaders, NGOs, civil society, municipal personnel and the private sector. Issue identification and priority-setting were carried out so that a management plan could be drawn up and the community could participate in the management of the ravines.

Source: International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI), *Local Agenda 21: Model Communities Programme, Case Studies, an Action Research Partnership*, Toronto, 1998; and website (www.iclei.org/la21/cities).

VI. The creation of citizenship

A wide-ranging political and social process of redemocratization took place in the region during the 1990s. This process manifested itself not only in the sphere of civil and political rights and in the election of authorities, but in a new or renewed desire to use urban and housing policies to foster greater solidarity in people's daily lives and to achieve greater citizen involvement in the shaping of the urban habitat. Progress can be seen in matters such as political stability, citizen participation, gender equity and justice; at the same time, as has been pointed out in previous sections, the trends have not been so positive in the case of issues such as poverty, inequity, urban violence and segregation. In the task of consolidating democracy in the countries, a greater load of responsibility has gradually shifted on to land use, urban and housing policies. The progress made, however, has not been free from obstacles and fragilities that are common to the democratic systems of the world and to the political history of the region itself (ECLAC, 2000b).

There seems to be a greater awareness of the need to develop human settlements from a gender perspective, which entails regarding the city as a sphere in which expression is given to sets of interests that reflect power relationships, not just between classes, but between men and women as well. A transversal view of gender in human settlements has permitted the first steps to be taken towards incorporating the definition of indicators in diagnostic studies and including standards of diversity and equity in policy

design so as to increase the efficiency of these instruments (Rico, 1996; Saborido, 1999).

On another level, more attention is now being devoted to the use of urban and housing measures to help improve access to opportunities for productive employment, to make cities and territories competitive and efficient, and to create the conditions in which informal production activities can become more productive. Increasing attention is being devoted to the importance of considering employment opportunities when deciding on the location of low-cost housing projects and of including production facilities in such settlements in order to facilitate access to employment for women, in particular. The emphasis that the countries have placed on building and operating road and communications infrastructure in recent years has not only enhanced the productivity and competitiveness of cities but has also given the poorer sectors of the population greater access to the services, information and opportunities that they need if they are to become part of the urban dynamic.

Definite progress was made in the 1990s in promoting direct citizen participation in choices and decisions about residential, local and urban habitats. As mentioned in various sections of this study, urban and housing policies have opened up numerous forums in which citizens can decide on programmes and help put them into effect; this approach can also foster improved social organization through the type of group petitioning systems seen in Chile, for example. This has made it possible to create, preserve and strengthen the networks that make up the social fabric, thereby contributing to the creation of social capital, as is illustrated by examples to be found in Bolivia and Mendoza, Argentina,[62] even if the climate of individualism and competition has hindered the dissemination of these participatory and group programmes to some extent. Given the decline of social cohesion and solidarity in the cities, and the confusion that exists as to the dividing line between urban issues that are the province of citizens and those that fall within the purview of consumers as such, urban and land use policy must reinterpret community values in a globalizing, competitive world such as the one that is coming into being in the region.

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[62] In **Bolivia**, for example, the new Popular Participation Act has recognized grassroots organizations (rural and indigenous communities and neighbourhood committees) as participants in their own development. Local people participate in the development plans for their municipalities and oversee the activities of the municipal government. The history of community participation by rural and indigenous people that exists in this country has prepared these groups to understand and adopt participatory processes (Jaldin, 2000). In Mendoza, Argentina, meanwhile, cooperatives, mutual societies, neighbourhood unions, etc., receive around 70% of the funds available under the Provincial Housing System to build homes for their members (Palero and Pizarro, 2000).

1. Seeking ways to reduce urban violence

One manifestation of the breakdown in community life in urban centres is the rise in violence seen in most Latin American cities. Crimes are being committed with impunity at an alarming rate, and the population therefore has a growing sense of insecurity which is further amplified by the media.

Latin America has an overall homicide rate of around 20 per 100,000 inhabitants, although there are large variations within the continent. Whereas countries such as Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, Paraguay and Uruguay have relatively low indices (4 homicides for every 100,000 inhabitants), in some Andean countries such as Ecuador and Peru the situation has worsened. On the other hand, rates are declining in Costa Rica, Mexico and Paraguay. The situation is particularly serious in Colombia and El Salvador, as may be seen from table 10. These countries, along with Guatemala (which is not shown in the table), have seen a dramatic shift in the type of violence, with sociopolitical and drug trafficking-related offences giving way to daily, anonymous violence.[63]

The Caribbean subregion also reports rising crime and violence which is associated with the abuse of illegal substances. For example, the homicide rate in Trinidad and Tobago has increased more than fivefold in the space of a single decade. This subregion is particularly attractive and vulnerable to this type of trafficking owing to its geographical position and inadequate policing along its coasts (ECLAC, 2000b).

Urban violence is particularly a problem among young males of low socio-economic status.[64] By contrast, the victims of domestic violence are mainly women and children. United Nations data (United Nations, 1999b) suggest that more than half of all Latin American women have been assaulted in their homes at some time during their lives, while according to estimates from another source, six million children and adolescents are attacked by family members each year, with 80,000 dying as a result of mistreatment (Ayres, 1998).

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[63] The information available on rising crime in the countries does not reflect the true scale of the phenomenon, as it is incomplete or difficult to process statistically and is distorted by the under-reporting of offences.

[64] In Rio de Janeiro, for example, 65% of all deaths among adolescents aged between 10 and 19 are homicides (Ramos de Souza and Gonçalves de Assis and Furtado Passos de Silva, 1997).

Table 10
SELECTED COUNTRIES: HOMICIDE RATES PER 100,000 INHABITANTS, 1980, 1990 AND 1995

Country	Around 1980	Around 1990	Around 1995 (latest figure available)
Argentina	3.9	4.8	...
Brazl	11.5	19.7	30.1
Chile	2.6	3.0	1.8
Colombia	20.5	89.5	65.0
Costa Rica	5.7	4.1	...
Ecuador	6.4	10.3	...
El Salvador	...	138.2	117.0
Honduras	...	...	40.0
Mexico	18.2	17.8	19.5
Panama	2.1	10.9	...
Paraguay	5.1	4.0	...
Peru Rica	2.4	11.5	10.3
Trinidad & Tabago	2.1	12.6	...
Uruguay	2.6	4.4	...
Venezuela	11.7	15.2	22.0

Source: Adapted from Irma Arriagada y Lorena Godoy, "Prevention or repression; the false dilemma of citizen security", *CEPAL Review*, No. 70 (LC/G.2095-P), Santiago, Chile, April 2000.

As a number of studies point out, the increase in crime may be related to rising levels of unemployment and inequality in income distribution and to individual, family, social and cultural behaviour patterns that are triggering greater violence (ECLAC, 1999b). According to a recent study, the incidence of crime is associated with the size of cities: while those with under 100,000 inhabitants tend to have lower rates, those with more than one million inhabitants have much higher ones (Gaviria and Pagés, 1999) (see table 11).

The initiatives that have been promoted in the region during recent years to deal with this critical situation take a broad and integral approach, combining crime control and suppression with preventive measures focused on risk factors that involve broad sectors of social planning. Table 12 summarizes some of the public safety measures implemented in different cities.

Table 11
CRIME VICTIM RATE, BY SIZE OF CITY

Country	Small	Medium	Large
Argentina	19.37	30.75	40.29
Bolivia	n.a.	33.94	35.48
Brazil	42.2	43.7	40.19
Colombia	n.a.	35.5	44.38
Costa Rica	35.4	45.53	...
Chile	11.59	28.56	33.18
Ecuador	40.05	45.32	62.28
El Salvador	42.83	52.22	...
Guatemala	50.27	51.5	...
Honduras	38.46	53.51	...
Mexico	29	43.64	53.39
Nicaragua	35.46	45.34	...
Panama	26.07	38.86	...
Paraguay	29.37	36.91	36.57
Peru	25.63	32.81	41.93
Uruguay	20.03	30.13	36.91
Venezuela	38.1	46.97	54.68

Source: A. Gaviria and C. Pagés, *Patterns of Crime Victimization in Latin America*, Washington, D.C., Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), October 1999.

2. Public areas for the exercise of citizenship in democracy

With the restoration of democracy in the continent, public areas are once again playing an important role in fostering citizenship and dealing with the loss of social cohesion in cities. Some programmes have been aimed at providing meeting and recreation centres in urban and peri-urban centres. In cities such as Panama City, parks, squares and open spaces have been developed and renewed as a way of improving the inhabitants' quality of life. In a number of cities in Argentina, including Buenos Aires, measures are being taken to enhance public areas with the financial assistance of private companies and organizations. Also in Buenos Aires, as part of the Environmental Urban Plan, there is a new policy of increasing the amount of green areas available by recovering public land that had been leased out for private use. In addition, in many of the region's cities pedestrians are being given preferential treatment in the downtown area, where cars have been banned from many streets.

Substantial efforts are also being made to halt and reverse the worsening physical deterioration of old buildings in central areas, many of which are of considerable historical value. The idea is to recapture a potential demand for these areas which has shifted to areas that in many cases are located in better-off suburbs offering better environmental conditions, greater flexibility in the way space is used and certainty about

Table 12

MEASURES IMPLEMENTED IN 1998 BY THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES OF SOME LATIN AMERICAN CITIES TO DEAL WITH THE ISSUE OF PUBLIC SAFETY

Cities	Preventive measures	Control measures	Combined Measures
Bogotá	Citizen and police education, participation and training, social work with gangs, campaigns against domestic violence and drug use, ban on the carrying of arms	Police oversight and economic sanctions	All policies have preventive, deterrent and repressive components
Buenos Aires	Crime and Violence Prevention Programme: Creation of neighbourhood councils; educational meetings; better police-community relations	Neighbourhood councils identify and monitor neighbourhood security needs	Activities relating to education, health, policing, marginalization, town planning, unemployment, justice
La Paz	Increasing awareness and provision of training in communities to preclude and control the risk of contracting diseases and the use of foodstuffs whose quality is not guaranteed	Elimination of illegally introduced species that are hazardous to health	Introduction of medical card, registry of businesses dealing in medicine and used clothing
Lima	Neglected Minors Assistance Programme; child care services	Control of venereal diseases, escorting of minors to child care services	Street sweeps coordinated among various institutions
Managua	Job creation in poor neighbourhoods; community participation in identifying and solving problems; specific measures directed at the young		
Medellín	Campaigns for disarmament, use of community alarms, prevention of drug use, creation of community facilities, communal security system	Operatives always active in places where there is the greatest conflict	
Mexico City	Citizen security programme involving a greater neighbourhood police presence combined with citizen oversight of police actions	Specific programmes to prevent assault and robbery	Creation of justice centres to monitor police activities, efficiency and clean-up programmes, replacement of staff in Attorney General's Office

Table 12 (concl.)

