

URBAN STUDIES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES; REVIEW PAPER

JAN VAN DER LINDEN*

Introduction

As a by-effect of the rapid growth of urban settlements in the Third World, an enormous body of literature has been produced on a wide variety of urban problems. It is hardly possible to keep pace with the speed of the developments in urban studies. Yet there is sometimes a feeling that urban studies, in their turn, do not keep pace with the urban developments themselves. To quote only one figure: by the year 2000, the world will have no less than 21 'mega cities', i.e. cities with over 10 million inhabitants, 17 of them in the Third World, which had only one mega city as recently as 1960.

In brief, we have to do with a phenomenon, the speed nor the scale of which we have any experience with. No wonder studies, theories and visions follow each other in rapid succession. Logically, this paper cannot aim at much more than giving a summary review of some current trends in urban studies. Also, the paper will focus on a limited number of subjects only. For instance, issues of the urban environment have attracted much attention recently. Yet I will leave these, and some other 'hot' topics, aside for the greater part, as I am not sufficiently conversant in such fields.

This shortcoming, however, has a wider meaning than just leaving aside some interesting topic or other. One of the most eye-catching trends of the moment is the attempt to break through the walls until recently separating different subjects of urban research, instead of focusing on subjects such as housing, employment, sanitation, women, etc., nowadays often umbrella concepts are sought under which these different issues can be integrated and studied in their interrelatedness. Similarly, in urban policy making, the focus has shifted from (housing, sanitation, employment) projects to more general issues of what is labelled 'urban poverty', or even 'urban productivity'. To an extent, this trend towards more universal approaches is no more than a matter of fashion; after all, under the umbrella of 'urban poverty', of necessity, the 'old' topics such as employment and housing will reappear. Yet, both in studies and policy making, attempts can be noticed to link such subjects. Also, while in the past a major part of the attention was focused on the urban poor, nowadays it seems as though the general urban context is taken into account, at least more than was the case previously - and sometimes at the expense of attention for the traditional target group.

* Thanks to my colleague Marten Reurink whose valuable comments to an earlier draft have enhanced the quality of this paper.

Doubtlessly, the World Bank has been a major trend setter in such developments. As a leading UN agency, it gives direction to the whole UN family and to governmental organizations of the USA and the countries of the EEC. The consultant community which is strongly dependent on funding from these organizations has no choice but to adjust to shifts in policy thinking at higher levels. Universities' research can -and should - make a more independent stand, but if it wants to closely follow developments, it has to react to these, and thus, to follow suit, albeit in its own, critical way.

The World Bank's current policy thinking can perhaps best be typified as a shift from 'distribution with growth' with its emphasis on poverty alleviation and basic needs, to a focus on market efficiency, a reduced 'enabling' role of the government, and the private sector as a major agent in development. By implication, the attention has shifted from projects directed at the urban poor to broader urban issues, beyond employment, housing and infrastructure: the emphasis is now on the productivity of the urban economy and the need to alleviate the constraints on productivity (e.g. World Bank, 1991: i).

After this impressionistic sketch of the changing environment in which urban studies take place, I will now try and review the state of the art regarding a number of specific subjects. However, as shown above, these subjects are strongly interrelated so that, by force, their separate treatment is a bit artificial. As already implicit in the above, there is a lot of overlap and interconnection between these subjects.

Urban Housing, Theory and Practice

After the revolutionary changes in thinking on low-income housing of the 1970s (cf e.g. Turner, 1976) a chain reaction of research came into motion. Turner's view that illegal housing represented a solution, rather than a problem, was widely challenged. Firstly, a theoretical debate started about the foundations and soundness of John Turner's views. Especially (neo-) marxists have blamed Turner for presenting a depoliticized, shortsighted view of the housing problem, which ultimately will benefit capitalist interests (e.g. Pradilla, 1979; Burgess, 1978). Although this debate was not a real debate in the first place, since the opponents could never agree on a common basis for discussion (cf e.g. Nientied & Van der Linden, 1985), and although the debate may seem to be somewhat outdated now, it has long dominated discussions on low-income housing (e.g. Ward, 1982) and continues to do so up to this day (e.g. Marcussen, 1990).

