المؤتمر العلمي الهندسي الثالث
لكلية الهندسة ـ جامعة الازهر

١٨-٢١ ديسمبر ١٩٩٣
٥ ـ ٨ رجب ١٤ هـ

جامعة الازهر

التخطيط العمراني
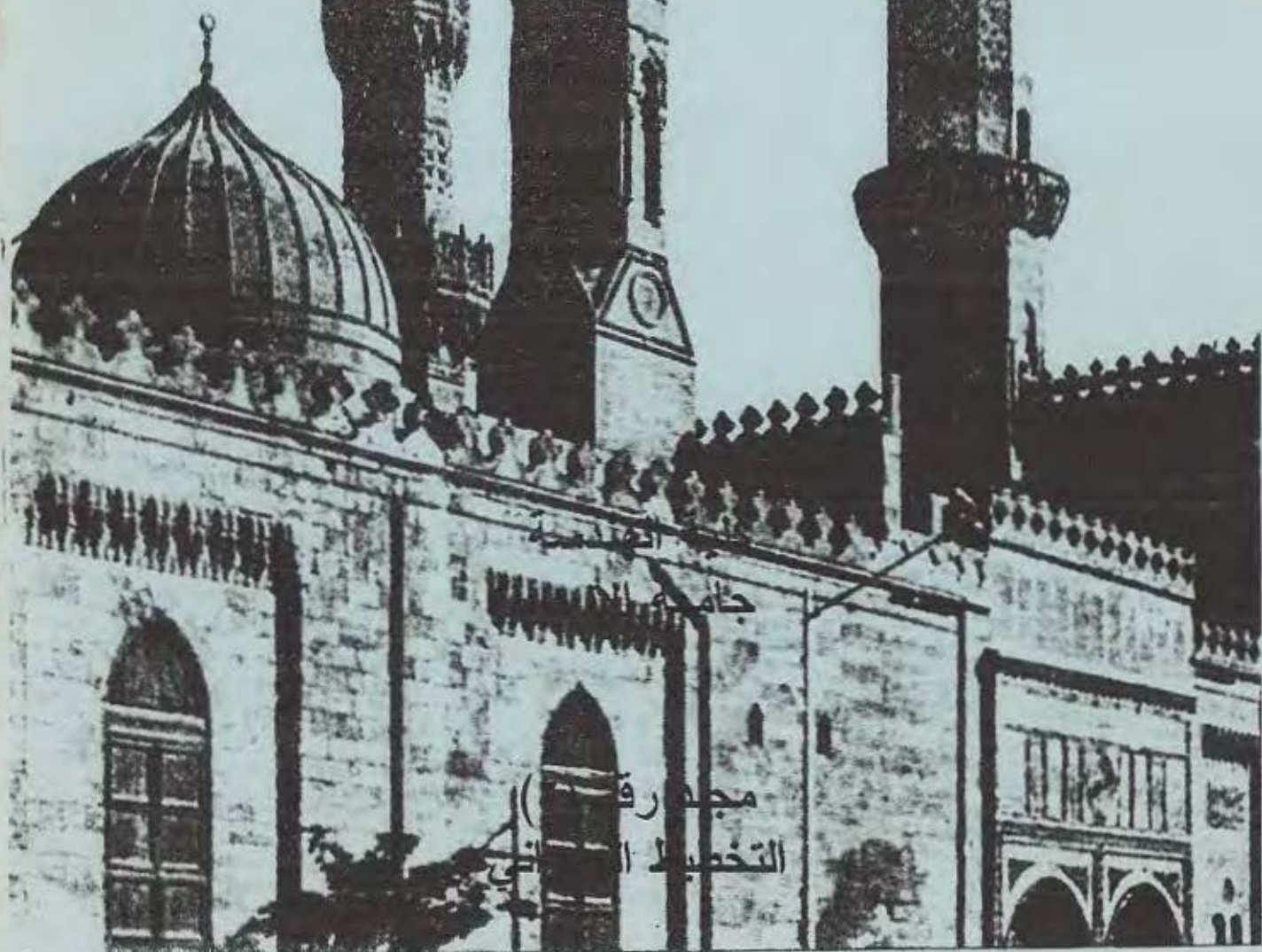
THE IMPACT OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ON THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES [SQUATTERS]

Dr. Bashayer Khairy
Lecturer
Urban Planning Department,
Faculty of Engineering, Ain Shams University

ABSTRACT

Rapid Urban Growth in Developing Countries has put the city, as a physical and functional entity, under severe pressures. Resources and opportunities have proved inadequate to cope with the population influx: and serious Socio-Economic problems have emerged. The research work will discuss the origin, nature and dynamics of Socio-Economic problems (squatting) in the urban pattern in Developing Countries with a survey on the measures taken in similar regions to face these problems and how they could be useful to A.R.E.

KEYWORDS

Migration, sqautting, self-help prinsiple, Ankara and Ismailia Experience.

CONTENTS

Introduction
Migration and urbanization.
Squatting and the self-help principle
The role of settlement upgrading and sites and services upgrading: the Ankara Experience.
Combined upgrading and sites and services project in Egypt. The Ismailia Experience : (For upgrading areas - for new settlement areas
 Conclusion
 Appendix : Illustrations.

THE IMPACT OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ON THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Introduction :

One of the most significant demographic phenomena of modern times and one that promises to loom even larger in the future is the rapid growth of cities in developing countries. In 1950, 275 million people were living in cities in the developing world a mere 38 percent of the 724 million total urban population.

