Urbanization and Slums as Socioeconomic Problems in the Far East and Southeast Asia[1]

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Introduction

Beyond the confines of the Western industrial countries a world of new nations lies in the throes of the most dynamic revolution in man's history — rapid and simultaneous urban and industrial growth. Cities, with their industries, cash wages, bright lights, educational and health facilities are the focal points of change in the developing areas of the **tiers monde.**

All over the **tiers monde,** millions of peasants flee the declining rural areas and trek to cities and places of employment. When floods drown the Pakistani's meagre crop, he moves toward the city. India may have cities of 60 million inhabitants by the end of this century. In the next 40 years, as millions of people migrate to cities in the southern hemisphere of the globe, the increase in city dwellers alone will be double that of the world's total population growth in the last 6000 years.

The processes just described are generally labelled with the catchword "urbanization". The very use of this umbrella word, however, tends to obscure the fact that it does not mean just one social process but that it embraces quite a number of different socioeconomic processes. These processes can clearly be distinguished from one another and require different forms of remedial measures. It is therefore not very meaningful if an administration decides to fight "urbanization". It usually turns out that it wants to fight only certain unwanted effects of the whole complex process which as such is not unwanted at all.

Urbanization

What are these unwanted effects, then, and how can they be remedied? In answering this question, a brief catalogue of what comes under the heading "urbanization in developing countries" proves helpful.

(1) "Urbanization" means **urban population growth** at a rate very much higher than the growth rate of a country's total population. Since 1800 world population has just tripled; the population of towns of 20,000 inhabitants and over, however, has during the same period increased more than twentyfold. The administration usually is at a complete loss trying to keep pace with the population influx in supplying adequate

community, transport, communications, water, power and educational facilities, to mention only a few.

(2) "Urbanization" means **rural-urban migration.** This migration is the single most important stimulus for urban growth and the key factor causing the crisis in housing and living conditions.

It has, however, serious socioeconomic effects on the rural side, too. It leaves vast rural areas almost empty or only populated with those unable or unwilling to travel and face the unknown that is awaiting them in town. In other words, this migration leaves the aged and the traditional-minded ones in the countryside. Thus the labour potential of agriculture is greatly reduced both in quality and quantity. Youngsters apt to introduce innovations into agriculture have gone to the towns. Serious bottle-necks in food supply may be the consequence.

Furthermore, the rural population will by losing its more progressive portions get a bias towards the traditional. Therefore regional councils and other regional bodies whose members are elected in the area will in the long run be dominated by tradition-alistic councillors and executives, thus further slowing down the rate of progress in such a region.

On the other hand, the rural exodus also has positive effects on rural life. The remaining rural labour becomes scarcer. That means it becomes more expensive as a factor of production and more powerful as a social and political force. Landlords will both tend to pay more and to give more social rights than before to their labourers in order to keep them. Furthermore, mechanization of agriculture is speeded up by the rising costs of rural labour.

(3) "Urbanization" means the fact that the biggest town of a country — generally its capital — is many times bigger than the second biggest. This phenomenon is usually called the **"primate city effect".** The effect of this phenomenon is that the attraction exerted by industrial places does not emanate from **several** places at the same time as historically was the case in most of today's industrialized countries. The attraction is, on the contrary, all concentrated in one big place. Thus by an overwhelming concentration of people, industry, trades and services in the "primate city" it is almost impossible for any other town in the country to gain enough weight to stand on its own feet economically and politically.

(4) "Urbanization" also means the fact that the **number of small towns and service centres increases** much more rapidly than the number of ordinary settlements. This rise of a number of new towns usually means a heavy burden for the country's central government. Funds are wanted by the new town councils for all sorts of amenities. The structure of a constituency where such a town has come into existence changes considerably, thus rendering the members of parliament from such a constituency particularly eager in pushing the new town's interests to keep their seats.

(5) "Urbanization" is also used for the process of **statistical or demographic stabili-zation,** i.e. for the gradual achievement of a numerical equilibrium between the sexes and of a statistically "normal" distribution of the ages.

