21st Century Cities

The growth of urban slums and their effect in achieving
Millennium Development Goal 7

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Executive Summary

The following paper focuses on an issue that is becoming extremely serious and could be a defining moment for our generation, namely the growth of urban slums in the developing world and the detrimental effects they pose for the future environmentally, economically and socially. In order to gauge the scale of the problem I decided to use the Millennium Development Goal 7, and more specifically target 11 as a benchmark. The reason for choosing this specific target was because it has the aim of improving the lives of 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020.

In the course of my research, the historical context of urbanisation was examined starting in the early nineteenth century up to the present day. From there further investigation was conducted to define how the UN perceived it would be possible to achieve Target 11 and to highlight the issues in various parts of the world a regional approach was taken to see what the situation was in many of the largest slums in the developing world. By using projections created by the UN and taking into account various different scenarios it was possible to give a regional overview of the chances of Target 11 being achieved or not. It soon became apparent that achieving Target 11 has become a challenge that the international community is failing to meet.

By reviewing what the major detrimental effects of this form of urbanisation are it creates a more understandable picture of the sheer scale of the problem. The major factors that were causing these Targets to fail were then reviewed and some examples from major slums in the developing world were highlighted to further develop upon the figures provided by the UN. Attention was also paid to some of the criticisms that have been levelled at the Millennium Development Goals themselves and also at other major institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

Lastly, conclusions were made by answering the major question of whether the growth of urban slums would result in Millennium Development Goal 7, Target 11 not being achieved by 2020 whilst also answering the sub questions posed in the introduction of this thesis.

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1. Introduction

In 1960 the world's population totalled 2.98 billion people however now, approximately 50 years later, the world population has risen to 6.77 billion as of March 2009 (US Census Bureau, 2009). The amount of people inhabiting our world is rapidly increasing. For my thesis, I have decided to research an issue that is becoming a problem, not only for a certain region but a problem that will have local, regional and eventually international consequences. The issue is that of rampant urbanisation and one of its largest side effects: the growth of urban city slums.

At the turn of the century in September 2000, the Millennium Development Declaration was created and in 2001, 189 member states of the UN adopted the 8 Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) which, through development, strived to create better social and economic conditions for the worlds population, especially those living in some of the poorest regions in the world (MDG website, 2009). I shall later closely examine the MDG's and what specific targets have been set for them to be met by 2015.

There are two main reasons for choosing to focus on whether the MDG's outlined by the UN at the turn of the century have had any real effects in slowing down and alleviating the massive problems that these slums face. The first is that, from my time working at an NGO during my internship that directly helps impoverished youths, I have become more aware of the detrimental living conditions that they have to contend with and the fact that many slum dwellers in the developing world feel rather helpless and unsupported by their local governments. Secondly, it is the sheer scale of the increase in the last 25 years that is nearly inconceivable and further emphasises the need for the MDG's to be taken seriously and enacted by all member states if a catastrophe in the developing world is to be avoided.

This then leads to my central question:

- Will the growth of city slums result in Millennium Development Goal 7, Target 11 not being achieved by 2020?

Leading from this, the following sub questions were posed:

- What are the main historical causes of mass urbanisation?
- How is the international community reacting to the crisis?
- Which are the major slums that have experienced rapid growth in the 21st century?
- What are the main problems that arise from mass urbanisation?
- What are the great challenges that lie ahead if Target 11 is to be met?

In order to answer my thesis questions, I have decided to primarily focus on conducting quantitative desk research, which entailed reading reports and projections by UN organisations and also large NGO's such as Cordaid and Oxfam to help gain insight into what the current situation is now and what the situation we will be by 2020, which is the deadline set for Target 11 which I am focusing on. I also choose to investigate the subject more critically by studying academic papers, articles and books to discover what factors are affecting the situation on a regional basis and also at an organisational level, highlighting the role of the UN, national and local governments and NGO's.

I will now highlight each chapter and give a small preview into what this will contain:

2. The historical phenomenon of Urbanisation: In this chapter I will briefly examine the previous two centuries when the new phenomenon of modern day urbanisation first became apparent, namely the rise of urban slums. I will pay attention to the first slums in the United Kingdom and in the United States, as these were prime examples of countries where city slums appeared as a direct result of industrialisation. I will then focus on how the trend of urbanisation in the twentieth century shifted from a phenomenon mainly apparent in the developed world to the developing world.

3. The Millennium Development Goals: Before focusing on the modern day city slums in the developing world, which will be used as the main subject matter to evaluate, I will briefly outline what the idea behind the Millennium Development goals was, which ones are most related to the issue of urbanisation and the growth of city slums and what MDG 7 has set as targets. Additionally I will look at what projects the UN has initiated in order to help achieve Target 11.

4. 21st Century slums: By looking at modern day examples of city slums and examining certain cities where this problem is most great, this makes it possible to put into perspective how serious the situation is and further highlight which issues are most problematic and may pose a threat to the promises made in the Millennium Development Goals. Additionally I will provide an overview of the projections that have been made per region as to whether Target 11 is set to succeed or fail.

5. The cost of urbanisation and slum formation: Aside from looking at some of the regional issues that exist, it is necessary to assess why the slum issue is such a great problem and in doing so I will highlight certain universal reasons why the rampant urbanisation and slum formation we are witnessing in the developing world is going to be one of the biggest challenges of the twenty-first century.

6. The challenges facing Target 11: In this chapter I will highlight the most pressing issues that need to addressed if the incessant growth of urban slums is to be at least slowed down and in the best case scenario brought to a halt altogether. I will also take a look at whether the MDG's were flawed and the negative role of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

7. Conclusions & recommendations: Once this information has been evaluated and the predictions have been taken into account, I will make my own conclusions as to whether the problems arising from the growth of city slums will result in the MDG's and specifically MDG 7, Target 11 being achieved or not.

2. The Historical Phenomenon of Urbanisation

2.1 Introduction

Before focusing on the current situation in modern city slums, it is important to define urbanisation and explain how the phenomenon has evolved. The term urbanisation refers to the general trend of people moving from rural settlements or villages towards larger towns and cities. As a result of the general increase of this form of migration, for various reasons which will be highlighted later in this chapter, urbanisation has grown exponentially with the population growth that the world has experienced especially in the last 50 years but also even further back into history. Additionally, urbanisation refers to the transition of existing small villages expanding into larger towns, sometimes as planned settlements to alleviate the pressure on overcrowded capital cities. This can also be referred to as urban sprawl.

2.2 Nineteenth Century

Urbanisation is not a phenomenon that only became apparent in the twentieth century. In the nineteenth century, the first signs of rampant urbanisation started to appear in the developing nations in Europe and the United States of America.

Reviewing the statistics for Europe in general, in 1800 it was recorded that there were 17 cities with a population of 100,000 or more. By 1850 the number of cities over 100,000 had reached 52 and by 1890 it had increased further to 97 cities (De Vries, 1984, p.170). In 1801, only 17% of the European population lived in cities, by 1851 this percentage had already increased to 35% and near the end of the nineteenth century in 1891 it was recorded that the percentage of people in Europe living in cities had increased further to 54% (Suffolk Community College, 2009).

In the United States, just before the start of the nineteenth century in 1790, only five percent of the American population lived in urban areas (population above 2,500). By 1830 the rate of growth for urban areas started to outpace rural areas, however most of the urbanisation was focused in the north east of the United States which had become the most industrialised region and was the country's economic powerhouse with cities such as New

York and Philadelphia experiencing rapid growth. By 1890 the number of Americans living in urban area's had increased to 35% (MSN Encarta, 2008).

Examining this period of time, what can be deemed to be the main reason for this rampant urbanisation? The answer is that this rapid growth of urbanisation coincided with the expansion of the Industrial Revolution which had commenced in the UK and spread over Europe and also to the USA. With the rise of the industrial revolution, the first factories were created and as factories in the nineteenth century were still relatively dependent on human workers, this lead to many people who had previously lived in rural communities and worked in agriculture to migrate to the major cities to find employment, supported the Industrial Revolution.

A prime example of such a thriving city in the nineteenth century was Manchester in the United Kingdom, which became dubbed "Cottonopolis" due to the vast amount of relatively small cotton mills that could be found in the city. However in cities such as Manchester and London, this vast influx of migrants into urban areas was not fully sustainable and many of the factory workers and lower classes were living in dire, over-cramped living conditions and housed in buildings that were meant to accommodate far less people than were in fact inhabiting them. To accommodate the new influx of people into the United Kingdom's major cities such as Manchester and London, many poorly built and badly planned housing was developed. These normally had limited sanitary facilities, a lack of clean running water and the added problem of the tenants living in close proximity to many of the large polluting factories resulted in major health problems. This in turn resulted in high mortality rates and outbreaks of contagious diseases such as typhoid and cholera.

In the United States, the transition from an economy based on cottage industries to factory production and manufacturing in addition to the large workforce that was needed to run them meant, as in the UK, many people from more rural regions came to the large cities such as New York to find work. However in New York, there was also a large influx of foreign workers from poor European countries such as Ireland resulting in an even more overcrowded inner-city mix of rural American and poor foreign migrants looking to compete for the same poorly paid and unhealthy jobs. These migrants were forced to live in cheap housing tenements with poor sanitary facilities and a lack of access to clean running water. Just as in the UK, to accommodate the new migrants cheap and badly planned housing was constructed and also resulted in many of the cramped inhumane living conditions that

nowadays would seem unimaginable in the western world. Conditions in Manhattan were especially poor and by the end of the nineteenth century (1900) the population of Manhattan had reached 2.2 million which in turn meant a population density of 100,000 per square mile (Everything 2, 2002).

2.3 Twentieth Century

As the industrial revolution continued to bring more and more people to the major cities of the developing world, these cities became more important not only as industrial hubs, but as logistical, cultural and economic hubs for entire regions. The continued shift from an agricultural society into an industrial one meant that the twentieth century, more so than the nineteenth century, was when the dawn of urbanisation truly became a world wide phenomenon, not only directly linked to developed nations who were growing due to the industrial revolution, but also developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Reviewing the figures released by the UN in October 2006, the proportion of people in the world living in urbanised areas rose from 13% in 1900, to 29% percent in 1950, to a further 49% in 2005 (United Nations, 2006).