Secondly, under pressure of the World Bank, approaches to low-income housing shifted towards an approach partially reflecting Turner's ideas. In practically all of the major cities of the Third World some experiments were undertaken applying the new approach that can be briefly summarized as a

combination of 'legalization & upgrading' of existing squattments on the one hand, and 'sites and services' on the other. This has led to an enormous number of studies of these experiments, both of a descriptive and of a more reflective nature; often, the above theoretical issues were again taken up in these studies (for reviews, see Payne, 1984; Skinner *et al.*, 1987; Swan *et al.*, 1983; Van der Linden, 1986).

The New Approach and the State's Role

The often somewhat disappointing results of upgrading-cum-legalization projects, and especially of sites-and-services gave rise to a number of fundamental questions regarding the role of the state which had been assumed to benefit by the new approach, both according to Turner and his marxist opponents. Partly such questions are addressed in (reviews of) evaluations of applications of the 'new approach'. It appears that this approach has in fact not been widely implemented that seldom the target group was reached and that the needs and wishes of the poor were hardly ever taken into account (see for a review: Nientied & Van der Linden, 1988). In this connection, studies in different Latin American countries by Gilbert & Ward deserve separate mentioning (1982-1985). One of their main conclusions is that, in spite of much rhetoric, low-income housing has got a very low priority for the state; the state appears to intervene in favour of the poor only under specific conditions, especially when the socio-political stability is being threatened. Most of the time, the distribution of the scarce public goods and services is left to the 'free' play of patronage relations, to which I will return below. In connection with the low-income housing and related (urban) issues, there has been quite some theorizing on the state's role. Several of the above mentioned reviews pay attention to this point and compare the explanatory value of liberal, instrumentalist and structuralist viewpoints. Apart from these, dualistic models of state policy making deserve mentioning (Saunders, 1979, 1981; for a review of dualist models, see Harrington, 1983).

A related question which has come up from evaluations of the performance of public agencies in housing (and other fields) is the role of the state apparatus or the bureaucracy. Apart from instrumentalist views, the managerial approach deserves attention in this regard (e.g. Pahl, 1977). A seminal study by Batley has attempted to place the managerial approach in a broader framework, comprising more structuralist elements (1983).

Participation

Evaluation of, and reflection on, the new approach has led to the identification of a number of issues that came up during implementation of this approach, in whatever shape. People's participation is, in principle, the corner stone of the 'new approach'. However, in practice, implementation of this part of the approach has left much to be desired. Apart from many evaluative studies of the

practice of participation, more reflective studies have been done about fundamental questions of 'whose participation, participation in what, and for what ends' (for reviews, see Yap, 1990; Moser, 1983).

The study of community participation has led to several studies connecting different related subjects. For instance, studies by Gilbert & Ward (1984) have investigated the state's objectives and methods in dealing with community participation. They conclude that much of what is officially labelled as participation, is, in fact mere rhetoric or a means to coopt people. The conclusions are much the same as with social movements, to which I will return below.

In a similar vein, but with different emphasis, in a case study on a Madras slum, de Wit draws on the limitations of participation. While the public agencies involved do not leave much room for participation and local leaders rather retain their brokers' roles than sharing power with the poor, the poor themselves often cannot afford to participate since this implies an investment in time and money, and involves certain risks to them while a number of social handicaps stand in the way of their participation (1985).

Some studies have taken up specifically women's participation in the housing process and in neighbourhood movements (see e.g. Moser, 1985; Moser & Peake (eds.) 1987). In the literature on 'new social movements', participation takes a prominent place.

Recently, the question of participation has attained renewed relevance in view of the World Bank's insistence on limiting the state's role.

Displacement

Another issue connected to the new approach to the low-income housing problem has been, and still is, the question of displacement of the poorest as a result of settlement up grading. This is one of the negative by-effects of the new approach predicted especially by the (neo-) marxist critics of John Turner's ideas, but feared also by a majority of other scholars.

As of now, it appears that displacement by no means is a self evident result of upgrading; instead, its occurrence or not depends on a host of factors, amongst which the project details take a prominent place. In other words, for an important part, displacement is determined by policy and implementation, i.e. by factors which can be manipulated. Many details have yet to be investigated so that a theoretical model of displacement cannot yet be given. Clearly, such a model would have to take account of factors beyond the project level, such as developments on the city wide land and housing markets (for a review of literature and case studies on displacement, see Kool *et al.*, 1989).