By 1975, the world's urban population had reached 1.56 million, with move than half of these living in metropolitan areas of developing countries. By the year 2000, it is estimated that over 2.12 billion people or 66 percent of the urban dwellers of the world will reside in developing regions. This would represent an overall increase since 1975 of 1.32 billion new urbanities in Africa, Asia and Latin America.Fig. 1 a, b, c, d.
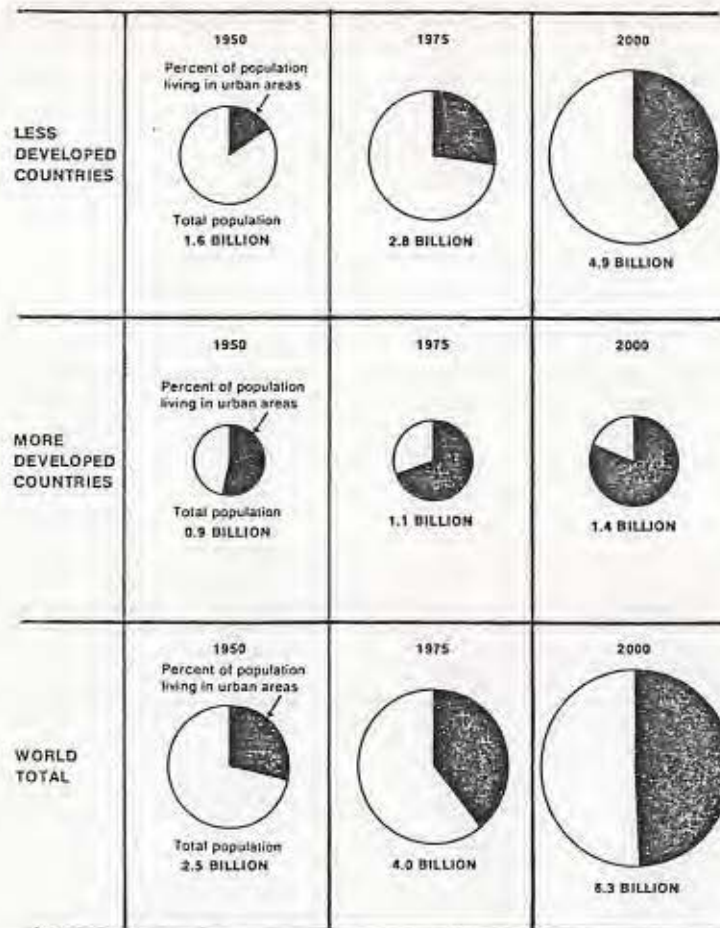

Fig. (1.a): World Ubanisation: 1950, 1975, 2000
Source: United Nations Populations Division, "Trends and Propospects in Urban and Rural Population in 1973-47, ESA/P/WP 54 New York, United Nations, April 25, 1975. Table C. Medium Variant.

Depending on the nature of population and development strategies pursued and the future structure of the world economy, the actual figure in the year 2000 would be considerably higher or lower than the projected 2.12 billion.[1] The extent of concern at current levels and projected trends in urban population growth on the part of developing world governments was revealed in a 1978 United Nations survey of population policies in the world[2]. Out of 158 countries, 73 considered the geographic distribution of the population to be "unacceptable", 68 of these were in the developing world. Taking another sample of 66 countries, 42 of them developing, considered their urban population size to be "unacceptable to a degree".

Almost all countries dissatisfied with the size and growth of their urban population believed that internal rural-urban migration is the most prominent factor contributing to city growth;90 out of 116 developing countries indicated that they had initiated policies to either slow down or reverse rural-urban migration and declared that these policies were not quite successful.[*]

Figure 1.b: Urban population as a proportion of populaton
Source: World Bank (1985) Word Development Report,Washington DC

Figure 1.C: Rates of urban population growth
Source : World Bank (1986) World Development Report, Washington D.C.

[1]   Urban Development in the Third World. Pradip K. Ghosh, Editor. foreword by Gamani Corea, Secretary General of UNCTAD. Prepared under the auspices of the center for International Development, University of Maryland, College Park, and the World Academy of development and Cooperation, Washington, D.C. International Development Resource Books, No. 2 Green Wood Press. London, England.

[2]   United Nations Economic and Social Council. Population Commission. Twentieth Session, Concise Report on Monitoring of Population Policies, E/CN. 9/338. 22 December 1978, pp. 27-28.

[3]   Urbanization in Developing Nations: Trends, Prospects and Policies. Michael P. Todaro. Paper 1985.

Given the widespread dissatis-
faction with rapid urban growth in
developing countries, the critical
issue is the degree to which national
governments can formulate popula-
tion and development policies that
can have a definite impact on trends
in urban growth.

Figure 1. d: Urban primacy and the world's most populous ₁
Source: World bank (1985) World Development
Report, Washington D.C.

The other major reason for the higher urban growth rates in developing countries
in comparison with developed countries is the faster rate of natural increase in the
former. A rate of 60.7 percent due to natural increase to a 39.3 percent due to migration
and reclassification. Here also social and medical measures have been formulated to try
and stop the natural increase in population in developing countries, yet still the issue is a
current problem.

Migration and Urbanization :

Urban migrants contribute from one-third to one-half of the annual growth rate of
developing world cities. Because the vast majority of migrants are young adults in the
peak reproductive age group, the long term contribution of internal migration to urban
population growth is actually much greater.

Rural youth are schooled in a formal educational system that is often designed to
prepare them in a lock-step fashion for each higher level in the system. The ultimate
goal of students and their parents is the acquisition of a government job preferably in the
city. Accordingly they resist attempts to introduce vocational education related to rural
life and activities into the formal school curriculum. Those who fail to progress in the
system (over three-quarters of those who enter primary school in rural areas) are ill-
prepared for rural life[4]. As migrants flood the urban job market, unemployment and
underemployment grow. Many are unsuccessful in their job search and the pool of
surplus urban labor becomes even larger. Policies designed to create more urban jobs
or provide expanding social services often only serve to exacerbate the problem[5]. As
long as economic opportunities in rural areas remain bleak, opportunities in urban areas

[4]   For a perceptive analysis of the issues related to education and urbanization in
       developing countries, see Ronald P. Dore, The Diploma Disease; Education,
       Qualification and Development. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).
[5]   Michael P. TODARO. Urbanization in Developing Nations: Trends, Prospects, and
       Policies. Center for Policy Studies, Working Paper Series,1979.

will call forth an even greater rural-urban migration. As a result; unemployment and economic margalism, social services cannot keep pace, squatter settlements proliferate. Rural areas are bereft of their potentially most productive and innovative human resources.

The above screnario is being repeated again and again throughout the developing world. It is thus rational that developing world governments are increasingly re-evaluating their past development strategies and wondering if the solution does not lie largely in agricultural self-reliance, rural new town development and a gradual, elimination of the accumulated urban-rural imbalances in social educational and economic policies by dispersed or decentralized urbanization[6] and using appropriate technology development (less capital and more labor). Accordingly urban citizens and rural migrants in need of housing, have taken it upon themselves to solve their problem by "Squatting".

Squatting and the Self-Help Principle

With the surge of population from the rural lands to the cities, a new type of conquest has been manifesting itself in squatting in the cities of the underdeveloped world today, the squatting problem exists in many parts of Asia, Latin America and Africa. For example there are 24,000 squatter units (gececondu) in Turkey. Squatters make up about 45 percent of the population of Ankara, 21 percent of Istanbul's population and 18 per cent in Izmir's. In Karachi squatters represented about a third of the population. These examples are only a minimum of the real numbers in other regions. (Venezuella 65%, Caraces 35%, Colombia 30%, Chile 25%, Singapore 15% and Jamaica 12%)[7]

Though usually primitive, the appearance of squatting colonies varies somewhat according to the availability of building materials. The colonies lack paved streets, a sewerage system and water supply. Havana has a profusion of rude huts without sanitary facilities. In Algiers tin-can towns or "bidonvilles" stand just five minutes away from the center the city in almost any direction. The tightly packed shanties with only narrow alleys for passage are built of old oil drums, scrap metal, tin cans and old boards. Each hut, about 3 m by 3 m, houses an average of four or more persons and often a goat. In Tunis, the squatters live in caves dug out of hillsides. Almost 150,000

[6]   A notable success case of dispersed urbanization and rural development is that of Paraguay, where the primate city of Asuncion showed little change in its population relative to the country as a whole between 1950 and 1972. In fact, paraguay grew only 2.8% over the last 22-year period . Major efforts at dispersed urbanization and new colonies in South Korea, Venezuela, Philippines and Brazil. China and Cuba have long been known for their success in dealing with population distribution problems.

