

## URBANIZATION OF POVERTY AND INSECURITY OF THE URBAN POOR

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### Abstract

Urbanization has been a necessary condition for development. However, rapid urbanization in developing countries has often been shifting poverty to cities. Urbanization of poverty is a complex process, which includes various interactions between poverty and growth of urban population. It also creates many important qualitative changes resulting from different nature of rural and urban lifestyles and livelihood strategies. “Modern” poverty is a process of increased dynamics, typically with a high susceptibility to risks. The urban poor may have more opportunities (to find a job, for example) but often at the expense of harsh real-life conditions and within an increasingly insecure environment.

**Key words:** urbanization, urban poverty, developing countries, review.

### INTRODUCTION

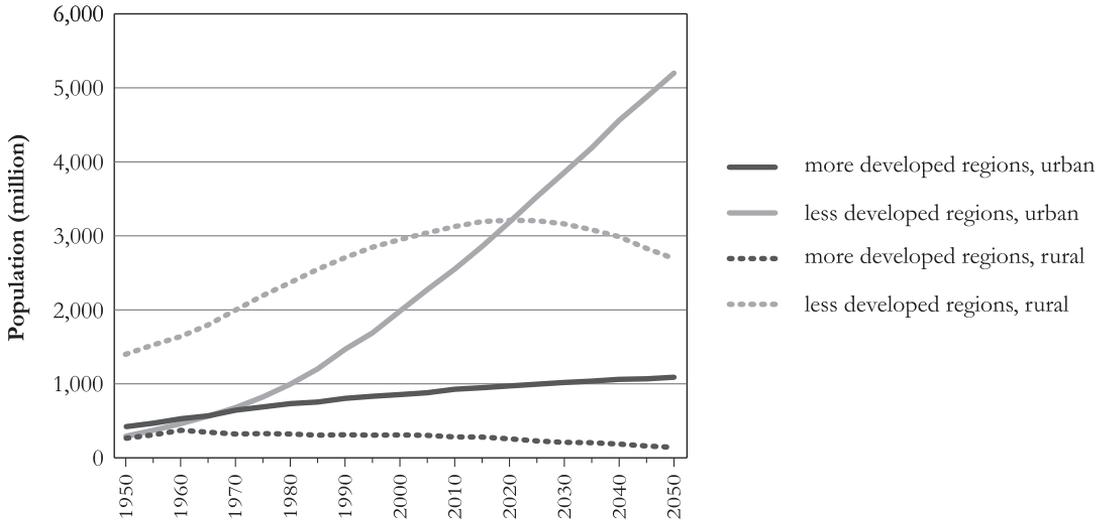
Increasingly, the world is becoming urban. In 1900, only 13% of world population lived in urban areas. The proportion had risen to 29% in 1950. The level of world urbanization crossed the 50 per cent mark in 2009. It is estimated that 60% of all people will live in cities by 2030. Moreover, most of the urban population increase is expected to take place in cities in developing countries. On the other hand, major parts of the world continue to be basically rural. In Africa and Asia, still 60% of population lives in rural areas. However, the total number of rural inhabitants is projected to decline in about a decade (see Figure 1).

Actually, absolute majority of the expected growth in the world population will emerge in the urban areas of developing countries. Nearly half of the increase is expected in small urban cities (less than 500,000 inhabitants). The highest growth rates take place in megacities Dhaka, Lagos, Delhi, Karachi, Mumbai and São Paulo. Since 2009, majority of European and North American megacities experience a rise less than 0.5% (UNDP 2010).

Natural population growth, migration, government policies, infrastructure development, and other major political and economical forces, including globalisation, are the most important factors for growth of urban population. Nevertheless, urban increase is a combination of behaviour of different agents in different cities. Each city is formed by unique urban dynamics and circumstances (Alirol et al. 2011; Dye 2008; Pacione 2001; Satterthwaite 2008; UN-HABITAT 2010).

Accordingly, the nature of poverty as well as the views on poverty<sup>1</sup> in developing countries is shifting. The traditional belief that poverty is predominantly a rural phenomenon does not fully reflect ongoing changes. The rapid urbanization of the developing world is gradually moving an increasing part of the poverty into cities and their outskirts. The image of cities as socioeconomic centres of modernization and

<sup>1</sup> The conceptualization of poverty used here is closer to its conventional economic definition on the basis of available economic and social indicators. However, it does not deny the relevance of alternative conceptualizations (e.g. by anthropologists) that consider poverty as a highly locally specific phenomenon and that additionally employ non-material deprivation and inequality (Laderchi et al. 2003; Sen 1999; Wratten 1995).