(6) "Urbanization" is employed for what should better be called **"detribalization",** i.e. the gradual loosening of traditional and tribal ties and dependencies. Behavioral patterns and values hitherto enforced by the traditional environment and by relatively large face-to-face groups are given up, and values of the industrial society take their place.

Detribalization is not yet exactly the same as urbanization proper, i.e. the full acceptance of urban values. A trader, e.g., who has left his native environment and given up the values of, and contacts with, his home area but who does not live in a town is already detribalized but not yet urbanized in the proper sense of the word.

(7) **Urbanization proper,** or urbanism, i.e. urbanization in the narrower sense of the word, is more than detribalization. It means the set of changes of values that take place in any individual who subjects himself to the urban subculture. High esteem for personal achievements instead of status, for efficiency instead of old age, for income instead of leisure, for modern instead of traditional education, for money instead of payment in kind and for hygienic and sanitary standards are a few of the characteristics of this new urban-industrial attitude.

(8) "Urbanization" means — and this is closely intertwined with all the other processes just mentioned — the **upspring of slums.**

Since these slums are the most important and persistent problem of the newly emerging towns in Asia, they shall be treated in more detail.

Slums

Slums are of all types, shapes, and forms. Bombay has its packed multistoried chawls; families in Bangkok crowd together in "pile villages", composed of poorly constructed wooden shacks raised on wooden stilts along the waterfronts. There are the tin shacks, bamboo huts, and straw hovels along the small lanes of Calcutta and Dacca and the **kampong** all around Djakarta with its heavy influx of people[2]. Impoverished shanty towns or squatter shacks constructed from junk cover the hillsides of Hong Kong and other Asian cities. Hundreds of thousands of families live in waterfront **sampan** of "floating" slums in Hong Kong and Singapore[3].

Characteristics of the Slum

(1) **Housing Conditions:** Of all the characteristics of a slum, the physical conditions have been emphasized most often. Slums have commonly been defined as those portions of cities in which housing is crowded, neglected, deteriorated, and often obsolete, and where light is inadequate, circulation poor, and sanitary facilities are lacking.

Defining the slum in these terms of physical conditions and housing standards, it is important to keep in mind the comparative nature of this definition. A slum should be judged physically according to the general living standards of a country. Certainly slum housing in New York City or Chicago would be regarded as adequate, or even good, in many parts of Asia. Even an only limited availability of running water, flush toilets, electricity, and cooking facilities may be enough to exempt

[2] Lindauer, Gerhard D., „Indonesiens Engpässe: Infrastruktur und Überbevölkerung", Indo Asia, vol. 4 (Stuttgart, Oct. 1969), pp. 338—339.
[3] Dwyer, D. J., „Urban Squatters: The Relevance of the Hong Kong Experience", Asian Survey, vol. X, no. 7 (July 1970), pp. 608—612.

certain "slums" from classification as slums, at least in the physical sense, in many parts of the world.

Starting from the physical conditions aspect, some studies have attempted to show that improved housing also means improved general social conditions, including lower incidence of delinquency, but this result by no means always follows[4]. Even after the construction of new government housing projects in several English cities and in Hong Kong, e.g., the rates of delinquency and slum behaviour generally remained the same. Both New York City's and Chicago's slums contain a chinatown section. In spite of the same physical conditions as in the surrounding slums the delinquency and crime rates in the Chinese portions are much lower than those in the area around. Thus an area's physical characteristics bear little relation to its crime and delinquency, except indirectly as a determinant of the social status of the area.

(2) **Overcrowding and Congestion:** A slum may be an area overcrowded with buildings, buildings overcrowded with people, or both. Density does not always result in unfortunate social consequences; the issue is primarily one of overcrowding. It has been pointed out, e.g., that, if New York City's total population density were as high as that in some of Harlem's "worst" blocks, the entire population of the United States could fit into three of New York City's boroughs[5].

Some Indian slum areas, like those of Delhi, have 400,000 people to the sq.mile. In the Bombay tenements, ten people commonly live in a room ten by fifteen feet. Migration into some cities of the Far East has created living conditions without any vestige of privacy or room for motion. In Singapore and Hong Kong, five or six human beings still share single cubicles measuring 40 sq.ft.

