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## Report

drawn up on behalf of the Committee on Development  
and Cooperation

on urbanization in the Third World and the consequent  
growth of shanty towns

PART B: EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

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## EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

### I. THE SIZE OF THE PROBLEM

#### A. General

1. Throughout the world more than 200 million people live in conditions unworthy of human beings on the margins of major cities. In Mexico City, in Manila, in Cairo, people struggle to survive in the literal sense of the word from one day to the next, eking out an existence among a handful of rotting planks and a leaking corrugated-iron roof.

2. These concentrations of human misery are known as shanty towns or bidonvilles or favelas or calampas. Wherever they are to be found they display the same common factor: poverty. They arise because people lack the most elementary prerequisites of survival, and because large numbers of migrants from agricultural areas have been uprooted.

#### B. Figures

3. By the end of this century the world's population will be above 6,000 million. In 1975, 39% of the world's population were urban dwellers; by 1980 this had risen to 41%, and is expected to rise to 51% before the year 2000. This will mean that for the first time ever, more people will be living in towns and cities than in the countryside. Urban population will have increased by a factor of 20 between 1920 and the year 2000.

4. These figures raise the question as to whether urban population growth will take place in conditions worthy of human beings. If the figures taken by themselves are disquieting, they are nothing short of alarming if read as a pointer to the conditions prevailing in the developing countries. In 1975 urban dwellers made up 27.3% of total population and by 2000 are expected to account for 41%. In absolute terms these figures speak for themselves.

- In 1976 there were 760 million urban dwellers in the Third World;
- by 1979 this had risen to 840 million;
- by 1985 the figure is expected to rise to 1,171 million.

In general terms the problem of urbanization in Third World countries can be summed up as follows:

1. Third-World urban population can be expected to triple between 1975 and the end of the century.
2. The cities of the Third World will need to absorb 1000 million new inhabitants over the next 20 years.
5. These figures are highly alarming in themselves, but they also need to be read in the light of the following circumstances.

In 1950 30% of cities with populations of 1 million or more were in developing countries. By 1975 this had risen to 50%. By the year 2000 276 of the 309 cities with populations of 1 million or more (89.3) are expected to be located in developing countries.

There is therefore more to the situation than the simple conclusion that the urban population of the developing countries will rise from 27.3% to 41% over the next few years. It is vital to appreciate that in these countries it is precisely cities with populations now around or above the one million mark that will have to absorb the extra 1000 million of new population.

6. Dar-es-Salaam suffered a cholera epidemic early in 1978; Bangkok and Cairo can no longer cope with their refuse problem; Djakarta is being strangled by its traffic. Unless action is taken on income redistribution and regional and urban planning, current developments will turn rapidly into nightmares.

## II. CAUSES OF THE POPULATION EXPLOSION AND ITS IMPACT

### A. Natural growth

7. Between 1969 and 1975 natural rates of population growth in the Third World remained high, going from 2.6% to 2.4%. The birth rate fell, but this was offset by a fall in the death rate. The high point of the Third-World demographic explosion now seems to have been passed. The direct consequences, however, have still to make their full impact in the years to come. Moreover, there is no reason to suppose that the urban environment in itself can help to bring about any major change in natural population growth.

It remains the case that natural growth will continue to be a major factor in the growth of urban populations.

## B. The rural exodus

### (i) Economic causes

8. Small farmers find they can no longer maintain themselves in their own villages and emigrate either to another country or to nearby conurbations in the hope of finding employment. One reason is investment policy in the countries concerned. Less than 20% of investment is put into the agricultural sector, although up to 70% of the population depend on it for their livelihood. The country-side is, in effect exploited by the cities, with the rural exodus as a consequence.

### (ii) Socio-cultural causes

9. In Africa the younger generation is trying to break away from the rigidity of the traditional environment. In Colombia and Thailand the countryside has been made so unsafe by armed gangs that people are moving into the cities for protection. In Latin America poor peasants seek survival in the cities because they are prevented from holding their own plots of land by the maintenance of a feudal economic system.

## C. The relative impact of the two causes

10. The relative impact of these two factors is assessed by the UNO as follows; The rural exodus accounts for an annual average movement of 12 million, whereas internal population growth accounts for 16 million. Population growth as such is therefore a more serious cause of the urban explosion than rural exodus.

It is therefore clear that the problem cannot be solved simply by calling a halt to the rural exodus. National policy must be simultaneously oriented towards developing agriculture on the one hand and creating acceptable living conditions in the cities on the other.

## D. The employment problem

11. Levels of unemployment in the Third World are summed up in the figures below. Average unemployment for main regions is as follows:

Asia (excluding China)	30%
Africa	36%
Latin America	29%

Unemployment in the major conurbations is generally somewhat lower. That is why migrants are constantly attracted to them, having made their way through a number of smaller towns.

12. One of the reasons for this relative advantage is the presence of government and administrative bodies. Which is not to say that immigrants benefit directly. The formal sector will always give preference to the long-term resident unemployed, or to those with more specialized skills, not least for electoral reasons. There could of course have been no question of the formal sector's keeping pace with immigration; yet the growth of unemployment has been less explosive than expected.

13. This phenomenon was a source of considerable confusion to researchers for some time, but the explanation was eventually found in the existence of a vital and dynamic informal sector. The existence of small trading and putting-out sectors in these cities has provided substantial numbers of jobs, and also fulfils three other roles:

1. It accounts for a significant part of goods and services supplied;
2. It makes a form of saving possible;
3. It favours the development of a personal patronage system.

Given these developments, it is extremely important to recognize the economic vitality of these marginal areas, and to appreciate the importance of establishing communications between them and the city proper.

#### E. Habitat 1976 - UN Conference in Vancouver (Canada)

14. The figures given above and the general urgency of the problem brought it to the attention of the United Nations Organization. In June 1976 a UN world conference was held on housing. The UN sounded the alarm by posing the question in the following terms: Can the different countries of the world succeed over the next 25 years in building as much again as the human race has succeeded in building over the past 10,000 years, i.e. since the emergence of the first human communities in Asia Minor?

### III. NATURE AND FUNCTION OF THE SHANTY TOWN

#### A. Name and characteristics

15. Every shanty town has its own history, construction methods and function. Even their names are different from one country or even from one city to another. Each language has its own specialized vocabulary:

- French : bidonvilles
- English : squats, slums, shanty towns, substandard settlements
- Dutch : Armenviertel
- Spanish : calampas, colonias proletarias  
(Mexico),barriades, pueblos jovenes (Peru),  
ranchitas (Venezuela), ciudades miserias (Argentina),  
tugurios (Colombia), suburbios (Ecuador), favela  
(Brazil), campamento (Chile)
- Turkish : greekondu
- India : bustee
- Pakistan : jhuggi
- Tunisia : gorbiville
- Indonesia : kampong
- Saigon : sampomville
- Middle East : sharifa

16. Although these shanty towns share the common characteristic of extreme poverty, there are subtle differences from one community to another.

(i) The physical aspect

Size, location, density, growth rate, and type of land can vary considerably, as can the available facilities, infrastructure and services, if any.

(ii) The social aspect

Here too further differences can be discerned: there can be significant variations in social cohesion and aspirations.

B. Typology

17. There are two further criteria whereby a simple typology can be developed. This typology can prove necessary to the study of any shanty town in itself, and in determining criteria for organizing effective aid.

1. Participation of the occupants themselves within the marginal groups

18. Here the distinction must be made between what can be designated 'squatter settlements' and the shanty town proper. In French the distinction is conveyed by the words 'taudis' and 'bidonville'.

Squatter settlements are recent, illegal and vulnerable, in that the elderly, the sick and social misfits tend to make up the majority. They are characterized by their passivity and a general atmosphere of despair that adds to the prevailing urban decay.

The shanty towns or 'bidonvilles' are more stable and better organized; the inhabitants do not live in constant fear of being driven out at any time, since, de\_jure or de\_facto, they have acquired established rights.

The shanty town puts down roots in the city, whereas squatters have absolutely no guarantees, and are highly vulnerable to the whims of the authorities.

(ii) Level\_of\_institutionalization

19. The squatters have little or no social cohesion or organization of their own. Their sense of community is poorly developed. The shanty town takes on a definite institutional form; meetings are held and the dwellers organize themselves in order to make approaches to the municipal authorities.

C. Role\_of\_the\_shanty\_town

National authorities are inclined to tolerate the shanty town because it fulfils the following functions:

1. In the first instance, it offers protection against an often hostile environment.
2. It develops its own social organization.
3. The informal sector provides employment.
4. Capital formation of a kind takes place, creating the possibility of acquiring more and better materials, etc.

However, the authorities should not be allowed to over-estimate the scope of self-help and so to dismiss the problems of the shanty towns on the pretext that resources are scarce, or that the dwellers appear to be fending well enough for themselves.

21. The authorities should be expected to take positive action. These communities still suffer from grinding poverty compared with the sometimes enormous wealth of the rest of the city population; the problem must be tackled now if an uncontrolled explosion is to be avoided in the near future.

22. Nor should action be confined to the shanty towns and the squatters ignored. If the squats are not improved, the environment will continue to deteriorate physically and socially. If the shanty towns are not helped, they are liable to deteriorate to the level of the squats. Unless the right to somewhere to live is recognized, there can be no hope of integrating the two communities.

#### IV. POSSIBILITIES FOR AN INITIAL REDEVELOPMENT OPERATION

##### A. General

23. Where the specific problem of shanty towns is concerned, a review of development aid is in order. The value of aid will simply evaporate if financial support is given, loans are approved, materials and manpower are made available to the developing countries while no effort is made to ensure that projects are suitably adapted to local possibilities.