**Figure 1** Evolution of urban and rural populations between 1950 and 2050.

Source: UNDP, 2010.

prosperity has disappeared in many places by virtue of rapid growth of slum areas. Neither the average nor the country-wide statistical indicators uncover these trends because they hardly reflect growing gaps among people and social groups within cities.

The main goal of this overview paper is to characterize the problem of “urbanization of poverty”. By this term it is not meant only the process of migration of poor people from rural to urban areas. It is used in a more general way to express the increasing importance of the urban segment of poverty associated with various forms of urban-type insecurities. It is shown that the ongoing processes of urbanization of poverty in developing countries challenge the traditional dualistic modernization views on development in which urban poverty is considered as merely a transient phenomenon that will vanish with the progressive rural-urban and traditional-modern transformations. At the same time, however, it is argued that rural and urban poverty are still to be regarded as the two sides of the same coin and that this should also be kept in mind with respect to the poverty reduction strategies.

As such, the article employs conventional modernization assumptions about urbanization and, more generally, development process as a theoretical

framework. However, these conventional views on the role of urbanization in development are confronted and questioned by characterizing more complex reality of “urbanization of poverty.”

The article is organized as follows. Firstly, the traditional views on cities as engines of growth are briefly introduced and main theoretical approaches are reviewed. Secondly, specific aspects of urban poverty such as its monetised economy, employment, shelter insecurity, urban agriculture, community, and environment are discussed. It is focused also on rural urban linkages. Finally, the paper concludes with the reference to diverse images of today’s cities in developing countries.

### **CITIES AS THE ENGINE OF GROWTH AND THE IDEA OF DUALISM**

Cities have traditionally been seen as places of development, pinnacles of growth or growth poles, areas of concentrated prosperity. Similarly at the individual level, cities have been viewed as places of dynamism, concentrated opportunities for upward mobility. Poverty has been, on the other hand, conventionally associated with rural areas. The rural areas have been conceived as stagnant, unproductive, and predominantly agricultural; with limited sources of

alternative livelihoods. Other conventional characteristics of “rural underdevelopment” include infrastructure shortage, a lack of quality services, such as limited access to health care, a low level of education, or a lack of access to electricity (Alirol et al. 2011; Baker 2003; Dye 2008; Potter 2008).

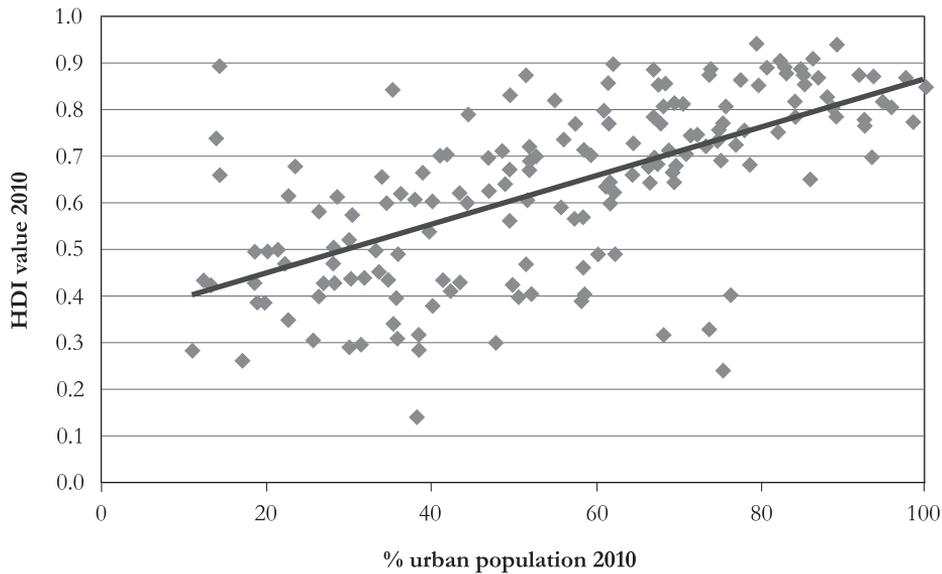
A classical and highly influential example of such a dualistic view is the Lewis’s (1954) dual-sector model of economic development. In this model economic development is described as industrialization dependent on a labour transfer from traditional to modern sector. A surplus of cheap and low-productive labour in developing countries is transferred by migration from traditional (mostly rural) subsistence sector to (mostly urban) productive capitalist sector. In the dualistic framework, it is the “unlimited supply of cheap labour” what ensures that capital accumulation in the modern segment of the economy can be sustained to the point when the marginal wages between modern and subsistence sector equalize and disparities would no longer increase.