People who live under such crowded conditions obviously have little privacy, a factor that may be of great importance, especially in its effects upon interpersonal relations. The ill effects of this feature of slum life are partially mitigated, however, through the greater use of outside space like pavements, hallways, alleys, and lanes. Most studies of slum life have shown the importance of peer-group relations developed under these very conditions, where slum streets, lanes, and alleys become important places for promoting such contacts. It is the (European) middle class observers, not the slum dwellers, who place a higher value on privacy.

(3) **Poor Sanitation, Health and Neighbourhood Facilities:** Poor slum housing is invariably associated with poor facilities and community services. Along with shabbiness and dilapidation, the schools are of poor quality, and other public facilities are often insufficient. Streets and pavements go unrepaired, and rubbish and garbage are infrequently collected, if at all.

Shortages of water, electric lights, and sanitary facilities are particularly common in developing countries. Several hundred people may share one water tap, so that it is practically impossible to keep water clean when it is carried long distances and kept for hours or days in exposed tubs or cans in the Asian climate. Sanitary facilities present even more serious difficulties, for the disposal of human faeces remains one of the stubbornly persistent problems of urban man in Asia. Often the only latrine

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[4] Clinard, Marshall B., Slums and Community Development, New York & London 1966, pp. 5–6.

[5] Clinard, op. cit., p. 7.

is a rarely cleaned trench shared by hundreds of families, and the resulting pollution is accepted as part of the way of life.

Dirt and uncleanliness result in high death und disease rates. The presence of rats, cockroaches, and other pests complicate the problems of health and sanitation even more. One estimate is that, on the average, the slum areas of a city that contain about 20 per cent of its residential population will have 50 per cent of all its diseases[6].

(4) **Deviant Behaviour:** A high incidence of deviant behaviour — crime, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, drunkenness, drug usage, mental disorder, suicide, illegitimacy, and family maladjustment — have long been associated with slum life. In slums accomodating about 20 per cent of a city's population there occur, on the average, approximately 50 per cent of all arrests, 45 per cent of the reported major crimes, and 55 per cent of the reported juvenile delinquency cases. It is interesting to note in this context that the Chicago slum areas, e.g., completely fitted this picture both in 1900 and 1920, even though their ethnic composition was almost entirely different. Whether those slum areas were occupied successively by Swedes, Germans, Poles, or Italians, the rates were high, as they are today with a primarily Negro or Spanish-speaking population. Similar findings have been reported in the United States for eight other large metropolitan areas and 11 other cities, all widely separated geographically[7].

The existence of unconventional values in slum areas accounts for the high rates of such deviant behaviour as delinquency. Yet it should be recognized that not all those residing in slum areas become deviant. In any slum area, there exist simultaneously conventional value systems mainly carried through certain individuals, schools, churches, and the police. Both the conventional and the unconventional systems interact permanently and have different impacts on individuals.

(5) **"Apathy", Poverty, and Social Isolation:** A slum also has an image in the eyes of the larger community. There is a societal reaction to slum dwellers. The non-slum dweller often associates the physical appearance, the poverty and difficult living conditions of the slum with the belief in the "natural inferiority" of those who live in the slums. This reaction has important consequences in the social isolation of slum dwellers and their exclusion from power and participation in urban society. Those who live in slums generally lack an effective means of communication with the outside world. The common denominator of the slum is its submerged aspect and its detachment from the city as a whole.

Inevitably the slum dweller's conception of himself comes to reflect the attitudes of outsiders toward the slum and its inhabitants. Slum dwellers realize that they live under conditions that are physically, although not necessarily socially, inferior to those of the opinion-leading middle class. Sometimes they take actions that they hope can improve their lot, but far more often they accept the situation, do what they can with what they have, and experience little or no control over their surroundings. As a result of this they are, by (European) middle class standards, often called "apathetic".

The attitude of the slum dweller toward the slum itself, toward the city of which the

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[6] Clinard, op. cit., p. 9.
[7] Clinard, op. cit., pp. 9—10.

slum is a part, toward his own chances of getting out, toward the people who control things, toward the "system", this is an element which as much as anything else will determine whether or not it is possible to "do something" about slums. This is why slums are a human problem rather than a problem of finance and real estate.