As already stated, shanty towns will not be eliminated simply by stopping the rural exodus, since they have their own dynamic of population growth. Moreover, it would be pointless to try to stop the rural exodus by force without providing small farmers with the possibility of securing a livelihood on their own holdings.

24. Social housing construction on the Western model is no solution. Incomes are too low to bring such housing within the reach of most shanty-town dwellers. Social housing is, moreover, a foreign intrusion in the life of the shanty-town dweller. Only in the West do brick houses have such high priority. Shanty-town dwellers are constantly confronted with the problem of hunger, and their first thought is to obtain a supply of food for themselves and their families. Housing need evolves with family circumstances and income. Social housing is not the best solution to the needs of shanty-town dwellers.

25. Nor should the answer be sought in wholesale redevelopment. Some governments have resorted to removal operations, but that does not get to the root of the problem. Shanty-town dwellers, are deeply attached to their living

quarters. Their only chances of survival are to maintain themselves in the shanty-town area through the informal sector of the economy.

26. On 3 April 1978 a fire broke out in the Tondo shanty-town district of Manila. In a few hours 2,300 dwellings had gone up in flames, leaving some 35,000 people homeless. The local fire brigade protected some of the houses of the more prosperous residents on the edge of the shanty town.

Only the fire brigade from the Chinese quarter of Manila made any serious effort. On the very night of the fire the inhabitants came back and resumed possession of the still smoking ruins. A superhuman effort then had to be made to rebuild before the start of the rainy season at the end of May. This should give some idea of how pointless it would be to try to drive shanty-town dwellers out by force.

#### B. Barefoot architecture

27. Architects and engineers tend to come from a prosperous background, and their conception of living accommodation centres round a family home with a living room, bedrooms, a kitchen and bathroom. Construction is a matter for tradesmen and specialists ranging from bricklayer and foreman to the architect. A completely new approach consists in tackling the housing problem from the perspective of the shanty town itself, enabling the residents to use their own resources and locally available materials.

##### (i) Originators of the idea

28. As early as 1945 the Egyptian Hassan Fathy showed how using the potential of the shanty-town dwellers themselves could be a step in the right direction. He demonstrated that a group of 20 families could mobilize 24 people, divide them into four teams and construct a housing unit for 200 people in about eight months.

Fathy was the first to use the term 'barefoot architect'. As well as organizing the workforce locally, he put the stress on the use of local materials. Qualified Western architects too readily forget the value of this approach.

In the USA it was Charles Abrams who brought the problem of shanty-town dwellers into public view in the 60s. In England his ideas were taken up by John Turner who worked on various projects from 1957 to 1965, mainly in Peru. He became one of the best known advocates of the principle of controlled and supervised self-help building. In 1972 the World Bank gave aid for reception centre projects. The United Nations in 1976 recognized the principle of supervised self-help building. In 1978 the International Architects' Congress outlined the new profile of the 'barefoot architect'.

(ii) Working methods

29. The term 'barefoot architect' calls to mind an image of a development aid worker trying to cure the ills of the very poorest communities. Although this is undoubtedly true of this new generation of architects, the basic starting point is the economic potential of the shanty-town dweller. Every renovation plan must use the capacities of the local people themselves by creating the circumstances in which they can get on with the job.

30. The first step is to get the right of settlement recognized by the authorities. Dwellers will naturally be reluctant to improve their living conditions through their own efforts if they are faced with the constant threat of eviction. But if the right of settlement is recognized, conflicts can arise with local landowners. The authorities should act as intermediaries to find a fair and appropriate solution. Dwellers' rights of settlement should take priority over passive property right.

31. Supervised self-help building should not simply conform to a pattern set by a team of architects. The rehabilitation of a shanty-town area presents two basically inseparable facets:

(a) Physical rehabilitation

On the physical side a whole series of microprojects is possible. These should basically involve infrastructures, services and housing improvements. As to infrastructure, water supply and sewerage are the two priorities. In terms of services, it will be necessary to start from scratch in the initial stages. It will be for the local community to decide what projects should have priority. Housing improvements will greatly depend on reviewing existing stock and getting rid of premises unfit for habitation.

Some of these microprojects will actually need no greater input than the work of the local residents themselves, whereas others will need support from the authorities. Here it should be noted that shanty towns generally grow up on the outskirts or in the immediate periphery of a city, and often in quarters where normal housing is impossible or dangerous, such as areas subject to floods or earthquakes. This makes the shanty towns particularly vulnerable, and such circumstances need to be allowed for in physical rehabilitation projects.

(b) Social rehabilitation

Social rehabilitation can take on as many shapes and forms as there are shanty towns, and can even vary from one part of a shanty town to another. There can be social interaction between different groups of families, or ethnic or religious groups, voluntary associations or in any of the numerous ways in which self-help can be organized. Such associations not infrequently spring up in shanty towns on the basis of immediate need. When the need has been met to a sufficient extent, the association tends to break down. This lack of permanence is the price of spontaneity. The effort to bring about social rehabilitation should recognize this social potential as an expression of the will of the residents in establishing priority as between different projects. The next step would then be to put these fragile associations on a firmer and longer-term footing so that they would eventually come to be recognized as representative of community life.

V. PROGRESS WITH RENOVATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF SUPERVISED SELF-HELP ACTIVITIES

A. The initiative and the response

34. Study of a number of projects has shown that the initial reaction practically always comes from the shanty-town dwellers themselves. To begin with they must rely entirely on their own resources. A collective call for help is only possible if there exists within the shanty town some sort of organization that can show a united front to the outside world. Such organizations are usually helped by people from outside the immediate community who have some grasp of local political structures and at the same time have a good understanding of shanty-town conditions.

35. As soon as the call for help has reached the authorities, the ball is in the other court. It is then a question of waiting for the reactions of the government, the municipal authorities, or of philanthropic or private institutions, or international organizations. International organizations like UNICEF and the World Bank only operate through national governments. Case studies indicate, however, that the greater the participation of the shanty-town dwellers themselves, the higher has been the likelihood that a project will succeed. Experience shows that authoritarian, paternalistic and one-sided initiatives by the authorities are doomed to failure.

36. To give any project the best chances of success, sociological and architectural data are essential. The shanty town must be surveyed in respect of both so that a clear view of possibilities can be obtained. The residents themselves must determine priorities. One important aspect of projects already initiated has been that the renewal of living accommodation has not been the first priority of the residents. More important than housing have been such items as water supply and sewerage, paved roadways and health-care facilities.

37. The first stage must also strengthen the awareness of the shanty-town dwellers and show them that real projects can gradually be brought within their grasp, essentially through collective activity by the community. The second stage aims for real social and economic integration into the urban community.

This is of course a highly simplified view of the problem. In reality the difficulties begin as soon as priorities have to be established, especially if the shanty town is divided on ethnic or religious grounds. Moreover, the shanty town has its stronger and weaker elements, and the interests of the latter must be provided for. These are generally children and women. Many women have to work for a living as well as looking after themselves and their families.

This group also includes unmarried mothers, battered wives and prostitutes. The effort to improve the general lot of women gives a keen insight into the problems of the shanty town as a whole.

38. On the occasion of the Year of the Child, UNICEF campaigned to draw attention to the lot of shanty-town children. UNICEF - which takes urban impoverishment more seriously than does the World Bank - estimates that there are some 156 million children under the age of 15 living in poverty in Third-World cities. Sixty million of these are under 5. Facilities must therefore be provided for children, ranging from child-care courses for mothers to locally organized day-nurseries for the young children of working mothers, and schools.

#### B. Reception facilities

39. In parallel to the principle of supervised self-help building there runs the principle of creating reception facilities aimed at preventing the formation of no-hope areas by arranging fair distribution of land, roadways, sewerage and public facilities. The employment problem is tackled at source and oriented towards self-help projects and related action. This approach has proved its value in terms both of government action and other initiatives. In general the costs can be broken down as follows:

- the institutions and public services would be financed from the budget of the public authorities,
  - purchase of sites and construction and improvement work would be financed by the residents themselves. Some idea of the cost involved can be gathered from the fact that the World Bank budgets the cost of a reception facility in Jamaica as follows:
- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| - purchase of land                                       | 22% |
| - preparatory work, drainage and preparation of the land | 13% |
| - infrastructure   | 25% |
| - site facilities  | 40% |

This preventive approach is aimed at taking pressure off existing shanty towns and absorbing the inflow of newcomers into the problem sectors before they gravitate to actual shanty towns. Unfortunately the number of current projects of this kind is too low. If the principle of reception facilities is accepted, there can be no alternative to the immediate growth of shanty towns in the initial years.

At all events, be it in terms of controlled self-help building or of reception facilities, shanty towns require a multidisciplinary approach. Any

relevant programme must address itself to the following:

- local decision-making and responsibility,
- draftsmen of housing projects and architects,
- technicians,
- residents,
- squatter representatives,
- persons responsible for training and general education.

These reception facilities can only help the upper groups in the poorest quarters. Although 60% of the total work is directly or indirectly subsidized, the rest has to be paid for by the residents themselves. Those in the lowest social groupings cannot do so since they are totally insolvent.

## VI. The problem of shanty towns in India

40. India can be taken as an example for several reasons. Firstly, by virtue of the size of the problem: with cities such as Bombay, Calcutta, Madras etc., India is a country with very pronounced urban problems. Suffice it to say that the population of Calcutta is estimated at 12 to 15 million inhabitants.

The last official census was held in 1981 but the possible degree of inaccuracy is still 3 million units, in other words 3 million individuals.

The scale of the problem perhaps becomes clearer when it is remembered that Brussels has 900,000 inhabitants.