The twentieth century also witnessed the emergence of so-called megacities, namely urban agglomerations with a population of over 10 million. In 1950, there were only 2 megacities in the world, Tokyo and New York City. However by 2005 there were a total of 20 megacities in the world, with the likes of Seoul, Osaka, Sao Paulo, Mexico City, Los Angeles, Shanghai, Mumbai, Calcutta and Buenos Aires joining the list. In total, these 20 megacities made up 9% of the worlds population (United Nations, 2006).

The rampant urbanisation that had started to take shape in developing countries had now spread to other countries and regions in the developing world although here the cause remained the same, namely industrialisation.

In Asia for example there was a massive trend of urbanisation in the twentieth century, as of the 20 megacities mentioned earlier, 11 of them are in Asia. They are: Tokyo (35.2m), Mumbai (18.3m), Delhi (15m), Shanghai (14.5m), Calcutta (14.3m), Jakarta (13.2m), Dhaka (12.4m), Karachi (11.6m), Osaka-Kobe (11.3m), Beijing (10.7m) & Manila (10.7m) (United Nations, 2006).

In Asian cities such as Dhaka, Mumbai and Manila, the pattern of rampant urbanisation that cities such as London and New York experienced in the nineteenth century and the resultant city slums that appeared, repeated itself in Asia in the late twentieth century. These cities began to experience such massive growth that the infrastructure simply was not strong or well developed enough to sustain the new influx of migrants from other parts of the country. In Dhaka for example, the population rose from 2.2 million in 1975, to 12.2 million in 2000, which in effect represents a 550% rise in a mere 25 years. Mumbai had a population of 7.1 Million in 1975 and rose to a population of 16.1 million in 2000, a rise of 225% whilst Manila rose from 5 million in 1975 to 10 million in 2000, a rise of 200%. (United Nations, 2006).

Although Asia has become the continent with the most megacities, this phenomenon has also spread to Africa and South America. In Africa, the growth of Lagos has been nearly inconceivable with the population rising from 1.9 million in 1975, to 8.4 million in 2000, a 440% rise. Cairo also increased from 6.4 million to 10.4 million in the same timeframe, resulting in an increase of 160%. In South America, the third most populous metropolis in 1975, namely Mexico City which then had 10.7 million inhabitants, rose to 18.1 million in 2000, a rise of 170% and making it the second most populous metropolis after Tokyo, whilst Sao Paulo went from 9.6 million in 1975 to 17.1 million in 2000, a rise of 180% (United Nations, 2006).

It is very clear then that the phenomenon of urbanisation had changed from being an issue that predominantly affected developed countries to one also affecting regions of the world that were still developing and therefore were insufficiently equipped to deal with the great influx of migrants from the rural parts of the country. This is where we start to experience the creation of the modern day mega slums in the developing world.

These slums experience the similar hardships that the slum dwellers of the nineteenth century in London and New York experienced, however the main difference now was the sheer rate of growth of these cities and the slums, which make up a sizeable part of the city, that is altogether more worrying. The two situations can hardly be compared. This is the reason that the international community under the auspices of the UN decided that action needed to be taken and agreed to include a mandate to help the growing population of slum dwellers in the Millennium Development Goals. If this worrying trend is not to spiral further out of control and for the major cities of the twenty-first century to avoid becoming dubbed slum cities, it is imperative that the MDG's and especially Target 11 succeed.

In the last part of the twentieth century, the growth of the worlds slum population continued to increase quite dramatically; in 1990 it was estimated that there were 715 million slum dwellers, by 2000 this had increased to an estimated 912 million or approximately 19.7 million new slum dwellers per year in the last 10 years of the twentieth century (United Nations, 2006).

Before focusing on certain regions where we can find the largest and most problematic slums and begin to analyse what effect this may have on achieving the Millennium Development Goals, it is important to first to have an overview of the MDG's and specifically Target 11 which will be my main focal point.

3. The Millennium Development Goals

3.1 The Millennium Declaration & The MDG's

In order to obtain support from all member states of the UN to tackle world poverty at the turn of the Millennium, in September 2000 at the Millennium Summit of the UN, the Millennium Declaration was signed in order to highlight the main challenges that the international community was to face in the twenty-first century and to agree that something would be done in order to combat these challenges. Resolution 55/2 was ratified on the 18th of September 2000 and was split up into the following 8 chapters (United Nations, 2000):

1. Values & principles
2. Peace, security & disarmament
3. Development and poverty eradication
4. Protecting our common environment
5. Human rights, democracy and good governance
6. Protecting the vulnerable
7. Meeting the special needs of Africa
8. Strengthening the UN

From this Millennium Declaration, the following eight Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) were developed:

1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
2. Achieve universal primary education
3. Promote gender equality and empower women
4. Reduce child mortality
5. Improve maternal health
6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases
7. Ensure environmental sustainability
8. Develop a global partnership for development

3.2 Focus on MDG 7, Target 11

Although the prevalence of urban slums in the worlds' major cities could affect the result in achieving any of these eight goals, there is one goal and its specific targets that I have

chosen to focus on, namely goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability. Goal 7 has 3 specific targets to achieve:

Target 9. Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programs and reverse the loss of environmental resources.

Target 10. Halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation.

Target 11. Have achieved by 2020 a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers.

As the focus of my thesis is specifically linked to the living conditions of the slum dwellers, I have decided to focus on Target 11 as noted above. The links between this specific Target and other Targets set within the 8 MDG goals could of course all intertwine as even Target 10, if it is to be achieved, will help in achieving Target 11. However due to the sheer scale of information and statistics available for each target, I have decided to focus specifically on the aim of achieving Target 11.

3.3 How to achieve Target 11

In order to achieve Target 11 of MDG 7, the UN has highlighted that this Target has only one indicator that can be used in order to monitor the progress made. The indicator is 'the proportion of urban population living in slums'. This in itself however is not enough of an indicator and to further clarify the UN stated that: The actual proportion of people living in slums is measured by a proxy, represented by the urban population living in households with at least one of the four characteristics: (a) lack of access to improved water supply; (b) lack of access to improved sanitation; (c) overcrowding (3 or more persons per room); and (d) dwellings made of non-durable material" (UN Statistics Division, 2008)

Originally, the indicator used to measure target 11 had been more simple as this read 'the proportion of households with access to secure tenure' however as of 15th January 2008 this was extended to the above factors.

In order to achieve this Target 11, UN Habitat has two major campaigns which they have initiated in order to help achieve Target 11.

3.3.1 Slum Upgrading Facility

The Slum Upgrading Facility (SUF) was set up by UN Habitat in 2004 as a response to Resolution A/56/206 of 2001 and to combat the problems that arise in slums due to fiscal mismanagement and a sheer lack of access to capital for those who need it the most, namely the slum dwellers (UN Habitat, 2009). These local communities are mostly hampered in their development due to the fact local governments find it hard to receive funds from central governments due to a lack of transparency and also the fact that funds made available for slum upgrading are limited. Therefore other means of providing finance to improve housing and infrastructure in slums is needed.

SUF acts as a tool to confront the problems related to housing finance and to make it possible for slum upgrading to occur. In order to do so, SUF realises that local communities can actually fund their own slum upgrading operations however support is also needed from the local government and the private sector to fund such projects. Historically, many poor urban community savings and lending groups have proven to be very reliable in repaying their loans and thus can be treated as financially sound investments for private investors. Additionally, it is the local government that is most equipped to lead and monitor these slum upgrading projects (UN Habitat, 2009).

In order to work, SUF uses four different approaches to achieve their goals:
- Technical advisory services for the slum dwellers so that it will be made easier to sell the idea to the private sector investors.
- Referral services whereby locals are put into contact with regional and international institutions that can help them meet their needs.
- Financial packaging so that financial institutions will have confidence in providing loans to these groups.
- Developing financial products that will make it possible for private investors to become involved with these slum-upgrading initiatives (UN Habitat, 2009).

The main aim of SUF is to get a whole new range of actors involved in lending to the urban poor so that they do not have to rely solely on microcredit organisations. Such organisations that are being targeted by SUF are mortgage finance institutions, building companies and

commercial banks. So far slum upgrading programmes have been initiated in countries such as Eritrea, Colombia, Ghana, Sri Lanka & Indonesia to name a few (UN Habitat, 2009).

3.1.2 Global Campaign for Secure Tenure

If any of these slum Upgrading operations are to even be able to occur then there is a concerted need to for global action on secure tenure, so that slum dwellers will be given the opportunity to claim land and work with various financial institutions to improve the slums which they inhabit. It is for this reason that UN Habitat has initiated the Global Campaign for Secure Tenure which aims to highlight, promote and garner international support for secure tenure for the most poor and more specifically the slum dwellers who are very often subjected to forced evictions and displacement which only further disrupts the likelihood of becoming recognised citizens.

Additionally, the fact that they can become recognised citizens will improve their chances of being entitled to public resources and also benefiting from NGO projects designated to aid the poor. Moreover the campaign is in place to ensure that through capacity building, legislative reforms can be passed, administrative land titling can be better carried out and property rights will become more accessible for all members of society including the slum dwellers. Another important factor is that women too be given more property rights as in many countries of the developing world women do not have such rights at all (UN Habitat, 2009).

If these slum dwellers can in turn be treated as recognised citizens this will enable them to profit from the aforementioned SUF projects and thus also improve their access to clean water and improved sanitation facilities which will I turn help in achieving Target 11 of MDG 7.

The main way in which the campaign works is that it aims to bring together organisations that represent the homeless, the poor and the slum dwellers, such as Slum Dwellers International with local governments and city planners so to improve the understanding between the two parties and find ways in which to overcome the legal and mental roadblocks that still exist in many countries of the developing world.