Any treatment of the slum solely as a product of poverty, is far too simple. This poverty is only a relative one. A slum person in the Western world may have many more material goods than a slum person in India has. A poor urban family in today's India may have technological possessions and education superior even to those of the upper socioeconomic classes in the 18th century. In other words, poverty must be defined in terms of the aspirations and expectations of a culture and its capacity to procure the means aspired.

The Functions of the Slum

(1) **Housing for the Poor and the Migrant:** The most common function of the slum has been to provide housing for the lowest income groups in society. In areas undergoing industrialization and urbanization, migrants to the cities in the past and today have found their first home, at rents they could afford or as squatters, in the city slums. Living in the slum has made it possible for low-income families to save enough for other purposes, as in the case of Indian immigrants to East Africa who managed to save enough money to enable their families to join them or eventually to provide better lives for themselves and their children. Then there are those, who, by living in the slums, have managed to build up small businesses or to save enough money by renting out rooms to be able to move to more suitable neighbourhoods.

(2) **Group Associations:** In many countries, the slums serve as places where group living and associations on the basis of villages, regions, tribes, or ethnic or racial groups may develop. The appearance of a slum can easily be quite misleading to an outsider. What the middle-class observer often sees as a neighbourhood of filthy, dilapidated and overcrowded dwellings is often viewed quite differently by those who live there and understand the neighbourhood and its residents.

Satisfaction for residents of the ethnic or regional slum arises from the fact that, for them, the residential area is often the setting for a vast and interlocking set of social networks and from the fact that physical area has meaning for them as an extension of their homes (e.g. Italians in the U.S.), various parts of which are delimited and structured on the basis of a sense of belonging. A feeling of belonging in or to a slum area is thus, in some cases, an important factor in the attitudes of slum dwellers toward their environments. And this is particularly true for the slums of Asian cities.

(3) **Education for Urban Life:** The slum performs a function as a type of "school" to educate newcomers to the city. It gives them a place to become oriented upon arrival, to find first jobs, and to learn the ways of city life. This function is particularly important in developing countries, where the contrast between village und urban life is very great indeed. As many immigrants of the past in the industrialized countries lived in the slums for periods of adjustment before moving on to "better" areas, so today, the slums house the migrants from rural areas in the developing countries.

The migrant newcomer to the town here finds living conditions more akin to those in his home village than those in the city proper. Punctuality and regularity do not play as important a role as in actual town life. There is less danger than in the city of being laughed at for having done something wrong by urban standards, or for "being still a peasant". This fact has strongly been verified by recent research in some Near-Eastern towns. It could be proved that those migrants to the newly emerging industrial cities who came from smaller towns in the country went right into the old city centre, the **medina,** i.e. they dared enter the town proper right away since they had already learned how to behave as a town dweller in their small home towns. Those migrants to the same cities, however, who came from the rural countryside, without hesitation went into the slums on the outskirts, i.e. to the "school" where they could learn how to become a proper town dweller[8].

(4) **Demand for Anonymity:** An important function of the slum is that of offering a place of residence to those who prefer to live anonymously. The urban slum has harboured both those on the way up and those on the way down, and this dual character of the slum's social function has often been overlooked. The slum accepts people who may be rejected elsewhere, and this function is important in preserving conformity in the remainder of the city.

Only in the city, where rapid change is taking place, and often only in the slums of a city, can the disfranchised and deviant find genuinely important roles. In addition, the artist often finds his start here, as do the poet, the jazz musician, and the radical. This accumulation of various deviant groups in slum areas should not necessarily be viewed as serving no social function or as a highly disturbing or disfunctional element, for deviant groups may play important roles in the introduction of innovations in any society.

Throughout the slums there is a generalized suspicion of the "outside world", which includes government, welfare groups, and the upper and middle classes generally. Public services are often feared as possible dangerous sources of interference with the people's desire for anonymity. Such fears are frequently confused by the people's own failure to understand modern health or educational services or even the proper use of such public facilities as schools.