A somewhat related subject is organized relocation, often considered unavoidable in upgrading and urban renovation projects. A recent expert meeting on this issue concluded that for the greater part such relocation can be much more limited than is being done, or even avoided altogether (IHS,1992).

Tenants of low-income housing

A next, partly connected, urgent issue is that of the tenants to whom insufficient attention is being paid in the 'new approach'. It was not before the '80s that some studies on the tenants of low-income housing were undertaken. There is evidence for the conclusion that in case of displacement tenants are the first victims, just as marxist scholars had predicted. However, also cases have been found where up-grading led to an expansion of the rental market without leading to substantial price increases.

The whole issue of tenancy is still quite confused and much refining is required. It appears that several types of tenants should be distinguished, for instance according to the continuum choice-constraint. Also in this case, the general conditions on the urban land and housing market seem to be of dominant influence (for a review, see Gilbert, 1989).

Land Supply

A very crucial issue which has received increased attention during the past decade is land supply for urban low-income housing. For a long time, this problem had been evaded by governments implementing one - off pilot projects located on public land. It was clear from the outset, however, that such 'solutions' could not work in the long run.

In an early stage already, the World Bank had raised this point by compiling a staff working paper in which the major questions of urban land supply are inventorized (1978). Later, many case studies of formal and informal supply systems as well as of policy options and their application, saw the light (Angel *et al.*, 1983; Baross & Van der Linden, 1990; Fitzwilliam, 1991; Baken & Van der Linden, 1992). This field is extensive and extremely complicated. As yet, it is not possible to draw unambiguous conclusions on even such crucial issues as general trends in land markets and developments of their accessibility to low-income groups. What has become clear is the strong interlinkage between formal and informal supply systems, which is a reason to study urban land markets city wide and in a comprehensive way.

Until now, urban land market studies were mainly of two kinds: (a) those cast in a neo-classical economic framework, emphasizing the importance of studying land markets in terms of supply and demand principles, and (b) those

oriented towards the political economy of land delivery, focusing on agents involved, their roles and interests. This dichotomy of approaches is one likely cause of contradictory findings, and an integration of both approaches is highly due.

As regards policy, the evidence now at hand indicates that the performance of traditional public interventions such as regulations, taxation and land banking has been rather poor. Hence, the Bank's conclusion that the state's role should be strongly reduced and that the market forces would perform better in solving the land supply problem. This conclusion, however, is being attacked strongly. One of the arguments is that in practice the poorly performing land markets in Third World cities already are much more free than official regulation suggests (*cf Fitzwilliam 1991*). Indeed, recent studies of the formal land market indicate that formal restrictions imposed by the state do not play a significant role. They are generally circumvented, bought off, or neglected altogether (for an example, see Dekker, 1992.). This, of course, a fortiori applies to the (large) illegal part of the market. Thus, one may wonder why a better performance is expected as a result of deregulation. Another point of criticism of the World Bank's approach to land issues is its strongly economic bias. Many studies have born out that political factors, and power relations in general, play at least as important a role in the land market as does 'rational economic behaviour', which the World Bank wants to harness.

A much more promising tendency of policies for land supply, noted in several countries, is towards bridging the gap between legal and illegal land delivery systems, either by the public agencies adopting the methods of illegal subdividers, or by allowing the illegal subdividers to continue their business in a legal way, under certain conditions (Baken & Van der Linden, 1992).

Patronage and leadership

Irrespective of whether the focus is on upgrading, land supply or the role of state and bureaucracy, again patronage is a concept which turns out to have an enormous explanatory potential. Many of the studies mentioned above bear this out. A major problem, however, is that this explanation is inherently static. Patrons or brokers have an interest in maintaining communication gaps and conflicts between the public sector and the population: it is these gaps and conflicts on which they thrive, in other words, they have an interest in maintaining the *status quo*. On the other hand, their clients are mostly shown to be helpless victims of patronage, so that things are not very likely to change (see e.g. Ellemers, 1969; Galjart, 1969; Boissevain, 1969). As yet, very few studies have hinted to the dynamics of patronage which appears to be a much challenging and relevant subject (Gilbert, 1990; Banck, 1986). It appears that scarcity and the distance between the state apparatus and the general public are major determinants of the dynamics of patronage.