Cities	Preventive measures	Control measures	Combined Measures
Panama City	Arms for Food Programme: reduction of illegal weaponry	Social Prevention Programme: security operatives in the districts	Coordination of institutions with a view to reducing juvenile delinquency
Quito	Strengthening of community organization	Better aid and emergency communications	Security project in the historic city centre; expansion of metropolitan police
Rio de Janeiro	Favela-Barrio Programme, strengthening of Municipal Guard	Ban on sale of illegal merchandise	
San José, Costa Rica	Greater police presence in the city, creation of neighbourhood committees	Permanent operatives	Communal organization, coordination with other police forces
Santa Cruz	Protection of recreational areas used by the public	Public lighting policy, coordination of neighbourhood councils, mothers' centres, youth and civic organizations	Arrangements with other institutions
Santiago, Chile	Citizen prevention and protection committees, neighbourhood education, network of video cameras	Monthly assessment system, digital maps in prefectures	Patrolling Your Neighbourhood programmes, programme against drug use, youth employment programme
São Paulo	Drug education and avoidance programmes, creation of Community Security Councils, community policing programme	Weapon Control Law, judicial monitoring of the police, closer watch on schools, measures to combat police corruption	Banning of street sellers from central areas of the city

Source: ECLAC, *Social Panorama of Latin America, 1998* (LC/G.2050-P), Santiago, Chile, 1999, pp. 234-235. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.99.II.G.4.

the future value of real estate investments. Some experiments with integrated initiatives for restoring and conserving the heritage of downtown areas have drawn on financial and institutional resources from the public sector, such as the programme to preserve the historic centre of the city of Salvador in Bahia, Brazil. In most of the countries, however, it is now very difficult to envisage the restoration of downtown areas being accomplished exclusively through public-sector efforts, so partnerships between the public and private sectors are being undertaken to revitalize central areas. One example is the programme to restore the historic centre of Quito which is now being carried out by the municipality with financing from IDB; the Quito Historic Centre Development Corporation (ECH) was set up for this purpose in 1996 as a private entity with mixed funding and began operating in January 1996. The case of Kingston, Jamaica, is another example of a public-private partnership which is detailed in box 15.

The experiments carried out in recent years show that it is vital to secure a political consensus as to the objectives, advantages and funding of any restoration programme; moreover, this consensus needs to be long-lasting enough to permit these projects to bear fruit. This means there must be genuine participation by interested groups and society in general in formulating and approving the corresponding plans so that they will have the necessary degree of legitimacy and effectiveness. Another important factor is the stability of the regulatory system for private investment, so that private investors can calculate risks and returns. The most successful projects have proved to be those that have approached the restoration of central areas in an integral fashion; these projects have included support for production activities and explicit measures to ensure that lower-income inhabitants are not driven out and, in some cases, that the historical heritage is not destroyed by the dynamic of the property market.

Some initiatives have sought to remedy the lack of community areas and facilities in informal and makeshift suburbs through neighbourhood improvement programmes. These programmes have also included measures for legalizing and awarding title to informal housing, providing drinking water and sewerage services and marking out access roads; these measures have proved to have a high social rate of return. Examples of such initiatives include the *Favela-Barrio* programme in Rio de Janeiro, the major efforts being made in Lima to establish property title in many of the city's suburbs (this programme is also being extended to include other cities in the country), and the programme to register and establish title to informally owned property that is being implemented in Bogotá. The Ministry of Housing in Chile has introduced a Participatory Surfacing Programme to try to improve the accessibility of poor settlements by surfacing access roads, with the cooperation of the communities involved. Through its Community

Improvements Programme, it is also seeking to make good the shortcomings of the low-cost housing projects built in previous years so that they can be improved and equipped with the cooperation of the community and the municipality (Duveauchelle and others, 2000).[65]

Box 15

RESTORING THE DOWNTOWN AREA OF KINGSTON, JAMAICA

Until 1970 the main site for industrial and commercial activity in Kingston, Jamaica, was the downtown area, but by the mid-1980s a large number of buildings were unoccupied and many of them had been vandalized. More than 6,000 very poor people, many of them unemployed, lived in this area in run-down housing that was lacking in essential facilities. The high crime rate drove companies out and discouraged private investment. In 1983, the Kingston Restoration Company Ltd. (KRC) was formed. In conjunction with government bodies, private companies and international donor organizations, KRC launched a dynamic public-private partnership to revitalize the downtown area. KRC was given four areas of responsibility:

- Rehabilitating and selling buildings for industrial and commercial use with a view to creating new jobs and improving the appearance of central Kingston.
- Strengthening the area as a viable business centre through strategic planning and basic investment designed to draw in other public and private investments.
- Implementing a community development programme to provide the necessary services to resident low-income communities and encourage them to participate in the development process.
- Administering a programme of donations to be applied to restoration work, with the aim of making it easier for companies to expand and for small proprietors to improve the area.

Between July 1986 and June 1996, KRC implemented a series of strategies. It restored three buildings for rental purposes so that manufacturing and commercial activities could be conducted there. It also provided financial help for the restoration of buildings, with the aim of ensuring that small businesses and owners of small properties could remain in them. Lastly, it improved public areas, replaced pavement, installed street furniture and planted trees. Merchants took responsibility for renovating building facades.

Up until the mid-1990s there was a rise in private investment in the centre. Nonetheless, crime has not been brought under control, and the low-income groups residing in the centre of Kingston are still living in extreme poverty. Many major investors are still sceptical about the opportunities offered by the city centre, and for this reason a programme of tax incentives for renovation and rentals was introduced in 1995.

Source: E. Rojas and R. Daughters (eds.), *La ciudad en el siglo XXI. Simposio de buenas prácticas en gestión urbana en América Latina y el Caribe*, Washington, D.C., Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), 1998.

[65] The World Bank and Habitat will shortly be initiating a programme (known as the Cities Alliance Programme) in the region designed to support these comprehensive improvement projects for squatter and other informal settlements.

VII. Increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of habitat policies

In keeping with the general reorientation of public policy in the region, human settlements policies have undergone major adjustments since the 1980s. Some of these changes have to do with the content of policies, others with the way they are implemented. In the case of policy content, action has become more selective; the idea of universality has been superseded by more accurate targeting, and progressiveness has been given a higher priority than coverage. This tendency has had the effect of improving the social effectiveness of housing policies, in particular, by reducing the regressive features they displayed in the 1960s and 1970s. Selectivity, however, has led to the weakening of those aspects that concern urban society as a whole, examples being the planning of urban and land use structures with a view to competitiveness, the management of environmental affairs and the construction of urban areas and infrastructure.

On the other hand, there seems to be a greater awareness of the need for land use, urban and housing initiatives to take an integral, multifaceted approach. Many programmes now complement other social programmes, employment policies, environmental and other initiatives more effectively, and this has raised their efficiency by comparison with traditional sectoral measures.

In terms of implementation, two particular features came to the forefront towards the end of the last decade. On the one hand, the role of the State in land use, urban and housing affairs has clearly diminished, giving way to greater participation by private actors.[66] In some cases, the involvement of the private sector has led to a considerable increase in the volume of financial and operational resources available to support policies, as has been the case with the application of certain housing and urban services management models in the region. There are also cases, however, where this shift in the relative importance of the public and private sectors' roles has weakened these policies, and this has had disturbing effects in terms of the sustainability of human settlements. On some occasions, privatization has been deemed to be an appropriate objective, but it has not been carried out properly; in other cases, it has been used as a pretext for reducing public-sector efforts in this area.

Another implementational aspect is the effect that decentralization processes have on habitat policies, as decision-making powers of the national institutions traditionally responsible for urban and housing policies are transferred to the municipalities. In many cases, this has resulted in civil society becoming more closely involved in urban and housing management, with positive effects for the democratization process. Nonetheless, care must be taken to ensure that in the future this process does not delay the development of a quantitatively and qualitatively adequate supply of residential and urban goods and services to meet the needs that exist in this respect. Also, given the marked spatial segregation of the population, there need to be adequate compensatory mechanisms to ensure that poorer municipalities and towns will be able to provide these goods and services. Lastly, the tendency towards decentralization is likely to create a need for stronger territorial linkage and integration mechanisms to prevent the emergence of a dangerous spatial fragmentation that could undermine the sustainable development of settlement systems in the region.

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[66] Even in these cases, experience suggests that the role played by the public sector does not necessarily diminish: rather, it takes on new functions such as regulation and/or compensation in areas where action is needed but the private sector does not operate.

Box 16
DEBATE ON URBAN FINANCING

Decentralization has increased local responsibilities, and this has placed the need for higher local tax receipts and greater capacity for investment in urban development near the top of the agenda. As cities have developed, it has become obvious that progress needs to be made on two different fronts at the same time: the search for new factors of urban competitiveness (more infrastructure), and measures to address accumulated social inequalities (more equity in the provision of such facilities to the city's human resources). Urban growth and the resulting increase in the value of land constitute a potential source of substantial resources that could be used to help meet this challenge. Discussions of urban financing policies run along two complementary lines: on the one hand, the creation of incentives for private investment in urban development and, on the other, the creation of mechanisms to capture the benefits of rising values resulting from public works or decisions. This means that the State would be recovering the increase in land values resulting from zoning measures or public works, with the justification being that most of the value of land is derived from the efforts of society to improve the surrounding environment. To this end, two approaches can be identified: (i) modernization of the traditional instruments of property tax policy, which can in itself help to recover a large portion of the increased value generated by society and augment its contribution to equity; and (ii) the creation of new instruments (e.g., assessments for improvements and other levies) which can complement the traditional instruments used to finance urban programmes by generating off-budget resources. Generally speaking, instruments of this second type are applied locally, either in particular zones or when certain events occur (such as changes in regulations), while assessments are applied on an ongoing basis and are comprehensive in coverage.

It has been pointed out that both approaches provide an opportunity for analysis and policy-making of a sort that does not run counter to the workings of the market but that does provide a means of correcting major market failures (externalities and regressive effects) and of helping to promote the supply of economic and social merit goods.