Credit Facilities: Unemployment, underemployment, and low wages are the rule in the slums. There is a constant struggle for economic survival. Work patterns are likely to be irregular, and lack of stable employment often contributes to unstable family patterns. As opposed to Latin American and African slums, in Asian slums one usually finds savings or at least a fervent desire to save; and there is a fair ability to plan for the future or to defer present gratification of the senses. Many small businesses and workshops in Asian cities would never have come into existence had it not been for the rather informal credit facilities the slums provide. Personal esteem, old kinship ties, "proper" conduct according to slum values may make a person worthy of credit who would otherwise not be able to obtain a credit at all.

[8] Wirth, Eugen in discussing Borcherdt, Christoph, „Städtewachstum und Agrarreform in Venezuela", Deutscher Geographentag Bad Godesberg 1967, Wiesbaden 1969, pp. 195 —198.

Pros and Cons of Urbanization

Most of the urbanization processes — this has become clear — have both "good" or desired and "bad" or unwanted effects. The difficulty for the social planner and administrator now is not to throw out the baby with the bath-water, i.e. to suppress or minimize the negative effects without simultaneously smothering the positive effects. In some cases he even has to abide by the fact that he cannot avoid or overcome the short and medium-term negative effects and social bottlenecks a certain process might create if he wants his country to benefit from the long-range positive effects the very process is expected to have.

Let us take a second look at the catalogue of urbanization phenomena from this point of view. Which processes can we accept as they are? Which processes show a fair balance between desired and unwanted effects? Are there any processes with only negative qualities, and what can be done to at least alleviate if not neutralize the negative sides of the various urbanization phenomena?

Processes which are fully acceptable are: increasing number of small towns and service centres, the statistical and demographic stabilization and urbanization proper or urbanism.

An increasing number of small towns and service centres will help to facilitate marketing and supply of goods, both local and imported, it will induce a faster and denser flow of information and new ideas, and it will counteract to a certain degree the negative effects of the rural-urban migration and of the primate city effect. The fact that the industrialized countries never during their urbanization and industrialization process had to suffer as heavily under the primate city effects as most Latin American countries but also countries like Indonesia or Thailand do today, is attributed mainly to the fast coming into existence of many towns of almost equal size. Where this process took place under a more centralized administrative structure as, e.g., in France at least rudiments of the primate city effect came through, but where the administrative structure had a more federal basis as in Germany no primate city effect at all became visible.

Statistical and demographic stabilization affords an adequate and statistically "normal" labour force, and it greatly adds to the political, social and mental stability of the town population.

Urbanism instils in the new town dwellers all the values necessary in the development and industrialization process. Apart from serving this macro-economic purpose it has the highly positive effect of freeing the individual member of the urban society from psychic and social uncertainty and vacuum; he gets a new and reliable set of values according to which he will orientate his socioeconomic behaviour.

It is the transitional stages of urbanization like detribalization, rural-urban migration, growth of slum areas, and urban population growth where one can be more doubtful as to whether one can describe them as positive. They certainly are not entirely positive.

Detribalization leaves the individual without psychic and moral orientation. Having lost his old standard of values at least partly and not yet having acquired new ones the individual is in a state of extreme psychic stress und restlessness. From his **horror vacui,** from his desire for orientation he is more prone than ever before in his life to fall for extreme political ideas. On the other hand, the individual must go

through a more or less extended period of uncertainty and mental helplessness, since detribalization definitely is a prerequisite of the desired urbanization proper. Social planning can only try to shorten the detribalization stage as much as possible.

Some of the negative effects of rural-urban migration on the rural side have been mentioned above. On the urban end its effects are closely intertwined with the effects of urban population growth in general and of living conditions in slums in particular.