Social Movements

There has been much theorizing on urban social movements, starting from widely diverse viewpoints. In the first place, psychological and socio-psychological interpretations explained social movements mainly at the individual level. In this connection, an article by Portes who emphasizes the rationality of the urban poor's behaviour when joining a social movement, is still quite relevant (1972).

Marxist oriented scholars have, of course, laid much more emphasis on structural factors. In this connection, a long stretched debate has resulted about the question of whether the labour class is - or should be - the vanguard of social change in a situation where many of the urban poor cannot be classified as industrial labourers (e.g. Castells, 1978; 1983). It appears that collective consumption, rather than production, is the issue around which the urban poor unite, and articulation with the traditional labour class does no longer seem to be an absolute condition for the success of such movements.

Recently a completely new type of social movements is being 'discovered'; the 'new social movements', typified by their small scale, their informality, independence of traditional labour unions and political parties, and having emancipatory and identity goals, rather than the traditional political and economic aims (e.g. Evers, 1985).

Right across the whole social movement debate runs another point of view, called the 'Resource Mobilization Approach' which emphasizes the need for the poor to avail of outside resources in order to achieve their aims (e.g. McCarty & Zald, 1977). While few movements of the poor manage to emerge and sustain their momentum without the assistance of outside resources, quite often the result is that the movement falls victim to patronage or cooptation when seeking such assistance. Recently, research has been initiated to distinguish between 'resources' having these effects and those which have not (for a review of social movements, see Eckstein, 1989; several case studies have been assembled in Schuurman & Van Naerssen, 1989).

Panster (1986) as well as Gilbert & Ward (1982; 1985) have elaborated on the state's dealing with social movements, ranging from incorporation, cooptation and the creation of parallel and competing movements, to repression.

Employment

With the concept 'informal sector' a revolutionary change in the study of labour and employment was set in motion. The mass of the urban poor engaged in 'traditional' or 'tertiary' activities were no longer viewed as unproductive, under employed or parasitic. The recognition took hold that by these activities

jobs and income were created for a growing proportion of the urban population - in spite of their poor access to resources and markets and in spite of discrimination by governments. In addition, this sector provides essential goods and services to the urban economy in general. From this point of view, policies should not primarily be directed towards job creation in the modern industrial sector, but rather towards changing the structurally unbalanced relation between the formal and informal sectors, by supporting the informal sector and by enhancing the relations between both sectors (Hart, 1973; ILO, 1972; Mazumdar, 1976).

From a marxist point of view (Petty commodity production approach), however relations between the formal and informal sector are viewed as mainly exploitative. In this view, the dynamics of the system inevitably lead to further proletarianization (Gerry & Birkbeck, 1979; Lebrun & Gerry, 1975; Portes, 1978). The theoretical debate was dominated to a large extent by *a priori* assumptions about the relation between the formal and informal sector. Relatively little attention was paid to empirical testing of the different points of view (Schmitz, 1982).

After the term 'informal sector' had been coined, there has been much debate about its definition, the usefulness of the concept and policy making. Especially the heterogeneity and fragmentation of informal sector activities were viewed as features which render any generalizations impossible (e.g. Breman, 1976; Bromley & Gerry, 1979; Tokman, 1978; NAR, 1989).

In spite of all the justified criticism of the concept, it is still being used widely. As regards policies for the informal sector, there is at the moment a sort of deadlock. Especially ILO continues emphasizing strategies to assist the informal sector through training, loan schemes and cooperatives (e.g. 1987; 1991). In contrast, De Soto advocates deregulation, de-bureaucratization and privatization (De Soto, 1989, Bromley 1990). Such ideas fall on fertile ground in circles of IMF and World Bank. Yet others take a more hesitant stand, and basically agree with McGee's conclusion that for the time being, probably the best strategy is just leaving the informal sector alone and stop harassing it (1977).