4. 21st Century Slums: Outlook now & in 2020

Slums, shantytowns, favela's, barrio's, there are many different names for the modern day urban slums. The fact of the matter is that slums are prevalent all over the world. UN Habitat officially refers to a slum as a 'run-down area of a city characterised by substandard housing and squalor and lacking in tenure security'. Following up from the trend that arose in the late twentieth century, namely that the developing world had become the region experiencing the most drastic rate of urbanisation, a closer examination of some of the major slums that have appeared in the early twenty-first century in the developing world will be taken. By taking a regional approach and examining some of the major countries in the developing world where the problems concerning rampant slum growth are great and to see if they are on target of reaching Target 11 will provide a clearer outlook on the situation.

Additionally, later in this chapter a selection of graphs from the data collected will highlight the growth of the slums, taking into account different scenarios in each region. A comparison of slum growth in the developing and already developed regions will also be included. In the report from which these results have been taken, the UN Report State of The Worlds Cities 2006/07, there were three scenarios that have been projected:

Scenario 1: Present trends of urban and slum growth since 1990 will continue unchanged
Scenario 2: Improve the lives of 100 million slum dwellers by 2020 (Target 11 achieved)
Scenario 3: Reduce proportion of slum dwellers from 31% of urban population to 15% in 2020
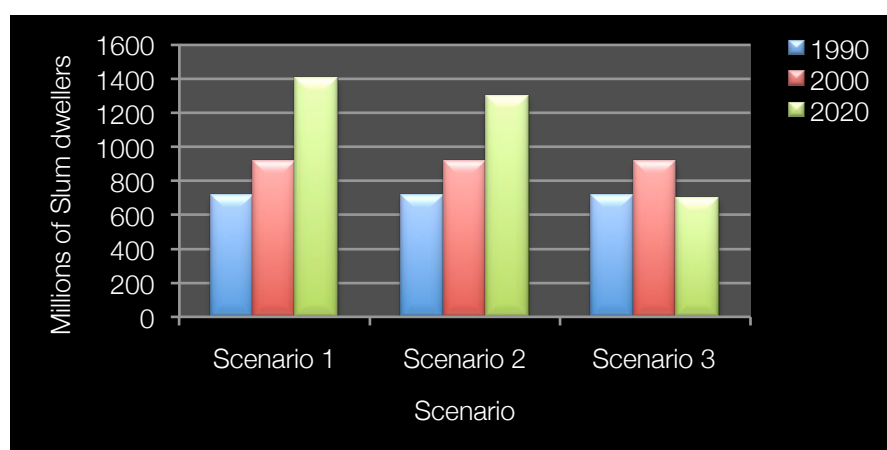

Figure 1.

(Source: State of the Worlds Cities 2006/07 (page 34))

As the main aim of this research was to find out what the situation is to be like in 2020 if no change is to be seen in how the slum dwellers are currently helped and taking into account the current levels of growth, the data provided related to Scenario 1: Present trends of urban and slum growth since 1990 will continue unchanged, shall be utilised for the projections.

4.1 South East Asia

4.1.1 Bangladesh

In Bangladesh it is estimated that the Urban Population will grow from 32.89 million in 2000 to 65.52 million in 2020 (UN Population Division, 2009). In Bangladesh's capital Dhaka, the population will grow from 10.28 million to 19.42 million in the same timeframe (UN Population Division, 2009). Such an increase will result in further growth of Dhaka's already significant slum population, as it is the city in Asia that has experienced the most sustained period of growth due to the influx of many rural migrants. These migrants have been forced to leave their villages, much of the time due to changes in the climate which makes their land unusable. It has been estimated by UN Habitat that 84.7% of all of Bangladesh's urban population live in slums.

Many of these slum dwellers are thus rural migrants who have fled their communities due to failed crops as a result of ecological disasters that frequently hit the area. Yet it is these same disasters that force the migrants to live in even more precarious living conditions, such as noted by author Jeremy Seabrook when he travelled to Dhaka and found slum dwellers living in a small piece of land between a factory producing toxins and a lake that had already been heavily poisoned. There only saving grace being the fact that they were living on land so unwanted and hazardous that it offered them 'protection from rising land values in the city" (Seabrook, 1996, p.177). This highlights the plight of slum dwellers in Bangladesh who simply have no housing alternative and are thus forced onto land that only exacerbates their perilous situation.

It is estimated that in Bangladesh, the total amount of people living in slums will grow from 30.3 million in 2001 to 68.55 million in 2020, and the predictions that have been made by the UN are that if Target 11 of MDG 7 is to be met, this amount can not exceed 64.37 million. It shall by 4.2 million slum dwellers (United Nations, 2006, p.190).

4.1.2 India

In India, the Urban Population is estimated to grow from 289.4 million in 2000 to 472.56 million in 2020 (UN Population Division, 2009). Taking the example of one its major cities, Mumbai, the population will grow from 16.08 million to 24.05 million in the same timeframe (UN Population Division, 2009).

Mumbai is home to India' largest slum, Dharavi. It is estimated that anywhere between 600,000 to 1 million people live in an area covering approximately 175 hectares, and it is deemed normal to share a piece of land that is 28m2 in size with 30 other people. There are great problems with disease and sanitation as there is only one toilet per 1440 residents and the flooding that occurs during monsoon season, results in the further spread of disease in this overcrowded city within a city (Jacobson, 2007). Moreover, Dharavi suffers from a lack of clean water and infrastructure needs to be vastly improved to accommodate the swelling population. Air pollution is another major problem for many residents in all of Mumbai as in 2004 it was recorded that a day of breathing in the air in Mumbai equated to smoking 2.5 packets of cigarettes per day (Mehta, 2004, p.29).

In all of India, the amount of people living in urban slums is estimated to grow from 158.41 million in 2000 to 219.46 million in 2020. The target set by the UN in order to achieve Target 11 means that this number cannot exceed 202.95 million however it shall by over 17.5 million slum dwellers (United Nations, 2006, p.190).

4.1.3 The Philippines

In the Philippines, the urban population is estimated to grow from 44.62 million in 2000 to 78.59 million in 2020 (UN Population Division, 2009). With the growth of the capital Manila also being a large factor in this increase, the population of the capital will rise from 9.95 million to 13.89 million (UN Population Division, 2009). Manila has many slums however the most well known is in the

Tondo District where the population density is approximately 80,000 people per km2. Tondo suffers from various issues that afflict other slums such as poor access to clean water, sanitation facilities, education and employment.

Manila also suffers from ecological threats and these threaten the already difficult lives of the slum population. Manila is prone to flooding due to the fact that the city is a natural flood basin as it is situated in a semi-alluvial plain which has three rivers surrounding it. The fact that the Philippines experiences many typhoons and heavy rainfall only exacerbates their perilous situation. There are two relatively recent examples of the devastating effect this has on the slum population who are forced to live on the wetlands around and within the flood basin. In 1998, 300,000 homes were destroyed (many of them slum housing) due to heavy flooding and in 2000 a typhoon caused a massive garbage mountain to collapse and 500 informal settlements which were built upon this mountain were destroyed, killing at least 1000 (Davis, 2006, p.123).

The fact that many slum dwellers have no alternative but to build houses on massive garbage mountains such as the notorious Smokey Mountain, highlights the issue that in Manila, as in other Asian cities, too little affordable housing is being provided for the slum dwellers as an alternative. The fact that there is very little public land available in order to construct public housing is another detrimental factor in improving the situation. It is estimated that nearly half of all the land owned in Manila is in the hands of a handful of families (Berner, 1997, p.21).

In all of the Philippines, the population of slum dwellers is predicted to grow from 20.18 million in 2001 to 29.05 million in 2020, and once again this exceeds the limit set by the UN in order to achieve Target 11 at 26.9 million, by over 2 million slum dwellers (United Nations, 2006, p.190).

4.1.4 China

In China, the urban population is predicted to grow from 454.36 million in 2000 to 756.34 million in 2020 (UN Population Division, 2009). In Beijing, one of China's largest and most prosperous cities and home to the 2008 Olympics, it is estimated that the population will continue to grow from 9.78 million to 13.8 million over the same period of time (UN Population Division, 2009). Although Beijing, like other large Chinese cities, is booming and experiencing newfound wealth due to China's powerful economy, slums are still prevalent

and increasing in size. One such slum can be found in the Dashilan district of Beijing. The Chinese themselves prefer to call these slums 'villages inside cities', however the rest of the world perceives these to be slums as most of Dashilan's residents survive on less than eight Yuan (€0.88) per day and are subject to conditions prevalent in other slums in Asia. In total, it is estimated that Beijing has 346 of these 'villages inside cities' and that the population of these exceeds 1.5 million, with 900,000 being migrants from rural areas seeking employment (Xinhua, 2005).

China has angered many human rights organisations such as Human Rights Watch as it has been estimated that 350,000 people were forced to move from their homes in order to make way for the new Olympic Village for the 2008 Olympics. Most of these houses were located in the so called 'inner city villages' that were mentioned before. This once again highlights the importance of the need for the slum dwellers to have more housing rights over their properties and for their basic human rights to be respected as recognised citizens.

China's total slum population is predicted to grow heavily from 178.25 million in 2001 to 277.61 million in 2020, exceeding the Target 11 limit of 257.59 million by 20 million slum dwellers (United Nations, 2006, p.190).

4.2 Latin America

In order to examine the current situation in Latin America and by using examples of the current and projected population statistics of Brazil and Colombia, a more regional perspective on the issues of slum dwellers in Latin America is created.

4.2.1 Brazil

In Brazil, the urban population is estimated to grow from 141.4 million in 2000 to 196.89 million in 2020 (UN Population Division, 2009). In Rio de Janeiro, the total population will rise from 10.8 million to 13.17 in the same time frame (UN Population Division, 2009). Rio de

Janeiro's total slum population is said to be around 1 million, and one of its most well known slums is Rocinha which has a population of approximately 125,000. Although in recent years Rocinha has become more developed as people have gained more access to healthcare and sanitary facilities, it still has to contend with other problems. Crime remains high with drug lords using Rocinha as a main drug trafficking point for Colombian cocaine within Rio, which is worth an estimated $3.3 million per year. Due to the well organised drug cartels that effectively run many of these 'favela's', the local police are often ineffective in dealing with the crime and thus violence between gangs is still prevalent in slums all around Brazil, just like in Rocinha (Royal Geographic Society, 2004).

