Employment Creating Urban Public Works Programmes: Outline of a Strategy

by

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INTRODUCTION

The principal concern of this paper is to examine the feasibility of using Public Works Programmes (PWPs) as a strategy for solving the problem of under-utilisation of labour in the urban sector. A number of hypotheses are implicit in this analysis and it would be appropriate to list them here. First, despite fairly large investment in family planning programmes, we do not expect any reduction in the rate of growth of population in most countries of the developing world in the foreseeable future; at any rate, not in the next two to three decades. Second, we do not expect any major structural changes in their economies—changes that would permit the solution of the problem by shifting the surplus labour from the rural to the urban sector. This implies that efforts to solve the problem would have to be made primarily in the rural areas. Third, recent developments in agricultural technology notwithstanding, it does not seem possible that the problem can be solved simply by reordering production relationships in the rural areas. Some investment in short term employment generating programmes seems necessary. Fourth, even when new production relationships in agriculture are supplemented with public works programmes, the problem of enemployment *cannot* be solved. This is because of the spill-over of the unemployed from the rural to the urban areas. Fifth, the urban sector is even less ready to tackle the problem of unemployment than the rural sector. In this sector, reordering of production relationships to accommodate more fully the relatively more abundant factor (labour) is considerably more difficult. Therefore, there is some need for investment in Urban Public Works Programmes (UPWPs). Finally, while it is feasible to use PWPs in the urban sector for solving the problem of unemployment, their effectiveness is limited to a few areas and they can provide benefit to only a few socio-economic groups.

This paper is, therefore, concerned with one aspect of the problem of unemployment and with one strategy for solving it. The problem that is analysed

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here is that of urban employment and the strategy that is considered as providing a possible solution for it is that of Urban Public Works Programme. The reason for limiting the scope of analysis is that, although UPWPs have received the seal of approval of some important international aid giving agencies,[1] it is a strategy about which we know very little. There is, for instance, no agreement as to the meaning of UPWPs. Some people define them as make work programmes of the type undertaken as a part of President Roosevelt's New Deal. Some others see them as labour intensive construction programmes for building infra-structure in the urban areas. For the purpose of this study we have defined the UPWP as a programme undertaken by a government for reaching the people or areas bypassed by existing economic activity. The need of these target groups and areas generally include additional employment opportunities and infra-structure development.

This paper is devided into five sections. The following section deals with an analysis of the phenomenon of rural-urban migration in countries such as Pakistan. A model of migration is developed which helps to identify the type of migrants and the type of urban areas to which they move. This identification should help in the design of UPWPs. The third section deals with the problems of urban unemployment as generated by rural-urban migration. The fourth section analysises the role of UPWPs in solving the problems of urban unemployment. Here we describe the type of activities that can be included in UPWPs along with an indication of the resource requirement for executing these programmes. The fifth section brings together some conclusions that can be derived from this study and can be of help in formulating UPWPs.

II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS OF RURAL URBAN MIGRATION

It is, of course, hazardous to formulate a theory of rural-urban migration that would put all explanatory force on socio-economic variables. But what is perhaps not so hazardous is an attempt to identify some social and economic factors that seem to influence rural-urban migration. This is what we propose to do in this section. The hypotheses presented here do not emphasize so much the quantity of migration (the numbers involved) as its quality (who migrate, why do they migrate and where do they go). While the quantitative aspect of migration is important since it has such a direct bearing on the level of urban unemployment (See Section III below), an understanding of the qualitative side of the phenomenon is crucial for policy formulation. No matter what is the size of an employment generating programme, it is not likely to be very successful if it aims at the wrong people and wrong places.

To identify the right target groups and right target areas for employment programmes we should know something about the aspirations of the migrants. A knowledge of these aspirations would also help to identify the target areas since that is what guides the migrants in the selection of their destination.

(a) Improvement in Economic Situation

One very clear finding that emerges from the studies of contemporary and past migrations is that most migrants move to the urban areas to improve

[1]For instance, the IBRD is proposing to finance a number of urban works programmes. The IBRD President is placing considerable emphasis on these programmes see Robert S. McNamara [15, p. 16].

their economic situation, or to accompany or join their family members who in turn are responding to economic pressures or incentives. In other words, people move to bring about an improvement in what they perceive to be their present economic condition. Here they may respond to two different stimulii. First, their present condition may be worse than what it was in the not too distant past. This intertemporal comparison of personal well-being is generally not influenced by exogeneous factors. In this situation, migration is an attempt to get to the level of well being to which a set of people have become accustomed. The recent large-scale movement of the rural people to the towns and cities in the draught-stricken Indian state of Maharashtara is one example of this type of migration. The poor peasants, no longer able to meet their demand for food at their old money incomes but new prices migrated to the urban areas [20]. Another example of migration produced by worsening conditions is that of the movement of tenants and small landholders from the villages of the Pakistani province of the Punjab after the introduction of high yielding seed varieties. For a variety of reasons these people were unable to make the transition to the new technology that became available in mid, sixties [22 p. 328].

The other type of stimulus produces migrants from all parts of the rural income spectrum. This type of migration has been studied intensively and extensively. It occurs when people perceive that by migrating they can improve their economic condition.