41. A second reason why India's problem cities call for special study lies in the individual nature of these towns and of their slums. Even with poverty as the common denominator, there are clear differences between Calcutta and Bombay. The towns have their own population structure, their own type of growth. The causes of India's rural exodus differ from those in African countries. A study of urban trends in India will inevitably lead to the conclusion that knowledge of local structures is a prerequisite for providing effective aid.

The future of the towns and the millions who live there is not a problem that can be isolated from other trends in the country whether economic, political or religious.

### A. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ON INDIA

42. In April 1981 the figures were published for the ten-yearly census of India. The country, which is now the second most densely populated in the world has 686 million inhabitants.

Contrary to the expectations of the government, this was 12 million more than had been forecast and represents an increase of 24% by comparison with the last census and a birthrate of 37 per thousand.

By way of comparison, the birthrate for Belgium is 12.66 per thousand.

If this trend continues the population of India will exceed 1,000 million in the year 2000.

The political structure of India is such that responsibility for public health does not lie with the national authorities but with the states. In 1977 the Population and Family Planning section was centralized.

130 million inhabitants (21%) live in cities and India's urban population thus takes third place behind that of the USA and the USSR.

43. India has 9 conurbations with more than 1 million inhabitants: Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras, Hyderabad, Ahmadabad, Bangalore, Pune and Kanpur. Three other conurbations are about to be added to this list. As well as these giants, there are a further 142 cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants. The shortfall in housing units in India as a whole is estimated at 19 to 23 million and about half

of India's total population lives below the poverty line.

## B. INDIA'S PROBLEM CITIES

### 1. Causes of the explosion

#### a) Spontaneous growth of the cities

44. At the last census in 1981 this explosive growth of the cities did not show up very clearly. Over the last 10 years the population of hundreds of Indian cities increased by about 40% and in smaller towns the number of inhabitants tripled. The majority of the towns grow at twice the rate of the rural population and this urban growth produces an unavoidable multiplier effect.

#### b) Rural exodus

The rural exodus is another cause. People from impoverished rural areas move to the towns where there is business activity and thus employment opportunities. The Indian rural exodus is somewhat different from the pattern in Africa and South America.

45. For a long time migration in India was of a rural nature with cultural factors as the cause - Hinduism, the caste system and the ties to a strongly organized family structure (which had both advantages and disadvantages). However, these have not been strong enough to prevent migration to the towns. Whereas industrialisation in African or South American towns produced an almost immediate wave of migration, in India this came about more slowly. India experienced 'chain' migration whereby a member of the same village or caste moved to the town, and, in the course of time, was able to welcome other newcomers. Such a process takes time to get started, but once underway it accelerates very quickly. There is clear evidence of this: for example all news vendors in Delhi come from the Salem district of Tamil Nadu which is a thousand miles away. The building workers in Delhi almost all come from Rajasthan and Orissa and the thousands of rickshaw pullers come from the southern state of Andhra Pradesh.

46. Any intervention in agriculture and in rural life affects migration. In its attempt to increase food production, India experienced a Green Revolution in 1966-67. Enormous efforts were made, which met with some success as far as production was concerned. The opposite side of the coin, however, was that the project concentrated too much on increased production and a large number of small farmers were unable to raise the necessary finance for minimum investments (e.g. a pump). A gap was thus created between those farmers who were able to make the minimum investment and a large group of small farmers who became increasingly impoverished and finally migrated to be swallowed up in the shanty towns of the large cities. This

demonstrates the impact that one policy can have on a totally different sector and at the same time, the relationship which exists between urban and rural development.

### c) Other causes

47. As well as these two causes (spontaneous growth and rural exodus) which are also characteristic of the development of shanty towns in South America and Africa, there are other more particular reasons for the explosive growth of Indian cities.

48. On partition in 1947 vast numbers of people fled from Pakistan (which became a Moslem state) and moved to cities such as Calcutta. The war with Bangladesh (1971) produced another flood of refugees and the major droughts which affected Bengal in particular, drove the farmers to the cities.

49. The spontaneous growth of the cities is also influenced by religion. For the Hindus (83% of the population) a son has great religious significance. At cremation a son must be present to break the skull otherwise the dead person has less chance of breaking free from the cycle of reincarnation. In addition, sons provide insurance for old age in a situation where there is no social security system. These are two elements which severely hinder attempts to bring the birth rate under control in India.

50. The caste system seems less rigid in the cities, but it still has an enormous effect on individual motivation to change a well-defined situation. India still has 120 million Harijans (or children of God as Ghandi termed them), the untouchables who are increasingly subjected to violent attacks. The government has adopted measures to help this group in the form of quotas for government jobs and educational opportunities etc.

However in practice such measures are very difficult to implement. More and more Harijans are turning from Hinduism which maintains these differences and are becoming Moslems. As such shifts continue and are reflected in India's two main cities it is clear that any spark in such a mass could cause a huge conflagration.

## 2. General characteristics of Indian slums

51. Even in India's problem cities a distinction must be made between the shanty towns and the squatter settlements. The shanty town has some kind of organization and structure. It is not only a hot-bed of sickness, unemployment, child mortality and crime. The shanty town has a role to play in the informal sector. As the figures given below, relating inter alia to Calcutta, show a surprising number of people from shanty towns have an income and more or less permanent employment. In many respects the informal and formal sector are interdependent.

However strange this may seem, the shanty town has an economic value for the cities.

52. In India, as in other parts of the world, the shanty town has a well-defined function which can be described under four headings:

1. Firstly, the shanty town offers protection against the often hostile environment.
2. The shanty town has its own social organization.
3. The informal sector provides employment.
4. Capital is formed, creating the possibility of purchasing more and better materials etc.

53. The position is different for the 'squatters'. In India they are known as pavement people, have no form of organization and live in the streets. They are at the mercy of the authorities and thus extremely vulnerable.

54. Squatters have few or no social ties or organization within their own group. The shanty towns, however, have some institutional form and associations. They organize themselves to establish contact with the city authorities.

55. In India particularly, the government is well aware of the political strength of the millions of shanty town inhabitants and as a result direct action by the government against the shanty towns is very exceptional. Riots and problems are more likely to arise for religious reasons (confrontation between Moslems and Hindus) or as a result of the caste system which still exists. At first sight such contrasts seem less pronounced in the towns than in the rural areas and the Sikh riots in the state of Punjab and recent events in Assam have led to real bloodbaths. It is not certain that the integration of the various groups in the shanty towns would prevent such occurrences in an urban environment. Although there is less direct danger of this happening, developments of this nature would lead to an inconceivable holocaust in the major cities.

### C. INDIA'S LARGEST PROBLEM CITIES: CALCUTTA AND BOMBAY

#### 1. Calcutta

##### a) The Howrah slum

56. It is said that if you do not know Calcutta you do not know what chaos is. Calcutta is the capital of West Bengal and at one time it was the capital and the main port of the whole Indian sub-continent. It lies on the majestic banks of the Hooghly, 165 km inland and was built for a maximum of 1.5 million people. Its population is now estimated at 13 to 15 million inhabitants. If this trend

continues, by the year 2000 Calcutta will have more than 30 million inhabitants. The influx into Calcutta began in 1943 with the annexation of Burma by the Japanese. North-east India was thus cut off from its granary and fear of famine sparked off the flow of refugees. In 1947 the Hindus fled from Islamic Pakistan and the successive wars with Pakistan have increased the numbers of refugees. This has resulted in the Bengalis forming a minority in their own city and only accounting for about 35% of the population.

A third of the inhabitants live in slums or shanty towns. Three thousand of these slums are registered and thus officially recognised, and in one third of them redevelopment projects are in progress.

57. A description of one of the registered slums which has not been improved can provide some idea of the real situation in such an area. Number 39.39 B, Belotta Road is an unimproved but registered slum. The 'district' has 1,239 inhabitants, 283 families housed in 44 structures (which can barely be called huts) on an area no larger than a football field. There is no light, water or sanitation.

The Chetla district on the Govinda Addy Road is very different from the Belotta Road district. This is an improved slum where the roadways have been cemented and a street light placed every 50 metres. 110 sanitary units have been installed, 82 pumps for drinking water, 91 showers and sewerage.

At a certain point things were taken one step further, and the shanty town residents were offered concrete housing units several stories high. It is significant that these people returned to the ground level shanty town, which indicates the value of the social bonds which exist in the shanty towns.

58. One thing that distinguishes Calcutta from Bombay is the fact that the shanty towns there are all on private land. There is also a definite hierarchy and a well-defined system for renting out land in the shanty towns of Calcutta. The owner lets the land to a 'manager' called the thika. He builds huts which he lets out to the inhabitants. One hectare can hold from 50 to 140 huts for which a rent of 10 to 40 rupees a month is demanded.

59. Despite the apparently endless poverty Calcutta also provides a typical example of the economic value of shanty towns and in Howrah the informal sector cannot be under-estimated. Howrah has 649 industrial units and 4,443 jobs exist in 56 types of industry. Only 28% are registered with the Directorate of Cottage and Small Scale Industries and 80% of these undertakings have fewer than 10 workers. In the shanty town, which is incomprehensible for outsiders, the trading value of the industries represents \$3,372,535. A similar phenomenon can even be observed among the pavement people. The living conditions of these people are absolutely minimal: outside, in the street, often with no roof over their head. Whole families come from the villages to live, work, beg and die in this way. For an outsider a dying

man on the pavement, totally ignored by passers-by, can seem horrifying. However, of the ± 100,000 pavement people in Calcutta, 12% live for more than 20 years in this way, 7% between 15 and 20 years and 9% between 10 and 15 years. This is the area in which Mother Theresa is active. About 150 children are cared for in an orphanage, many of them rescued from the gutter or found abandoned at the door of the orphanage.