More often than not in Brazil, it is the location itself that proves to be hazardous to the slum population. Brazil's favela's are usually built on hillsides, sometimes very steep and overlooking the city. In Rio, the favela's are built on unstable soil that have often given way due to overcrowding and rainfall resulting in slope failure and landslides. The most recent casualties were in December 2001 when seven people were killed after debris started to fall from the hillsides (Davis, 2006, p.122).

In all of Brazil, the slum population is estimated to grow from 51.67 million in 2001 to 55.07 million in 2020. In order to achieve Target 11, it was predicted that the percentage of slum dwellers would need to be at 50.39 million, so once again this would result in Target 11 failing by over 4.6 million slum dwellers (United Nations, 2006, p.190).

4.2.2 Colombia

In Colombia, the urban population is predicted to rise from 30.04 million in 2000 to 41.54 million in 2020 (UN Population Division, 2009). During the same period the population of Bogota will rise from 6.35 million to 9.29 million (UN Population Division, 2009). One of the largest slums in Bogota is Ciudad Bolivar that makes up part of the approximately 1400 informal settlements in Bogota as outlined by the World Bank in 2004. It has also been estimated that these informal settlements make up 24% of Bogota's area and housing and 22% of Bogota's population (Echanove, 2004).

One of the main factors causing the increase of slums such as Ciudad Bolivar and Sumapaz are the civil wars that result in vast amounts of displaced people from the rural communities moving to major cities. It is estimated that approximately 400,000 people were displaced to Bogota as a cause of these wars and that there were 653,800 unemployed people in 2002

with most of them young people under 29 years of age (Project Counseling Services, 2002, p.3). The uneducated and unmotivated youngsters are more often than not drawn into a world of crime and violence.

Progress in areas such as Ciudad Bolivar have been made due to urban regeneration projects that were much needed after years of growth but no lasting improvement of infrastructure which was needed to accompany it. There is however still a lot of violence in these slums due to them being used as an area for smuggling arms and provisions from the capital Bogota to outlying regions such as Sumapaz and the Tolima departments. This has meant that these slums have become regions where battles between guerrilla's, street gangs and the army have become more commonplace and this has destabilised an area that had been improving. This has resulted in creating an atmosphere of fear, and in the first three months of 2007 there were 94 homicides in Ciudad Bolivar and most were young men aged between 19 to 27 who had been targeted as being involved in the activity of smuggling arms and provisions (Parker, 2007).

The population of slum dwellers in Colombia is predicted to grow from 7.05 million in 2001 to 8.73 million in 2015. Colombia needed to have a slum population of no more 8.03 million by 2020 in order to reach Target 11, so Colombia will also not reach this target by 700,000 slum dwellers (United Nations, 2006, p.190).

4.3 Africa

Turning the attention to Africa it is apparent that this is a continent that is also experiencing major problems with urban slum growth and there are many examples to be given. Four specific, large countries have been chosen as examples namely South Africa, Kenya, Tanzania and Nigeria.

4.3.1 South Africa

The urban population of South Africa is predicted to grow from 25.82 million in 2000 to 34.13 million in 2020 (UN Population Division, 2009). Its most populous and problematic major city Johannesburg will grow from 2.73 million to 3.91 million over the same period (UN Population Division, 2009) and this growth will once again mean an increase of the number of slum dwellers in the city. Taking the example of Johannesburg's largest slum Soweto which has been steadily growing from its creation as early as the 19th century, its population

in 2001 (when the last census was carried out) had reached 858,000 making up approximately one third of Johannesburg's total population. Others have stated that this amount could now in fact be a lot higher and that in fact Soweto makes up closer to 65% (2.55 million) of Johannesburg's population (MSN Encarta, 2009). Although there have been some improvements to the infrastructure of Soweto with new roads being paved, lighting being improved and a relatively advanced electrical supply network in comparison to other townships in South Africa, there are still many persistent problems that plague Soweto. Air pollution due to the many open fires used to cook upon has become a problem, as has access to clean water with small water towers serving 200 or more people (MSN Encarta, 2009).

More serious problems also exist in Soweto's slums such as violence and the high levels of HIV/Aids infection. In the Gauteng province, where Soweto is located, it is estimated that in 2001, when the last results were collected, that 29.3% of pregnant women were infected with HIV (Kristin Dunkle, 2003, p.7). If any improvement of the lives of slum dwellers in this region is to be achieved, then direct action in tackling the extremely high levels of HIV infection need to materialise and should be considered a priority.

The total slum population in South Africa is predicted to increase, albeit marginally, from 8.37 million in 2001 to 8.67 million in 2020. However, in order to achieve Target 11 there needed to be a decrease in the amount of slum dwellers to 7.93 million meaning that this target will not be reached by over 0.7 million (United Nations, 2006, p.190).

4.3.2 Kenya

Kenya's urban population is predicted to grow from 6.16 million in 2000 to 13.73 million in 2020 (UN Population Division, 2009). In the capital Nairobi the total population will grow from 2.23 million to 4.88 million over the same period (UN Population Division, 2009). Nairobi is regrettably enough home to what many call the largest slum in Africa and one of the worst slums in the world, Kibera. This slum is estimated to house a population of approximately one million spread over only 2.5 km2, roughly the same as New York's Central Park but with a

population density over 30 times that of New York City. There are grave problems with sanitation as up to 500-1000 people share one toilet forcing many slum dwellers to resort to utilising 'flying toilets': defecating into a plastic bag and leaving this to rot in the open air in an already overcrowded environment (Kibera Slum Foundation, 2009).

Additionally, because there is a severe lack of drainage, access to clean water and health facilities this has resulted in outbreaks of malaria, cholera and typhoid affecting large groups of Kibera's residents. Additionally, there are up to 50,000 orphans in Kibera who are infected with AIDS and have also lost their parents due to the disease. Schooling is also nearly non-existent and this only makes the chance of the younger generation being able to make a future for themselves become more unlikely. The situation continues to get worse due to the fact that the local government tends to ignore the needs of Kibera's residents as they state that they are living on the land illegally and thus are not recognised as citizens (Kibera Slum Foundation, 2009).

Kibera has also suffered from strict and violent forced evictions. During the previous regime under President Arap-Moi, many of Kibera's residents invested all of their belongings to rent accommodation from influential 'slumlords' who constructed poorly built housing on public land which had been proposed to be used as roads. However when the new President Kibaki came into power he said he would restore order in Kenya's slums, and in Kibera he forced many residents to leave their houses sometimes only with a few hours notice, without offering them an alternative or taking into account the severe mismanagement of the previous regime which only exacerbated the slum problem in Kibera (Davis, 2006, p.101).

Kenya's slum population is predicted to massively increase from 7.6 million in 2001 to 23.22 million in 2020. In order to have any chance of making Target 11 attainable this amount should not exceed 21.97 million, but will do by 1.3 million meaning that in Kenya too this target will not be reached. The most worrying trend is Kenya's predicted overall great increase in the amount of slum dwellers which amounts to a 305% increase in 19 years (United Nations, 2006, p.190).

4.3.3 Tanzania

The urban population of Tanzania is predicted to grow from 7.55 million in 2000 to 17.31 in 2020 (UN Population Division, 2009). The capital of Tanzania, Dar Es Salaam will grow from 2.11 million to 4.8 million in 2020 (UN Population Division, 2009).

Dar Es Salaam, like many other large cities in Africa has an extremely high percentage of slums in comparison to its actual urban population. Exact figures for Dar Es Salaam itself have proved hard to come by but figures released by the UN back in 2003 stated that a staggering 92.1% of Tanzania's urban population lived in slums (Davis, 2006, p.24) and as the capital is by far the most populous city, we can conclude that the percentage is also extremely high. Some problems that are most prevalent in Dar are the fact that the poor have very little access to clean water. In the last few years the local government privatised the water supply system in the city has only resulted a greater gulf between the rich and the poor. Water, which many feel should be a normal human right essential for human survival, hygiene and basic sanitation, has now become a commodity with 1000 litres of water costing approximately €5 for the poor who can not gain access to the regulated city water supply. Those people who can afford access in Dar only pay €0.25 per 1000 litres. If we compare these prices to UK (€1) and the USA (€0.5) (Harvey, 2008) we can see that the local government is neglecting to help the people who need water the most, namely the slum dwellers.

Another major issue in Dar is the fact that refuse is not properly disposed of, at least not in proportion to the amount that is being created. This results in great amounts of uncollected waste being left in public spaces and creating a breeding ground for bacteria, insects and vermin which only worsen the living conditions of the slum dwellers. It is estimated that only 25% of garbage created in Dar is actually collected leaving a massive 75% of untreated waste left to rot in the open air (Davis, 2006, p.134).

Tanzania's slum population is also predicted to increase massively from 11.03 million in 2001 to 35.56 million in 2020. In order for Tanzania to attain Target 11 the slum population was not to exceed 33.68 million, but shall by nearly 2 million. However, just as in Kenya, it is the predicted great rise in general (322%) that is a cause for concern and shows that much improvement needs to be made in combating the growth of slums in Tanzania (United Nations, 2006, p.190).

4.3.4 Nigeria

The urban population of Nigeria is predicted to increase heavily from 53.04 million in 2000 to 109.77 million in 2020 (UN Population Division, 2009). Nigeria's capital Lagos will also experience rapid growth with the population rising from 7.23 million to 14.13 million over the same timeframe

(UN Population Division, 2009). Lagos has also experienced a vast growth of city slums due to the mass influx of people from rural areas of Nigeria. It is estimated that slums in Lagos make up two-thirds of the city's population and slums such as Agejunle, which is by far the city's largest slum with an estimated population of 3 million, only continuing to grow. The slums of Agejunle which the locals refer to as 'the jungle' has been mentioned to be: "a big multi-ethnic shanty town notorious for its mass poverty, huge unemployment, slum housing, bad roads, dirty environment and high crime rate" by the Democratic Socialist Movement in Lagos (Foluso, 2003).