These two income related stimulii produce migrants with different kinds of aspirations. The aspirations of those who are seeking to get back to their historical income levels would be different from those who are trying to bring about a permanent improvement in their earnings. If it is the aim of public policy to help fulfil the expectations of the migrants, the content of the programmes to be adopted in the two cases would be different. For the first type of migrant, public works programmes could be developed that would provide them temporary relief till they can go back to their old vocations or establish themselves in new ones. For the second type of migrants, programmes would have to be of on-going type, aimed at skill and infrastructure development. In other words, the second group of migrants would have to be reached by a UPWP with strong skill and infrastructural development components.

(b) Sojourners vs. New Urbanites[2]

Improvement in personal or family income can be brought about by both temporary and permanent migration. In Latin American countries the great bulk of migrants leave the country-side permanently. In much of Asia and Africa rural-to-urban migration is temporary. This explains the very large differences between the ratios of males to females in the cities of Latin America on the one hand and Asia and Africa on the other.

One of the reasons for this pronounced difference in migrants' behaviour is the nature of the rural society from which they come. Thus the members of tightly structured rural societies may feel a strong obligation to perform prescribed familial roles at different stages of their lives, and expect to reap the rewards of prestige and defference as elders of the family, class, or lineage. However, those living in more fragmented societies bear less clear-cut and more limited

[2]The term is that of Joan Nelson [17].

obligations to family and clan, nor do they look forward to positions of authority, honour, or protection within the rural structure in their maturity and old age [17, p. 31]. These social differences have economic consequences: in the tightly structured rural societies migrants are not likely to lose the right to property left behind in the countryside. In fragmented societies such security is generally not available. The decision to stay in the urban area temporarily or permanently is therefore not taken impulsively by the migrant; on the other hand, it is very much a function of his social and economic environment. Given that, the migrants' aspirations as well as their behaviour in the urban centres is determined by the "planned" length of their stay in the towns and cities. For policy makers, therefore these intensions serve as important guide-posts. Thus, to provide permanent job opportunities and amenities to temporary migrants would be wasteful. It would be frustrating for the permanent migrant to rely on short-term government supported public works programmes. It is therefore important to identify the target group before formulating an employment generating programme.

(c) Cities vs. Towns

While the phenomenon of permanent migration in Latin America and temporary migration in Africa and Asia have been well documented,[3] what has yet to receive attention is the equally significant phenomenon of cities in developing countries attracting more temporary migrants than towns. Some evidence to show that there is such a negative relationship between the size of the urban areas and the length of stay of the migrant is presented in Table I. The data used in this table are from a survey conducted by the author in 15 cities and towns of the Pakistani province of the Punjab.[4] Thus 7.8 per cent of the migrants in the cities had stayed for more than 10 years, while those having stayed on in the towns for the same length of time constituted 23.3 per cent of the migrant population. Since the longer a migrant stays in the urban area, the more likely he is to bring his family with him, we should expect some differences in the male/female ratios if this hypothesis has some validity. That this is the case is indicated by the data of Table II taken from the 1961 Census of Pakistan.

Therefore, even in the societies in which migrants do not generally move to the cities permanently, there seems to be greater incidence of permanent migration to the towns than to the major urban areas. Accordingly, employment generating programmes launched in the towns must have a different emphasis from those launched in the cities.

(d) Direct vs. Stepwise Migration

The hypothesis that rural-to-big-city migration of the African variety and rural to-town-to-city migration of the Asian variety is because of cultural differences does not seem to be quite correct. There is direct migration in Africa because of single-city domination of the urban society. Thus Blantyre accounts for 74 per cent of Malawi's urban pupulation, Nairobi 50 per cent of Kenya's urban pupulation and Dar-es-Salaam 40 per cent of Tanzania's pupulation. However, where there is wider dispersion of urban pupulation—for instance Lagos has only 6 per cent of Nigeria's urban dwellers—stepwise migration is common [24, p. 24]. Most urban Asian societies are multi-polar. For instance, 12 cities in Pakistan

[3]For a summary description of these phenomena see Pamela H. Brigg [1].

[4]For details see Shahid Javed Burki [3].

account for 60 per cent of the urban pupulation [8, Pp. II-116-121] and 113 cities in India have 45 per cent of the country's urbanites [20, p. 22].

In Asia there are not only several very large cities but also a large number of very rapidly growing small cities and towns. A great number of migrants are being attracted by some Asian towns (defined here as urban centres with populations of less than 100,000). In recent years in both India and Pakistan, the town-explosion has been as pronounced as the city-explosion. However, as we shall see in Section IV below, the towns usually have a very narrow economic base. A slight change in taste brought about by the development of a new product or the introduction of a new technology can cause large scale unemployment in the towns. Therefore, the demand for employment generating programmes should not be seen as a demand confined to the large cities. The problem of unemployment is as great (if not greater) in towns as in the cities. But the reason that it is the large cities that attract attention is due mainly to the fact that the problem of urban unemployment is perceived to be a problem of large cities.