[7]   Third World Urbanization. Charles ABRAMS. Edited by Janet Abu-Lughod. Richard Hay, JR. METHUEN. New York. London, Toronto.

squatters live in Delhi, about 90,000 of whom are on public land usually on the outskirts of major cities. With time, these ramshackle structures may be replaced by more permanent buildings. The sheer numbers of squatters in the third world-emphasizes the failure of traditional economic and construction systems to provide basic shelter for all. Squatter settlements, known variously as "barriadas" in Peru, "bidonvilles" in North Africa, "gececondu" in Turkey, and "bustees" in India are familiar to all peripheries of Major third-world cities. Fig. 2. a, b, c. Squatting is illegal, the squatters have no right to the land they occupy (public land). Their settlements lack services,
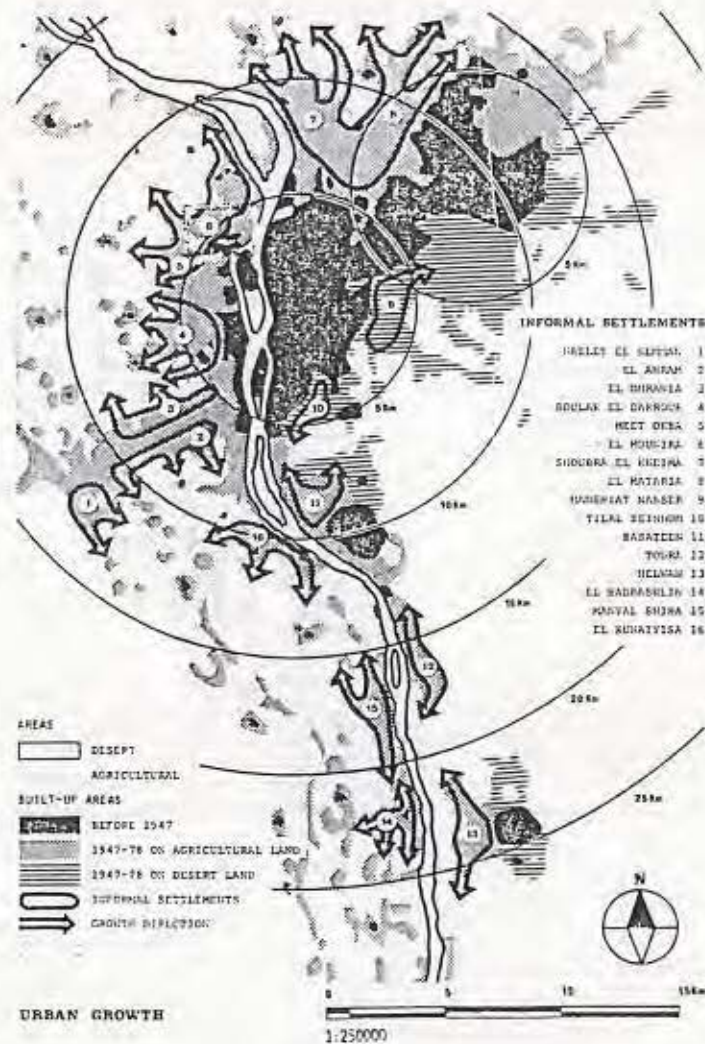

Fig. 2.a: *Informal settlements surround Cairo to the north, east and south*

piped water and sewerage coupled with high densities and over- crowding, these conditions constitute, in the eyes of the public health officials, a fertile breeding ground for disease. Social welfare officials point to the high incidence of poverty, unemployment, disorientation and alienation which in turn leads to a society of misfits whose lives are hard, ugly and short. But it could not be said that squatting settlements are wholly comprised of criminals and revolutionaries, for although the majority are low-income status, houisng and land availability problems extend into the middle classes. It is not uncommon to find medical personnel, lawyers, teachers, policemen and members of skilled trades building houses in squatter areas.[8]
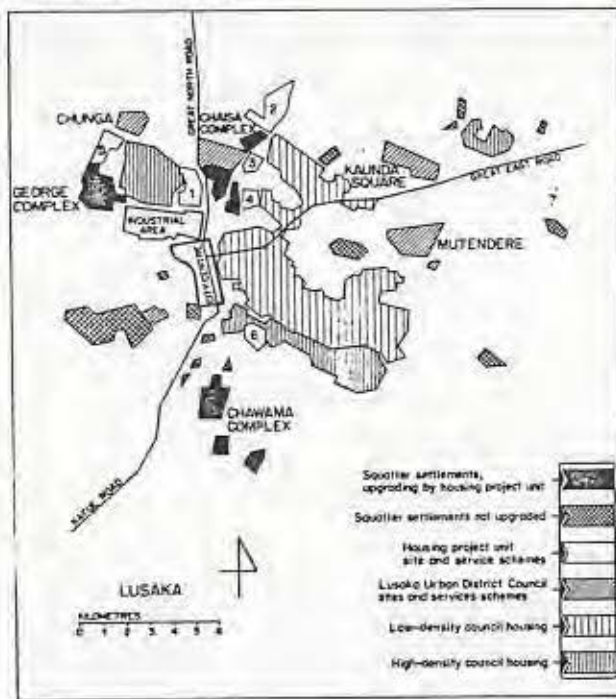
LOCAL PARTICIPATION IN LUSAKA

Fig. 2.b: Location of sites and services and squatter upgrading projects in Lusaka
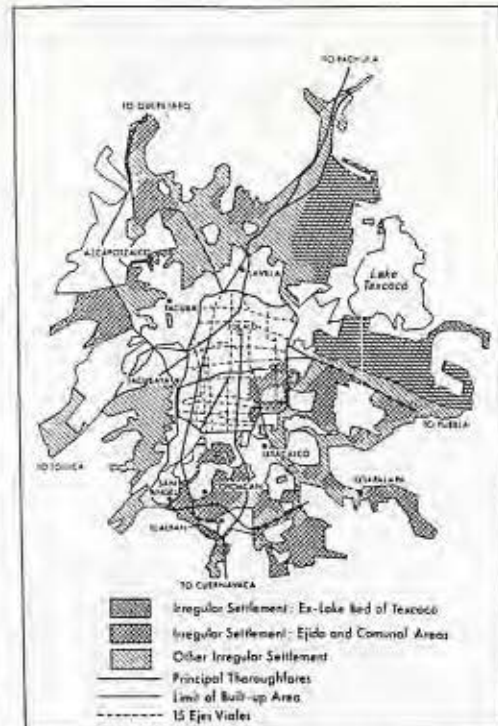
Fig. 2.c: Distribution of Irregular (self-build) Settlements in Mexico City, 1978.