The amount of slum dwellers in Nigeria overall is estimated to increase massively from 41.59 million in 2001 to 76.74 million in 2020. Strangely enough though, the target set for Nigeria to be able to reach Target 11 was set at 76.94 million, meaning that of the countries I have mentioned, Nigeria is the only one that has met its specific goal for Target 11. However, the overall great increase of slum dwellers in Nigeria only adds to Africa's poor record on reaching Target 11 so this can hardly be deemed a success, merely that Nigeria has nearly equalled the number of slum dwellers for 2020 that was predicted when the MDG's were agreed upon. Nigeria's total slum population over this period is predicted to increase by 184% to give it the highest amount of slum dwellers in Africa (United Nations, 2006, p.190).

4.4 Outlook per region

Below I have outlined the outlook per region comparing the population of slum dwellers per region, firstly in 2001 (when the MDG's were agreed upon), then the foreseen slum population per region if Target 11 were to be achieved and there was to be a significant improvement of the lives of 100 million slum dwellers by 2020, and what the actual figure will be if there is no significant change in the way each government is handling the growing slum populations in their country.

4.4.1 Developing regions

Here I have included the predictions taking into account the amount of slum dwellers in 2001, the maximum amount envisioned in order to achieve Target 11 and what the actual level of slum dwellers will be in 2020 if current trends continue. The regions of the developing world covered are: Northern Africa, Sub Saharan Africa, Latin America (including Caribbean), Eastern Asia, Southern Asia, South Eastern Asia & Western Asia. Examining the results it is clear that all of the regions, bar Northern Africa, are expected to see an increase in the amount of slum dwellers in comparison to 2001 and that all of these regions will not achieve Target 11 if current trends continue with Sub Saharan Africa, Eastern and Southern Asia being the most problematic regions.
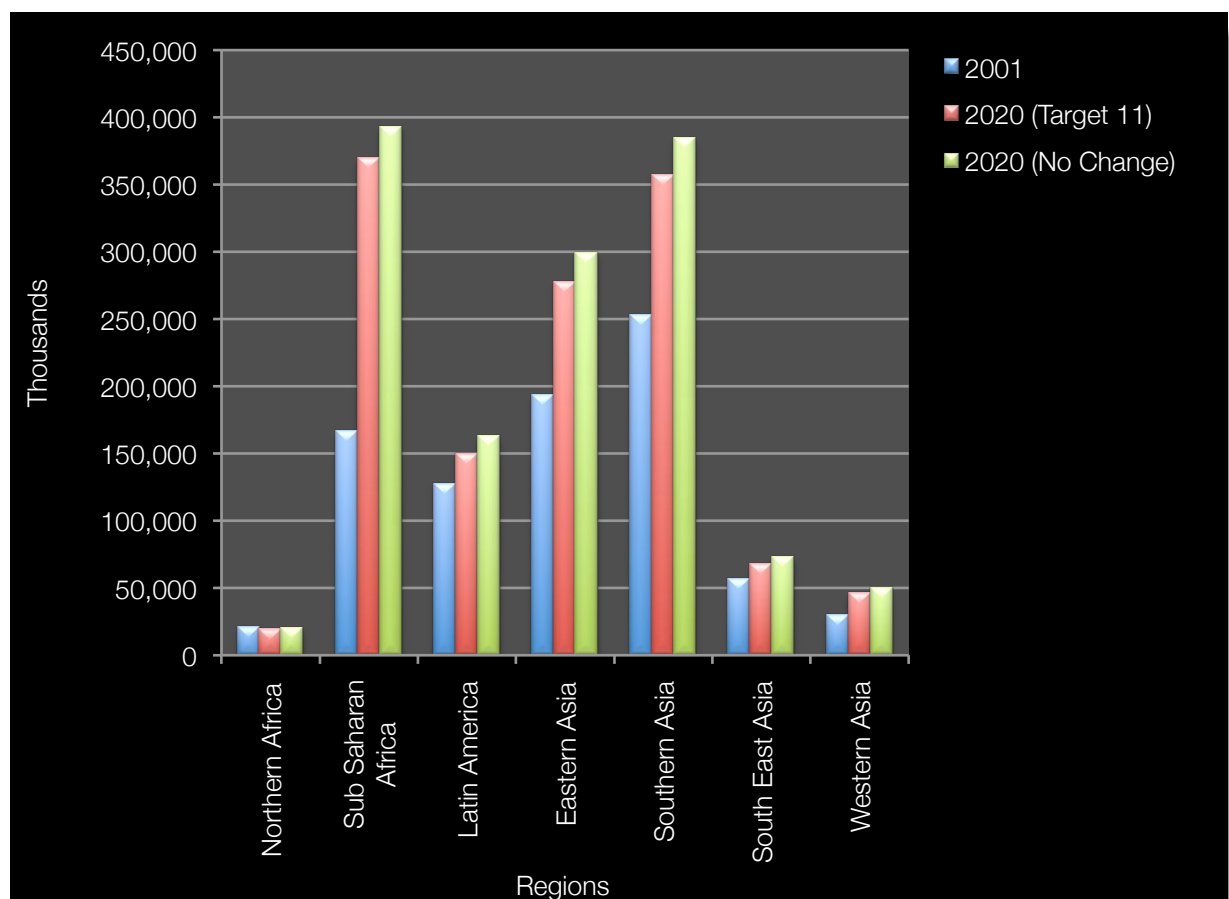

Figure 2

Source: (United Nations, 2006, p.190)

4.4.1 Developing regions

4.2.2 Other Regions

In this graph, the data for the other regions covered by the UN have been used; namely the Developed regions, the Eurasia, European and Asian countries that make up part of the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States which made up part of the former Soviet Union) and lastly Oceania. Even in these regions of the developed world where the amount of slum dwellers and the possible consequences of this are not so dire, it is estimated that the numbers set in order to achieve Target 11 will not be achieved.
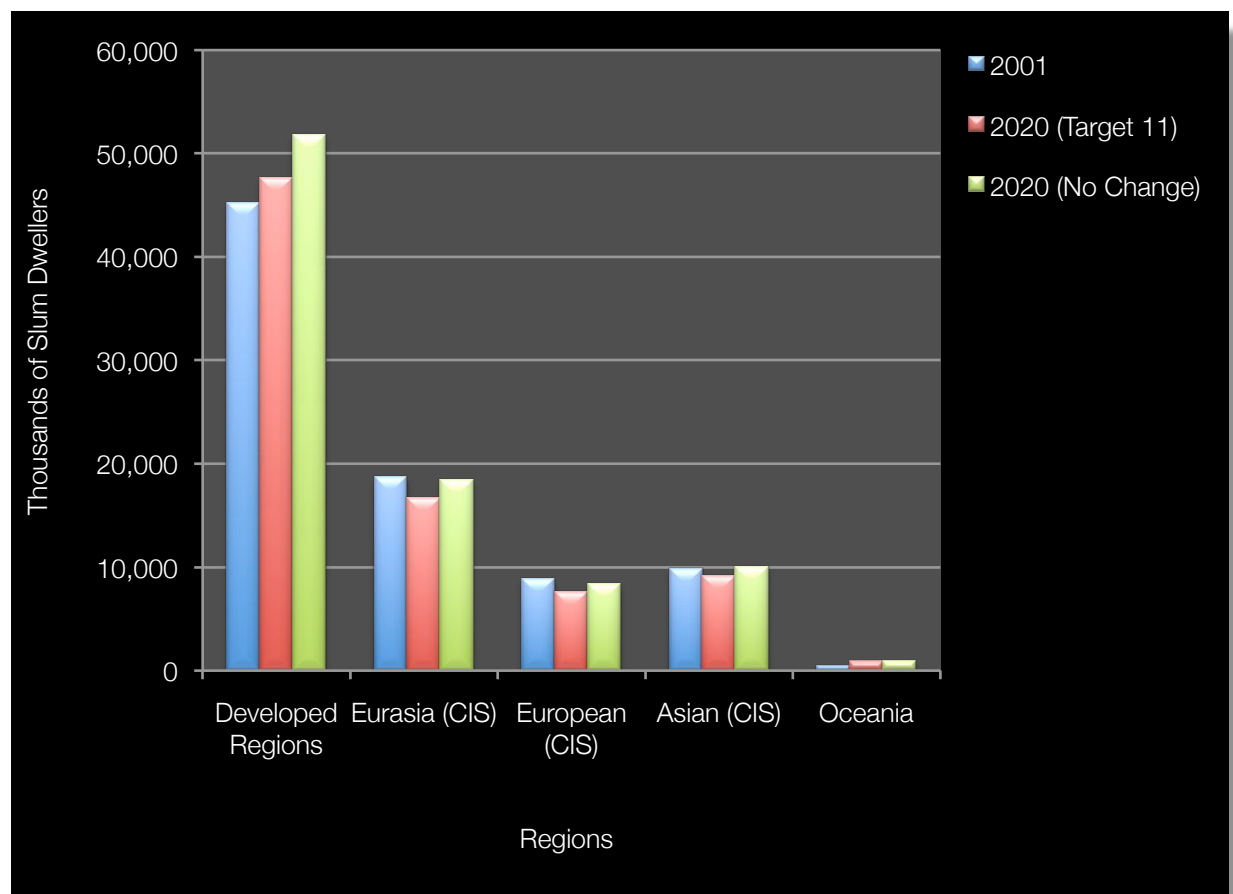

Figure 3

Source: (United Nations, 2006, p.190)