Problems identified with proposed strategies boil down to the fundamental questions of whether it is possible to reach more than an already slightly better-off part of the informal labour force, possibly at the expense of the poorer sections. A related question is whether it is possible to retain some features of the informal sector - such as its absorption capacity - when introducing a number of innovations more characteristic of the formal sector, often implying a transition from artisanal to industrial production and, more in general, a higher degree of sophistication. Also, since much of the informal sector production is done by subcontracting informal units, one may wonder who is going to ultimately benefit from assistance to the informal sector (for up to date information of the

state of the art, see a reader by Portes *et al.*, 1989; on labour issues, see Thomas, 1990; on subcontracting, see Harris, 1982).

Following developments in central Italy, recently much euphoria has come up around 'flexible specialization', meaning the development of a network of many small and medium-sized work places producing a great and ever changing variety of commodities following fashion and technical innovation. It is precisely the rapid turn-over of fashion and the desire for frequent modification of existing commodities, which put relatively small-scale enterprises in a favourable position (e.g. Schmitz, 1990). In view of the required technical and communicative sophistication, however, it is doubtful whether this Italian model would have any potential for replication in most of the Third World countries.

Interestingly, some of the recent studies of the informal sector take a broader view than was usual in the past and examine all the labour and production processes and relation in one particular field comprising both the formal and informal sectors (e.g. Van der Loop, 1992). Other studies link employment to housing issues (e.g. McCallum & Benjamin, 1985), while much research is directed to the specific, and often marginal, role which women take within the informal sector (e.g. Beneria & Roldan, 1987).

Epilogue

From the above summary review, it is clear that the task ahead for urban studies is enormous. Studies on most topics are open ended and most often, just the direction in which studies move can be identified. At the same time, as noted in the introduction, answers to many burning questions are urgently required and if urban research is to be relevant, it will have to contribute to the solution of these questions.

In view of some recent trends in urban policy making and research, it would seem that two major developments have to be taken into account for academic studies of urban problems. The first is that the traditional target group, the urban poor, have lost their primary place. There is, in World Bank circles and beyond, a belief that enhancing urban productivity will automatically benefit the poor. Universities are in the almost unique position to challenge this view and to see what is happening in the real world. They would be well advised to take up this challenge; nobody else will.

Secondly, the recent trend towards deregulation and privatization tends to overly emphasize the economic aspect. Again this trend deserves challenging, especially from a social sciences point of view. The study of political processes, gender and power relations and survival strategies - just to name a couple of essential determinants of urban development - is a much required complement to the economically biased views of development now in vogue.

In this connection, finally, it is of importance to try and link both viewpoints: in the past social sciences often have studied urban phenomena independently of other viewpoints and in a position of relative isolation. If, however, social studies of the urban are to have any meaning and impact, it will be essential to understand other, at present more dominant, points of view, to enter into a dialogue with these and to thus open possibilities for cross-fertilization.

References

- Angel, S., R.W. Archer, S. Tanhiphat & E.A. Wegelin (eds.) (1983). *Land for Housing the Poor*. Singapore: Select Books.
- Baken, R.J. & J. Van der Linden (1992). *Land Delivery for Low-Income Groups in Third World Cities*. Aldershot: Avebury.
- Banck, G.A. (1986). Poverty, politics and the shaping of urban space: a Brazilian example. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, X/4, 522-539.
- Baross, P. & J. Van der Linden (eds.) (1990). *The Transformation of Land Supply Systems in Third World Cities*. Aldershot: Avebury.
- Batley, R. (1983). *Power through Bureaucracy; urban political analysis in Brazil*. Aldershot: Gower.
- Beneria, L. & M. Roldan (1987). *The Crossroads of Class and Gender* Chicago University Press.
- Boissevain, J. (1969). Patrons as brokers. *Sociologische Gids*, 1969/6, 379-386.
- Breman, J. (1976). A dualistic labour system? A critique of the 'informal sector' concept. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 11/48, 1870-76 and 11/49, 1905-8.
- Bromley, R. & C. Gerry (eds.) (1979). *Casual Work and Poverty in Third World Cities*. Chichester: John Wiley.
- Bromley, R. (1990). A new path to development? The significance and impact of Hernando De Soto's ideas on underdevelopment, production and reproduction. *Economic Geography* 66/4, 328-349.
- Burgess, R. (1978). Petty commodity housing or dweller control? A critique of John Turner's views on housing policy. *World Development*, 6/9-10, 1105-33.
- Dekker, E.P. (1992). *Formal Land Supply in Manila City*. Amsterdam: Free University (Urban Research Working papers, nr 28).