There are several other well-known modernization concepts that have explicitly or implicitly adopted the idea of dualism together with the expectation of the spatially unbalanced path of development transformation. They focus on a diverse range of different underlying factors and mechanisms (e.g. Hirschman 1958; Myrdal 1957; Friedmann 1966). From these, probably the Friedmann’s (1966) theory of polarized development provides the most spatially explicit account describing modernization as a temporal-spatial process of gradual diffusion of development along the hierarchy of the settlement centres. Friedmann (1966) proposed the four-stage “core-periphery model” in which the core is conceived as a place, where production of innovation is outstanding and where most of the control functions are concentrated. In spatial terms, the first pre-industrial stage is portrayed as series of isolated non-hierarchically organized self-sufficient local economies. Transitional stage is characterised by the formation of a single strong urban centre and of fragile core-periphery relationship. In the third stage several stronger sub-centres emerge around the main centre and in the final stage a hierarchically organized and functionally integrated system appears.

While the first two stages of the model illustrate the situation in most of developing countries (and in countries with colonial history in particular), the transition from the second to the third stage is viewed as fundamental for the eventual convergence of regional incomes and welfare differentials. However, it is now increasingly acknowledged that such a transition and convergence have rarely occurred in a majority of developing countries. It is pointed out that trickle down effects have not been strong enough. Therefore, often only urban elites are able to take advantage of the process at the expense of the poor (Beall and Fox 2009; Drakakis-Smith 1996; Jones and Corbridge 2010; Potter 2008).

However, in congruence with the expectations of modernization theories and in reaction to critiques of these approaches from radical post-development stances, Thomas (2000:21) noted that “to date there are no examples of large scale improvements in living standards without industrialization and the huge dislocations it brings.” At the same time, industrialization and modernization are often equalized with urbanization (Pieterse 2010). For modernization theorists, urbanization was understood primarily as a by product of economic development (Beall and Fox 2009). Indeed, at the nation-wide level, the level of urbanization is significantly correlated with both economic development (UN-HABITAT 2010) and human development indicators (UN-HABITAT 2006). Empirical evidence clearly demonstrates that as a country becomes more urban, its per capita income also tends to rise (UN-HABITAT 2010; see Figure 2). Countries that are highly urbanized have more stable economies, stronger institutions and are better able to withstand the volatility of the global economy than those with less urbanized populations.

Another approach that stresses an essential importance of urban areas for development is so called “new economic geography” that has recently attracted attention among economists dealing with spatial issues (Krugman 1998; Krugman 2004). In general, it focuses on the role of agglomeration economies and other clustering forces that determine the urban advantage and explain spatially uneven development. It is argued that people as well as



**Figure 2** Level of Urbanization and Human Development Index.

Source: UNDP, 2010.

companies profit from dense networks and linkages. Efficiency of cities is associated with clustering activity, face to face contacts and simple buzz (Venables 2005). As such, the new economic geography accords with the dualistic views of the older modernization theories of economic development. However, it has been criticized for its mechanistic application on development issues. A notable example of such an application is the World Development Report 2009 with a title *Reshaping Economic Geography* which has been found as an unfortunate and myopic “celebration of the theoretical concept of agglomeration and its influence in creating population aggregations in urban settlements.” (Bryceson et al. 2009:723; see also Harvey 2009; Novotný 2010; Rigg et al. 2009; Scott 2009).

Modernisation theories are condemned for false assumption that modernization is uniform and linear process, i.e. for their insensitivity to considerable geographical and historical diversity of real world (Potter 2008; Stohr 1981; Sutcliffe 1999; Tucker 1999). This view is in conflict with deeper and more complex understanding of development because of ignorance of political, social and environmental issues. Modernisation theories focus mostly only on economic

and nation-wide dimension of development. Next dispute is about Eurocentrism – most of the modernization and urbanization theories draw on the historical evidence from Western world (Bryceson et al. 2009; Harvey 2009; Munck 1999; Pieterse 2010; Robinson 2002; Tucker 1999). Predominant focus on exogenous forces and top-down approach are also heavily criticised. It is argued that economic development has been achieved without development but with increasing poverty (Hettne 1995).