The role of settlement upgrading and sites services.

The squatter settlement situation is aggravated by a cycle of demolition and redevelopment occurring in squatter areas particularly those close to employment centers within the city being valuable as locations for commercial centers or high-rise income housing. Some countries tended to overlook the need to legalize and improve low-quality housing as one step towards its eventual transformation to acceptable standards

[8]   *The Urban Housing Situation in Developing Countries. Paper Orville F. Grimes.*

and consider it as national economy. They didn't even offer solutions on new public land site; thus they have forced families to relocate to equally insecure conditions usually farther from their employment centers resulting with other complex problems that need to be tackled.[9]

The chief desire of the squatter is for acceptance, both legal and social. During the 1960's a number of countries, recognizing the inevitability of squatting, began to look upon it as a positive solution to current housing problems. Utilizing waste materials, providing their own labor, with excellent organizational abilities, squatters require the minimum of direction in housing development. Their chief practical problems appear to be the acquisition of legal tenure to the land they occupy, and the installation of basic utilities and facilities.

To sum up the positive aspects of squattering as it is now practiced we can point out:

1) Self-built housing frees scarce capital for investment in other economical sectors which generate employment security.

2) Squatter housing requires no initial investment of labor or material other than those provided by the squatter himself.

3) Squatter settlements are frequently built and maintained in a spirit of cooperation thus forming friendship and neighbour-liness between the squatters even before they are actual neighbours.

4) The extreme cheapness of the squatter-housing frees much of the small family income for food, goods and education.

5) Each family builds its dwelling at its own pace to suit its own needs. A rough shack of cans or flattened cardboard boxes may be transformed into a one-or-two-story masonry dwelling over a period of more than ten years. Fig. 3. These is no mismatch between family and building as there would be if each family was provided with a standard government-built unit.

6. Finally, and perhaps most important of all, self-built housing provides the squatter with a concrete expression of his initiative, effort and achievement.[10]
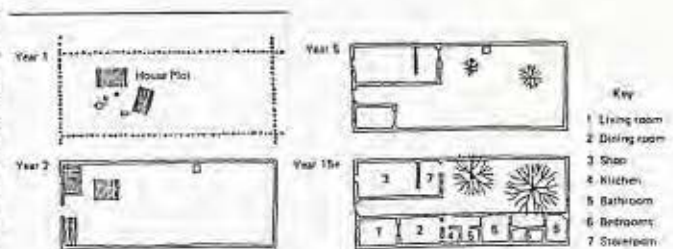

Fig. 3: Stages in squatter dwelling development Peru. (Redrawn, by permission, from W. Mangin and J. Turner in Progressive Architecture, copyright 1968, ReinholdPublishing Corporaton.

---

[9] Ibid.

[10] Environment and Behavior. Planning by and with people. Planning and every day urban life. J. Dougles Porteous. University of Victoria. British Colombia. ADDISON - WESLEY PUBLISHING COMPANY. READING, MASACHUSETTS.

Upgrading: *The Ankara Experience*

For example Turkey currently has a population of 47 million of which 45 per cent are urbanized. In the immediate post-war decades the Turkish government encouraged many potential migrants to move to Western Europe. Now this has been curtailed by German immigration laws and much of the rural population movement is focused on Turkey's own main cities Fig. 4. The fastest growing city is the capital Ankara,

Fig.4: Turkey: rural-urban migration
Source: after Beeley (1983)

which was a small provincial town until 1923 when it was chosen as the capital of the new republic. Since then it has grown from 25,000 in 1914 to 2.8 million in 1980, consistently outstripping the predicted growth of a series of urban plans that have proved incapable of meeting the physical demands of such a population explosion due to 60% immigrants and almost half the population are under 20 years of age. As a result most migrants have taken matters into their hands and have built their housing on any available land. The Turkish word for a squatter hut is "Gecekondu" which means "over-night-built". The first gecekondu started to appear in the 1930's and were built in relatively central locations unsuitable for middle-class development. Gecekondus are usually single-storey dwellings built with less durable and relatively cheap materials such as breeze blocks, mud bric etc. Gecekondus do not conform to building codes and regulations and are built without a license on a piece of land for which the user does not have a litle. The densities in some of the geckondu areas are lower than those in the middle/high income residential areas.[11] Despite periodic attempts to prohibit further settlements or to initiate new housing programmes, gecekondu construction continues apace, but important differences have emerged between the various squatter communities that now dominate the map of Ankara Fig. 5.
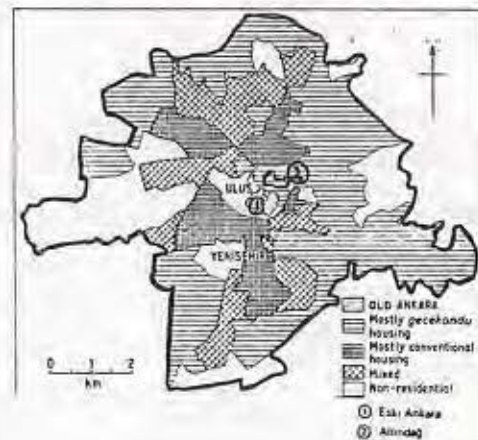

Fig. 5: Ankara ; housing types

---

[11] Aktüre, T., *Konut Yapin Sistemlernin Ekonomik Değerlendirme Yöntemleri.* Ankara. Building Research Publicatons, 1981, p.28.