Source: Camilo Arriagada and Daniela Simioni, "Acceso al suelo, impuestos locales y financiamiento del desarrollo urbano: el caso de Santiago de Chile", Santiago, Chile, Environment and Human Settlements Division, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), draft report, 2000.

1. Insufficient consolidation of the sectoral institutional framework

A comparison of the institutional structure for human settlements in the mid- and late 1990s suggests that the position of urban and housing issues on the political agendas of most of the region's countries has not been consolidated. Table 13 lists the public institutions in the different countries that have been identified as having responsibility for housing and urban planning in the first and second halves of the 1990s. As can be seen, in many countries the sectoral body that was operating at the end of the period did not exist in the early 1990s. This reveals a degree of institutional instability that affects the consolidation of policies over the long term.

While most of the countries have institutions of ministerial rank, their responsibilities are often confined either to urban development or to housing, which impedes or complicates integrated management of habitat at its different levels.[67] Given the diversity of historical roots and approaches that characterizes the human settlements sector, the variety of additional functions performed by some of these bodies (construction, infrastructure, communications, the environment, etc.) can be an obstacle to the consolidation of regional institutions in this field.

2. Decentralization and stronger local authorities

The experiments carried out with decentralization to date have resulted in qualitative progress from the point of view both of democratization and of the effectiveness of urban management. Scope has been created for new actors to participate directly in the design and implementation of urban and housing policies.[68] From the gender standpoint, for example, it is interesting to note that women are generally somewhat better represented in local institutions than they are at the national decision-making level, although their presence is still very limited. As table A-14 of the annex makes clear, of 12 countries where more than 5% of mayors are women, 11 are in the Caribbean and Central America and just one (Chile) in South America. Bahamas, Dominica,

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[67] Even in cases where the same bodies are responsible for housing and urban development, there are difficulties in combining the two subject areas and designing integrated measures.

[68] In Cuba, comprehensive urban and land management plans are drawn up at the municipal level, thereby integrating local agencies into the work of other institutions and planning bodies.

Guyana, Nicaragua and Trinidad and Tobago have the most women mayors, with percentages of between 20% and 30%.[69]

In operational terms, progress has been patchier. In some cases, the real ability of these local bodies to handle the many complex problems that the region still faces in the areas of housing, facilities and urban development has been overestimated, or there has been a failure to increase municipal financing through adequate transfers from central or state governments. In other cases, it seems that not enough importance has been given to achieving greater continuity and professionalism in the activities of municipalities with a view to establishing the basic social covenants required at the local level for the medium- and long-term management of human settlements. In some countries the sustainable development of cities and territories has been undermined by local political and electoral processes, which have prevented the consolidation, on the one hand, of a sector that would serve as a supplier of the various urban goods and services and, on the other, of an organized, responsible demand for those goods and services.

The developments described above may have played a role in weakening the sector, which had previously maintained a solid political presence during periods when the State was engaged in building public works and housing, or carrying out centralized land use planning. Because of this, some national institutions are cautiously beginning to look at the possibility of reassigning habitat-related responsibilities. A selective, gradual transfer, backed up by the necessary resources and improvements in the capabilities of the relevant agencies, seems to be the most advisable path to take, given the differences in the sizes, budgets and management capabilities of local governments.

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[69] In view of this situation, some countries (such as Brazil and Peru) have passed affirmative action laws in favour of women at the municipal level. Coordination mechanisms and international forums are also being strengthened, one example being the initiatives being pursued within the International Union of Local Authorities to enhance the work of women mayors and to help them overcome difficulties and inexperience when they begin to take up responsibilities at this level.

Table 13

LATIN AMERICA (19 COUNTRIES): POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE SECTOR

Country	Institutions	
	1994	1999
Argentina	Secretariat of Housing and Environmental Quality of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare	Ministry of Infrastructure and Housing
Barbados	Ministry of Public Works, Transport and Housing	Ministry of Housing and Lands
Bolivia	Urban Secretariat of Urban Affairs of the Ministry of Human Development National Fund for Social Housing	Ministry of Housing and Essential Services
Brazil	Housing Secretariat of the Ministry of Social Welfare	Special Secretariat of Urban Development (SEDU), Office of the President of the Republic
Chile	Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (MINVU)	Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (MINVU)
Colombia	Office of the Under-Secretary for Urban Development, Housing and Drinking Water, dep. of the Ministry of Economic Development	Housing Office of the Ministry of Economic Development
Costa Rica	Ministry of Housing and Human Settlements	Ministry of Housing and Human Settlements
Cuba	National Housing Institute of the Ministry of Construction	National Housing Institute of the Ministry of Construction Institute of Physical Planning of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Planning
Ecuador	Ministry of Urban Development and Housing	Ministry of Urban Development and Housing (MIDUVI)
El Salvador	Office of the Under-Secretary for Housing and Urban Development Ministry of Public Works, Transport, Housing and Urban Development	Office of the Under-Secretary for Housing and Urban Development Ministry of Public Works, Transport, Housing and Urban Development
Guatemala	Ministry of Urban and Rural Development Office of the Under-Secretary for Housing	Ministry of Infrastructure, Communication and Housing

Table 13 (concl.)

Country	Institutions	
	1994	1999
Jamaica	Ministry of Development and Housing	Ministry of Development and Housing
Mexico	Office of the Under-Secretary for Housing and Real Estate under the supervision of the Secretariat of Social Development (SEDESOL)	Office of the Under-Secretary for Housing and Real Estate under the supervision of the Secretariat of Social Development (SEDESOL)
Nicaragua	Ministry of Construction and Transport (1988)	Institute of Urban and Rural Housing
Panama	Ministry of Housing (MIVI) (1973)	Ministry of Housing
Paraguay	National Housing Council (CONAVI) (1991)	National Housing Council
Peru	Office of the Under-Secretary of Housing and Construction Ministry of Transport, Communications, Housing and Construction.	State Housing and Construction Office under the Ministry of Transport, Communications, Housing and Construction
Uruguay	Ministry of Housing, Land Management and Environment (MVOTMA) (1990)	Ministry of Housing, Land Management and Environment
Venezuela	National Housing Council attached to the Ministry of Urban Development	National Housing Council

Source:

[a] Unión Interamericana para la Vivienda (UNIAPRAVI), *América Latina: organización institucional y reformas en el sector vivienda*, Lima, 1994.

[b] Información de la página Web, Governments on the WWW (http://www.gkcoft.com/govt/en/america.html).

Box 17

THE DECENTRALIZATION PROCESS IN MEXICO

With the formulation of its National Development Plan (PND) 1995-2000, Mexico has taken a firm step towards decentralization. The country's Programme for a New Federalism (NF) 1995-2000 aims to strengthen national unity by grounding intergovernmental relations in the principles of cooperation and coordination. In practice, this means strengthening the structures, functions and responsibilities pertaining to institutions at every level of government. Under the reformed Political Constitution of the United Mexican States, there is no intermediate level of authority between the municipality and the federal government. Municipalities are also given greater autonomy in the administration and operation of public services, are permitted to forge partnerships and cooperative arrangements with other municipalities, and are authorized to take direct charge of municipal resources. They are also empowered to plan land use and the settlement of their territory, draw up regional development plans, provide formal title for urban land holdings, grant building licences and permits and enter into agreements governing such matters as the administration and preservation of federal areas.

These changes mark the beginning of a wide-ranging process of decentralization based on the municipality as the cell of political organization that will enable municipalities to collect and administer more resources by drawing on new sources of revenue which were previously managed by the federal government.

In addition, a number of Social Development Agreements have been signed. These instruments have made it possible to give cooperation efforts substance in financial terms and in the form of activities carried out jointly by states and the federation in areas as important as the eradication of poverty, land management and regional and urban development, housing and, of course, the creation and improvement of infrastructure and essential services.

In the case of the Federal District, the election of the Head of Government, local deputies and, in 2000, directors of government offices has led to a profound transformation of the political system. In 1998 the Public Administration Organization Act for the Federal District was amended, with functions and powers being assigned to territorial units in the areas of government, administration, legal affairs, public works, services, social activities, civil protection, public security and economic, cultural and sporting promotional activities.

Source: Government of the United Mexican States, "Conferencia Hábitat: Estambul + 5. Reporte de México", Mexico City, 29 June 2000.

In cases where an excessively city- and town-centred view has been taken, there has been less concern about integrated, consistent management of the vast areas that make up the region's territory. To remedy this fragmentation, efforts are being made to encourage the free association of municipalities that share the same territories, share exchange information about successful experiences of municipal management[70] and "reassemble" the larger land use management units that ought to prevail —decentralization notwithstanding— in order to meet the need for competitiveness and to provide the necessary counterweights to balance out the positions of territories that are "winners" and those that are "losers".

Taken as a whole, the process of decentralizing functions in the field of housing and urban development is still at a very early stage by comparison with what has happened in other sectors. The powers and resources that have been transferred thus far have been quite limited, particularly in countries with specialized agencies of long standing at the national level. In these cases, there will be a need in the coming years to proceed with the decentralization process without forfeiting the advantages associated with a fairly solid sectoral organization at the national level or missing the opportunities offered by a scale of territorial coverage that permits the type of targeting that will enhance equity. By contrast, countries with less of a tradition of public housing policy seem to be more willing to "municipalize" their programmes and to bring in concepts such as that of citizen participation in habitat policies. This willingness needs to be accompanied, however, by efforts to remedy the operational, technical and financial weaknesses that hinder efforts, particularly in the poorest municipalities, to address complex urban development and housing issues.

[70] The Urban Management Programme and the Habitat Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean have been making a sustained effort to document successful experiments promptly and creatively and publicize them in the region.

Box 18

SOME REGIONAL COOPERATION INITIATIVES

In recent years, numerous international initiatives have helped to strengthen the region's territorial dimension. The United Nations Urban Management Programme has played an important role in encouraging horizontal cooperation and the sharing of experience in urban matters, helping local governments to formulate participatory urban policies and supporting training and further research in the field of urban management. The programme has provided technical assistance for decentralization in Bolivia, environmental and urban infrastructure policies in Brazil, the reformulation of national urban policy in Chile, the design of a national urban development policy in Colombia, the creation of an infrastructure and environment policy in Cuba, and housing and urban development in El Salvador. With help from German and Swiss aid funds and from international institutions (World Bank and Habitat), the Urban Management Programme is helping to organize consultation processes, providing technical documentation and facilitating the sharing of experiences within the region.