### NATURE OF URBAN POVERTY

On the one hand, cities are traditionally seen as growth poles, while on the other hand, a substantial body of literature argues that many problems of cities in developing world have been ignored. It is suggested that the locus of poverty is moving from rural to urban areas (Jones and Corbridge 2010; Bryceson et al. 2009; Dye 2008; Haddad et al. 1999).

According to Ravallion et al. (2007), 75% of the poor live in rural areas in the developing world, but the growth of the urban poor is faster than the overall population growth. Although the number of rural people below the poverty line (1 USD per day)

dropped by 148 million between 1993 and 2002, their number in cities increased by 50 million over the same period.

Existing quantitative estimates of urban poor might underestimate the extent of the problem. Not only that there is a lack of sufficient data on the urban poor, but a huge within-urban disparities cover the real image of urban poverty (Mitlin 2004; Satterthwaite 2008). When disaggregating the data at the rural, urban, slum and non-slum levels, it becomes apparent that there are remarkable similarities between the levels of living conditions in rural areas and slums with regard to social indicators such as health and education (UN-HABITAT 2010).

Some of the common complications associated with the attempts to assess the extent of urban and rural poverty are as follows (see Baharoglu 2001; Drakakis-Smith 1996; Moser 1998; Chambers 1995; Rakodi 1995; Wratten 1995): It is complicated to account for differences in living costs not only between nations but also between places within the same country. Even the comparison between different-sized cities is difficult – urban conditions defy generalization. Different kinds of cities face different challenges. The average indicators cannot expose real extent of poverty because the rich and the poor live together in cities. Manifestations of poverty are specific to individual locations.

Satterthwaite (2004) also noted the problem with definitions and data measurement of urban poverty. The assessment of urban poverty should address the entitlement of services rather than distance (e.g. to source of drinking water). The problem of average indicators and intra-urban inequality can be illustrated by an example of infant mortality in Kenya. Although infant mortality is twice as high in rural areas compared to cities, the infant mortality for Kenya's urban informal settlements (for example, approximately half of Nairobi's population lives in informal settlements) is much higher than for rural areas (UN-HABITAT 2010). In contrast to the abovementioned optimistic views on the urbanization, Bryceson et al. (2009:731-2)

regards urbanization in developing countries as a “widespread poverty-driven economic-survival strategy”. Urban expansion is also associated with informality, illegality and unplanned settlements.

It is argued that “modern” urban poverty differs from “traditional” rural poverty in many respects. Some of the most notable are briefly mentioned in the following sections.

### **Monetised economy**

One of the key characteristics of urban poverty is dependence on monetised economy. A lack of land precludes subsistence farming and poor dwellers need to purchase as much as 90% of their food. Other natural materials (such as firewood or timber), which can usually be utilized free of charge in rural areas, are not available either (Maxwell 1999). As such, urban people have to buy nearly all their food and the same often holds for their housing expenses, transportation, health care and education. Obviously, these facts might not be an issue if there is enough income and stable employment available. This is, however, often not the case in most of the cities in developing countries (as illustrated below). Ironically, in these cities almost all basic needs are often more expensive per unit for poor than for the non-poor (Drakakis-Smith 1996). Consequently, higher urban income may not offset more expensive food and cash demands.

Urban poor in many places around the world have been also hit hard by the removal of state subsidies during neoliberal reforms. As shown by Bhan (2009), in New Delhi, poor urban dwellers have to buy even basic food from market rather than through state provision. Dramatic decline is registered for items like rice and wheat. A similar tendency is described for Indian health care, education, electricity as well as water production (Bhan 2009; Iyer 2000).

*Food price crises.* The problem of reliance on money and on monetised economy becomes especially sensitive when the prices are volatile and inflation is high. This well illustrates recent urban food prices riots, which took place in many developing countries during 2007 and 2008. By second quarter of

**Table 1** Difficulty of the administrative tasks necessary for starting a business (in the order of the sum of column ranking). Source: Doing Business (2010).

Country	Number of procedures	Time (days)	Costs* (%)
Sierra Leone	8	235	15.6
Guinea-Bissau	9	211	13.2
Bangladesh	8	425	10.5
Nigeria	16	80	21.2
Afghanistan	11	252	9.5
Burkina Faso	8	107	16.2
Congo, Rep.	7	137	27.2
Madagaskar	8	134	11.6
Uzbekistan	12	97	10.5
Uganda	13	227	6.9

Note: \* – per cent of the price of a building used for the business.