Particularly marked, is the contrast between the older, inner gecekondu communities and the newer peripheral settlements. The city center consists of two distinct parts, forming two separate cities due to division between two societies. In fact the old center "Ulus" retains its traditional character and is used by the lower-middle and especially by the low socio-economic groups of city. The new center "Kizilay" has developed to the south along the city's axis of prestige, near the ministries and exclusively serves the more affluent groups. Fig. 6.
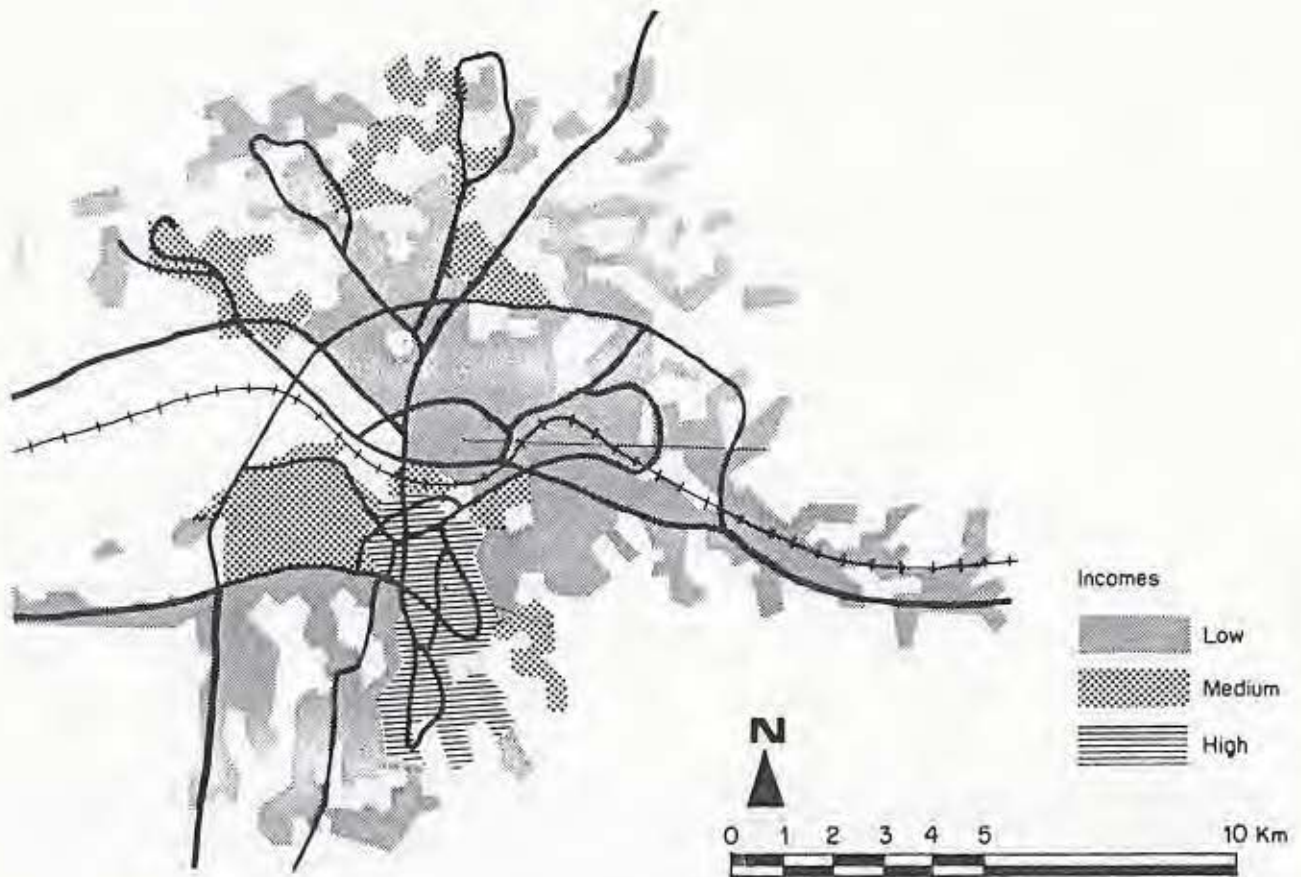

Fig. 6: Ankara's spatial income distribution

One of the older districts in central Ankara is "Altindag", a steep-sided area to the north of the citadel contains more than 50,000 people; over two-thirds live in wooden "gecekondu" units Fig. 7. Living conditions within the area are very crowded in terms of both ground and housing densities, whilst the majority of households lack adequate water supply, toilet, cooking and washing facilities.

The families are long-term residents of Ankara, more than half having lived in Altindag itself since the mid 1960s.

The low rents in the area and proximity to job opportunities in the city center were the main attractions for the residents. Very different conditions are found in the extensive peripheral squatter areas. Much of the accommodation here is solidly constructed from stone or brick, more spacious, internally and environmentally fig. 8. In addition the great majority of these units are self-contained with regard to washing, toilet and cooking facilities.

The deficiencies in the outer districts are mainly infrastructural, a result of their relative newness and distance from the city. A large number of houses therefore have no electricity, sewergage or water connections and rubbish disposals. Despite these defects such areas are popular with new migrants. Although many outer "gecekondu" districts have only recently been settled, their occupational structures differ markedly from those usually assumed to exist in such areas. Many of the household's heads are in regular, full-time employment in either factories or offices. A large number of the households in the outer districts formerly lived in the central areas and had moved out in order to obtain better accommodation. The socio-economic contrast between the inner and outer "gecekondu" areas are such as to make many problems for a government trying to deal positively
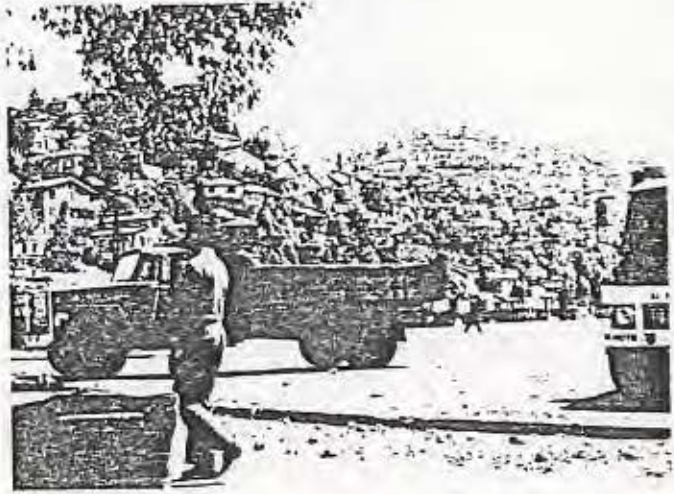

Fig. 7: Ankara : order inner-city gecekondu (squatter) settlement on steep sided hills near the central business district.

Fig. 8.:Ankara: good quality gecekondu (sqautter) housing on the edge of the city

with such settlements. If the government tries to curb this illegal expansion the up-till-now government's indifference towards the residential shortage must cease.

On the other hand, the laissez-faire policies seem to have enabled diligent families to create for themselves a reasonably satisfactory living environment, in spite of deficient infrastructure. The "gecekondu" residents have realized the deficiencies of the government and their determination to better by themselves their environment can be noted by the names they gave their "gecekondu" districts Yiwitler (the courageous), Caliskanlor (the hardworking) and Yilmazlar (the undaunted).