The creation of networks for cooperation and the sharing of experiences is another way of targeting urban management-related problems and supporting cooperation between countries. In December 1995 the European Commission, motivated by the strengthening of its relations with Latin America, decided to launch a project for cooperation between local agencies in Europe and Latin America. The URB-AL programme, which promote decentralized forms of cooperation, aims to establish direct, lasting links between local urban development actors. The programme is structured around thematic networks (conservation of historic town centres, democracy, economic development, social policies, urban mobility) in which municipalities participate alongside NGOs, universities and other bodies in the two regions. The idea is that through the spread of best practice, the living conditions of citizens can be improved and equitable, lasting development achieved.

The International Forum of Parliamentarians for Habitat, one of the most important institutional groupings supporting implementation of the Habitat Agenda, has concentrated its efforts on finding mechanisms for sharing experiences among the parliamentarians of the world with a view to improving the quality of the legislation applied in different countries, states and municipalities. The Regional Habitat Office plays an active part in its meetings and debates in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The World Charter of Local Self-Government is a joint initiative of the Coordinator of the World Associations of Cities and Local Authorities and UNCHS/Habitat to produce an international agreement setting forth the principles applicable to local self-government and decentralization within the framework of the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II). The regional consultation exercise for Latin America and the Caribbean was held in Santiago, Chile, in July 1999, and a number of suggestions for adapting the Habitat Agenda to the needs of the region were approved. Fundamentally, the Charter treats the decentralization process as an international convention rather than simply as a

Box 18 (concl.)

State policy. The objective of the consultations, which have been carried out in all the regions of the world, is to have the World Charter of Local Self-Government ready for submission to the United Nations General Assembly in June 2001 for its approval and endorsement.

Other initiatives have come out of the region itself. In 1995, the Mercosur countries and Chile formulated a regional cooperation project called "Social and economic challenges involved in the improvement of building quality in the countries of the Southern Cone". This programme, in which the European Union is cooperating, aims to encourage the development of national housing strategies and to produce standards and common procedures for improving building quality with the participation of the private sector, universities and research institutions. The project is being coordinated by the Urban Policy Secretariat of the Government of Brazil.

Source: "Ciudades para un futuro más sostenible (http://habitat.aq.upm.es/); EUROPA, European Union server (http://www.europa.eu.int/); Lereseau@archi.fr (http://www.archi.fr/); PBQP-H (Programa brasileiro de qualidade e produtividade na construção habitacional) (http://www.pbqp-h.gov.br/).

VIII. Conclusions and recommendations for consolidating urban consensuses

For several decades now the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean have benefited from a regional vision of economic policy that has enabled the authorities to envisage the changes needed to develop instruments having a broader scope than could be achieved if each national situation were to be considered in isolation. In the sphere of territorial policy, by contrast, the public institutions responsible for human settlements did not begin to adopt a regional outlook until the early 1990s, and this new approach is therefore still very much in the process of being developed.

Since urbanization occurred quite early on by comparison with other developing regions, Latin America and the Caribbean has built up considerable experience with land use management. During the decades of rapid urbanization, policy makers responsible for housing and urban planning had to cope with the challenge of managing the growth of cities and reducing the negative impact of rapidly expanding urban territories; the measures taken to do this, however, were mainly reactive in nature, and were not entirely up to the task of predicting and guiding the land use developments occurring in the countries. More recently, the opening up of the international market, which has gathered momentum over the last decade, has also contributed to the shaping of new integration territories and to the changes that have been seen in the distribution patterns of human settlements, which now transcend national boundaries. Although

human settlement planning and management instruments are still weak in many ways, the countries of the region now appear to be better prepared in terms of experience and technical capabilities to meet this new challenge.

One organization that has a great potential for strengthening the effectiveness of habitat policies at the regional level is the Regional Meeting of Ministers and High-level Authorities of the Housing and Urban Development Sector (MINURVI), created at the beginning of the 1990s by representatives of institutions in the sector. The main reason for the organization of MINURVI was the desire of these sectoral institutions to join forces so that they would have greater political and institutional weight in the countries and the region and would thus be able to reposition the human settlements sector, which had been weakened in the 1980s. The work undertaken by MINURVI in specific policy areas, such as technology and finance, has been of great interest, while the kinds of tasks that might be undertaken in future include identifying and implementing joint initiatives to secure widespread recognition of the importance of the human settlements sector in the countries themselves and at the regional level.

The Regional Plan of Action on Human Settlements is another valuable instrument that the region has at its command that can help it to build a concerted habitat platform. During the preparations for the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II), Latin America and the Caribbean made a major effort in the first half of the 1990s to analyse the specific characteristics of the region's urban and housing situation, pinpoint similarities and identify common challenges that will need to be met in order to develop its territories and cities in an integrated fashion. The results of this effort were given expression in the Regional Plan of Action, which, with the backing of MINURVI, promises to become an important regional instrument for institutionalizing a vision of the regional territory and providing a basis for the implementation of joint urban planning and land use measures to complement the efforts made by each country individually to develop habitat policies.

These two valuable coordination mechanisms —the Regional Plan of Action and the Meeting of Ministers— give Latin America and the Caribbean a clear advantage over other regions in making rapid progress towards concerted management of the regional territory. Nonetheless, the analysis carried out earlier in this document suggests that this advantage has not yet been realized to the full. Five years after Habitat II, there are still too few examples of joint action by the countries of the region, and no institutional mechanisms for implementing or following up on the territorial integration process have yet been established. In part, this is because the countries have had to concentrate much of their attention on their specific urban problems and challenges, which has led them to put off

some initiatives for developing particular territories within the region or dovetailing the functions of their urban centres on a scale that would transcend national boundaries.

Promising links have been formed among cities in Latin America and the Caribbean in recent years. This type of process can hardly be regarded as the outcome of more concerted planning and management of the regional habitat, however, since it is actually an outcome of recent economic situations that have drawn some particularly successful centres and their surrounding territories, in an unplanned fashion, into regional and global networks.

With some operational adjustments and changes of emphasis, the Regional Plan of Action could come to be the main instrument for generating the urban consensus that the region urgently needs. For this to happen, it will be necessary to put in place the mechanisms and instruments required for implementation and follow-up at the regional level. Another area that warrants attention has to do with the nature of the agreements contained in the Regional Plan of Action. At present, most of these agreements relate to challenges that the countries share, but that need to be addressed on an individual country basis. This instrument should therefore be supplemented by other agreements relating to activities aimed at consolidating spheres of activity that are undertaken at the regional level as such, rather than being confined to individual countries.

Leaving aside these adjustments, it is important to recognize some particularly valuable aspects of the Regional Plan that deserve to be retained and emphasized in future. One of these is the attention this instrument pays to the proposal for achieving sustainable development of the regional habitat by integrating a number of different dimensions. The review carried out in the preceding chapters shows how the regional domain has recently emerged as a "container" for powerful social, economic and environmental processes that are at work in the region and how it has the potential to integrate these processes to achieve sustainable development across the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. Because of this, the multifaceted approach of the Regional Plan of Action is particularly relevant both to the analysis of recent urban and land use problems and challenges and to the policymaking process.

Another strength of the Plan of Action is that it envisages territorial operations on a larger scale than is normally used for habitat planning and management. Even in this region, which does have some tradition of national human settlements policies, a dangerous analytical fragmentation of the issue of human settlements can be observed. This is detrimental to an understanding of the linkage needed between cities and territories, and it

inhibits implementation of spatial integration initiatives such as those that the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean looked for in the 1990s. Furthermore, if the neglect of spatial issues in discussions and decision-making about development in general is to be rectified, it will be necessary to counterbalance the tendency of sectoral policies to operate at specific local levels by promoting broader visions of regional land use management.

The balance that, as indicated by the Regional Plan, needs to be struck between the management of territory and the management of cities ties in with the above. The high degree of urbanization in Latin America and the Caribbean does not mean that there is a trend towards increasingly homogeneous patterns of settlement, but quite the opposite. Urban centres are displaying an increasing diversity, and this demands instruments of considerable complexity. Consequently, it is a cause for concern that, in the global context, sectoral discussion tends to centre around large cities, with insufficient attention being given to an enormous number of other urban and rural situations that are very important from the standpoint of human settlements. With interest polarized between the big urban centres of the third world with their rapid growth and accumulation of poverty at one extreme, and the "ageing" cities of the developed world with their highly sophisticated problems at the other, the complex urban situation of Latin America seems to be little understood or considered in the global debate.

What is more, in this region the tendency to equate human settlements with cities has converged with the debate, which has been going on for many years in the individual countries, about decentralization of the State system, the argument being that the main political and practical responsibilities and authorities relating to human settlements should be shifted from national authorities to local governments. It has been claimed that this change would ensure that development in the region would be conceived of and implemented in a more suitable way from a spatial perspective.

The issues analysed in this document seem to suggest that, with all its advantages, merely shifting habitat management from the central to the local sphere will not in itself bring more spatially balanced development to Latin America and the Caribbean. Among other reasons, this is because, thus far, only a few cities —generally the biggest and/or the most economically successful— have taken on important roles in this field; most cities do not have the resources or the opportunities to deal with their habitat problems on their own. As long as this continues to be the case, national governments in this region will continue to play a vital role in resolving the main problems of cities and in using territorial compensation mechanisms to offset imbalances in development potential. Again, coordinated efforts on the part of the countries to manage the regional

domain in a consistent way should enable this development potential to be maximized in Latin America and the Caribbean as a whole. Because of this, a conception of the Regional Plan of Action that is based on national urban, land use and housing development policies still applies, although it would be advisable to consider how the local sphere could be included when these policies are implemented.

The experiences of the countries and the cases reviewed here show that there is a high degree of consensus about the direction that urban and housing policies should take in the future (MacDonald and Simioni, 1999). Firstly, substantially greater horizontal linkage capabilities need to achieved in the near future. Narrow sectoral approaches do not resolve the main urban and housing problems. The most successful initiatives have demonstrated the effectiveness of more open operations in which, with the help of more comprehensive habitat policies, numerous sectors take part in the application of territorial and land use measures. Secondly, there is an urgent need to organize habitat policy measures and investments more consistently at the different territorial levels, including everything from the national to the intermediate —regional or departmental or provincial— levels of government, and from the urban to the local and residential levels. From the point of view of sectoral institutions, there is a need to bring vertical consistency to sectoral policies. This process of decentralization is strengthened when the relevant actors are given sufficient freedom and scope for decision-making so that they can give expression to their particular interests and approaches at each level. Lastly, there is an evident need for the private sector to become involved in the management of human settlements. The public sector is being assigned fewer and fewer responsibilities in relation to habitat management and improvement. A whole range of initiatives that were undertaken in the 1990s have opened up spheres of activity for the private sector (understood broadly as including social and citizens' organizations, as well as the business sector) so that private actors' priorities and potentials can be matched up with the responsibilities of public bodies, particularly when it comes to regulation and the reduction of inequities in the field of human settlements.