There is also Mother Theresa's hospice where people who have eked out their existence on the streets can go to die.

Even in this wretched situation, of the 10,841 'heads of household' among the pavement people, 34% had steady employment and 28% were employed on a casual basis. In Calcutta the shanty towns are also structured at political level and since 1915 they have even been represented in local government.

60. This is the unnerving side of a city like Calcutta: that it can exist and even function to some extent. A phlegmatic Indian official commented that this was because there was no other option. On the basis of the statistics, a centre like Calcutta should collapse under demographic pressure, however under these same conditions Calcutta has been able, for instance, to stamp out a disease such as cholera.

Jay W. Forrester of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology says in this connection, 'complex urban processes tend to be self-correcting when excesses take place.'

Calcutta provides confirmation of this, although it would be very dangerous to hold rigidly to such a view. Another interpretation could be that if things were left alone the problem of the shanty towns would be solved by a natural process of elimination or something similar. Apart from the fact that such an interpretation could hardly be called humanitarian, it is also wrong as far as Calcutta is concerned. Not only have efforts been made in the past and are still being made to improve the situation, but Calcutta is also a major port and up until now has been the scene of considerable economic activity. This is now starting to decline which represents a great danger: what will be the reaction of the shanty town when its sole chance for survival is removed?

b) The port of Calcutta and its relations with the shanty town of Howrah

61. Current reports draw attention to the astonishing decline in the port of Calcutta. In its heyday this port accounted for 50% of India's exports and 20% of its imports. In the 1980s this has declined to 5% of India's total trade which amounted to 70 million tonnes in 1980/81. The losses are being made good temporarily by Haldia, the new subsidiary port of Calcutta and built 65 kilometres downstream. This port is better adapted to highly automated port traffic and is equipped for modern container transport.

62. Calcutta is still a centre of the tea and jute trade. The latter in particular has flourished again in recent years now that synthetic fibres have become very expensive because of their dependence on oil prices. However, political and industrial chaos in the last decade has made many undertakings decide to leave and Calcutta remains full of outdated industries and old-fashioned inefficient technology.

The new port of Haldia offers some hope for the future.

The Marxist Government of West Bengal has realized that new investment offers the only opportunity for survival. When it came to power in the late 1960's a wave of panic swept through industrial circles. It has now become clear that the Marxist Government has succeeded in creating an unperturbed environment for trade and industry and confidence in Calcutta has gradually been restored.

63. However once again there is the threat of difficulties with New Delhi where Prime Minister Gandhi has been naturally watching very closely the developments in West Bengal, which was the only state to oppose her Congress Party. New Delhi wants the port to be in two parts and wants to grant both Calcutta and Haldia independent port status. Up to now they have been united in the Calcutta Port Trust which naturally benefited the old port of Calcutta. Once separated from Haldia, Calcutta would have no semblance of a chance. The fate of millions of inhabitants is very closely linked to the port activities. Both the formal and the informal sectors are interwoven in the chain of supply.

The informal sector is the mainstay of the shanty town and its inhabitants' chance of survival. There is no point in redevelopment if the inhabitants do not have a minimum amount of work and both the national and federal authorities have an enormous responsibility in this respect.

## 2. Bombay

### a) Bombay, the problem city

64. Bombay is India's chief port and has about 7.5 million inhabitants. In 1951 Bombay had 2.9 million inhabitants, in 1961, 4.1 million and in 1971, 5.9 million.

There is a very diverse population in terms of both ethnic and religious groupings: Sindhis, Andhras, Kannadas, Malayalis, Punjabis, Parsis, Muslims....

25% of the population earns less than 550 francs a month. 78% live with their families in one room and 30% live more than 6 to a room.

830,380 households are estimated to be without proper accommodation, i.e. approximately 4,365,445 people and 50% of the population live in shanty towns.

65. The town is built on a long narrow peninsula with very few links with the hinterland. The infrastructure has long since been submerged by the growth in population. During the much feared monsoon rains whole districts are washed away and house construction has absolutely no impact. In the early 1970s promoters in the private sector built 8,130 housing units a year and the authorities (Housing Board and Municipal Corporation) took responsibility for 2,400 units a year.

66. The Bombay shanty town includes 560 slums and squatter colonies housed in more than 240,000 sheds and huts built from basic materials. There are also the inhabitants of the old accommodation which was built for workers. Locally they are called Zadopatties and a further 2 million find meagre accommodation there. 15% of the population are untouchables. The saturation of installations and infrastructure is total and general. For example, drinking water has to be brought 100 kilometres before it reaches the town and in the dry season there is rationing.

Bombay is overpopulated with parts of the town where the population exceeds 10,000 per hectare.

Just as in Calcutta, the pavement people are a separate problem. They are the least organized and live in the streets. Despite the fact that they do not enjoy the relative protection of a real shanty town, many of them do however find employment in the informal sector.

On 23 July 1981 an attempt was made in Bombay to free the streets of pavement people. Witnesses from the shanty towns speak of force being used, with bulldozers and police cordons. The government talked about aid to help the shanty town residents return to their villages. The Bombay High Court halted these measures which it considered illegal and the majority of the 10,000 who had been deported returned and have resumed their meagre existence. However this is still threatened as long as they have no right of settlement.

67. Bombay has made attempts at redevelopment but implementation of the law on the redevelopment of the shanty towns was a total failure. 2,500 housing units each with one concrete room were built in the outer suburbs, but no running water was provided and the rents were far too high. When Bombay was about to burst at the seams totally, the local architects produced a radical new idea, of a whole new town on waste land. It was in fact not a new idea as in 1947 the architect ALBERT MAYER had proposed a new satellite town, but at that stage the plan was shelved for financial reasons. However, ultimately there was no option, and in 1973 a New Bombay Draft Development Plan was drawn up.

68. New Bombay is a site of 18,000 hectares to the east of the city, along the bay and opposite the old port. The site has various natural advantages and has good road and rail connections with the old city and the industrial centre. New Bombay is mainly intended to counteract the results of the rural exodus. It is centred on a 27-kilometre railway line along which large population centres will be developed in groupings of about 100,000 inhabitants. Ultimately the new town should be able to hold 2 million inhabitants. The method of constructing the town is intended to provide work for the less-favoured and to keep prices reasonable. The sponsors have calculated that a rudimentary dwelling constructed on a self-help basis costs about 55 dollars as opposed to 550 dollars if the same construction was built by professional building workers.

69. Approximately half, 200,000 units, of the proposed dwellings in New Bombay will be constructed using supervised self-help methods. One district VASHI has already been completed and contains 7,000 dwellings. Potential residents were offered 4 types of accommodation, one better equipped than the other, to meet the needs of differing incomes. However, the initial investment still remains a heavy financial burden for the family. The authorities have therefore agreed that temporary huts can be built in the first instance and the final dwelling later. Loans are made available at low rates of interest. Vashi lies near an industrial zone called Thana and new chemical industries should provide the necessary jobs.

b) Bombay, the port and the industrial centre

70. The success of New Bombay will depend totally on the will of investors and industry's willingness to establish itself there. Bombay is situated very favourably to benefit from the oil wealth of the Middle East. The discovery of oil in the ocean accelerated the growth of petrochemical industries. The majority of banks have their head offices in Bombay, often after having left Calcutta.

71. In recent years the traditional industries have been hard hit. The textile industry declined rapidly because of the situation on the world market and because this branch of industry was hopelessly outdated. However new industries have flourished and major pharmaceutical companies have taken sites in the new SEEP zone. Even companies which operated a long way from Bombay tended to establish their head offices in the city. More than 30% of foreign investment is concentrated in Bombay and its hinterland.

72. But the industrial circles still face problems. The changes in government - Ghandi - Janata - Ghandi (Congress Party) shook the stability of the investment climate, the cost of living shot up and land and property in particular fetched astronomical prices.

73. An emigration flow has started from Bombay to the Middle East where earnings are considerably higher. This has led to an inconceivable situation in Bombay where it has become very difficult to find servants and skilled workers such as plumbers, mechanics etc.

Bombay is also faced with an ageing port. Access to the docks is much too narrow for modern high tonnage ships. The most modern cranes date from the 1950s and, at the worst, ships have to wait 80 days to be unloaded. There are plans for a new port at Nhava Sheva.

74. Despite some considerable differences there are similarities in the development of Calcutta and Bombay. Both ports have to deal with similar problems and economic activity is vital for the population and also for the inhabitants of the shanty towns. There are millions of them in both towns, they are there, and there is no point in forcing them to leave against their will as they will return. They will continue to return, at least until they have obtained the right of settlement. The only lasting solution is redevelopment, but this should be proper redevelopment, with respect for existing structures and relations within the shanty towns.

As well as redevelopment, government policy must be directed towards employment and revitalization of the economy. This is absolutely clear from trends in Calcutta and Bombay.

### 3. Hyderabad: another example

75. In Hyderabad there has been a definite move away from the idea that bulldozing the shanty towns is a solution. Redevelopment is the order of the day there thanks to UNICEF and petrodollars from Prince Talal of Saudi Arabia. Hyderabad is the capital of Andhra Pradesh, a state of more than 53 million inhabitants in the south of India. It has 500 shanty towns where approximately 500,000 people live in about 60,000 huts. 200,000 children live in the shanty towns and the inhabitants represent 1/5 of the total population of the city.