4.2.3. Comparison between regions

The last graph has been compiled to show the extent of the problem in the developing world in comparison to the rest of the world and why the efforts to help the slum dwellers in this region are so vitally important if any improvement is to be made on the regional and worldwide commitment to achieve the MDG 7 and the MDG's in general.
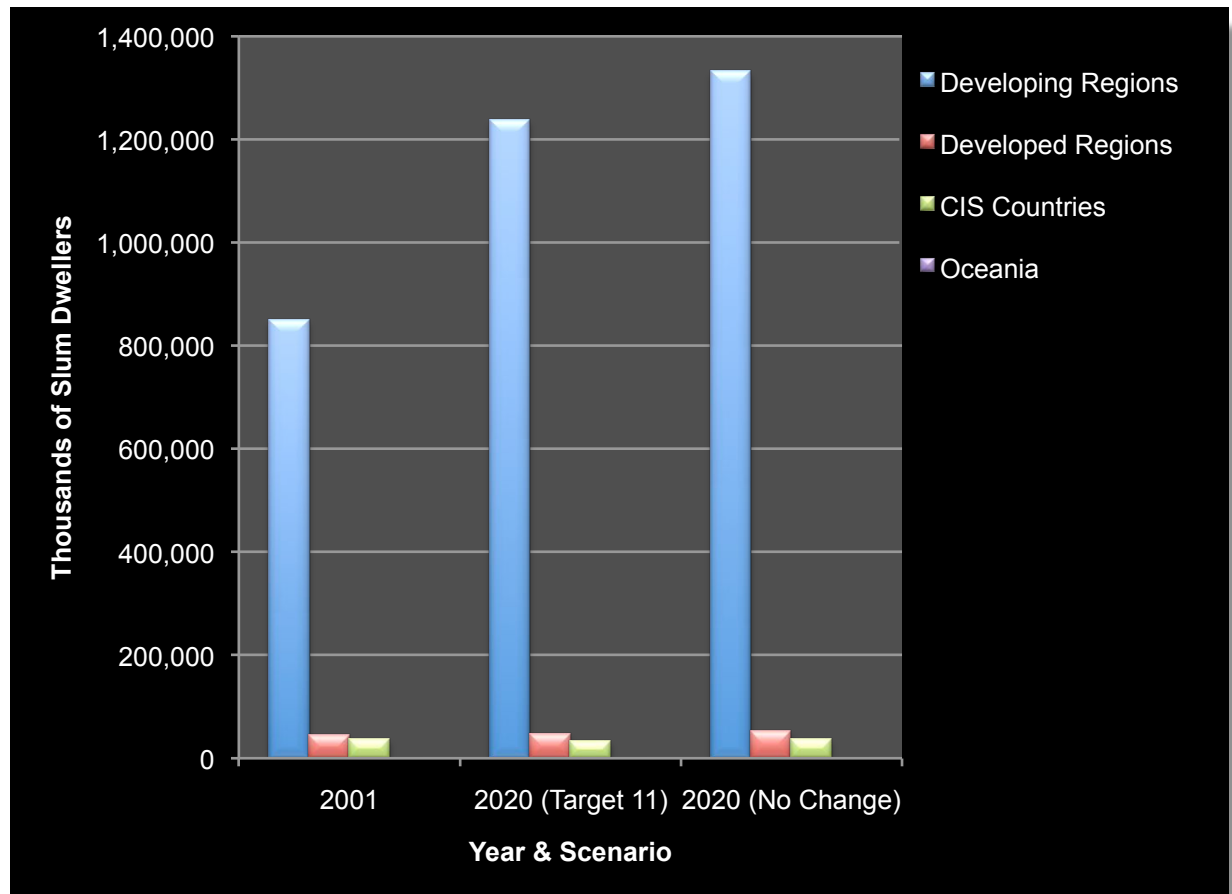

Figure 4

Source: (United Nations, 2006, p.190)

5. The cost of urbanisation and slum formation

Apart from the many worrying situations in different regions touched upon in the previous chapter, there are certain universal reasons why the rampant urbanisation and slum formation we are witnessing in the developing world is going to be one of the biggest challenges of the twenty-first century. I have compiled a set of major issues that highlight why even beyond the parameters of Target 11, halting slum formation should be of utmost priority to not only within the UN but also to all actors who have the capacity to effectively bring an end to the growth of slums. I shall now list some of the most detrimental side effects of slum formation that have become apparent during my research.

5.1 Urban Vulnerability

Due to the fact that the many countries in the developing world are transforming from rural to urban societies, the sheer fact that a growing percentage of a countries population is found within one highly dense agglomeration poses worrying questions. The first is what the effect would be if these agglomerations were to be hit by natural disasters. As many of the regions of the developing world are situated in highly volatile landscapes that are often plagued by typhoons, cyclones, earthquakes and are prone to flooding it only further highlights the precarious nature of mass urbanisation. High population density in an area where a great amount of impoverished people live and with very poor infrastructure makes the regions more prone to experience a great deal more fatalities than developed urban areas if such a crisis was to occur. Oxfam recently released figures which highlighted that by 2015 there will be 54% rise in the amount of people that shall be greatly affected by climate crises with the numbers reaching 375 million. Oxfam calls for a full-scale revision of the way in which governments, aid agencies and relief organisations prepare and respond to such crises. The shocking thing is that this report only relates to 'normal' natural disasters such a floods, droughts and after effects of humanitarian crises but does not account for earthquakes or volcanic eruptions (Oxfam International, 2009, p.2).

One such example are the flash floods that were experienced in the Western Indian state of Maharashtra, when approximately 2000 people were killed after days of intense flooding which resulted in landslides and collapsed buildings. In the slums of Dharavi in Mumbai, which is largely situated on swamplands, approximately 500 were said to have died as a result of the disaster. If the slum had had more suitable housing and infrastructure, the number of fatalities would have been far less. Such floods also have a long term negative effect as the intense flooding caused existing sewage systems to overflow, creating a great health risk and resulting in an epidemic outbreak of leptospiroisis (also known as Weil's syndrome) in Mumbai, killing a further 65 people (Mhaske, 2005). Slum dwellers living on the steep hillsides in Caracas, Venezuela made up a large part of the approximate 30,000 people that were killed during a series of flash floods and landslides that took place in December 1999 (UNFPA, 2007, p.61). Here too, the vulnerability of the informal settlements and the role they played in damaging the land and exacerbating the flooding problem highlight the great danger and increased chance of disaster and high loss of life in overpopulated slums.

Another example of urban vulnerability in the slums is the risk of fire, which is normally due to human failure rather than natural intervention. When such fires break out, the densely populated informal settlements often become engulfed quickly and result in many fatalities. Such blazes can be caused by open fires or kerosene tanks used for cooking or an electric failure, however in certain cities these fires can be a result of more sinister practices. Due to the fact that many developers and landlords become tired with the slow process of removing the slum dwellers from their informal settlements they resort to arson. In January 2004, fires in the Tondo slum of Manila resulted in the destruction of 2500 homes leaving 22,000 homeless, whilst in February 2004, fires in Nairobi slums left 30,000 homeless. Later that year in April 2004 fires in Bangkok left 5000 homes destroyed and 30,000 homeless. Many of these fires were deemed to be deliberate (Davis, 2006, p.128). If the density of these slums had been less or there had been better quality housing in place, the number of affected people would also have been far less.

5.2 Environmental Degradation

Such an influx of people into one region causes not only a humanitarian disaster but also an environmental one. People overpopulating relatively small plots of land, (mis)using up all natural resources available and emitting various toxins into both the land and air result in deteriorating water quality, air pollution, unprocessed waste, excessive heating of the atmosphere and erosion of the land. Additionally, in line with the previous section on urban vulnerability, the degradation of the environment and physical land mass on which many of the slum dwellers live, close to seas, major rivers and estuaries, means that if the current trend of rising sea levels continues to grow, not only the slum dwellers but all of the worlds great urban agglomerations could be in great danger of literally being washed away.

Taking the example of Bangladesh, a country where 144 Million people live and 46% of the population live within 10 metres of the average sea level, a 1 metre increase in the total sea level would result in one-third of the country becoming submerged and displacing up to 30 million people. In the attached image, we can see to what extent the low elevation coast line extends (Greenfieldboyce, 2007).
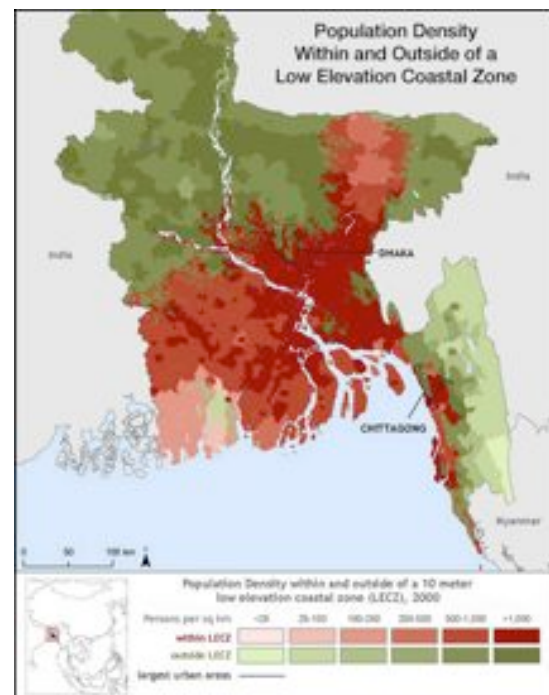
Additionally in the West of Africa many of the coastal zone's extend relatively far into the country and most of the major capitals can be found directly on the coast. Cities such as Freetown, Abidjan, Accra and Lagos could all be submerged under the rising sea level by the end of the twenty-first century if current environmental trends continue. Lagos would be one of the most hard hit cities as the most of Lagos is five metres or less above sea level, with the added problem of experiencing strong storm surges, would result in the great part of its

current 15 million population which continues to grow strongly, be forced to move from the city if not to become submerged (IRIN, 2008).

Climate change in general is also of course a very important factor to contend with when discussing environmental degradation as it is climate change that can itself can be a cause for migration from rural communities. As stated before one of the main reasons why there is rural to urban migration is due to problems with agriculture and the issue of failed crops that forces migrants to look for economic opportunitues in larger cities. Additionally, poor infrastructure and risk of flodding in rural areas due to rising sea levels, also directly related to climate change, can be a factor in causing rural to urban migration. More often than not, the rural migrants or environmental refugees as they are called do not reuturn to their rural communities once the environmental problems may have subsided and thus become a permanent part of urban society.

Climate change can also be a direct cause of freak weather conditions, storms and more long term environmental effects which can result in disaster for the slum population. This is where a direct link can be made between the effects of environmental degaradation on the slum dwellers and as previously mentioned before by heightening the urban vulnerability that they have to contend with.