To sum up, the review of the main aspects of the existing situation with respect to human settlements in the region which has been carried out in this document, as well as of recent developments in policies and institutions, suggests that in the coming years the significance of the regional domain will extend beyond the identification of emerging trends in the cities and territory of the Latin American and Caribbean countries. The adoption of a regional standpoint will make it possible, above all, for appropriate measures to be agreed upon and implemented so that these trends can be reinforced if they contribute to the well-being of the

population, economic progress or environmental sustainability, or can be redirected if they entail negative effects.

As much as or more so than economic, social or environmental development, territorial development in the region can no longer be viewed as simply the aggregation of local and national policies, nor can it be dealt with simply by sharing specific experiences among towns and cities. Rather, it requires bold collective efforts that can exploit the potential synergy of a highly urbanized continent with considerable experience in the management of urban and housing issues and turn its rich diversity into a resource rather than an impediment for the progress of its cities and territories.

Given recent developments in human settlements policies and institutions in the region, as well as the guidelines that have come out of Istanbul and other forums, the development of a sound regional perspective or approach will demand the inclusion of all the relevant actors, such as public sectoral agencies, city governments, the private sector, grassroots organizations, legislative bodies and the international institutions most deeply involved in this field. These actors, which are already grouped into forums or networks, could join forces in order to create a regional agency with greater political weight and operational capabilities.

Within this context, there are two major tasks. The first is to restore the position of importance that the concept of territory formerly occupied within the sphere of urban policy and in this way balance out the current emphasis on the cities that has been associated with the region's decentralization processes. The second is to build an effective institutional structure for the analysis and consideration of the territorial situation in the region which can help guide habitat policies within a medium-term time horizon and help legitimize the territorial dimension as an essential component of Latin American and Caribbean development.

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http://www.iclei.org/la21/cities (International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives)
http://www.pbqp-h.gov.br/ (Programa brasileiro de qualidade e productividade na construção habitacional)
http://www.webmediaven.com/parlamaz/amazonia.html (Parlamento Amazónico)
http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/inequal/growth.htm (World Bank)

Statistical annex

Table A-1

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: URBAN POPULATION GROWTH RATE, BY COUNTRY, 1970-2020

Countries, by stage in urban transition	1970-1975	1975-1980	1980-1985	1985-1990	1990-1995	1995-2000	2000-2005	2005-2010	2010-2015	2015-2020
Advanced[a]	**1970-1975**	**1975-1980**	**1980-1985**	**1985-1990**	**1990-1995**	**1995-2000**	**2000-2005**	**2005-2010**	**2010-2015**	**2015-2020**
Argentina	2.2	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.1	0.9
Bahamas	2.6	2.6	3.2	2.8	2.6	2.3	1.9	1.5	1.3	1.1
Chile	2.5	2.3	2.1	2.1	2.0	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.1
Uruguay	0.4	1.3	1.4	0.9	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.6
Venezuela	4.4	4.3	3.2	3.1	2.7	2.4	2.1	1.9	1.7	1.4
Midway[b]	**1970-1975**	**1975-1980**	**1980-1985**	**1985-1990**	**1990-1995**	**1995-2000**	**2000-2005**	**2005-2010**	**2010-2015**	**2015-2020**
Brazil	4.4	4.2	3.2	2.8	2.3	1.9	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.1
Colombia	3.7	3.1	2.9	2.7	2.7	2.5	2.2	2.0	1.8	1.6
Cuba	3.0	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.4	1.0	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.4
Mexico	4.2	3.7	3.1	2.8	2.4	2.2	1.9	1.6	1.4	1.2
Peru	4.1	3.4	3.0	2.7	2.5	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.5	1.4
Trinidad and Tobago	0.8	1.4	2.7	1.5	1.5	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.0	0.9

Table A-1 (concl.)

Countries, by stage in urban transition	1970-1975	1975-1980	1980-1985	1985-1990	1990-1995	1995-2000	2000-2005	2005-2010	2010-2015	2015-2020
Early[c]	**1970-1975**	**1975-1980**	**1980-1985**	**1985-1990**	**1990-1995**	**1995-2000**	**2000-2005**	**2005-2010**	**2010-2015**	**2015-2020**
Barbados	1.3	1.0	1.4	1.4	1.7	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.3
Bolivia	4.7	4.6	4.1	4.1	4.1	3.7	3.2	2.8	2.4	2.1
Costa Rica	3.8	3.8	3.7	3.7	3.9	3.2	2.8	2.4	2.2	2.0
Ecuador	4.0	5.2	4.4	3.9	3.5	3.1	2.7	2.3	2.0	1.7
El Salvador	3.9	3.4	2.0	2.5	3.2	3.0	2.7	2.4	2.1	2.0
Jamaica	2.7	2.3	2.5	1.5	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7
Nicaragua	4.1	3.7	3.6	2.8	3.4	3.2	3.2	2.8	2.6	2.3
Panama	3.1	2.9	2.9	2.8	2.6	2.3	2.1	1.8	1.6	1.5
Paraguay	3.5	4.5	4.5	4.7	4.2	4.0	3.7	3.4	3.0	2.7
Dominican Republic	5.0	4.6	3.2	2.7	3.1	2.7	2.3	2.0	1.7	1.4
Incipient[d]	**1970-1975**	**1975-1980**	**1980-1985**	**1985-1990**	**1990-1995**	**1995-2000**	**2000-2005**	**2005-2010**	**2010-2015**	**2015-2020**
Guatemala	3.0	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.9	3.0	2.9	2.7	2.6	2.3
Haiti	4.1	4.1	4.4	4.7	4.2	4.0	3.7	3.3	3.0	2.6
Honduras	5.1	5.1	4.7	4.6	4.6	4.4	4.0	3.6	3.2	2.8

Source: ECLAC, Population Division – Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE), population projections. For the Caribbean, United Nations, *Population Growth, Structure and Distribution. The Concise Report* (ST/ESA/SER.A/181), New York, 1999. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.99.XIII.15.

[a] Urban population represented 80% of the total population or more in 2000.
[b] Urban population represented more than 70% but less than 80% of the total population in 2000.
[c] Urban population represented between 50% and 70% of the total population in 2000.
[d] Urban population represented less than 50% of the total population in 2000.

Table A-2

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: RURAL POPULATION GROWTH RATE, BY COUNTRY, 1970-2020

Countries, by stage in urban transition	1970-1975	1975-1980	1980-1985	1985-1990	1990-1995	1995-2000	2000-2005	2005-2010	2010-2015	2015-2020
Advanced[a]	**1970-1975**	**1975-1980**	**1980-1985**	**1985-1990**	**1990-1995**	**1995-2000**	**2000-`2005**	**2005-2010**	**2010-2015**	**2015-2020**
Argentina	-0.6	-1.0	-0.9	-1.4	-1.0	-0.9	-0.8	-0.7	-0.6	-0.5
Bahamas	0.8	0.8	-2.0	-2.2	-2.0	-1.6	-1.2	-0.6	0.0	0.0
Chile	-0.7	-1.2	-0.6	-0.2	-0.3	-0.4	-0.6	-0.6	-0.6	-0.6
Uruguay	-0.9	-3.5	-4.5	-2.0	-1.9	-1.5	-0.9	-0.9	0.0	0.0
Venezuela	0.7	0.3	-0.2	-0.1	-0.3	-0.4	-0.4	-0.4	-0.4	-0.4
Midway[b]	**1970-1975**	**1975-1980**	**1980-1985**	**1985-1990**	**1990-1995**	**1995-2000**	**2000-2005**	**2005-2010**	**2010-2015**	**2015-2020**
Brazil	-0.4	-0.9	-0.3	-0.9	-0.9	-0.8	-0.7	-0.5	-0.3	-0.1
Colombia	0.3	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.1	0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.2	-0.2
Cuba	-0.3	-1.5	-1.6	-1.4	-1.7	-1.8	-1.7	-1.6	-1.4	-1.2
Mexico	1.4	0.9	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.0	-0.1	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2
Peru	0.9	1.4	1.2	0.6	0.1	1.0	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.4
Trinidad and Tobago	0.8	1.3	0.0	-1.2	-1.0	-1.2	-1.1	-0.9	-0.7	-0.8
Early[c]	**1970-1975**	**1975-1980**	**1980-1985**	**1985-1990**	**1990-1995**	**1995-2000**	**2000-2005**	**2005-2010**	**2010-2015**	**2015-2020**
Barbados	0.1	-0.3	-0.5	-0.4	-0.4	-0.6	-0.8	-0.8	-0.8	-1.0
Bolivia	1.0	0.7	-0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.4
Costa Rica	1.7	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.4	1.7	1.2	0.9	0.7	0.5
Ecuador	2.2	0.9	1.0	0.7	0.4	0.2	0.0	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1
El Salvador	1.9	1.2	-0.3	0.3	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.2
Jamaica	0.6	0.2	0.6	-0.3	-0.1	-0.2	-0.3	-0.4	-0.4	-0.4
Nicaragua	2.5	2.6	2.5	1.9	2.3	2.1	2.0	1.7	1.5	1.3
Panamá	2.3	2.0	1.3	1.2	1.0	0.8	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.1
Paraguay	1.9	2.3	1.8	1.7	1.2	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.4
Dominican Republic	0.9	0.4	1.3	1.6	0.4	0.2	0.0	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1

Table A-2 (concl.)

Countries, by stage in urban transition	1970-1975	1975-1980	1980-1985	1985-1990	1990-1995	1995-2000	2000-2005	2005-2010	2010-2015	2015-2020
Incipient[d]	**1970-1975**	**1975-1980**	**1980-1985**	**1985-1990**	**1990-1995**	**1995-2000**	**2000-2005**	**2005-2010**	**2010-2015**	**2015-2020**
Guatemala	2.6	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.2	2.1	1.8
Haiti	1.1	1.4	1.6	1.5	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.3
Honduras	2.1	2.5	2.3	2.0	1.7	1.3	0.9	0.6	0.3	0.0

Source: ECLAC, Population Division – Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE) population projections. For the Caribbean, United Nations, *Population Growth, Structure and Distribution. The Concise Report* (ST/ESA/SER.A/181), New York, 1999. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.99.XIII.15.