2008, world wheat, maize and milk prices were tripled those in early 2003, and rice prices ballooned five-fold. Beef and poultry prices doubled (Cohen and Garrett 2010; UN-HABITAT 2010). Hikes of food prices were followed by demonstrations and violence (Beall and Fox 2009). Affordability of food continues to be a problem for urban poor (Masan et al. 2011). In fact, shops are often supplied well by foodstuff; however, people have not enough money to buy it. The situation is similar to that described some time back by Sen (1982) as a new type of hunger.

The poorest households are most strongly inflicted apart from the country or region. Women-headed households are hit at greater risk than men-headed household due to worse original position and higher spending on food (FAO 2008). Ruel et al. (2010:173) argued that “in Pakistan, the food price crisis resulted in much greater increases in poverty in urban (up to 44.6%) than in rural (up to 32.5%) areas”.

Poor urban households use different coping strategies. Most common strategies are borrowing money, changing diet by buying cheaper food, spending savings on food, omitting meals. Other non-food coping strategies involve migration, sale of possession,

exclusion children from school attendance, selling land, and mendicancy (Cohen and Garrett 2010). The short term effect is malnutrition, however; in longer perspective it results in illiteracy and decline of economic productivity. So, it may mean intergenerational diffusion of poverty (Dessus et al. 2008; Ruel et al. 2010; Wratten 1995).

### Employment

The modernization theories of development typically expect that in the long-run differences eventually disappear with development. Nevertheless, they refer mainly to growth in formal urban economies, assuming a gradual transformation from informal to formal sector. It is in a sharp contrast with reality of most cities in developing world, which are characterised by rising informalisation and flexibilisation of the economy (Breman 2001; Bryceson et al. 2009; Sen 2010; UN-HABITAT 2010; WTO 2009). In Africa, two in three urban residents obtain their livelihoods from the informal economy, which is, at the same time, thought to be growing at an annual rate of 7% (Sommers 2010). The informalisation is also seen as a consequence of neoliberal reforms that caused more insecure job opportunities and working conditions. Many urban workers get their contracts only on daily basis (Kar 2009;

Potter 2008; Sen 2000; WTO 2009). High natural population growth results in a high proportion of young people in the population, leading to even higher unemployment (or underemployment) rate (UN-HABITAT 2010).

Generally, urban poor dwellers tend mostly to have casual, unsecure and low-paying job. Among most common jobs belong street-vending, rickshaw-driving, construction and factory work (Cohen and Garrett 2010). Informal economy also comprises small enterprises, which usually consist of family of the owner and a few paid employees. These enterprises do not deal with licences and administrative formalities. Generally, poor people cannot afford to formalize their business (De Soto 2000). Main obstacles are lengthy and expensive bureaucratic process (see Table 1).

Urban income is also affected by seasonality. Less labour force is used during seasonal slack periods. Rural workers migrate to cities within dry season, hence it is more complicated to find job (Bocquier et al. 2010; Garrett 2004; Macour and Vakis 2010). Compared to rural areas, a relatively higher number of women is employed. Among other things, this can cause difficulties when it comes to raising children. Consequently, there is an increase in the proportion of children aimlessly walking the streets (Haddad et al. 1999; Kantor 2009). Employment outside the house intensifies consumption of ready-made and easy to prepare food. This diet contains more saturated and trans-fats, sugar, salt and less fibre. Subsequently, poor dwellers eat lower quality food with higher risk of chronic disease (Dye 2008; Popkin 1994).

### **Shelter insecurity**

Another major attributes of urban poverty are shelter insecurity and inadequate living conditions (Durand-Lasserve 2009; Harpham 2009; Linn 2010; UN-HABITAT 2010). This may be determined by institutional rather than strictly material shortages. For example, De Soto (2000) argues that the poor often own relatively enough economic assets. However, these assets are considered as “dead capital”, because their houses are constructed on land

without formal property rights and their businesses are not registered. These assets cannot be used in any formal operation and so it cannot be converted into productive capital. Egyptian urban dwellers, who want to register state-owned desert land, must undergo at least 77 bureaucratic procedures at 31 public and private agencies (De Soto 2000). This may take between five and fourteen years. Constructing a legal house on farming land would require six to eleven years of bureaucratic difficulties, if not more. If settlers decided to record unofficial construction retroactively, they would risk having their house demolished and being severely fined and imprisoned for up to ten years.