5.3 Economic vulnerability

One of the main reasons why many of the rural migrants move towards urban agglomerations is to seek employment and to attain a better future for them and their families. The truth is however that due to the sheer size of the influx, there simply are not enough formal jobs to keep everyone employed. The result is that the number of unemployed people, especially the youth, is growing at an increasingly fast rate. With the global population of young people (15-24) an approximate one billion and with 85% of these living in developing countries, the rate of unemploment is extremely high. It was estimated by the UN in 2003 that approximately 88 million of these youth were unemployed making up half of the worlds jobless.

The fact that many of these youth were from developing countries where there was high urban growth, low education and literacy levels and slow economic growth, make it clear that this is a section of the population within the developing world that needs much help and assistance if the economic situation for the most poor is to improve (United Nations, 2006,

p.145). The ILO stated back in 2003 that by the end of this decade (2010), 500 million new jobs need to be created if the unemployment rate was to stay at the same rate as in 2003. In order to actually improve on the unemployment rate it would therefore take a great deal more formal sector jobs or radical development of the informal sector to improve the unemployment statistics, especially in the developing world and in the slums (ILO, 2003, p.55).

Many of these youth are forced to seek employment in the informal sector and whilst this can sometimes be a very successful means of providing for them and their families, much needs to be done in the way of assisting the youth to become innovative, organised and aware of how to succeed in the informal market without resorting to 'copycat' entrepreneurship. If the youth are unable to seek employment either in the formal or informal markets, crime can more often than not become a means to an end. Additionally, this will result in further inequality between the rich and the poor, further ghettoisation of existing slums and feelings of resentment between social classes in the developing world.

There also needs to be a change in the mindset of national governments and the international community regarding the view that poverty remains a disctinctly rural phenomenon and the effect this has on prioritising poverty eradication programmes. Whilst it may be true to some extent that rural communities suffer greatly from poverty, the fact of the matter is that the axis of poverty is shifting from a rural phenomenon to an increasingly urban one. Many within the international community have the feeling that the increasing level of poverty and the growth of slums is a transient phenomenon that has come around due to the migration of the rural poor to urban areas and with time the migrants will become more prosperous once they have moved to the cities, obtained legal tenure and found a source of income.

Firstly the issue of legal tenure is one that must be focused upon also however this is something that will be examined later. Secondly, more focus needs to be put on the sheer level of inequality that exists within cities and which is not reflected in the figures used by governments and the international community and which are used to back up claims on why poverty eradication programmes are still very focused on rural communities and not more focused on the slum communities (United Nations, 2006, p.49).

Lastly, the fact that these mega urban agglomerations become the most important and dominant economic lifelines of the country, it further creates the worry that if any natural disasters were too disrupt the economic operations in the city (such as the Oil Fields in Lagos becoming damaged due to disaster or flooding), this would have resonant national and regional impacts and further highlight the diminishing importance of rural communties in a country's national economy.

6. The challenges facing Target 11 (MDG 7)

From my research for chapter four, I have been able to conclude that as it currently stands, Target 11 of Millennium Development Goal 7 will fail. However it is important to understand what major universal factors are contributing to the ever-increasing amount of new slum dwellers, if the Millennium Development Goals themselves are flawed and if other actors such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Back could be to blame for their roles.

6.1 Major Universal Factors

Below I have listed four of the main factors that currently pose the greatest threat to achieving Target 11 and that need to be addressed at a local and national level if any progress is to be made. The four main factors are the need for affordable housing, the need for security of tenure, rural to urban poverty migration and the problem of forced evictions.

6.1.1   Affordable housing

In order for the local authorities to take action and help people in the slums, there first needs to be a change in how slums are categorised. One of the main issues that arise in many slums is that these are not recognised and hence also the slum dwellers are not treated as recognised citizens. Many poor migrants who chose to live in urban areas are more often than not forced to live in informal settlements that are not recognised by the local authorities. The main reason they live in informal settlements is due to the lack affordable housing for the poor.

In Mumbai, for example, the demand for land and a sheer lack of space resulted in the average price to be paid per square metre increase heavily, reaching levels nearly the same as rich developed cities such as Tokyo and Singapore, making Mumbai now the most expensive city in the developing world. In 2007, it was recorded that buying an apartment in South Mumbai cost US$9,000 to US$10,200 per square metre and the average rental price

of an apartment in Mumbai cost $3,380 per month (Cruz, 2007). When this is compared to the fact that India is a country with a GDP of $770 per person (2006), the prices once again highlight the large discrepancy between the rich and the poor and the fact that Asia's largest slum, Dharavi, is located in Mumbai comes as no surprise. In Mumbai the slum problem is exacerbated by the fact India has very restrictive laws protecting tenants and that the transaction costs for purchasing land, which can range from 7.5% to 17% of the price of the property, result in an ever increasing slum population as even the middle class struggle to afford property in India's booming industrial capital (Cruz, 2007).

In order to truly alleviate the problems related to providing affordable housing, actions such as slum upgrading operations and completely rebuilding existing slums is not the answer alone. The main cause of the ongoing problem is after all the poverty of the slum dwellers. They need to become more involved in the whole process of slum upgrading and more importantly be allowed to conduct informal economic activities so to build capital and help fund housing development through their own means of income generation. Most slum dwellers do not necessarily want to own their house or informal settlement as this can sometimes be too expensive but are content to rent as long as they have some form of tenure security and are able to improve the quality of their dwellings.

This then further highlights the need for local governments to provide more affordable public housing which the poorest section of the population can afford. If local governments are serious in wanting to improve the lives of slum dwellers, it is something that needs to occur and be addressed in the right manner (not conducting forced evictions and relocating the problem to the outskirts of the city) if any improvement is to be made.

6.1.2   Security of Tenure

In order to achieve Target 11 of MDG 7, it is imperative that slum upgrading operations, often initiated and coordinated by UN Habitat in cooperation with local actors, are well organised and focused on helping those who need it the most. However one of the reasons why these operations are not implemented quickly enough is the fact that many of the slum dwellers have no legal ownership or any security of tenure over the properties they inhabit. As the slum upgrading operations are supported by the public and private sector within the countries and preference is given to recognised slums, this issue of recognition needs to be clarified and amended if the promises of slum upgrading are to have any effect in alleviating the problems in the slums, both for the slum dwellers of today, but also more importantly the

slum dwellers of tomorrow. The Executive Director of UN Habitat Anna Kajumulo Tibaijuka stated in 2004 that: "*Because land is literally at the base of slum formation, addressing the slum issue means taking the land issue seriously. Given that experience has shown that it takes 15-25 years to change a country's land administration system, we cannot afford to wait if we wish to improve the lives of slum dwellers now*" (Tibaijuka, 2004, p.2).

The fact that these slum dwellers have no security of tenure means they are under a constant threat of eviction, have no access to credit due to their 'non-recognition', have little will to improve their neighbourhoods and also are exposed to the possibility of being extorted by local patrons or made to pay fee's they can hardly afford by landlords. If we look at the figures it is believed that in the developing world, less than 30% of the land is titled, with the situation being the worst in Sub Saharan Africa, where most countries experience less than 1% of land titling (Tibaijuka, 2004, p.2). There is therefore a need for a more transparent, fair, accessible form of land administration and management in regions in the developing world where this may be nearly non–existent or underdeveloped.

The fact that many of the slums are not recognised as official parts of a city, this also has an economical drawback. Any economic activity that does occur in slums and could be included in municipal revenues should be taken advantage of as this could ensure that an improvement in services being provided for and by the slum population. If security of tenure in slums becomes more widespread and land occupancy is improved then this also has financial gains fort the local governments too as this will entitle them to conduct property taxation which should in turn be utilised to assist in improving the slums infrastructure.

Becoming recognised would also make it more attractive for private investors and providers of services to become more directly involved in the slums. In doing so this would provide the opportunity to improve the infrastructure which could mean more access to clean water and waste refuse systems, better transport connections, and more access to healthcare services which would significantly improve the lives of the slum dwellers both socially and economically. Slum dwellers could also profit from possible land market gains as a result of the slums being upgraded and improved. Lastly, in providing security of tenure the slum dwellers would be granted the opportunity to further enhance the populations social capital which in turn grants them access to further forms of shared credit institutions.

5.1.3   Rural to Urban poverty migration

Another issue that is important to address in aiming to achieve Target 11, is to quell the influx of more people into the ever-growing urban slums. Many of the people that end up living in these slums are poor people from the rural communities made up of small towns and villages. This resulted in 2007 becoming the year when for the first time in the worlds history the urban population exceeded the rural population and if current trends continue the balance between urban and rural populations will mean an unstoppable shift towards a global urban society.

Usually the poor rural population have no access to employment, education and healthcare so they are forced towards large urban areas as an alternative to provide for their families. Although it is sometimes possible to become financially self sustainable once they migrate to the cities, all of the problems that they experienced in their rural communities are experienced in the urban slums as well and are often even worse due to the sheer concentration of people, the heightened risk of disease, extortion and persecution. The issues of failed crops and failing agriculture is also a major factor in the rural to urban migration pattern and there need to be increased efforts to create urbanisation strategies to spread the growth of urbanisation and the influx of rural migrants over various cities and to avoid one urban agglomeration becoming the main prospect for rural migrants seeking improved quality of life or employment. This will ensure that they are not forced to live in increasingly inhumane conditions in already overcrowded slums and it will give the existing slums an opportunity to improve infrastructure and living conditions without being burdened by an ever-increasing rural population who have no other choice but to settle in slums.

It is therefore imperative that efforts to help the urban poor in the area's surrounding the large urban agglomerations are stepped up, in order to significantly slow down the migration of the urban poor and to quell the growth of the 'urbanisation of poverty'.