[a] Urban population represented 80% of the total population or more in 2000.
[b] Urban population represented more than 70% but less than 80% of the total population in 2000.
[c] Urban population represented between 50% and 70% of the total population in 2000.
[d] Urban population represented less than 50% of the total population in 2000.

Table A-3

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS, URBAN AREAS

Country	Year	Female-headed households (percentages)	Year	Female-headed households (percentages)
Argentina	1980	18	1997	26
Bolivia	1989	17	1997	21
Brazil	1979	19	1996	24
Chile	1987	23	1996	23
Colombia	1980	20	1997	27
Costa Rica	1981	22	1997	27
Ecuador	1990	17	1997	19
El Salvador	1995	31	1997	30
Guatemala	1987	20	1989	22
Honduras	1988	28	1997	29
Mexico	1984	17	1996	18
Nicaragua			1997	37
Panama	1979	25	1997	28
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	19	1996	27
Dominican Republic			1997	31
Uruguay	1981	22	1997	29
Venezuela[a]	1981	22	1997	26

Source: ECLAC, *Social Panorama of Latin America, 1998* (LC/G.2050-P), Santiago, Chile, 1999. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.99.II.G.4.

[a] National total.

Table A-4

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: YOUNG POPULATION AND MIGRATION

	Rural population	Urban population	Total population
Variation in the 0-14 age group between 2000 and 1985	-6 546 709	+18 552 845	+12 006 136
Variation in the 15-29 age group (2000) with respect to the 0-14 age group (1985)	-21 417 508	+15 568 471	-5 849 037
Variation in the 0-14 age group between 2015 and 2000	-6 868 713	+9 213 420	+2 344 707
Variation in the 15-29 age group (2015) with respect to the 0-14 age group (2000)	-17 126 953	+12 574 183	-4 552 770

Source: ECLAC, Population Division – Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE), *Latin America: urban and rural population projections, 1970-2025*, Demographic Bulletin, year 32, No. 63 (LC/G.2052; LC/DEM/G.183), Santiago, Chile, January 1999.

Table A-5

LATIN AMERICA: CONCENTRATION OF THE POPULATION IN LARGE CITIES, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990 AND 2000

	Cities with 1 million inhabitants or more						49 cities which had 1 million inhabitants or more in 2000					
	1950	**1960**	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**1950**	**1960**	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**
Number of cities	7	12	18	25	38	49	49	49	49	49	49	49
Population (millions of people)	16.8	32.9	56.5	87.4	122.8	164.9	28.4	47.1	73.0	104.2	130.7	165.0
Percentage of total population	10.1	15.1	19.8	24.2	27.9	31.8	17.0	21.6	25.6	28.8	29.7	31.4
Percentage of population	24.4	30.6	34.6	37.3	39.3	42.2	41.1	43.8	4.7	44.4	41.8	42.2
	7 cities with 1 million inhabitants or more in 1950						**Cities with 5 million inhabitants or more**					
	1950	**1960**	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**1950**	**1960**	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**
Number of cities	7	7	7	7	7	7	1	4	4	4	6	7
Population (millions of people)	16.8	26.4	38.3	51.9	58.9	68.1	5.0	12.2	32.6	45.1	61.9	78.3
Percentage of total population	10.1	12.1	13.5	14.4	13.4	13.1	3.0	5.6	11.4	12.5	14.0	15.1
Percentage of urban population	24.4	24.6	23.5	22.1	18.9	17.4	7.3	11.3	19.9	19.2	19.8	20.0
Average annual growth rate (percentages)	4.5	3.7	3.0	1.3	1.4		5.1	4.4	3.6	2.3	2.3	

Source: Calculations on the basis of United Nations, *Population Growth, Structure and Distribution. The Concise Report* (ST/ESA/SER.A/181), New York, 1999. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.99.XIII.15.

Table A-6
MEXICO: INTERSTATE MIGRANTS, BY SIZE OF LOCALITY, 1987-1992
(Thousands)

	Inhabitants of locality of origin	
Inhabitants of destination locality	**Less than 20,000**	**20,000 or more**
Less than 20,000	328	250
20,000 or more	493	837
	Less than 20,000	**20,000 or more**
Less than 20,000	17.2	13.1
20,000 or more	25.8	43.9

Source: National Population Council (CONAPO), *La situación demográfica en Mexico, 1997*, Mexico City, 1997, p. 46. These figures do not include migrants within the Mexico City Metropolitan Area.

Table A-7
SELECTED CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES: POPULATION BELOW THE WORLD BANK POVERTY LINE
(Percentages)

Selected countries	Percentage of the population below the poverty line
Haiti	65.0
Suriname	47.0
Guyana	43.2
Belize	34.6
Jamaica	34.2
Dominica	33.6
Saint Lucia	25.1
Trinidad and Tobago	21.2
Dominican Republic	20.6
Granada	20.0
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	17.0
Saint Kitts and Nevis	15.0
Antigua and Barbuda	12.0
Barbados	8.0
Bahamas	5.0

Source: World Bank, "LAC-Caribbean Countries Poverty Reduction and Human Resource Development in the Caribbean", World Bank Report, No. 15342, Washington, D.C., 14 May 1996.

Table A-8
PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION LIVING IN INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS, BY CITY
(Percentages)

City	Percentage of the population living in informal settlements
Bogotá	59
Belo Horizonte	20 (only in *favelas*)
Buenos Aires	10
Caracas	50
Fortaleza	21 (only in *favelas*)
Lima	40
Mexico City	40
Quito	50
Recife	46
Rio de Janeiro	20 (only in *favelas*)
Salvador	21 (only in *favelas*)
São Paulo	22 (only in *favelas*)
San Salvador	35.5 (only in *mesones*)
Santos	12 (only in *corticos*)

Source: N. Clichevsky, *Informalidad y segregación urbana en América Latina*, Santiago, Chile, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 2000 (to appear in a forthcoming edition of the Medio ambiente y desarrollo series).

Table A-9

LATIN AMERICA: HOUSEHOLDS THAT LACK DRINKING WATER SUPPLY, BY AREA

(Percentages)

Country	Year	Total	Urban	Rural
Argentina [a]	1990	...	2.7	...
	1997	...	1.5	...
	1998	...	1.8	...
Bolivia [b]	1989	...	25.6	...
	1997	35.0	12.6	70.2
Brazil	1990	19.1	17.7	23.7
	1996	10.8	9.1	18.4
	1997	10.9	9.0	19.3
Chile	1990	12.1	2.7	54.0
	1996	9.2	1.8	50.0
	1998	7.7	1.2	47.8
Colombia	1991	13.8	3.4	29.3
	1997	12.5	1.6	30.7
El Salvador	1997	56.7	45.1	73.5
	1998	53.9	41.3	74.5
Honduras	1990	48.6	22.2	69.2
	1997	38.1	12.7	61.1
	1998	42.6	10.7	71.3
Mexico [c]	1989	30.7	25.3	40.5
	1998	28.1	24.1	34.7
Paraguay [d]	1990	...	31.9	...
	1996	...	28.6	...
Uruguay	1990	...	5.5	...
	1997	...	1.8	...
	1998	...	6.5	...
Venezuela	1990	7.9	3.3	33.3
	1997	6.5	...	...
	1998	7.1	...	...

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of results from household surveys conducted in the relevant countries.

[a] Refers to Greater Buenos Aires.

[b] For 1989, refers to eight major cities.

[c] The source used was the income and expenditure survey.

[d] Corresponds to the Asunción Metropolitan Area.

Table A-10

LATIN AMERICA: SOURCES OF HOUSEHOLD WATER SUPPLY, BY AREA

(Percentages)

Country	Year [c]	Publicly distributed supply [a]			Well/pump			Other [b]		
		Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
Bolivia	1997	71.1	92.4	37.9	11.5	3.6	23.9	17.4	4.0	38.3
Brazil	1997	77.5	91.0	19.5	16.6	6.3	61.1	5.9	2.7	19.5
Chile	1998	90.7	99.3	37.8	5.4	0.4	36.6	3.9	0.4	25.5
Colombia	1997	87.6	98.5	69.5	5.2	0.3	13.3	7.2	1.2	17.2
El Salvador	1998	66.3	85.0	35.6	11.3	4.5	22.4	22.5	10.5	42.0
Honduras	1998	54.3	90.3	21.9	5.3	0.8	9.3	40.4	8.8	68.8
Mexico	1998	84.7	95.2	67.5	3.3	1.8	16.3	8.0	3.0	16.1
Paraguay [d]	1997	46.3	70.7	14.0	47.9	28.0	74.1	5.8	1.3	11.8
Uruguay	1998	-	97.7	-	-	2.1	-	-	0.2	-

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of results from household surveys conducted in the relevant countries.

[a] Includes piped water supply inside and outside the home.

[b] In Bolivia: "delivery cart", "river, lake, spring or stream" and "other source"; in Chile: "river, spring or stream" and "other source"; in Colombia: "bottled water", "river, spring, source or stream", "tank cart", "water-carrier" and "rainwater"; in Honduras: "communal or private service", "river, stream, source, spring" and "other source"; in Mexico: "publicly piped water", "privately piped water", "water carried from source (stream, well, river, etc.)" and "other sources"; in Paraguay: "stream", "spring", "water-carrier" and "other sources"; in El Salvador: "by truck, cart or pipe", "by river or stream", "spring", "given free", "rainwater" and "other sources"; in Uruguay: "water truck".

[c] Latest year available.

[d] Corresponds to the Asunción Metropolitan Area.

- Non-existent or negligible amount.

Table A-11

LATIN AMERICA: HOUSEHOLDS NOT CONNECTED TO A SEWERAGE SYSTEM, BY AREA

(Percentages)

Country	Year	Total	Urban	Rural
Argentina [a]	1998	...	42.0	...
Bolivia [b]	1989	...	55.5	...
	1997	70.1	54.3	94.8
Brazil	1990	56.7	47.5	86.9
	1996	57.2	51.5	81.8
	1997	57.3	51.0	84.9
Chile	1990	28.0	16.1	80.9
	1996	22.9	12.7	79.1
	1998	19.9	10.9	75.3
Colombia	1990	23.3	10.5	42.4
	1997	20.1	7.4	41.3
El Salvador	1997	66.1	44.7	97.1
	1998	62.3	41.4	96.5
Honduras	1990	72.5	49.5	90.4
	1997	51.1	40.9	60.4
	1998	52.5	39.5	64.2
Mexico [c]	1989	37.0	20.3	67.4
	1998	33.9	18.4	59.2
Paraguay [d]	1990	...	61.7	...
	1996	...	77.0	...
Uruguay	1990	...	42.6	...
	1997	...	38.3	...
	1998	...	38.1	...
Venezuela	1994	22.9	19.1	40.6
	1997	23.9	...	...
	1998	26.2	...	...