Motivated by the increasing number of gecekondus and partly by the increasing political importance of the low-income groups after the introduction of a multi-party system in 1946, the municipality prepared a law (No. 5218) in 1948 giving power to municipal authorities to upgrade squatter areas. Around the same time another law "Building Encouragement law" (No. 5228) was initiated permitting land to be built on cost basis to individuals who could prove they did not already own a house. Still until the 1960s these rules could not stop the overspreading gecekondus especially in the north and east axis of the city. However in 1963 a planned period started and the policy objectives were: (1) Improving the existing squatter areas (2) Preventing the development of new squatter areas and offering new sites with cost basis (3) clearing the poorest quality of squatter housing after providing an alternative shelter.

Improving the existing squatter areas (Upgrading) was the most important impact which local authorities were particularly active for e.g. settlements had to dig their wells to obtain water and the men usually walked to the main road each day to catch a bus. Once upgrading plans started, the first school was built within a year, the main local road was paved and a local bus was provided. The original large development was subdivided into several smaller neighbourhoods and more schools were built, the first water and sewerage mains were laid and a large water storage tank was constructed on top of a nearby hill. The government encouraged the traditional self-help. The government removed the squatters that were in the way of public main network and neighbours were persuaded to modify their plot boundaries to help those whose plots were reduced and new sites were found for others forced to move. Fig. 9.

Fig. 9: The provision of secure tenure, services and public facilities enhabled many gecekondu settlements to consolidate rapidly.
(Photo by g.K. Payne)

All other attempts for offering land and housing at cost basis failed due to limited budgets, as a result and with urban growth continuing at a high rate, the number of gececondu increased steadily and with higher standards of construction, services provided by local authorities with security of tenure granted in periodical amnesties, low income groups achieved higher standards compared to earlier periods.[12]

None of the gecekondu residents live in slums, which are located almost entirely in "Eski Ankara" and comprise less than 2 percent of the city's population. Of the remaining gecekondu houses few are completely illegal now.

The need for long-term policies in providing urban land suitable to the paying capacity of urbanizing low income groups, and provision of an effective public transportation system for these areas, long term success would be ensured. But within the existing conditions the recognition of the proven ability of low-income sectors to provide their own housing, thereby legalizing it and supporting it with services seems to be a vaible policy alternative.

The Ismailia Experience: Combined Upgrading and sites and Services Project in Egypt:

Ismailia is a city about 175,000 population situated at the mid-point of the Suez Canal about 140 km from Cairo. The two project areas described in this chapter combine upgrading and sites and services and were both examples of "informal" development. One in the North called El Hekr later called "Hai el Salam" or "District of Peace" and is one of the largest informal low-income area in Ismailia. The other more rural area to the south is called "Abu Atwa. Fig.10.

In Ismailia the informal sector comprises approximately 50% of the housing stock, with private formal housing 30% and public housing 20%. Public housing in Ismailia has long waiting lists as rents are very low. Access to this form of housing is difficult as priority goes to certain groups, those born in the city, government workers, newly married couples. Low-income immigrants to the city are unlikely to qualify. The project Area of "EL-Hekr" covers 226 Ha, an area of unplanned expansion onto the desert north of the city with
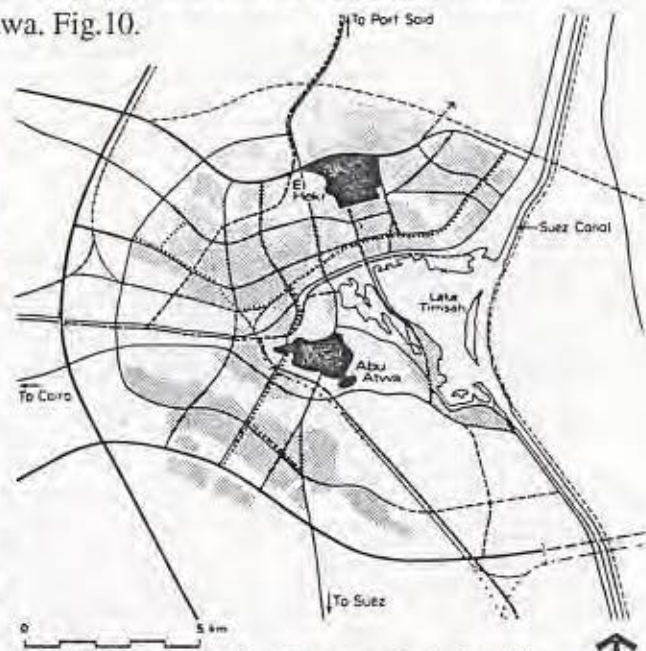

Fig. 10: Location of project areas in the Ismailia structure plan

[12]   G.K. Payne. "Self -help housing : a critique of the gecekondu of Ankara, in P.M. Ward (ed), Self-Help Housing: A Critique. London: Alexandrine Press. 1982, p. 128.

adjacent open land which provided scope for expansion.

In Fig. 11 it can be seen that, in general, the main north-south streets are wide, respecting the street lines of the planned city to the south. The east-west streets, having

no pattern to follow, have lines decided by the squatters themselves. The existing area has been developed over a period of some 30 years and is densely built up in the south by legal methods. In the rest of the area, up-north spontaneous houses are primarily one-story and are built of mud-brick. fig. 12, 13, 14.

The starting point was to try to understand the nature of the local housing system, particularly related to low-income families. "Short scanning surveys" were conducted which dealt with basic elements such as family size, employment, and income and were followed by 15 household "case studies" in each project area. Their purpose was to find out the housing history of the families; where they had lived before, were they wanted to live, what their problems were, and what were their priorities and aspirations.
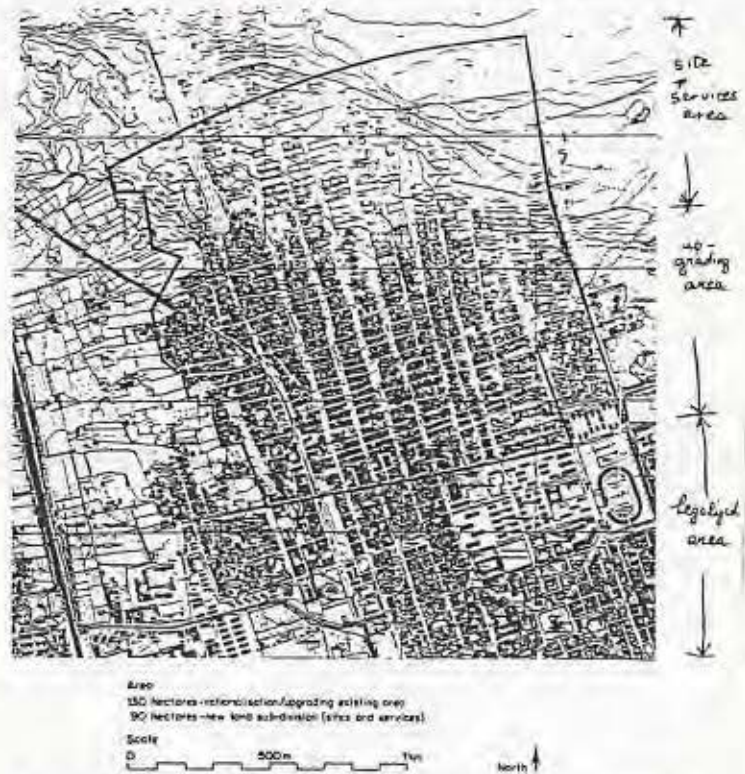

Fig. 11: El Hekr: Hai. el Salam project site, as existing (1977)

Fig. 12: Initial development of individual family houses in the north of El Hekr.