Urban dwellers without legal tenure are under a permanent threat of eviction. Bhan (2009:127) described that “Between 1990 and 2003, 51,461 houses were demolished in Delhi under slum clearance schemes. Between 2004 and 2007 alone, at least 45,000 homes were demolished. Fewer than 25% of households evicted in this latter time period have received any alternative resettlement sites”. He argued that slum clearance is not only recent phenomenon in Delhi. New is not just a degree but also kind of eviction compared to previous action. The process undertakes higher frequency and intensity, lack of compensation because of struggle for land (urban development projects etc.). Importantly, it is about involvement of the courts rather than the state, the public interests are defined differently, local government inertia, non-sensitivity and passivity of media and public (Bhan 2009).

Roy (2005) called the trend as “aestheticization of poverty”. The image of slum is created as an unwanted place full of poverty, crime and rubbish. It is the way how the poor are represented within the city in context of struggle to gain “world city status” (Robinson 2002).

### **Urban agriculture**

Agriculture is traditionally linked with rural areas. The function of agriculture in development and poverty reduction process is indisputable. Despite limited access to land, urban agriculture play vital role for livelihood. Urban agriculture is a significant

source of food and income; although it is usually a marginal activity and not a major business (Bezemmer et al. 2008; Dubbeling et al. 2011; Redwood 2009). Urban dwellers, women in particular, grow crops and raise livestock. According to existing estimates about 800 million urban residents are engaged in agriculture (Bryld 2003; Zezza 2008). Cohen and Garrett (2010:472) pointed out that up to 40% inhabitants of African cities and 50% of some Latin American cities are urban or peri-urban agriculturalists. Many cities in developing countries have undergone change of open space areas for agricultural production (backyards, around buildings and roofs, riverbanks, wetlands, steep slopes, airport buffers etc.) (Bryld 2003; Redwood 2009).

However, urban agriculture is often illegal and negatively viewed by local governments. It is accused for polluting city area, occupying place for houses, soil erosion and health hazards (due to use of chemical fertilizers and irrigation by wastewater) (Dubbeling et al. 2011; Redwood 2009). Urban agriculturalists are exposed to official crops destruction and risk of thefts.

### Community

Since interactions in society work in limited or distorted ways, some individuals become socially excluded and traditional social networks tend to disintegrate in urban environment (Banks 2008). It frequently results in erosion of cooperation (Garrett 2004; Gutberlet and Hunter 2008; Ndezi 2009). Decline in state subsidies (as described above) has even more weakened poor safety-nets. Disenchantment with obvious differences between rich and poor citizens, which are perceived in a far more immediate way in urban environments, may contribute to increases in violence. However, Caldeira (2000) warned against stereotypes about criminalisation of poor people. He pointed out that poor dwellers are tended to blame for crime. Bartlett (2010) reminded us of the danger of marginalization of poor people, especially young urban dwellers. Sommers (2010:324) noted the irony that “those struggling on the fringes of society are actually a demographic majority, cut off from most of the benefits of the city”. Urban young are frequently

accused of gang formation, which is usually connoted with drug-dealing and illegal activities (Winton 2004). Nevertheless, there is not enough space for social gathering. Young people do not live in big houses and adequate public space is missing as well. It is stressed that young people need to feel as a member of group and socialize (Hardoy et al. 2010; Mabogunje 2007).

### Health and environment

Generally, urbanisation has led to an overall improvement of health. However, in many developing countries, huge socioeconomic disparities cause strong health inequalities, in particular unequal access to health services (Alirol et al. 2010; Harpham 2009; UN-HABITAT 2006). Infectious diseases remain a leading cause of mortality. Poor urban areas are typically affected first due to absence of sewerage systems and problems with a management of solid waste. Furthermore, high-population densities accelerate the spread of diseases (Alirol et al. 2010; Lopez et al. 2006). Education, especially maternal education, is correlated with health condition (Riley et al. 2007; Jalan and Ravallion 2000). Recent studies from India shows that literacy rates are higher in rural areas (80.6%) and other urban areas (94.3%) than in slums (65.3%) (Gupta et al. 2008; Jalan and Ravallion 2000).

Slums are also frequently situated in polluted and risky environments, which results in a higher incidence of disease and injury (Dye 2008; Harpham 2009). Simultaneously, poor urban dwellers are frequently denounced for contamination of environment. They are blamed for spread of diseases and insanitary living conditions. In this context, Bhan (2010) criticized notion to see urban poor as main peril for public health and environment.