The Asian countries want urban development since only towns can afford the locational advantages many industries need. This is true from the labour point of view just as well as from the point of view of concentrated purchasing power, differentiation of tastes and consumer preferences and sufficient supply of social overhead capital such as transport, communication, energy and water. If Asia wants towns, it must also want their growth to steadily increase and strengthen their locational advantages and their attractiveness to industries. If the towns are expected to grow immigration from rural areas must also be accepted since labour demand grows faster than the urban birth rate. The immigrants are needed as a labour force and as potential consumers of the products the newly emerging industry will be supplying. But since capital is scarce and there is already a capital shortage for "productive" purposes usually nothing or only very little is left to keep urban social overhead capital and housing abreast of the inflowing masses. So one has to abide by the fact that slums with all the political and social sores they create cannot — for a certain lapse of time — be avoided entirely. It has already been mentioned that the slum has its advantages, too.

One other aspect of urbanization is still left to be discussed, the primate city effect. This over-concentration of a country's political, social und economic life clearly creates over-large burdens, and a country greatly suffers from such a socioeconomic topheaviness. Social costs in the widest sense of the word increase over-proportionately with a town's growth. Thus the primate city effect is the only phenomenon that comes under the term urbanization which has no positive effects at all.

Measures to Alleviate Negative Urbanization Effects

What measures have been taken so far to neutralize or at least mitigate negative urbanization effects? How far have they proved successful?

The Russian Example

The most extreme example of a deliberate planning of urbanization generally and slum growth in particular is afforded by Russia during the Stalin era. First of all, everybody who had been able to find a job in a town was furnished with a passport, a kind of residence permit for that town. Whoever could not produce such a passport on one of the frequent police-raids to the slum areas was sent to jail and later taken back to his village.

Since this practice put a heavy burden on police and administration, Stalin's planners thought of still another device to curb uncontrolled town and slum growth. In a town, the annual supply of "bed space", i.e. about 35 sq.ft. net living space per person, was not allowed to grow beyond what was needed to accomodate the number of additional workers envisaged in the development plan for that year[9]. This steering instrument was most effective since those who, by the beginning of the severe Russian winter, had not found a lodging were forced to return to their villages. Thus urbanization and slum growth never slipped out of the hands of integrated planning until Stalin's death.

These measures only worked under Russian and Stalinist conditions where people were put about like goods regardless of anything except the economic necessities of the development plans. They are not applicable to today's developing countries of Asia since in the first place they do not have cold winters that would force people back home. Nor do most of the developing countries have governments who would be prepared to harness people rigidly and rigorously to their plans and to interfere directly with the migrants by administrative measures like forcible repatriation. The only countries which are using similar methods today are South Africa and Tanzania; Kenya seems to be giving serious consideration to the idea[10].

Even the Russian government of today is loath to using the Stalinist methods again. The 1970 census showed that a tremendous migration from Siberia, the Ural and the Russian Far East to the already overpopulated but more attractive South has taken place during the past ten years[11]. The resulting labour shortage will endanger the carrying out of numerous industrial projects planned for Siberia in the now current 20-year development plan. But in spite of these difficulties the government now in power has, as Khrushchev before, decided to use rather "capitalist" devices like subsidies, extra-high wages, various tax privileges, and other stimuli to attract people instead of moving them back by force.

Repatriation and Slum Clearance

Some governments, especially the colonial powers earlier on, tried various forms of forcible repatriation of the slum dwellers. They were taken by army trucks either to their home areas or very often simply to the far end of the country. A fortnight later they were back to the city again. Sometimes they found their former dwellings "cleared", i.e. a bulldozer had gone over them.

This set of measures proved to have none of the effects desired by the administration. The returning slum dwellers had erected their shacks again in no time in the old order, and all efforts on the administration's side had been in vain. But this was still the more positive case. In the more negative, the result was the disintegration of the traditional slum organization. If the cleared slum area had been put to

[9] Kruse-Rodenacker, Albrecht: Der sowjetische Wohnungsbau, Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, Sonderhefte, N. S., no. 58, Berlin 1961, pp. 7, 12, 14, 19–21.
[10] Harris, John R. and Todaro, Michael P., „Migration, Unemployment and Development: A Two-Sector Analysis", Amer. Econ. Rev., March 1970, vol. LX, p. 135.
[11] Perevedentchev, W., „Migracija Naseleija i Ispelshevanje Trudovich Resursov", in: Voprosy Ekonomiki, vol. 9 (1970), p. 34.

some other use before its former inhabitants had returned they were forced to look for a new place. So they became dispersed throughout the city upon their return, and people who were strangers to one another were assembled. They were not only new to one another but had no common pattern of social organization, none of the integrating structures they had been used to before. Thus, e.g., slum-gang delinquency regularly became more aggressive and violent as a result of this disintegration when it turned out that returning slum dwellers could not return to the same slum they had been evicted from.