76. In 1977 UNICEF decided to start redevelopment projects. The city authorities hesitated but when UNICEF provided the finance they gave the project their blessing. UNICEF considered that it was vitally important to take the motivation of the inhabitants into account. This motivation was in fact clear: to continue living where there was employment. The solution was to provide everyone with the opportunity to build a 'house' on land which he owned. That, at least, was the objective of the Urban Community Development Project which was set up to this end. In 1977 4,500 housing units were built and in 1981 this figure had reached 10,000.

77. The city purchases the land on which the shanty town is built and then constructs roads, installs water supplies, sewerage, etc. Every family receives about 60 square metres of land and they can borrow 6,000 rupees from the state bank with repayment facilities spread over 20 years. The system has to be within the means of families whose average income is 350 rupees a month. Once UNICEF had taken the initiative the city authorities followed suit and money was even available for the redevelopment of districts within the town itself. In 1981 there were 28 crèches, 160 kindergarten classes, 130 training centres and 18 medical centres.

78. A large part of the success of the project is due to the Saudi Prince Talal, brother of King Khaled of Saudi Arabia. He was appointed as UNICEF special envoy in 1980 and in that capacity he took responsibility for the fate of the 1,284 million children of the Third World, including their accommodation.

UNICEF's annual budget for southeast India, and in particular Andhra Pradesh and Orissa, is about \$5 million. Between 1949 and 1980 UNICEF spent \$246 million and the figure for 1981-1983 was \$108 million.

79. In cities such as Calcutta and Bombay the problems of the shanty towns are, of course, in proportion to the number of inhabitants. However even 'smaller' Indian cities are confronted with the affects of the rural exodus and their own growth rate.

For example, in 1978 Madras had 3 million inhabitants. In 1971 an office was set up to deal with the problem of the shanty towns and during the first 7 years of its existence it built some 36,000 housing units. However this was completely inadequate to house the 175,000 families from the shanty towns. In addition, the state had to take full responsibility for the cost of the new buildings as the residents were financially too weak even to take out loans. This indicates the importance of the co-financing factor, supported by the economic activities of the shanty town residents.

#### D. EXISTING PROJECTS IN INDIA'S PROBLEM CITIES

80. The projects vary in nature, both in terms of the initiator and the organization. They may be the result of internal initiatives by the Indian federal or local authorities. There are also various joint plans where an international institution often provides the funds and the impetus. This is what happened in Calcutta where the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority is active. In actual fact this body acts as a type of building agent for the IDA, a subsidiary of the World Bank which deals with development problems. The World Bank developed a plan for helping economically weaker groups using three types of assistance. The most destitute could obtain a room for 20 rupees a month. For another group plots of 44 m<sup>2</sup> were made available, provided with a sanitary unit, at

repayments of 26 rupees a month. This was linked on an optional basis to a loan of 2,000 rupees to encourage self-help building. A similar formula with additional facilities resulted in repayments of 42 rupees a month.

81. As indicated above UNICEF got the redevelopment project in Hyderabad off the ground. The project produced results and it was therefore decided to implement a similar plan in VISHAKHAPATNAM on the Indian Ocean, however, without direct aid from UNICEF, but modelled on UNICEF's previous projects.

The local authorities are investing 18 million rupees in the plan. The distinctive nature of the project lies in the fact that the geographical situation of the shanty town was determined before it was constructed. The authorities are thus intending to establish a shanty town on this site, which, they claim, will therefore no longer be a real shanty town. However the local authorities approached the problem very realistically, realizing that the rural exodus was a fact and that people would continue to come. They are therefore making provision for this exodus, rather than allowing shanty towns to develop and later having to spend money on redevelopment. It is therefore clearly a meaningful preventive measure. However its success will depend on parallel measures to improve the standard of living in rural areas. If not the new district of the town will attract people in unreasonable numbers, which will ultimately result in the new districts becoming slums.

82. The United Nations' programme for Asia covers the years 1982-1986. It is still mainly concerned with food production and sources of energy and does not include the problem of the cities in its list of priorities. However these could be included indirectly in certain projects. The section on employment as a priority includes an item indicating that one of the fundamental objectives is to promote employment in the rural areas and in the equivalent areas in the towns which are increasing in importance. Thus although it is not dealt with in a separate chapter in the programme, it is interesting to note this association of urban and rural areas.

## VII. Shanty towns in Africa

### A. The general situation

83. Between 1975 and the year 2000 the population of the African continent will rise from 400 million to 800 million. The urban population will increase five-fold. It is on the African continent that the urban population explosion is most pronounced. In 1940 a mere five African cities had more than 100,000 inhabitants. In 1975, the figure was 86. A situation is developing in these cities, the consequences of which are quite imponderable: more than half the population consists of shanty-town dwellers. There can thus be no question of dismissing the shanty towns as a marginal phenomenon.

84. In general terms there is very little investment in the housing sector in Africa. English-speaking Africa is, however, more inclined to encourage self-construction than French-speaking Africa. Countries like Cameroon and Chad have absolutely no relevant infrastructure. In Africa too the urban explosion has both economic and political origins. The front-line states are overwhelmed by refugees. Upper Volta must reckon with dry seasons that can last for up to 8 months, another reason for a major rural exodus. In South Africa apartheid puts its own stamp on the cities.

85. South Africa represents a unique phenomenon in this connection. It is certainly not a developing country, yet it produces such phenomena as Soweto. But this is not shanty town in the narrow sense of the word. It is more a kind of dormitory for black workers in the South African economy, living-quarters that are allocated on a compulsory basis.

86. Soweto originated as a temporary solution but looks like becoming permanent. This therefore casts doubt on the original intentions. The fact remains that Soweto is a political problem, and comparisons with other shanty towns cannot be sustained. The 1976 uprising revealed the explosive nature of the situation. The government then decided to carry out improvements, and a great deal was in fact achieved in material terms. But the political problem remains.

87. In the Crossroads shanty town the inhabitants themselves took the initiative. A collective organization now runs a number of joint services:

a medical centre, a shop, schools, a church. Every shack in the area is numbered, some residents have taken the initiative of planting gardens round their shacks. Crossroads is administered by two committees. Although illegally settled, these people are determined to remain where they are, and realise only too well that their only chance lies in an effective form of organization.

88. Not a single régime, whether of the left or of the right, white or black, has succeeded in standing up to the accelerating move towards the cities. All over Africa, the countryside is bleeding to death. Agriculture is increasingly being abandoned, the food supply situation steadily deteriorates, and the swelling human settlement round the cities is a prelude to an explosion, a bomb set on a shorter and shorter fuse.

## B. Some problem cities

90. To speak of 'some' problem cities is really a misnomer because there is no African town or city that is free of urbanization problems. It would be going too far to try to summarise the situation in the problem cities as a whole. A closer look at Dakar and Nairobi will be sufficient to give an adequate idea of the extent of the problem.

### 1. Dakar

91. In 1955 Dakar had a population of 214,000. In 1965 it had risen to 457,000.

The rural exodus in Senegal is accomplished in a number of stages. Rural inhabitants leave their villages for a nearby centre, and from there proceed to the shanty towns in the centre of Dakar, and subsequently settle, so to speak, in one of the peripheral shanty towns.

92. In Pikine for example, a shanty town that has mushroomed since 1950, and now numbers 300,000 inhabitants.

The growth of these human settlements follows a characteristic pattern. Distinct districts have actually emerged in this agglomeration which in themselves testify to the mass movement of the population. There are, for example, Pikine-Ancien, Pikine-Extension, Pikine-Cités and Pikine-Loti-Récent.

The name of the illegal settlement speaks for itself: Pikine-Irrégulier.

The significant feature is however that the inhabitants have organized themselves, so that 80 per cent of them now own the land on which they live. Even Pikine-Irrégulier has a political structure. The traditional aspects of social life have even penetrated to it. The women have their own organization, and they, and young girls and heads of household each have a clearly defined social role to play.

93. Yet despite this rather encouraging development, the fact remains that the influx of population continues to grow. To keep pace with it Dakar would need to provide 50,000 new housing units per year, and that is totally out of reach, principally because it is not enough just to have somewhere to live, but a whole economic infrastructure is necessary for survival.

The government does make an effort, low-interest loans are available, there is the national regional planning scheme, but none of this can cope with the scale of the problem. Dakar continues to grow uncontrollably.

## 2. Nairobi

94. After independence, Nairobi began to expand at an enormous rate. The population in 1971 was 509,286, and is expected to rise to 3 million before the end of the century. In order to keep pace with urban growth, Nairobi needs 10,000 housing units per year, but can only provide 3,000. Here too the uncontrolled sector of the urban population exceeds 50%.

The Mathare Valley is the hell of Nairobi: in a strip of land by the river that is only 150 to 600 metres wide and 5 kilometres long there live about 120,000 people. Here too the organization is as conspicuous as the poverty.

Between 1969 and 1971, the population of Mathare Valley doubled under the influence of a number of associations that formed themselves into a kind of cooperative and tried to buy up the land in full conformity with Kenyan commercial law. But the law was then applied so as to refuse building permission. This led to a number of abuses inasmuch as the associations no longer consisted exclusively of shanty-town dwellers themselves, but also included business people who smelt money. In a single year 7,000 housing units were built, enough for 35,000 people. A splendid achievement, but the rents were so high that the total investment was recovered in a single year.

Between 1969 and 1970 the population of this dubious shanty town actually doubled. In 1971 the associations, which were increasingly composed of speculators, owned 50% of the land, the state owned 34% and the city 8%.

Mathare Valley is notorious for its lack of safety and family break-ups caused by alcoholism. The World Bank has initiated a project aimed at on-the-spot rehabilitation, with part of the population being resettled on 2,000 strips of land to the north of Mathare Valley. The World Bank is working on this in conjunction with the Kenyan government through the Nairobi city council. The European Development Fund is committed to the final stage of resettlement on 2,000 new strips of land.