Fig. 13: Mixed family houses and rabaas in the middle of El Hekr one storey houses built of mud-brick.

It was found, for example that households put security of tenure as their highest priority, followed by piped water, roads and sewerage. Political groups were formed on local level and these participated in decision-making.

Fig. 14: Aimaras and high density housing in the south of El Heker legalized housing.

Combining upgrading and new development has many advantages. It allows relocation of families, normally unavoidable in upgrading, as close as possible to the original site. It allows the siting of social facilities, which may not be possible to install in densely settled existing areas, to be located in the new area to serve both. Utility networks similarly can serve old and new areas. New settlers can use services such as shops, builders' merchants, and skilled workers from the old areas and one agency can manage both programmes.

For upgrading areas the proposal defined the street system and within this, individual plot boundaries. The defined plot lines were then the basis for selling the land to the occupants at very low prices (£ E. 2.25/m^2) with repayments over 30 years. The income of the sale of the land would be used to provide basic infrastructure which in this case consisted of a sub-base course for roads, water to stand pipes at 150 m intervals, electricity, and street lighting. It would also pay for administration and services such as solid-waste collection and maintenance. Re-organized plot boundaries were designed to allow reasonable circulation and a minimum of demolition less than 5% of existing building.[13]

For new settlement areas the concept was to provide a basic level of infrastructure which could be paid for from the income derives from the sale of land. All infrastructure systems were designed so as to be capable of upgrading at a later date when resources permitted.

Proposed plot sizes and shapes were designed to allow the patterns of use observed on existing plots and at the same time, to be economic to service. Plots can be developed with one front room as a shop or workshop, rooms can be rented, and additional floors can be built to allow residents to supplement their incomes. The number of plots in different size range. Table 1 was arrived at by assessing affordability and expected family size. The expected development of plots is illustrated

---

[13] *Urban Project Manual, eidted by Forbes Davidson and Geoff Payne for Clifford Culpin and Partners. Liverpool University Press. 1983.*

in Fig. 15 and fig. 16. Class A plots were located on wider streets of good commercial potential, class B on narrower streets and class C on semi-private lanes or "haras".

Hai el Salam (El Hekr) project: key figures

Project area

Population 1978	37,000
Population 2000	90,000
Improvement area	132 ha
New development area	94 ha
Total area	226 ha
Plots (total, new areas)	3181 ha

Plot sizes

Low cost (new areas)
Small: 25% provision

Dimensions (m)	6 × 12	6 × 15	7.5 × 12		
Area (m²)	72	90	90		

Medium: 65% provision

Dimensions (m)	6 × 18	7.5 × 15	7.5 × 18	9 × 12	9 × 15
Area (m²)	108	112.5	135	108	135

Large: 10% provision

Dimensions (m)	9 × 18	12 × 12			
Area (m²)	162	144			

Concession plots

Dimensions (m)	15 × 24	18 × 24	24 × 24
Area (m²)	360	432	576

Plot prices (£E/m²)

Class	Ordinary	Corner
A	10.00	12.00
B	4.00	4.50
C	2.25	2.50
Concession plots	Open market price	
		1 £E = 1 US$ (1977)

Payment terms

Class	Down-payment	Repayment period (years)
A	100%	—
B	50%	5
C	25%	5 + longer at discretion of manager
Concession	100%	—

Infrastructure	*Initial provision*	*Final provision*
Water supply	Public standpipes at 150–200 m intervals	Individual connections
Sewerage	Pit latrines	Full sewerage system
Electricity	Individual connection (optional)	No change
	Street lighting	No change

Roads: (right of way)

Arterial 20 m	Surfaced (DBST)*	Paved (asphaltic concrete)
District 15 m	Surfaced	Paved (asphaltic concrete)
Local 10/15 m	Gravel	Surfaced
Access 6/10 m	Earth	Gravel/earth

* DBST = double bitumen surface treatment.

Table 1

Planning was based on a hierarchy of semi-private areas or "haras" within blocks, neighbourhoods with sub-center, and the new main center to serve old and new areas. Sub-centers have higher order services such as health clinics and preparatory schools and the main center has the large Friday mosque, polyclinic, social center and market. Figure 17 shows the physical development that has been achieved during the period October 1978 to June 1982. The building of houses has been by a combination of self-help, the use of skilled workers for tasks such as concrete pouring, brick laying and carpentry and the use of small local contractors.

The Ismailia Project, with modest expenditure and sensitivity to local conditions, makes a significant impact on local housing conditions and provides an example of an approach which can significantly affect Egyptian national policy towards developing their cities.

Conclusion :

Based on experience gained in the past decade, the U.N. Center for Housing, Building and Planning continues to stress the importance of achieving a major shift in attitudes and emphasis from the current norms of national and international policies and programs that attempt to deal with spontaneous urban settlements.
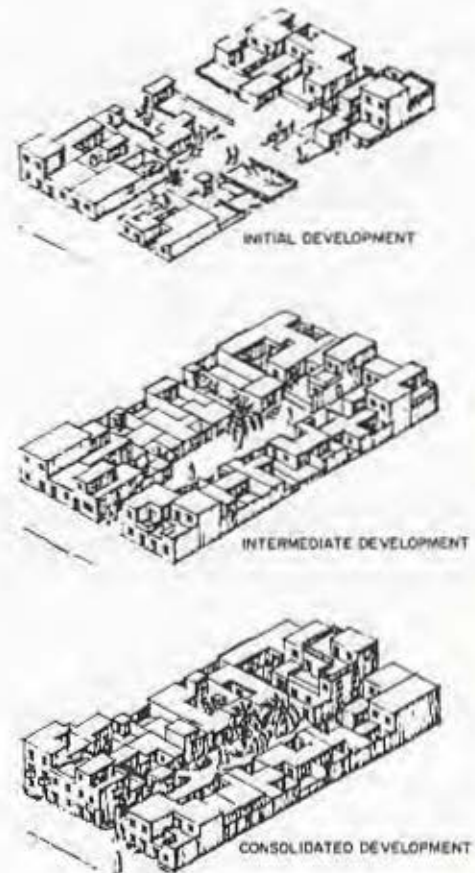

Fig. 15: Incremental development of a typical closure as planned in new settlement in El Hekr.