### Rural-urban intersection

Nevertheless, urban and rural areas are not two separate worlds. They are part of the same organism. The issues of urban and rural poverty are interconnected. Entrepreneurship in cities depends on rural demand, while access to urban markets is vital for sales of farm production. Within the dynamism of

urbanization, the boundary lines get fuzzy; cities are firmly interconnected with large, densely populated areas, where farming mingles with non-farming enterprise (Racodi 1999). Particularly large areas of this kind can be found in Southeast Asia where they are sometimes referred to as “desakota” regions (see McGee 1991). Consequently, this results in a dynamic clash of urban and rural activities in suburban areas. These are not physical zones on the edges of cities, but rather intersections of urban and rural ways of life. Without relocating, people in suburbs turn into city dwellers and rural people find themselves in suburbia. Livelihoods need to be adapted to specific conditions as they evolve. This results in major problems for the poor and often pushes them into even deeper poverty (Tacoli 2003).

Strong rural-urban linkages are also documented by increasingly important short-term or seasonal mobility between rural and urban areas. This trend of growing circular migration is related to problems with economic adaptations, an absence of safety nets, and often a subordinate position of short-term migrants in urban areas (Beauchemin 2011; Pott 2009).

## CONCLUSION

Cities are necessary condition for development; nonetheless, they are insufficient on their own. Modernisation theories provide the universal blueprint describing a general formula for evolution of urbanization in long term. However, this unifying set of vies is not sensitive enough to certain configuration of local circumstances. Urbanization in developing countries is dynamic and conflict process contextualized by diverse conditions in different cities. In addition, modernisation does not offer relevant implication for solving discussed problems of urban poverty.

High urbanization rates shift an increasingly large proportion of poverty into cities at a pace that overwhelms efforts to fight it. Whereas rural poverty is growing on a modest scale, urban poverty is an increasingly serious problem. Urban poverty poses a greater risk for those whom it affects. Consequently, in many respects poor people in cities are

more vulnerable than poor people in rural areas. Their monetary dependence may lead to a rapid slide below the poverty line, moreover, recent food price crises makes situation even worse. It is true that the urban poor are usually closer to health care, education, and other services, but they are often unable to afford them, so their real situation is not any better. Traditional social networks weaken, and violence and crime increase in cities. The emergence of an informal economic sector causes very insecure income and livelihood opportunities. So, lack of employment become one of major constrains for urban poor. Furthermore, persistent threat of eviction and inadequate living condition exacerbate the problem of urban poverty.

Weak urban policies and unsuitable policy systems even more exacerbate the vulnerability of the urban poor. Corruption, ineffective policies, unsuitable regulations, or, conversely, deregulation lead to various deficiencies. Better governance is needed in order to assist the poor and improve their chances and security.

In any case, the aim of the paper is not to create a flat image of developing cities as dark and disrupting place, which is dirty, full of criminality and lacks entrepreneurialism. Urbanization is a natural and probably an unavoidable process. However, the character of urbanization has to be regulated in a right way in order to limit the urbanization of poverty and encourage “urbanization of development”. It is important to influence size as well as nature of urban poverty (for example, by urban planning and governance, support small enterprises and access to formal job opportunities, secure tenure and property rights, access to credit etc.).

It is fundamental to regard rural and urban areas as a part of one metabolism, therefore, focus also on rural-urban linkages and rural areas respectively. Rural and urban poverty are not mutually exclusive, both needs attention. It is not possible to turn back on urban development, any more not turn back on rural development. Rural development should mobilize a potential of rural areas and facilitate diversification of livelihoods opportunities.

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## Résumé

### Urbanizace chudoby a zranitelnost chudých ve městech

Podle existujících odhadů dochází v současnosti k situaci, kdy poprvé v historii žije ve městech více lidí než na venkově. Předpokládá se, že do roku 2030 bude ve městech žít na pět miliard obyvatel (přibližně 61 % světové populace), zatímco počet obyvatel venkova se ustálí na třech miliardách. Urbanizace ovšem neprobíhá rovnoměrně, počet obyvatel ve městech rozvojových zemí roste pětikrát rychleji než v zemích rozvinutých.