### 3. Rosso (Mauretania)

95. A number of years ago some 10,000 people fled to Rosso (the second-biggest town in Mauretania) as refugees from long-standing drought and slavery. They settled on the edge of the town on the banks of the Senegal River in an area known as SATARA. SATARA was flooded every year during the rainy season, each time with inestimable loss of life and enormous damage. But, as happens all over the world in comparable circumstances, the inhabitants kept coming back. In 1977 a public construction undertaking and an African non-governmental organization reached agreement on cooperation.

With the help of the government and a French architect, Serge Thuinyneck, the inhabitants themselves built a dyke using locally available materials. UNICEF also helped by supplying shovels and pumps. The world food programme sent supplies of foodstuffs. The inhabitants succeeded in building a three-kilometre dyke and digging 3,000 metres of canals.

### 4. Lagos

96. 30 million of Nigeria's 100 million population live in towns. This puts Nigeria at the top of the urban population league on the African continent. In 1975 the city had 2.5 million inhabitants. This is expected to rise to 13 to 20 million by the year 2000. Population density in the inner cities is estimated at 2,800 per hectare.

97. 90% of the population of Lagos lives in overcrowded housing averaging six families or 40 persons in their household. The housing shortage is so great that landlords do not hesitate to demand up to 5 years' rent in advance. Only half the population has running water. Traffic in Lagos moves at an average speed of 5 kilometres per hour, and buses transport 2.5 million people per day.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) worked out a joint plan with the Lagos city authorities, which was put into operation in 1980. It is expected to run for 20 years. It is aimed at building 210,000 cheap housing units, sewer construction and integrating social structures.

Unicef reached agreement with the Ford Institute and Nigerian volunteers. They are especially active in the MAROKO district, which becomes completely isolated during the rainy season and where some 75,000 people live.

## VIII. Problem cities in Latin-America

### A. The general situation

98. In Latin-America the growth of cities has differed from that of cities in India or on the African continent. At present 60% of the population of Latin-America consists of city dwellers. The cities also tend to have a fair amount of tradition behind them, since organization and its problems originated much earlier. In 1925, for example, the urban situation in Latin-America was similar to that in Africa now.

Typical of Latin-America is the enormous power of attraction of the capital. This applies equally to a large country like Argentina and to a smaller one like Haïti.

Half the urban population of Latin-America is concentrated in two countries, Brazil and Mexico.

Urbanization is, as already stated, not a new phenomenon. What is new however is the phenomenon of self-construction. It is as a result of this that the so-called 'villas miserias' and 'ciudades perdidas' have come into existence.

99. Cities like Mexico City, Sao Paulo, Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro are characterized by enormous discrepancies in social status and economic groupings. The influx into the cities, however, is for the same traditional reasons as already indicated, a falling off in agricultural production and high natural population growth. The long-standing nature of the urbanization problem is indicated by the fact that an enquiry was held into conditions in the cities as early as 1951. The conclusion reached on that occasion was that 19 million housing units in Latin-America were unfit for human occupation.

In 1971 the figure had risen to 43 million, according to the United Nations. The confederation of Vancouver in 1976 calculated that between 1975 and the year 2000 accommodation would need to be built for no less than 270 million people.

100. Latin-America is certainly ahead of other third-world countries in relation to sources of housing finance. In recent years a kind of secondary market has arisen where recourse can be had to banks, insurance companies, individual investors and other institutions, not counting the traditional mortgage.

Unfortunately housing finance facilities of this kind are not available to those in the poorest categories, the real shanty-town dwellers. In contrast to Africa, Latin-America has had 30 years experience of the phenomenon of illegal settlements. The phenomenon is to a certain extent now an endemic one. Brazilia, for example, is completely surrounded by its shanty towns. The situation in fact is that Latin-America has a certain tradition in tackling the problems of shanty towns, and that there is a certain appreciation of the permanent aspect of these settlements.

## B. Some problem cities

### 1. Caracas (Venezuela)

101. In Caracas the main reason for the urban population explosion has been the rural exodus.

Poor peasants move out to the perimeter of the city where they build themselves a shack, dubbed as 'ranchito' (little farm) by the city-dwellers.

These surround the city, being built on the slopes of the hills, some of them on gradients of up to 60%.

At first sight the impression is, as in shanty towns everywhere in the world, one of total anarchy. And yet the more perceptive visitor will observe a definite structure and aboveall the firm determination of the inhabitants to arrange their living quarters and their life-style so as to take best advantage of limited possibilities of integration into the life of the city.

102. Socialologically speaking, the population is a relatively young one. They have brought with them certain traditions and family ties from the countryside. They also display a certain originality in the use they make of their scant resources. Mutual organization, the development of small, artisan undertakings, in other words a relative blossoming of the informal sector, has led in Caracas to the adoption of certain specific policies.

In 1974 a presidential decision was issued on improvements to the shanty towns. This was significant for its acknowledgement of the de facto situation and its recognition of a kind of collective property rights to the land on which they lived for the inhabitants of these communities. This eliminated the fundamental uncertainty, thereby creating the essential conditions for a start to improvements. Further development of the plans takes the opinions of the inhabitants affected into account. A major share in this initiative was contributed by the Venezuelan Banco Obrero (workers bank). It was the driving force behind the establishment of new housing

units further out from the city in still uninhabited uplands.

The project was generally regarded as a success. The whole cultural tradition of the ranchitos went with it. It is, for example, significant that in some of the new housing holes are cut in the walls to make it easier to communicate with each other by the same methods as used in the shanty towns.

## 2. Mexico

103. Mexico has a population of about 70 million. 64% are city dwellers. If population growth continues at its current rate, Mexico will have a population of 135 million by the year 2000, 80 million of them living in cities. The growth of Mexico City is comparable to that of Calcutta. Mexico City is also one of the worst polluted cities in the world. It is estimated that about half of the population of Mexico City lives in spontaneously established peripheral settlements, known locally as 'adobes', a dwelling built from material freely available in the surrounding area. 10 to 15% of the inhabitants live in totally dilapidated slums in the centre of the city.
104. Some of the peripheral settlements have a certain protection inasmuch as they have been authorized to occupy the land, as for example in Santa Ursula. Others, such as the inhabitants of the Avenida Tasquenida do not enjoy this protection and live under the constant threat of eviction. Santa Ursula originated in the 60s, and grew almost literally in the shadow of an ultra modern football stadium seating 100,000 spectators. The original shacks cobbled together from whatever materials happened to be available have gradually been replaced by more permanent constructions, and some of them even have gardens. There is integration of a kind into the life of the city. It was arranged with the city authorities for drinking water to be delivered by tanker. Some progress was made with electricity supplies, and there is a domestic refuse collection service. Contacts with the city authorities have produced positive results. This has been not least because the inhabitants of Santa Ursula have stood up to the outside world. There is thus every chance that Santa Ursula will become an ordinary suburb of Mexico City in the next few years.
105. The residents of the Avenida Tasquenida are still in an illegal situation. All habitations are built from salvaged materials. No-one is prepared to erect more permanent constructions, principally on account of the uncertainty of their situation. Here too however the inhabitants are beginning to organize and are trying to lay the foundations of an integration process on the Santa Ursula model.

106. Mexico City has itself taken the initiative in trying to cope with the population problem. The result has been NETZAL HUAT COYOTL.

This is a satellite town in which dozens of poor agricultural workers have congregated. Industry has also been located there, with the result that a hitherto clean area became heavily polluted in record time. In 1975, Netza, as the Mexicans themselves call it, had a population of 1 million.

Netza has become a deprived area. Transport to the town is hopelessly inadequate, and youth unemployment is very high.

In 1973, the first hospital was constructed but infant mortality and poverty are rampant, and galloping inflation hits these very low earners hardest. Mexico is making serious efforts to control population growth, especially in the cities. But the world economic situation in general and Mexico's financial position in particular are certainly not such as to allow Mexico to find a solution by its own efforts alone.

X Urban impoverishment and international cooperation

A. International

107. Over the last 15 years there have been some favourable changes in the position of the United Nations on the housing question. On the structural side, the necessary adjustments have been made, but it is still generally true that well-intentioned efforts have been dissipated over too many smaller projects.

Hitherto only three international organizations have made specific large-scale efforts in the housing field: the World Bank, the Interamerican Development Bank and the Asiatic Development Bank. They have contributed more than \$100 million to housing.

108. The 1976 Habitat Conference in Vancouver was a major breakthrough, especially on recognition of the principle of supervised self-help building. On the structural side, the Human Settlement Committee was established at 17.12.1977. Fifty-five member states committed themselves to the effort to coordinate housing policy.

A new Habitat secretariat was established in Nairobi. It is expected to function as the official United Nations platform for housing problems.

Other international institutions have also tackled the problem, albeit less directly. UNESCO has a division for the training of architects, the FAO provides emergency aid to shanty-town dwellers. The World Bank continues to make its contribution, and 10% of its commitments for 1982 are expected to be in the housing field.

Other activities take place outside the UNO. The OECD, the organization of the developed industrialized countries, has a Third-World Development Committee.

## B. Bilateral

109. West Germany is the second-largest builder after the United States. The greater part of activities is in the OPEC countries, so that the emphasis lies on industrial construction. However, research is now underway to develop a product within the reach of city dwellers in the Third World who have no oil income. Engineers and architects work through the German Foundation for Development Aid. Within this foundation there is also a department dealing with Third-World aid for infrastructural products and the informal sector.