6.1.4 Forced Evictions

As all of the member states that agreed to uphold the principles of Target 11 to improve the lives of 100 million slum dwellers, some have used their own tactics to decrease the amount of slums in their cities, namely by adapting forced evictions on the slum dwellers. This has understandably received widespread criticism from the international community and even from UN Habitat themselves towards this practice which is frequently utilised by local governments in the developing world. There is a clear case that in doing so, not only does this not help the slum dwellers, it also exacerbates the whole problem. Forced evictions result in the poor slum dwellers having to relocate, leaving behind what little they had in the first place and look for more land on which to build a living space for themselves whilst also merely resulting in relocation of the problem.

Apart form being detrimental to the overall situation of the slum dwellers and their surroundings, COHRE (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions) has outlined that forced evictions also violate various inherent human rights such as:

- The right to non-interference with privacy, family and home
- The right to be protected against the arbitrary deprivation of property
- The right to freedom of movement and to choose one's residence
- The right to life (due to possible violence during the forced eviction which often results in death)
- The right to security of the person - implementing authorities rarely provide evicted persons with adequate homes or any form of compensation, thus rendering them vulnerable to homelessness and further acts of violence (COHRE, 2009).

In South Africa, the local government backed by ANC President Jacob Zuma, has praised and expanded the act named the KwaZulu-Natal Elimination and Prevention of Re-emergence of Slums Act, and promised to replicate it in order to meet the government's interpretation of the Target 11. What this Act in fact legalises is the forced eviction and destruction of existing shanty towns, replacing them with formal RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) housing, not seeking to create sufficient new housing for the

evicted slum dwellers and preventing the creation of new slums. It is in fact basically ignoring the problem and going against what the UN had as the intention to achieve Target 11. This whilst the South African government has admitted that these evictions lead to the loss of livelihoods and worsening poverty situations for the slum dwellers (Huchzermeyer, 2008).

The UN has stated in its report The Challenge Of Slums that *"Forced eviction and demolition of slums, as well as resettlement of slum dwellers create more problems than they solve. Eradication and relocation destroys, unnecessarily, a large stock of housing affordable to the urban poor and the new housing provided has frequently turned out to be unaffordable, with the result that relocated households move back into slum accommodation… Relocation or involuntary resettlement of slum dwellers should, as far as possible, be avoided, except in cases where slums are located on physically hazardous or polluted land, or where densities are so high that new infrastructure (especially water and sanitation) cannot be installed. In-situ slum upgrading should therefore be the norm, with justifiable involuntary or voluntary resettlement being the exception"* (UN, 2003, p.23).

This then makes it clear that the UN, in creating its provisions for Target 11, highlights that forced evictions should never be seen as an opportunity to merely lower slum figure numbers and that this should only be done when the land itself is a threat to the slum dwellers health. Even then, a long term solution should be found for the evicted slum population. If more governments continue to use the practice of forced evictions, which have also taken place in the slums of Kibera in Nairobi and Dharavi in Mumbai, then this is undermining the whole slum upgrading facility of the UN that has been inititated to alleviate the suffering of the slum dwellers as well as other actions undertaken to help the slum population.

6.2 Criticism of the MDG's and other actors

In addition to general issues that must be addressed if any improvement is to be made in curbing the amount of slum dwellers, there are also other issues that need to be looked at. First of all, the MDG's themselves. Since their inception in 2001, the MDG's have had their fair share of supporters but also many critics. Some have stated that they were too idealistic, too unrealistic, for some too narrow, for others not far reaching enough. All in all even though they were created with the best intentions in mind it seems many people still feel that the goals are not being calculated properly, and that there are specific issues with each one.

Also, the sheer fact that these MDG's on the whole are not binding, but merely an ideal, has come against some opposition and it is felt by many that concrete sanctions should be imposed on those countries that misinterpret or neglect their responsibility in achieving the goals.

However out of all of the Target's set out during the declaration of the MDG's, it has now become quite clear to the international community that Target 11 is most probably the most troublesome and unlikely to succeed. The strange thing is that examining the data from the proceeding decade alone regarding the growth of slums which was growing and even accelerating per year, surely it may have been better to create a more realistic, achievable goal because as it stands this target will fail.

Additionally many feel that they manner in which Target 11 was highlighted to improve the lives of 100 million slum dwellers has been brought into question. This only highlights helping a relatively small section of an ever increasing slum population and an approach that specifically looked to combat the real causes of slum formation to be addressed in place of using an improvement in the lives of 100 million to mask an even greater problem. Many feel it was such criticism from especially the NGO community that also caused UN Habitat to change the factor by which progress was measured from originally being: 'the proportion of households with access to secure tenure' to 'the proportion of urban population living in slums' on the 15th of October 2008. This clearly focuses more on the specific issues that need to be raised and covers more issues that slum dwellers face beyond merely security of tenure, something that should have been realised during the creation of Target 11.

Even UN Habitat has been realistic in noting in the State of the Worlds Cities Report in 2007, that currently even if the world's governments were able to improve the lives of 100 million slum dwellers by 2020, this would still mean that the promise of the 'Cities Without Slums' as outlined in the Millennium Declaration would never be met (United Nations, 2006, p.34).

In addition to the criticism levelled at the MDG's, other actors have been criticised for their roles, namely the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Many critics feel that imposing the World Bank and IMF prescriptions upon the MDG's was a mistake. The IMF and World Bank had since the mid 1970's, started mass lending to various nations in the developing world however in doing so they imposed many conditionalities and structural adjustments which in effect did not always help the nations in the long run, but only

burdened them with more debt and less room to make their own choices. Mike Davis in his book City of Slums goes as far to say: "*Everywhere the IMF and the World Bank - acting as bailiffs for the big banks and backed by the Reagan and George H.W. Bush administrations - offered poor countries the same poisoned chalice of devaluation, privatization, removal of import controls and food subsidies, enforced cost recovery in health and education, and ruthless downsizing of the public sector*" (Davis, 2006, p.153). Such a system only further hampered equal and harmonious economic growth in countries that suffered from high levels of corruption, unstable governance and great inequality. In many cases, it effectively created further inequalities which in turn are a factor in the growth of today's mega slums in the developing world.

7. Conclusions

In conclusion, what is the outlook for Target 11 of the Millennium Development Goals? I shall now answer my main central question and the subsequent sub questions.

Firstly, will the growth of urban slums result in Millennium Development Goal 7, Target 11 not being achieved by 2020? I think that from the information provided by the UN itself, we can regrettably admit that it is highly unlikely that Target 11 will be met. On a worldwide scale, if the current trend commencing in 2001 continues up until 2020, the slum population will have increased from 912.91 million in 2001 to 1.39 billion in 2020. UN projections state that in order for the lives of 100 million slums dwellers to improve the total amount could not surpass 1.29 billion so the Target is precited to fail by 100 million (United Nations, 2006, p.190). Apart from the disappointment of not being to live up to the promise made in 2001, the international community should be shocked and appalled at the negligence and mismanagement that is occurring globally and resulting in sustained growth of urban slums with little sign of slowing.

To answer one of my sub questions, how did we reach this stage? As mentioned before urbanisation and slum formation has existed for an extended period of time. It is a phenomenon that has its roots in the eighteenth and nineteenth century when the industrial evolution accelerated the shift of the world being made up of mostly rural communities to the urban civilisation we live in today. Industrialisation, urbanisation and prosperity have gone hand in hand since then however so have extortion, inequality and suffering of the masses.

By 2001 the international community realised that the current trend of urbanisation, now so rampant in large developing countries which were predominantly poor, could not continue and therefore declared the Millennium Declaration and subsequently the Millennium Development Goals to help improve the lives of all citizens. Even so, we have seen that in the developing world the growth of slums is growing and out of control. The worst hit regions are by far Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. The Slums of Kibera in Nairobi, Dharavi in Mumbai, Tondo in Manila and Agejunle in Lagos are a stark reminder of how the cities of the twenty-first century in the developing world will become if strong action is not taken immediately. The growth of such slums as I have discovered brings with it great issues of security, the destruction of the natural environment and how increasingly precarious this destruction makes the lives of the slum dwellers and the ever increasing employment problem which the

slum youth of tomorrow are facing, in turn means that the hope for a brighter future for the slum population becomes more bleak each year. Alternative forms of employment, more specifically in the informal sector are very important and this should be included in future initiatives undertaken by the local and international community.

Much since then has been said of how the MDG's never went far enough, weren't strict enough and how they were always bound to fail, but questions have to be asked why especially MDG 7 and Target 11 have failed so badly. Who is to blame for the failure of Target 11? The UN, the World Bank, the IMF, local governments? The answer is that it has been a collective failure. I personally believe the most significant failure has been the fact that the Millennium Development Goals, as with many programmes initiated by the UN, simply do not go far enough in forcing and demand action to be taken to achieve the agreed goals. Local governments should be forced into fully supporting and implementing programmes such as those undertaken by the Slum Upgrading Facility which seeks solutions with the local community and is proven to work better than merely a top-down approach. Additionally, local governments should not shy away and ignore the existing problem but look to improve the current situation with the existing slum dwellers and to find ways to quell the mass rural to urban migration that is occurring and is a major factor in the growth of slums.

The challenges ahead are great and vary from the need for more affordable housing, much improved security of tenure, slowing down the migration of rural poor to urban areas and also an end to forced evictions which are merely exacerbating the problems of the slum dwellers and increasing the overall numbers.

However one of the most important conclusions we can come to is the fact that the whole problem needs to be addressed from a different angle. Even if miraculously Target 11 ever is to be met and the lives of 100 million slum dwellers are improved, this would only mean an improvement for the lives in 11% of all slum dwellers worldwide. It hardly improves the overall situation and makes a mockery of the UN's aim to achieve 'Cities without Slums' as mentioned during the signing of the Millennium Declaration in 2001. Extensive planning ahead and interaction between local governments in the developing world and international bodies that can provide the means to support it are of utmost importance. Urbanisation has become an inevitable progression in our society and it is something that needs to be accepted and dealt with.

MDG 7 and Target 11 were created with the best intentions however it has become clear that the scope is too narrow as attention was made to only fixing a small part of the problem, paving over the cracks it could be said, whilst the international community should have been focusing on the bigger picture and concentrating on creating a whole new structure to deal with increased levels of urbanisation. It is something that must happen if we are to avoid the cities of the twenty first century becoming cities of slums.

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