De Soto, H. (1989). *The Other Path: the invisible revolution in the Third World*. New York: Harper and Row (first published as *El Otro Sendero*. Lima ILD, 1976).

Eckstein, S. (1989). Power and popular protest in Latin America. In: S. Eckstein (ed.), *Power and Popular Protest; Latin American Social Movements*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ellemers, J.E. (1969). Patronage in sociologisch perspectief. *Sociologische Gids*, 1969/6, 432-9.

Evers, T. (1985). Identity, the hidden side of new social movements in Latin America. In: D. Slater (ed.). *New Social Movements and the state in Latin America*. Amsterdam: CEDLA.

Fitzwilliam (1991). Report on a seminar held at Fitzwilliam College. International Research Workshop: Land value changes and the impact of urban policy upon land valorization processes in Developing Countries. Cambridge, 14-19 July (mimeo).

Galjart, B.F. (1969). Patronage als integratie-mechanisme in Latijns-Amerika. *Sociologische Gids*, 1969/6, 402-11.

Gerry, C. & C. Birkbeck (1979). The petty commodity producer in Third World Cities: Petit Bourgeois or Disguised Proletarian. In: B. Elliot & F. Bechofer (eds.), *The Petit Bourgeois: comparative studies of the uneasy stratum*. New York, Macmillan.

Gilbert, A. (1989). Rental housing in developing countries. Draft text prepared for UNCHS and presented during the ad-hoc expert meeting at IHS, Rotterdam, 9-13 October (mimeo).

Gilbert, A. (1990). The costs and benefits of illegality and irregularity in the supply of land. In: P. Baross & J. van der Linden (eds.), *The transformation of land supply systems in Third World cities*. Aldershot: Avebury. 17-36.

Gilbert, A. & P. Ward (1982). Low-income housing and the state. In: A. Gilbert (ed., with J.E. Hardoy & R. Ramirez): *Urbanization in Contemporary Latin America*. Chichestr: John Wiley.

Gilbert, A. & P. Ward (1984). Community action by the urban poor: democratic involvement, community self-help or a means of social control? *World Development*, 12/8, 769-82.

Gilbert, A. & P. Ward (1984). Community participation in upgrading irregular settlements: the community response, *World Development*, 12/9, 913-22.

Gilbert, A. & P. Ward (1985). *Housing, the State and the Poor, policy and practice in three Latin American cities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harrington, T. (1983). Explaining state policy making: a critique of some recent 'dualist' models. *International Journal of urban and Regional Research*, 7/2, 202-18.

Harris, J. (1982). Character of an urban economy; 'small-scale' production and labour markets in Coimbatore. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 5/VI/82, 945-54, and 12/VI/82, 993-1002.

Hart, K. (1973). Informal income opportunities and urban employment in Ghana, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 11/1, 61-89.

IHS (Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies) (1992). Urban Relocation; Policy and Practices. Proceedings of an expert meeting, Rotterdam, 12-15 February (mimeo).

ILO (International Labour Office) (1972). *Employment, incomes and inequality: a strategy for increasing productive employment in Kenya*. Geneva ILO.

ILO (International Labour Office). (1987). *Guidelines for the Development of Small-Scale Construction Enterprises*. Geneva: ILO.

ILO (International Labour Office). (1991). *The dilemma of the informal sector*. Report of the Director General (part I), International Labour Conference, 78th session.

Kool, M., D. Verboom & J. Van der Linden (1989). Squatter settlement improvement and displacement; a review of concepts, theory and comparative evidence. *Habitat International Journal*, 13/3, 187-99.

Lebrun, O. & C. Gerry (1975). Petty Producers and Capitalism. *Review of African Political Economy*, 3, 20-32.

Marcussen, L. (1990). *Third World Housing in Social and Spatial Development*, Aldershot: Avebury.

Mazumdar (1976). The urban informal sector. *World Development*, IV/8, 655-79.

McCallum, D. & S. Benjamin (1985). Low-income urban housing in the Third World; broadening the economic perspective. *Urban Studies*, **22**, 277-87.

McCarty, J.D. & M.N. Zald (1977). Resource mobilization and social movements: a partial theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, **82/6**, 1212-41.