110. The British Overseas Development Ministry allocates one third of its funds to bilateral aid to housing projects. The ministry works in conjunction with the Universities of London and Newcastle. British aid to Third-World industry puts the emphasis on the non-governmental sector.

111. The Canadian Development Aid Agency established a study centre in 1970. Many of its personnel come from developing countries themselves. The resultant housing philosophy has been put into practice in Gabarone (Botswana) and elsewhere. The study centre also cooperates closely with the MacGill University School of Architecture in Montreal which has a strong reputation in this field.

112. Denmark expects to contribute 0.79% of its GNP to development aid in 1982. This aid will probably be concentrated on Egypt, Kenya and Tanzania, and the emphasis is on infrastructural projects for poor areas.

113. The United States has a government department for development aid, USAID. In 1970 a housing department was established. It acts principally as a guarantor of investments.

114. In the Netherlands architects are trained in the Rotterdam 'Bouwcentrum'. The seat of the Committee of Non-Governmental Housing Organizations was also originally established in the Hague.

115. Norway allocates about 0.10% of its GNP to development aid. NORAD, the Norwegian Bureau for Development Cooperation, is undertaking a squatter project in Dar-es-Salaam. On the material side this is a very effective project, but it has one grave disadvantage: neglect of the sociological aspects.

This list of contributions by different countries merely serves as an example. There are of course large numbers of projects of various sizes and at different levels. This shows that the interest in the shanty-town dwellers' problems exists, but there must be more coordination and a better sense of purpose in these different efforts.

#### C. Non-governmental organizations

116. Amnesty International, the Red Cross and Terre des Hommes are the best known. Others represent particular professional sectors, based on ideology or an economic system. The most important of these are recognized by the United Nations. Others remain independent as non-governmental organizations. They retain the advantage of greater freedom to act than international or governmental organizations. Oxfam is one of these.

117. One of the most important non-governmental organizations is the International Union of Architects. Established in 1948, it now has more than 500,000 architects from some 90 countries as members. As a non-governmental organization it is unique of its kind: on several occasions it has helped to mobilize national and international opinion to tackle specific problems.

In 1974 the International Architectural Foundation was established in Washington. It was the first body to organize a competition for a self-help architectural project. It was won by the New Zealander Athfield. The project was for the Dagat Dagatan quarter in the Philippines. Despite the eminent suitability of the project, which took all aspects of the problem fully into account, the Philippines government, after initially giving its approval, soon began to obstruct it. It is hard not to see a connection with the level of political emancipation aspired to by shanty-town dwellers.

II8. In view of the difficulties that arise in securing financing and of channelling financial resources through the traditional structures of development cooperation (Lomé Convention and various cooperation agreements) the role played by the non-governmental organizations can be a major one. They are moreover usually well informed about this situation on the spot, and tend to be well attuned to the projects.

Cooperation between the EEC and NGO's started in 1976. An experimental budget was fixed at that time at 2.5 million ECU. Between 1976 and 1982 the Community contribution rose to 81 million ECU and 1,116 projects were implemented in 106 developing countries, in cooperation with 187 NGO's.

Compared to other posts on the development budget, these are of course relatively moderate amounts. The multiplier effect of the different smaller projects should not however be underestimated. That a major part of the latter is due to the initiative and motivation of NGO staff should be fully appreciated.

II9. The efforts of the NGO's, supported by the EEC, are mainly concentrated in the agricultural sector, so as to be in a position to cope with the most urgent problems on the spot. The total amount of EEC-NGO joint financing allocated to agriculture itself in 1982 was ECU 10,156,583. Of this amount 42% was contributed by the EEC. In the project specifications the heading 'Construction' shows a contribution of ECU 5,496,158, with a 23% EEC participation rate. This relates however to construction activities in general, both in the country-side and in other sectors. In the list of projects for 1982 there is only one typical shanty-town type of project to be found. This is a project in Columbia for assistance to a basic health care scheme in BOGOTA. The total cost runs to ECU 8,902, of which ECU 4,273, or 48%, is funded by the EEC.

#### D. The European Stand Point and Opportunities for EEC Activity

I20. The NGO's are the right mechanism for enabling the EEC to contribute to improvements in shanty-towns.

As this report goes to press work is still in progress on the Commission's annual report to the Council on EEC-NGO cooperation. For the above information and for that which follows, your rapporteur is indebted to the Commission's report of 30 May 1983 for the 1982.

EEC-NGO relations are set out in five areas of the budget:

- Article 941 on joint financing of NGO projects in developing countries,
- Article 941 on joint financing of public-relations activities by NGO's,
- Chapter 92 on Community food aid channelled through NGO's,
- Chapter 941 on inter-NGO support and coordination at European level.

When all things are considered, this structure represents the most realistic opportunity of involving shanty-towns in the European Development Fund.

I21. Little allowance is made for the shanty-towns within the framework of the Lomé Convention. An action can be initiated under Article 137 of the convention in conjunction with Community emergency aid. Hitherto only eight projects have been financed in six ACP countries. One reason for all this perhaps lies in the fact, pursuant to Article 51 of the first convention and Article 109 of the second convention of Lomé, the ACP countries themselves establish the priorities.

In the forthcoming discussions on Lomé III it would be extremely helpful to try to make room for the problems of the shanty-towns. If the existence of the informal sector can only be recognized, and its value acknowledged, technical and financial cooperation can also be extended to the shanty-towns, thereby laying the basis for a programme of improvements. This would be fully in the spirit of the Convention of Lomé, in as much as it gives priority to active participation as distinct from passive aid programmes.

I22. Countries not included in the Lomé framework have to rely on cooperation agreements. This accounts for the somewhat extended treatment of India in this report.

An economic and commercial cooperation agreement exists between the EEC and India, which was signed in June 1981 and came into effect in December 1981.

India is the largest single recipient of community aid to 'non-associated countries'. The main aid objectives are in agriculture.

It is understood that there are serious technical difficulties in having aid to the shanty towns built into the agreement. Nor is special aid the answer.

India is known to be reluctant to agree to any changes in aid allocation.

I23. On 18 September 1980 a framework agreement on cooperation was signed between the EEC and Brazil. This agreement came into force in 1982.

A Motion for a Resolution signed by various members of the European Parliament stressed that the social aspects of cooperation should also be duly considered, and that these must include the problem of the shanty-towns and of living-conditions in them.

## E. The European Parliament and the problem of shanty towns

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124. In the course of 1981 your rapporteur put two written questions to the Commission of the European Communities on this problem. In the first question (no. 824/81) the problem was briefly outlined and the need for an active approach by the European Community was stressed; more specifically it was asked:

- how many projects had been organized and what amount of aid had been granted,
- how many people were working for the Commission in the development of urban living accommodation,
- whether the Commission had arranged meetings with organizations involved in shanty town redevelopment.

The Commission's answer to the first part of the question indicated that it had financed eight projects in six different ACP states.

The answer to the second part of the question was the following:

The problem of shanty towns fell under the division responsible for projects in the health, education and urban work sector. It included the following:

- 2 civil engineers,
- 4 architects and/or town planners,
- 1 health-planning officer,
- 1 education-planning officer.

The answer to the third part of the question was as follows:

The Commission had contacts with the different national and international organizations active in this field. It was not in a position to be represented at all the numerous meetings held outside that immediate framework, but that appropriate efforts would be made to make the best possible use of conclusions reached by the latter.

125. From the Commission's answer it can be concluded that in general, an interest in the problem does exist, but neither facilities nor staff are sufficient to provide what could be called a clear European strategy to relieve the poverty of shanty-town dwellers.

The clear conclusion therefore is there is no place for the shanty towns in the Community's development cooperation and that they are still not

acknowledged as a development problem in their own right. The first reason for this is that policy is still oriented to a large extent on food-aid and aid to the agricultural sector, on the one hand and on technical and commercial cooperation on the other. In this connection, the shanty-town dwellers fall between two stools. Secondly, the shanty-town phenomenon is all too often dismissed as a sociologically isolated phenomenon, as a sea of human misery for which something must, of course, be done. Whereas in fact it is a logical consequence of, among other things, the rural exodus.

In reply to a second question by your rapporteur (823/81) to the Commission regarding a strategy on the housing problem in the Third World the Commission referred your rapporteur to its answer to the previous question.

Nothing that could be called a genuine strategy emerged but the Commission stated that its approach could be summed up as follows:

- an impetus to be given to employment in those sectors on which shanty-town dwellers depended (crafts, small undertakings, etc.);
- support for measure to counteract the rural exodus, thereby reducing the influx into the shanty towns;
- support from projects to provide reception centres and housing for the most deprived population routes.

An undoubted positive feature is that the employment problem, the rural population and the most deprived groups are here at least considered as such. This would guarantee a global approach to the problem that would rely on the economic activities of the shanty-town dweller and the principle of self-help.

126. The European Parliament also raised to the problem of shanty towns quite recently. On 30 November 1983 the above-mentioned motion for a resolution was tabled by Mrs CASSANMAGNANO CERETTI, Mr VERGEER, Mr BERSANI, Mrs RABBETGHE, Mr FILIPPI, Mr DESCHAMPS, Mr NARDUCI and Mr VANDEWIELE on special EEC measures to improve conditions in the Brazilian favelas. The signatories to this motion for a resolution stressed that the framework agreement that came into force in 1982 has a dynamic character, and cannot be confined to strictly commercial and economic cooperation, but must also take the social aspects of cooperation into account.

It was argued that the shanty-town dwellers should be considered in this light. This motion for a resolution stressed the importance of self-help and of the need to give the protection of the law to these inhabitants.