Urban Community Development

An improved slum may attract even more migrants, and this is particularly the case with outward improvements that immediately jump to the eye, as e.g. new houses. More hidden improvements along the lines of community development[12] seem more advisable. In doing so, it is basically insignificant whether the measures are carried out as a "package", or as single actions, and whether their carrying out is accompanied by a community development ideology or not. A "package" may be more successful, but on the other hand, it may also overstrain the slum dwellers' ability to comprehend what is going on and thereby give rise to suspicions, unfounded as they may be.

Only urban community development seems to be able to change slum dwellers' attitudes as well. Therefore, any housing programme should be accompanied by urban community development measures that so far have proved fairly successful, e.g., in Hong Kong's public housing schemes. In applying community development methods to urban areas one should, however, bear in mind two basic distinctions from rural community development:

(i) Rural community development aims at the re-orientation and modernization of an already **existing** and functioning community; urban community development must try and create a community that in most cases is **non-existent** or at least not functioning before.

(ii) Rural community development must — if it goes in for economic objectives at all — aim at an improvement of the village **community**'s income; urban community development has to bring economic success to its clients if it is not to be discarded by them as a failure, and it has to bring this success not to the community but to its **individuals.**

Many urban community development efforts, e.g. the efforts of the Indonesian Ministry of Social Affairs in Djakarta[13], seem to have failed because this basic difference was overlooked and towns treated the same way as rural areas. If this basic distinction is kept in mind, however, the following measures, judging from the present experience, seem advisable:

[12] Tratzki, Wolfgang; Lindauer, Gerhard et al., „Wege der Dorfentwicklung", Schmollers Jahrbuch, vol. 86 (Berlin 1966), pp. 451—453.
[13] Lindauer, Gerhard, „Community Development in Indonesien", Zeitschrift für ausländische Landwirtschaft, vol. 9 (Frankfurt, June 1970), pp. 129—130.

(1) It seems advisable to encourage and subsidize education co-operatives in the slums which can build a school and finance teachers. The juvenile delinquency is greatly reduced by regular schooling, the "learning time" of the potential city dweller is made better use of, and many misunderstandings about the "outside world" can be cleared.

(2) The slums should get some sort of political representation, i.e. slum area councils. The **vikas mandals** in India, the **mohalla** in Pakistan, and the **barrio** councils in the Philippines seem to be promising initiatives in this direction.

The urban community development organization in Pakistan has introduced one female and one male **mohalla** level worker per **mohalla,** i.e. per about 10,000 people. This means that the two **mohalla** level workers have to look after about 1,300 families which might prove too much for them in the long run.

In the Philippines the **barrio** councils are organized on a neighbourhood block basis. The blocks can vote which municipality they want to belong to. To attract the additional voters the municipalities offer as much to them as they can thus enabling the slum population to strike political bargains for their own benefit for the first time.

(3) To clear misapprehensions and misunderstandings about the "outside world" and especially the government's intentions, of what "those up there" really want, civic education centres should be set up. They should be furnished with mobile puppet theatres (vans) which could through plays with stereotyped characters (e.g. traditional father, progressive son etc.) try and teach urban and civic values. This will, of course, be easier in countries with a long tradition in puppet plays as e.g. Indonesia or China with their **wayang** plays; but it should also work in other countries.

(4) Health and sanitary co-operatives should also be encouraged and subsidized They could build a health post and finance at least a part time nurse who at the same time could give instructions on mother and childcare, hygiene etc. They could also provide for the removal of human excrements and garbage regularly once a week etc.

(5) Co-operative shops may also be helpful in certain areas.

(6) Women's associations may contribute tremendously toward social integration, introducing sanitary standards into family life and widening the outlook of the whole family.