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of results from household surveys conducted in the relevant countries.

[a] Corresponds to Greater Buenos Aires.

[b] For 1989, refers to eight major cities.

[c] The source used was the income and expenditure survey.

[d] Corresponds to the Asunción Metropolitan Area.

Table A-12

LATIN AMERICA: HOUSEHOLDS SEWAGE ELIMINATION SYSTEMS, BY AREA

(Percentages)

Country	Year [b]	Type of sewage elimination														
		Public sewer system			Septic tank			Privy/latrine			Other systems [a]			No system		
		Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
Argentina [c]	1998	-	58.0	-	-	23.6	-	-	14.2	-	-	-	-		4.3	-
Bolivia	1997	28.6	45.7	1.9	9.8	13.9	3.3	29.8	18.0	25.1	-	-	-	40.8	22.4	69.6
Brazil	1997	40.6	49.3	3.5	21.7	24.0	11.4	22.7	18.7	39.7	4.8	4.0	8.1	10.2	4.0	37.3
Chile	1998	77.3	89.1	5.0	5.2	2.9	19.6	1.7	0.9	6.6	11.8	3.2	64.7	4.0	3.9	4.0
Colombia	1997	79.5	92.6	33.6	11.6	3.5	25.1	7.9	2.3	17.2	0.4	0.2	0.6	9.7	1.4	23.5
El Salvador	1998	36.8	58.6	1.1	3.3	3.8	2.4	41.6	25.9	67.1	-	-	-	18.4	11.6	29.3
Honduras	1998	32.8	60.5	7.9	20.1	11.4	27.9	31.4	23.6	38.4	-	-	-	15.7	4.4	25.8
Mexico	1998	60.5	82.8	24.3	11.5	8.0	17.1	14.9	6.5	28.6	1.3	0.7	2.4	11.8	2.0	27.6
Paraguay [d]	1997	8.2	14.4	-	45.2	61.8	23.3	44.6	22.1	74.3	0.7	0.4	1.0	1.3	1.3	1.3
Uruguay	1998	-	61.9	-	-	37.5	-	-	-	-	-	0.3	-	-	0.3	-
Venezuela	1998	73.7	-	-	14.3	-	-	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	7.0	-	-

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of results from household surveys conducted in the relevant countries.

[a] In Brazil: "drainage ditch", "directly into the river, lake or sea" and "other means"; in Chile: "box over cesspool", "box over ditch or canal" and "box connected to another system"; in Colombia: "low-tide outlet"; In Mexico: "toilet draining into river, lake, etc"; in Uruguay: "other (hole in the ground, earth, etc.)".

[b] Last year available.

[c] Corresponds to Greater Buenos Aires.

[d] Corresponds to the Asunción Metropolitan Area.

- Non-existent or negligible amount.

Table A-13

RATIO OF INCREASE IN INCOME AND INCREASE IN AUTOMOBILE OWNERSHIP, IN DIFFERE NT ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS OF SANTIAGO, CHILE, 1991

Urban administrative area	Monthly household income (in pesos)	Automobiles per household	Elasticity of automobile ownership to household income	Increase in automobiles owned per household if household income rises by 1%
Vitacura	589,700	1.71	10.23	0.0039
Santiago (centre)	126,700	0.331	1.06	0.0033
La Pintana	39,730	0.051	3.39	0.0017

Source: Ian Thomson, *El tránsito urbano en la era de la apertura económica*, FAL Bulletin No. 132, Santiago, Chile, Transport Unit, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), March-April 1997.

Table A-14

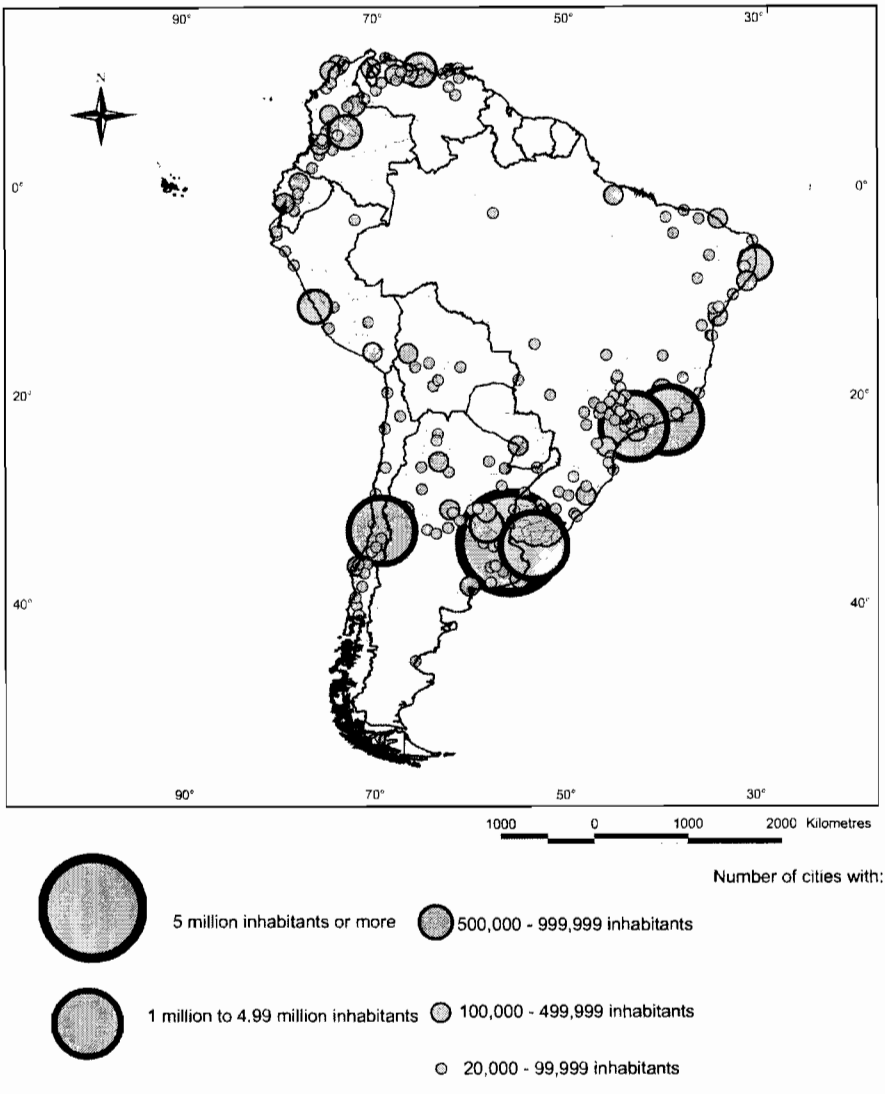
WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT, LATEST YEAR AVAILABLE

(Selected countries, in order of percentages)

Country	Year	Total	Women	Women as a percentage of the total	Title
Guyana	1998	27	8	29.6	Mayor
Dominica	1998	30	8	26.7	Local officers
Bahamas	1997	764	175	22.9	...
Nicaragua	1996	146	30	20.7	Mayor
Trinidad and Tobago	1995	108	22	20.4	Councillor
Panama	1999	73	10	13.7	Mayor
Honduras	1994	291	37	12.7	Mayor
Jamaica	1998	16	2	12.5	Mayor
Chile	1997	341	32	9.4	Mayor
El Salvador	1998	...	...	8.4	Mayor
Venezuela	1998	330	22	6.7	Mayor
Cuba	1998	169	9	5.3	President of Municipal Association
Costa Rica	1998	81	4	4.9	Municipal Executive
Colombia	1998	...	...	4.7	Mayor
Bolivia	1997	311	12	3.9	Mayor
Haiti	1995	132	5	3.8	Mayor
Argentina	1992	1100	40	3.6	Intendant
Peru	1998	194	7	3.6	Provincial Mayor
Brazil	1997	5378	190	3.5	Prefect
Mexico	1998	2418	79	3.3	Municipal President
Paraguay	1996	220	6	2.7	Intendant
Dominican Republic	1998	115	2	1.7	Commissioner
Guatemala	1994	330	4	1.2	Mayor
Ecuador	1997	27	0	0.0	Mayor
Uruguay	1998	19	0	0.0	Intendant
Saint Lucia	1997	1	0	0.0	Municipal President

Source: ECLAC, Participation and leadership in Latin America and the Caribbean: gender indicators (LC/L.1302), Santiago, Chile, Women and Development Unit and Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO), 1999.