X CONCLUSIONS

127. Your rapporteur would first like to indicate that his research into existence and origins of shanty towns, he has been impressed both by the extent of the problem and by its world-wide incidence. Discussion of the problem cities in this report must of course be regarded as highly limited. To have discussed all cities that have this kind of population problem in this report would have been impossible. Rather, the attempt has been made to give a general outline of the problem by selecting a number of cities in India, Africa and Latin America. The shanty-town districts of these three continents have, moreover, their own special characteristics.
128. Particular attention has been paid to India on account of the extent of the problem and because of the EEC's special relations with India. It is regrettable that the cooperation agreement with India leaves no room, whether structural or financial, for the shanty towns. Improvements to the shanty towns in India presupposes new funds. But there can be no question of re-allocations within the existing cooperation agreements. Clear preference will be given to assisting the rural sector.
129. The shanty towns of Africa are a depressing confirmation of a scenario of general immizerization. Food production in Africa continues to decline, and famines are beginning to break out that are a scandal in the modern world. For as long as development cooperation fails to secure any reversal of the structural changes that are taking place, the process will continue to be irreversible, and people will continue to flow into the major cities. Serious consideration will also have to be given to the actual destination of food aid, and to the use made of export earnings in the countries concerned.
130. Latin America has what amounts to its own tradition as regards shanty towns. It already has an unenviable reputation, and it soon becomes clear that the scale of the problem defies human imagination. Yet lessons can be learned on the spot that might help to provide a better insight into corresponding developments in the more recent shanty towns growing up in, for example, Africa.

131. The problem of the shanty towns and any possibility of providing aid or finding a solution must go hand in hand with a complete rethink of development aid. The solution for the shanty towns lies to a great extent in 'self-help'. It is quite meaningless to compare growth of the urban population in the Third World with the growth of western cities. It makes even less sense to expect to solve the housing problem on the western model by introducing some form of social house-building scheme.

132. Shanty towns can continue to be dismissed as a marginal phenomenon, and go on being considered as such in terms of development aid. Yet there is more to them than a simple indication of poverty. This is closely bound with the view that the cities of the Third World have no alternative but to push ahead with their own industrial revolution. In this view, GNP is taken as an indicator of economic growth, and the shanty town is assumed to grow in step with GNP but in the opposite direction.

What has actually happened has been that in countries with a high GNP growth (e.g. Venezuela and Brazil) the shanty towns have also continued to grow. The obvious conclusion to be drawn is that the new wealth that has been created has not been evenly distributed among all the social classes. These are the consequences of infrastructure, investment policy, land speculation and, in general, the ever-widening gulf between rich and poor.

133. The first step towards a solution is to give the shanty-town dweller the protection of the law.

Any serious and consolidated policy to improve shanty-town conditions is bound to run into conflict with landlords' property rights. As already stated, however, many shanty towns are located on land of little intrinsic natural value.

It would however be too easy simply to invoke the law in the name of the law alone, certainly in situations where the law as it stands is usually no longer of any value to the landlord, and where there is no longer any evidence of legal rights being exercised.

The explosive situation that shanty towns threaten to create in future makes it essential for there to be a legal right of settlement and for that right to take precedence over property rights that have not been actively assumed.

134. Another step in the right direction must be to recognize the economic potential of the shanty towns. For too long they have been regarded as nothing more than centres of illness, unemployment, infant mortality and crime. Whenever the shanty town succeeds in organizing itself to some extent, it is immediately obvious that it has a role to play in the informal economic sector. Recognition of the potential of the sector can lead to acceptance and integration of the shanty town.
135. This is the basis of the principle of supervised self-help construction making maximum use of locally available factors of production, in the form of unskilled labour in the informal sector and local materials.
136. Aid to shanty towns will be inseparable from a restructuring of agricultural policy. If the necessary measures are taken in this area, something will have been done to stem the massive influx into the cities. These measures will vary in detail from one country to another, but they will never solve the problem of shanty towns by themselves. They must be coordinated together with other measures (e.g. supervised self-help building) are coping with the conditions created by natural growth of the shanty towns.
137. To sum up: a heavy burden of responsibility rests on the shoulders of all partners to current and future cooperation agreements with the Third World. To deny that the problem exists means running the risk that in the foreseeable future the present equilibrium will be upset with consequences that it is impossible to anticipate but that are certain to be catastrophic. The figures alone should leave no-one in any doubt about that.

It will not be sufficient for the EEC to align its development policy with the real needs of the developing countries, or for it to give these countries genuine opportunities on the world market through economic and financial cooperation agreements. The insistence on more attention being paid to the problem must come from the developing countries themselves. Scarcities of resources force the developing countries to think in terms of priorities but the problem of the urban explosion and the shanty towns must itself be one of these priorities.

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30 November 1983, on a special EEC action programme to improve conditions  
in the shanty towns or favelas of Brazil (Doc. 1-1122/83)
  
29. EC Commission: Report to the Council on cooperation between the  
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30. European Parliament: Report on a special Community action in favour of  
India's most distressed cities  
- Rapporteur : Mr K. DE GUCHT  
11 Oktober 1983  
PE 87.076

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION DOCUMENT 1-838/82

tabled by Mr VERGES, Mr NORD, Mr FLANAGAN, Mr GRIFFITHS,  
Mr HAHN, Mr MARCK, Mr PRICE, Mr SCHMID and Mr SELIGMAN

pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure

on a special Community action in favour of India's most distressed  
cities

The European Parliament,

- A - considering the Agreement for Commercial and Economic Cooperation between the European Economic Community and India, signed on 23 June 1981 and, in particular, Article 6 thereof,
- B - considering its Resolution of 16 October 1981, which welcomed the conclusion of this Agreement,
- C - considering the appalling conditions of overcrowding, inadequate housing and sanitation prevailing in many of India's larger cities, mainly as a result of the influx of the rural unemployed,
  - 1. Calls on the Commission to examine ways in which the Community, under the terms of the Agreement, may be able, as a matter of urgency, to contribute to the redevelopment of the worst affected cities in India, particularly Calcutta and Bombay;
  - 2. Requests the Commission to place this item on the agenda of the next meeting of the EEC-India Joint Commission;
  - 3. Calls on the Commission to include the results of such an initiative in its next report to Parliament on the workings of the Agreement, foreseen under Paragraph 4 of its above-mentioned Resolution of 16 October 1981;
  - 4. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION DOCUMENT 1-1122/83

tabled by Mrs CASSANMAGNAGO CERRETTI, Mr VERGEER,  
Mr BERSANI, Mrs RABBETHGE, Mr FILIPPI, Mr DESCHAMPS,  
Mr NARDUCCI and Mr VANDEWIELE

pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure

on a special EEC action programme to improve conditions  
in the shanty towns or favelas of Brazil

The European Parliament,

- A. having regard to the framework cooperation agreement concluded on 18 September 1980 between Brazil and the EEC and which entered into force on 1 October 1982,
- B. having regard to its resolution of 16 January 1981 supporting the conclusion of that framework agreement and its implementation,
- C. emphasizing the dynamic nature of the framework agreement which cannot be limited to commercial and economic cooperation in the narrow sense but must, on the contrary, also take into account the situation in the least well-off sections of society and hence the social aspects of cooperation,
- D. alarmed at the influx of poor peasants from the northern regions of Brazil into the main industrial cities of the South and at the intolerable living conditions of the population of the slums or 'favelas' who are condemned to live as social outcasts, without the minimum degree of protection which would allow them to organize themselves,
- E. whereas the EEC's development cooperation policy, while continuing to accord priority to agricultural and rural development and the creation of food supply strategies, must reach the people that are least well-off and most threatened by hunger and malnutrition, including the populations of the shanty towns,
  - 1. Calls on both the EEC Commission and the Member States to ensure that in the short term greater efforts are concentrated on projects to improve conditions in the shanty towns or 'favelas' and that such efforts are better coordinated;
  - 2. Asks the EEC Commission and the Member States to increase their participation in the financing of projects undertaken by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the shanty towns or 'favelas' and to involve the NGOs to a greater extent in their policies and initiatives in this area;

3. Requests the EEC Commission to explore the possibility of implementing a special longer-term programme to improve conditions in the shanty towns or 'favelas' which would involve close cooperation between the bodies concerned at both international and national and local level;
4. Suggests that the Commission should ask for the above item to be put on the agenda for one of the forthcoming meetings of the Brazil-EEC Joint Committee;
5. Asks the Commission finally to make better use of the possibilities offered by EEC food aid by incorporating such aid in development projects to help the shanty towns or 'favelas';
6. Emphasizes the importance that should be attached to the communities in the shanty towns when establishing priorities and drawing up, implementing and assessing development projects;
7. Points out the importance of self-help in this context and of giving the inhabitants of the shanty towns legal protection;
8. Supports the work of UNICEF and associated organizations in their programmes to provide basic urban services;
9. Recognizes the importance of exchanges and cooperation between European local authorities and those of countries like Brazil in such areas as town and regional planning and the training of local administrators and calls for consolidation of this cooperation to tackle the problems of the shanty towns;
10. Notes that in the 'favelas' it is children who are the most severely affected by malnutrition and that the lack of educational and health facilities has tragic consequences for them;
11. Calls for priority to be given to education programmes to enable the populations of the shanty towns to participate in a process of self-development and underlines the vital role that women have to play in such education programmes;

12. Instructs the committee responsible to keep this matter under review and to report back to Parliament in six months;
13. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the Council and the Member States and their relevant departments.

#### JUSTIFICATION FOR THE MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

This motion for a resolution seeks to provide an answer to the complex question of shanty towns which, in Brazil in particular, are the cause of ever more acute problems for the populations concerned and for the local and regional authorities.

Greater importance might be attached to such social problems in cooperation agreements in the future.