Každý třetí obyvatel měst tohoto světa žije ve slumu. Každý den přitom do slumů přibude 100 tisíc nových obyvatel. Při zachování současné dynamiky se za následujících 25 let populace slumů zdvojnásobí. V rozvojovém světě žije ještě stále 75 % chudých ve venkovských oblastech. Toto číslo se však postupně snižuje, protože počet chudých ve

městech roste rychleji než populace jako celek. Ač bývá jako hlavní příčina chudoby měst často uváděna migrace z venkovských oblastí, existující data ukazují, že stěhování venkovanů do měst netvoří kvantitativně ani polovinu růstu měst. Hlavními důvody jsou přirozený přírůstek městských obyvatel a pohlcování vesnic periferiemi měst (byt' je situace v různých částech světa odlišná). Nicméně mobilita obyvatel se nesnižuje, pouze stále významnější roli hraje cirkulární migrace a sezónní migrace za prací. Města jsou teoriemi často vnímána jako místa rozvoje, centra společenské dynamiky, koncentrace bohatství či alespoň příležitostí k jeho dosažení. Chudoba je naopak klasicky spojována s venkovem – statickým, převážně zemědělským, s nízkou produktivitou práce, omezenými možnostmi alternativního výdělků, či nedostatkem služeb jako je zdravotní péče či přístup ke vzdělání.

S postupující urbanizací se také vyostřuje problém „moderní“ městské chudoby, která se v mnohých ohledech výrazně odlišuje od „tradiční“ venkovské chudoby. Chudí ve městech mají sice více příležitostí (např. získat práci), nicméně tyto šance jsou v reálných podmínkách řady měst rozvojového světa pouze teoretické. Stoupá závislost na penězích, nedostatek půdy neumožňuje tradiční samozásobitelství, chudí si musí kupovat až 90 % potravy. Problém závislosti na penězích byl v poslední letech dále vyostřen prudkým nárůstem cen potravy. Obživu získávají zejména z neoficiálních a často i krátkodobých zdrojů příjmů. Chudí ve městech mají omezené možnosti vlastního zabezpečení, a proto se stávají zranitelnějšími.

Významnou charakteristikou městské chudoby je i nejistota střechy nad hlavou. Pro získání práva na legální výstavbu příbytku je v egyptské Káhiře nutné absolvovat 71 byrokratických procedur u 31 institucí, což může trvat pět až čtrnáct let. Pokud by se obyvatelé rozhodli zaregistrovat neformální obydlí po dokončení výstavby, riskovali by jeho demolici, vysokou pokutu a až desetiletý trest vězení. Kvůli omezenému či deformovanému fungování vztahů ve společnosti dochází k sociálnímu vyloučení jednotlivců a rozpadu tradičních sociálních sítí. Slumy se mnohdy nacházejí v oblastech se znečištěným prostředím, to má za následek zvýšený výskyt chorob.

Město a venkov nejsou dva od sebe oddělené světy, ale součástí jednoho organismu. Otázky městské a venkovské chudoby jsou spolu proto provázané. Městské podnikání závisí i na venkovské poptávce a naopak dostupnost městských trhů je zásadní pro odbyt zemědělských produktů. V dynamice urbanizace dochází ke stírání hranic, vlastní město je pevně spojeno s rozsáhlým hustě osídleným zázemím, kde se kombinuje zemědělská činnost s nezemědělskou. Zvláště rozsáhlá území tohoto typu se nacházejí v jihovýchodní Asii, kde bývají někdy označovány jako tzv. regiony „desakota“. Příměstské oblasti jsou tedy místem dynamického střetu městských a venkovských aktivit. Nejedná se o fyzické zóny na okraji měst, spíše jde o křížení městského a venkovského způsobu života. Bez změny místa bydliště se z obyvatel předměstí stává městské obyvatelstvo a venkované se ocitají na předměstí. Vznikají specifické podmínky, na které je třeba reagovat přizpůsobením živobytí, což může být obtížné zejména pro chudé.

Urbanizační procesy jsou přirozeným a do značné míry i očekávatelným jevem. Nicméně jejich povahu je nutné ovlivňovat správným směrem, aby namísto urbanizace chudoby docházelo k „urbanizaci rozvoje“. Ovlivňovat lze i rozsah a charakter městské chudoby (např. městským plánováním, strategiemi zaměřenými na neformální osídlení a tvorbu pracovních příležitostí, legalizací majetkových práv atd.). Důležitá je i pozornost věnovaná vztahu mezi městem a venkovem a venkovu samotnému.