(7) Aided self-help housing has also proved fairly successful. Lower income workers are encouraged to build by instalments, i.e., to save small amounts of money and periodically convert savings into improved building materials. Another approach is to lay out the framework of roads and services for a new community, and then sell plots and allow workers to build their own homes.

(8) Property rehabilitation programmes in densely populated areas have a useful function, too, since a fairly large proportion of urban slum housing can be improved by reroofing, enlarging windows, painting, landscaping, and introducing better air ventilation and sanitary improvements. Property rehabilitation can be greatly aided when governments subsidize the production of essential house parts, roofs, walls and elementary sanitation facilities and make them available through loan schemes and local buildings societies.

(9) Through social workers there could be an income policy in kind, as it were, i.e. a limited supply of building materials free of charge with which the slum dwellers

could improve their houses and get electricity and water supplies, mend roads in their areas etc.

Long-term Measures

All the measures mentioned so far can only alleviate bottlenecks; they are all more curative than preventive with respect to the negative urbanization efforts. Most of the more long-term measures must be initiated on the rural end of the process. Economic promotion of rural areas in the widest sense — i.e. rural electrification, rural water supply, rural industrialization, promotion of rural handicrafts etc. — will tie people to the rural areas, will slow down rural-urban migration and by this also slow down urban and in particular slum growth and the coming into existence of a primate city. Under short or medium-term aspects this regional balance policy does not pay — or at least cannot be proved to pay since its slow-down effects on urban growth cannot be measured yet. But it will certainly pay under long-term perspectives, especially since the avoidance or neutralization of the primate city effect is a long-range policy issue and can only be tackled from the far end, i.e. from the rural end in any case.

It will, however, be necessary not to try and develop the whole "flat" country at a time but to select certain areas and within them centres that would be eligible for intensive promotion. All experience so far has shown that only such concentrated promotion programmes have a chance to become successful. With the limited financial means most of the countries can only mobilize the impact of such pro-grammes can only be felt quickly and thoroughly if one concentrates on certain priority areas. On what basis these priorities should be determined varies from country to country and holds a large amount of politically inflammable material. This side of the picture is largely the task of politicians, regional planners, geographers, sociologists and socioeconomists.

On the urban end of the process only the more short and medium-term measures to alleviate negative urbanization effects can be taken. Here is the field for municipal politicians, town officials, social planers, social administrators, sociologists, architects, and psychologists. They can, however, do nothing about the primate city effect, they can hardly influence the speed of town and slum growth; they can only try, as already mentioned, to lessen the negative effects of these processes.

Open Questions

There are still quite a few open questions in connection with urbanization and the loss of population to rural areas. Here research is desperately needed before definite answers can be given as to how to tackle specific urbanization problems not only in Asia but all over the world. Some of these questions are:

(1) Is there an optimum size of a city and how can it be determined?

(2) How do costs both in terms of money and "human wastage" rise if this optimum is exceeded?

(3) What industries and amenities are best able to tie people to the countryside?

(4) What professions, occupations, service and supply institutions are decisive in order to make a rural town as attractive to potential migrants as the big city[14]?

(5) What other locational and regional factors are decisive in successfully creating a new town to counterbalance an already existing big city?

(6) What are the motivations of the migrants? Which of their motivations and values will they give up easily, to which ones will they stick fervently?

(7) Are there any other places in town apart from the slums where migrants can stick to the values and keep up the mode of life they want? If not, could such places be constructed? Or would it be better to leave slums and only to try and adapt them more to modern standards of citizenship and hygiene? How far could this adaption go before it would interfere with traditional standards the slum dwellers want to keep up? Would it be politically wiser and more promising to break this resistance to change not at all, step by step, or in one big, forcible effort?

(8) Would it be possible to draw up housing programmes with stereotyped houses financed with the help of government subsidies and legally enforced contributions from industry, e.g. according to the size of its labour force? Would it be possible to get autonomous bodies of the workers such as Trade Unions interested in carrying out such programmes?

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[14] Cf. Lindauer, Gerhard, Beiträge zur Erfassung der Verstädterung in ländlichen Räumen, Stuttgarter Geographische Studien, vol. 80, Stuttgart 1970.