Fig. 16: Plot layout classes and pricing

The most basic policy and program directions are the acceptance and support of the long-term existence of transitional areas and the anticipation of future transitional settlement growth.[14]

Public authorities at all levels should recognize that, in general, measures aimed at eliminating spontaneous settlements form the city will not succeed, nor can developing economies afford to build conventional public housing for these people. Consistent with a positive supportive attitude, governments should take action to extent linkages that could make normal urban utilities and community services available to these areas, according to priorities established through the involvement of the residents themselves. Of particular importance is that the residents feel a secure right to the land they occupy, and supportive programs should deal with this issue as a matter of high priority.

Fig. 17: Hai el Salam: Community Plan showing progress to June 1982.

On the other hand attitudes should lead naturally towards preplanning for transitional settlement growth and governments and international organizations must develop and use legal and administrative mechanisms that will make planned land acquisition at cost basis and development possible in urban areas in advance of needs.

14   Robert J. Crooks. Urbanization and the Developing Countries Report on the Sixth Rehovot Conference. Transformation of Slum Areas. Areas for Government Action.

Fundamental to the success of such preplanning for transitional settlement growth is a comprehensive and coordinated approach that will take into account not only the possibility of extending utilities and community facilities to the areas but also other key aspects, such as transportation and location in relation to jobs.

The pressing need now is for countries to recognize the need of urbanization in their development plans, to assess fully the current extent of the problem of their spontaneous settlements, to analyze their resources and the manner in which they are currently applied, and to establish major attitudes accordingly. Some, but very few, states have already made progress in this regard. What is now required is a commitment to the recognition.

ILLUSTRATIONS
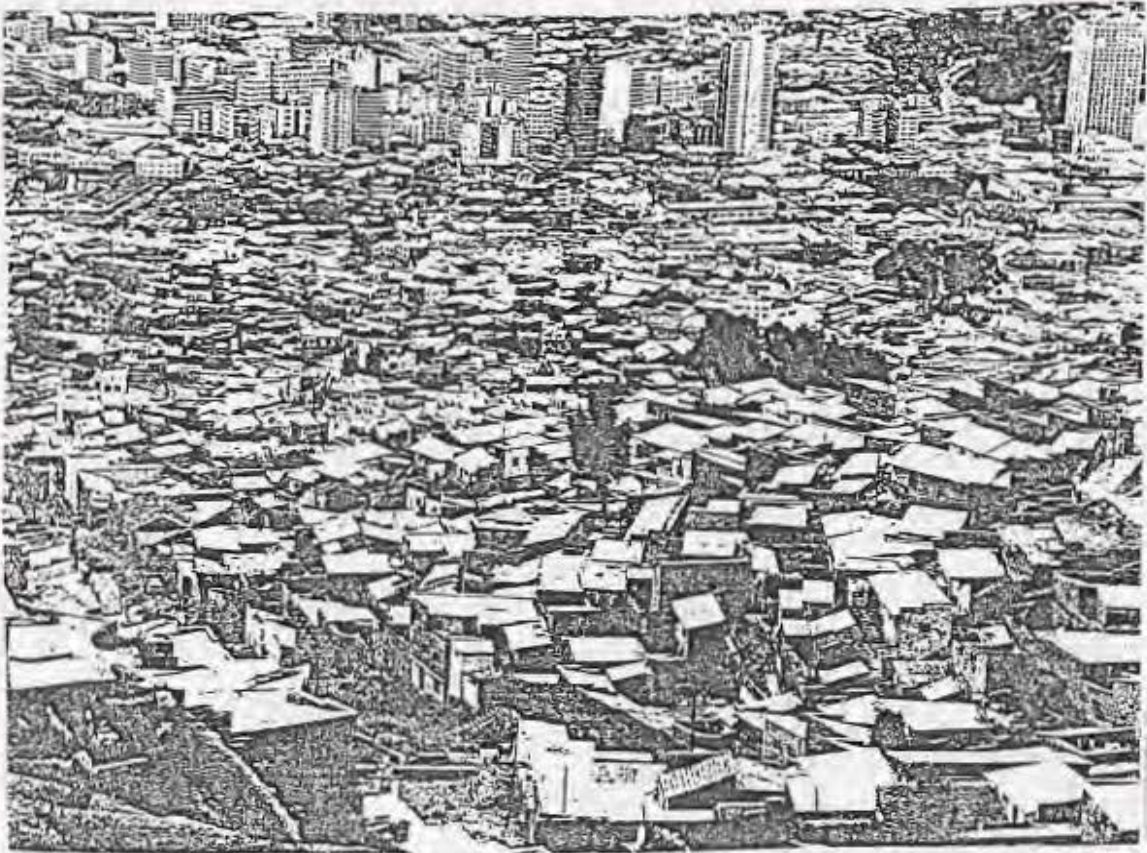
URBANIZATION. **Laq Paz,** *Bolivia (1976). A common sight in rapidly urbanizing areas: fast growing squatters occupy one or two story structures that are being expanded upwards. A very few streets are paved but lighting has already been provided. At an altitude of 3600 meters. La Paz is the highest capital in the world. The population is reaching the half million mark. More than 50% are Indians, 30% mestinon and the remainder are largely of Spanish descent. (Photo G. Gattoni.).*

Ls Paz, Bolivia (1976). All these communities are firmly settled; the constuction is of durable materials; many dwellings show an advanced state of completion. In La Paz, different stages of development can be seen; piles of bricks are everywhere, some dwellings have unplastered walls but in others walls are finished; steps are carved into the ground, but there is a stair in concrete, with a drainage channel in the center; poles and lamps for electricity and street lighting are already installed. Invariably, community improvements are the result of their own efforts. (Photos: B. Tokman, E. Popko, B. Kazimee, G. Gattoni.).

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

SQUATTERS ON HILLS. a) Kecioren, Ankara, Turkey (1975); b) Lass Colinas, Bogota, Colombia (1972); c) Deh-Afghanan, Kabul, Afghanistan (1977); d) Kale, Ankara, Turkey (1975).

SQUATTER UPGRADING. Las collinas, Bogota, Colombia (1972). Before and after stages of improvements carried out by community acton. The steps are bordered by drainage channels. (Photos: R. Goethert, E. Popko from "Transitions").