McGee, T.G. (1977). The persistence of the proto-proletariat: occupational structures and planning of the future of Third World cities. *Progress in Geography*, **9**, 3-38.

Moser, C.O.N. (ed.). (1983). *Evaluating Community participation in urban development projects*. London: DPU.

Moser, C.O.N. (1985). *Residential Struggle and consciousness: the experiences of poor women in Guayaquil, Ecuador*. London: DPU.

Moser, C.O.N. & L. Peake (eds.) (1987). *Women, Human Settlements and Housing*. London : Tavistock.

NAR (National Advisory Committee on Development Cooperation) (1989). *Advies Informele Bedrijvigheid*. The Hague: NAR.

Nientied, P. & J. Van der Linden (1985). Approaches to low-income housing in the Third World; some comments. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, **9**, 311,-29.

Nientied, P. & J. Van der Linden (1988). The 'new' policy approach to housing: a review of the literature. *Public administration and Development*, **8**, 233-40.

Pahl, R. (1977). Managers, technical experts and the state: forms of mediation, manipulation and dominance in urban and regional development. In: M. Harloe (ed.), *Captive Cities*, Chichester: John Wiley.

Pansters, W. (1986). Urban social movements and political strategy in Latin America. *Boletinde Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe*, **41**, 13-27.

Paradilla, E. (1979). Bourgeois ideology and the housing problem: a critique of two ideological theories. Rotterdam: IHS (mimeo; translation by R. Burgess; first published in Spanish in *Ideologia y Sociedad*, 1976, no. 19).

Payne, G.K. (ed.) (1984). *Low-Income Housing in the Developing World; the role of Sites and services and Upgrading*, Chichester: John Wiley.

Portes, A (1987). The informal sector and the world economy: notes on the structure of subsidized labour. *IDS Bulletin* **9**.

Portes, A.M. Castelles & M.A. Benton (eds.) (1989). *The Informal Economy; Studies in advanced and less developed countries*. Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press.

Saunders, P. (1979). *Urban Politics; a Sociological Interpretation*. London: Hutchinson.

Saunders, P. (1981). *Social Theory and the Urban Question*. London: Hutchinson.

Schmitz, H. (1982). Growth constraints on small-scale manufacturing in developing countries: a critical review. *World Development* 10/6, 429-50.

Schmitz, H. (1990). Flexible specialization in Third World industry; prospects and research requirements. Paper presented at the Industrialization Seminar, the Hague: ISS, 20/IV/90.

Schuurman, F. & T. Van Naerssen (ed.) (1989). *Urban Social Movements in the Third World*. London: Routledge.

Skinner, R., J. Taylor & E. Wegelin (eds.) (1987). *Shelter Upgrading for the Urban Poor*. Manila: Island Publishing House.

Swan, P.J., E.A. Wegelin & K. Panchee (1983). *Management of Sites and Services Housing Schemes: the Asian Experience*. Chichester: John Wiley.

Thomas, H. (1990). *Labour and Work in Small Scale Enterprises*. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies.

Tokman, V.E. (1978). An exploration into the nature of informal-formal sector relationships. In: R. Bromley (ed.), *The Urban Informal Sector*, 1065-75.

Turner, J.F.C. (1976). *Housing by People*. London: Marion Boyars.

Van der Linden, J. (1986). *The Sites and Services Approach Reviewed*. Aldershot: Gower.

Van der Loop, T. (1992). *Industrial Dynamics and Fragmented Labour Markets*, Utrecht/Amsterdam: Royal dutch Geographical Society.

Ward, P. (ed.) (1982). *Self-Help Housing; a Critique*. London: Mansel.

de Wit, J. (1985). Slum dwellers, slum leaders and the government apparatus; relations between actors in slum upgrading in Madras. Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit (Urban Research Working Paper 8).

World Bank (1978). *Urban Land Policy Issues and Opportunities*. Washington: World Bank (staff Working Paper no. 283; 2 Vols.)

World Bank (1991). *Urban Policy and Economic Development: an Agenda for the 1990s*. Washington: World Bank.

Yap, K.S. (1990). Community participation in low-income housing projects; problems and prospects. *Community Development Journal*, 25/1, 56-65.