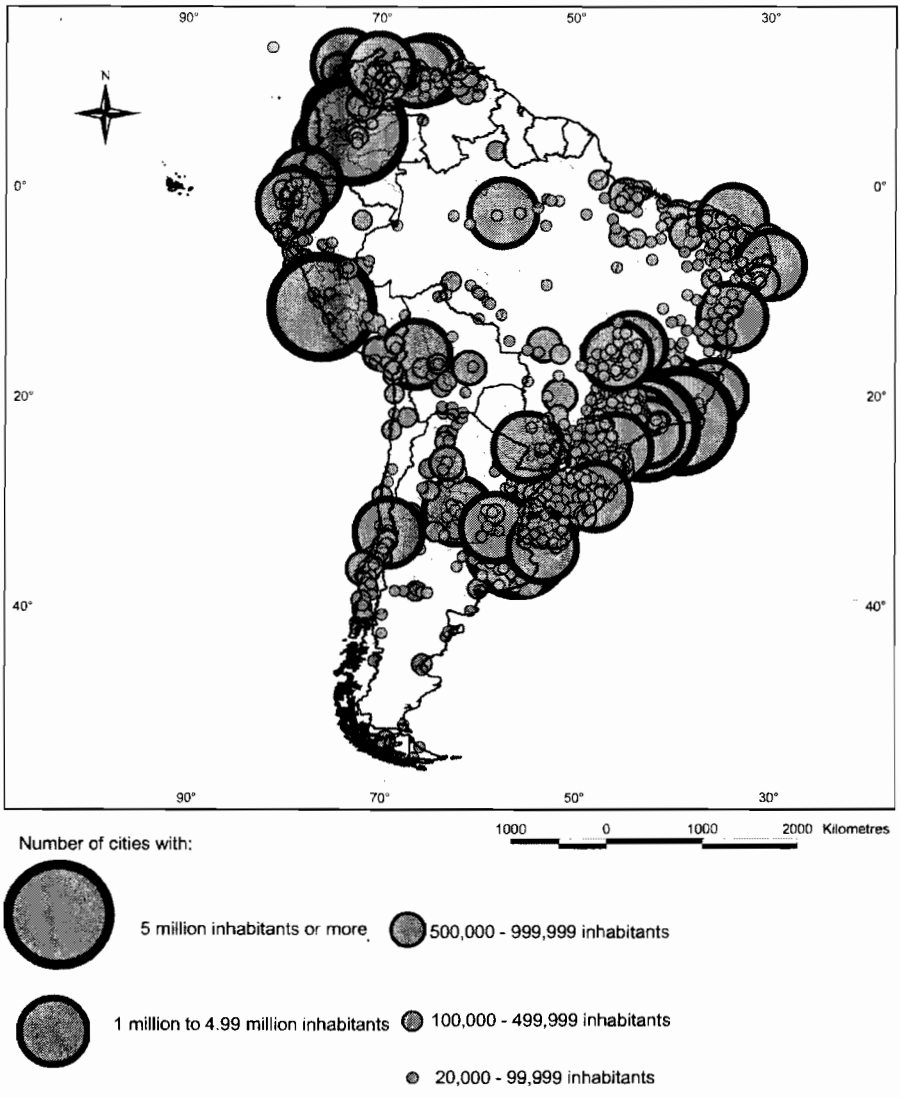
Map A-1
SOUTH AMERICAN CITIES WITH OVER 20,000 INHABITANTS *CIRCA* 1950



Source: ECLAC, Population Division – Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE), population projections. For the Caribbean, United Nations, *Population Growth, Structure and Distribution. The Concise Report* (ST/ESA/SER.A/181), New York, 1999. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.99.XIII.15.

Note: The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

Map 2
SOUTH AMERICAN CITIES WITH OVER 20,000 INHABITANTS *CIRCA* 1990



Source: ECLAC, Population Division – Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE), population projections. For the Caribbean, United Nations, *Population Growth, Structure and Distribution. The Concise Report* (ST/ESA/SER.A/181), New York, 1999. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.99.XIII.15.

Note: The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

Annex
Santiago Declaration on Human Settlements

Recalling that at the Latin American and Caribbean Regional Meeting Preparatory to the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II), held in 1995, the countries adopted the Latin American and Caribbean Regional Plan of Action on Human Settlements as an important platform for the implementation of joint measures pertaining to territorial, urban and housing issues,

Recalling also that at the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II), held in 1996, the Heads of State and Government met for the first time in history to acknowledge the importance of sustainable human settlements and adequate shelter for all and to give these goals priority into the twenty-first century, and recalling also that, under the Istanbul Declaration and the Habitat Agenda, a pledge was made to work towards eradicating poverty,

Taking into account the keen interest expressed by the Forum of Ministers and High-level Authorities of the Housing and Urban Development Sector in Latin America and the Caribbean (MINURVI) in the implementation and updating of the Latin American and Caribbean Regional Plan of Action on Human Settlements,

Reiterating their belief that cities and towns within regional and subregional territories are engines of growth and incubators of civilization, and that rural and urban areas are interdependent economically, socially and

environmentally and are linked through the movements of goods, resources and people,

Recognizing that in Latin America and the Caribbean, poverty in urban areas is increasing, along with the serious phenomenon of limited access to social services and urban segregation in our cities,

Bearing in mind that in a majority of the cities the problem of providing adequate housing to the poorer segments of the population has increased and that the issue of security of land and housing tenure, as defined in the Habitat Agenda, remains to be resolved,

Bearing in mind also that in many countries housing policies are still based primarily on the provision of new dwellings and do not give due consideration to addressing the serious qualitative deficit through housing improvement and maintenance programmes,

Taking into account the escalation of violence in most Latin American cities, which leads to a breakdown in community life in urban centres,

Recognizing the existence of a growing number of households headed by women, which are the ones that exhibit the greatest degree of social vulnerability,

Bearing in mind that there are special categories of the homeless, including, but not limited to, battered women, pregnant teenagers and street children who do not possess adequate shelter,

Recognizing that in urban policies and management, key importance has again been given to public areas in order to foster social integration and a better quality of life,

Recognizing that the opening up of the region to international markets has contributed to the development of new areas of regional integration and urban systems,

Recognizing also that in many countries territorial and urban policies have not kept pace with recent economic processes of growth, liberalization and changing production patterns,

Bearing in mind that, in many countries, the growth of the urban workforce has not been accompanied by a commensurate increase in employment opportunities and that this affects women and young people especially and has resulted in an increase in informal employment,

Bearing in mind that there has been greater participation of civil society in urban, human settlement and housing issues in Latin America and the Caribbean,

Considering further the importance of increasing the private sector's participation at the territorial, urban, housing and social levels, expanding significantly the volume of financial and operating resources for housing and urban services,

Considering that some of the main challenges yet to be met are to provide and promote suitable environmental and developmental standards for human settlements, to expand potable water and sewerage services for low-income sectors, and to address environmental pollution, especially of the air and water,

In view of the fact that human settlements have become much more vulnerable to natural disasters and that special attention therefore needs to be paid to this factor in drawing up land-use, urban and housing policies, plans and programmes,

Bearing in mind also that, in many Latin American and some Caribbean countries, this has been facilitated by the progressive transfer of responsibilities to local government,

Considering that, in some countries where a transition is being made from a nationally-centred form of habitat management to one in which local governments assume a significant role, it will also be necessary to preserve a broad view of the national and regional territory which characterizes the region,

Taking into account the need for continued international cooperation and assistance in order to improve conditions in human settlements in developing countries,

Underscoring especially the advances made by the countries of the region five years after the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II), the new realities faced by countries in their national policies and in their subregional and regional integration agreements, and the discussions held at this meeting and in the panels on the Global Campaigns of Habitat,

The countries participating in the Latin American and Caribbean Regional Preparatory Conference for the special session of the General Assembly for the overall review and appraisal of the implementation of the Habitat Agenda agree:

1. To welcome the document prepared by ECLAC, entitled "From rapid urbanization to the consolidation of human settlements in Latin America and the Caribbean: a territorial perspective", which indicates that one of the particularly valuable aspects of the Regional Plan of Action that should be emphasized in the future is the region's spatial configuration as the scene of important social, economic and environmental processes;

2. To reaffirm the validity and relevance of the Regional Plan of Action as a principal instrument for continuing to work towards regional cooperation and towards defining consensus around urban issues;

3. To welcome the initiative of the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) (UNCHS), as the focal point of the United Nations system for the implementation of the Habitat Agenda, to launch the Global Campaign for Security of Tenure and the Global Campaign for Good Urban Governance and to support the activities of the Global Campaign for Security of Tenure and the Global Campaign for Good Urban Governance;

4. To reaffirm the role of the Commission on Human Settlements and of UNCHS, in close cooperation with the Regional Forum of Ministers and High-level Authorities of the Housing and Urban Development Sector (MINURVI), in promoting, examining, monitoring and assessing the progress made in implementing the goals of providing adequate shelter for all and achieving the sustainable development of human settlements in all countries and in combining best practices, enabling policies, legislation and actions plans for identifying representative cities for the two campaigns and carrying forward the debate on the major human settlements issues;

5. To intensify cooperation between the Regional Forum of Ministers and High-level Authorities of the Housing and Urban Development Sector (MINURVI) and other regional forums, including the Forum of Ministers for Environmental Affairs; to recommend that the role of UNCHS as the focal point for the implementation of the Habitat Agenda and its collaboration with ECLAC should be strengthened; and to recommend that an inter-agency committee that will also include other multilateral and regional institutions should be established in order to support the countries in the tasks of implementing the Habitat Agenda and the Regional Plan of Action;

6. To recommend that international cooperation agencies should consider increasing their contributions to activities in the field of human settlements, consistent with their mandates;

7. To recommend to United Nations bodies, multilateral, regional and subregional development banks, bilateral agencies and non-governmental organizations that technical assistance initiatives at the regional and subregional levels should be coordinated with a view to supporting the countries in the implementation of the Regional Plan of Action;

8. To promote the joint efforts of donors, governments, non-governmental organizations, private enterprises and the members of the community to improve the environmental quality of human settlements;

9. To recommend that international cooperation should also be directed towards strengthening human resources training and development;

10. To recommend the inclusion of concrete measures to mitigate the impacts of natural disasters as part of human settlements planning in all the countries of the region so that when such disasters occur, reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts can be articulated with planning instruments and standards;

11. To develop strategies to address the problems faced by battered women, pregnant teenagers and street children, among other categories of homeless people;

12. To call for gender mainstreaming in the design of public habitat policies based on the belief that gender equity is a constituent part of social equity and ensures the citizenship of women as fully empowered subjects at law;

13. To foster an exchange of information and experiences and to promote proactive policies aimed at achieving equality between women and men in relation to the security of housing and land tenure;

14. To request the secretariat of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, within the framework of its work programme and in collaboration and coordination with other agencies and with MINURVI, to organize a first meeting of experts to propose mechanisms and develop indicators for the implementation of the Regional Plan of Action in the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean and to analyse the new challenges raised by the countries at this Conference, such as:

- Modernization of governmental institutions for urban and housing management, including regulatory frameworks and financial instruments;
- Land-use planning and land policies, decentralization policies, citizen participation and social integration, and gender equity;
- Links between economic policies and urban and housing management;

15. To request the Chairperson of this Conference, in line with General Assembly resolution 54/207 of 22 December 1999, to submit the results of this meeting to the Second Preparatory Committee and to the special session of the General Assembly for an overall review and appraisal of the Habitat Agenda, with particular emphasis on the following sectoral issues, among others: (i) urbanization, (ii) international coordination and cooperation issues and (iii) capacity building and institutional development.[1]

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[1] These sectoral issues correspond to chapter IV, sections (c), (e) and (d), respectively, of the Habitat Agenda as they appear in document HS/C/PC.1/CRP.1 of the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat).

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