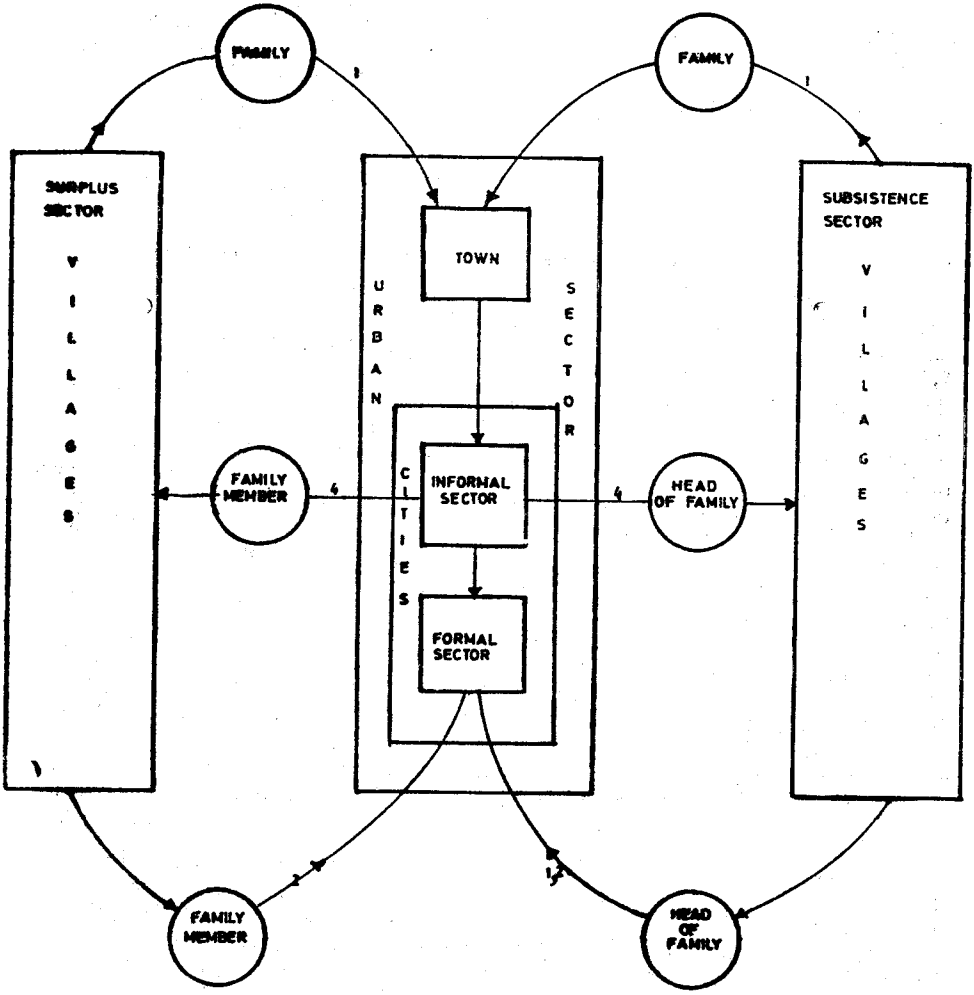
(e) Migrants' Income and Destinations

Migration entails costs in many cases met by the migrant, in some by family and friends, and in others by the state. Therefore, a certain level of family income is necessary before migration can take place. The level of family income is an important variable in determining which member of the family would migrate and where he would go. But the influence of this variable is not independent from those considered above. Lower income familes (in a relative sense), migrating in order to restore their level of income, are more likely to move together to the major urban areas so that there is a good possibility of finding work for as many members of the family as possible. Higher income families, moving for the same reasons seem to prefer migrating to towns where the head of the family can establish himself in some small business. A lower income family, desiring to improve its economic status, is likely to have the head of the family move to the city; whereas the higher income family, in similar circumstances, is more likely to send a member of the family to the city.

The large number of variables and casual relationships discussed above indicates how difficult it is to trace a pattern of rural-urban migration. However, a simplified picture of what usually happens is attempted in Figure 1. We do not imply that no deviations take place from the patterns of migration described in the picture for they do. What we indicate is that if it were possible to attach probability coefficients to these paths, these coefficients would be fairly large. The boxes in the diagram indicate places, circles represent the socio-economic classification attempted in the preceding analysis for migrants and lines indicate the pattern of migration. The box-within-box structure of the urban areas is important for the purpose of this study—it signifies that urban societies in most developing countries should not be treated as being homogenous.

Implicit in the above analysis is an identification of a number of target groups and areas for which UPW programmes would be a feasible employment generating strategy (see below). Also implicit are those groups and areas for which such a strategy would not provide profitable results.

FIGURE 1



1 INCOME MAINTAINING MIGRATION
2 INCOME AUGMENTING MIGRATION
3 STEP WISE MIGRATION
4 BACK MIGRATION

(f) Target Areas and Target Groups for UPW Programmes

Area	Groups
1. Rapidly growing towns	1. Temporary migrants who move to the towns to maintain their incomes.
2. Large towns facing economic decline	2. Workers who face unemployment in the future and therefore need to be rehabilitated.
3. Informal sectors within large cities	3a. Temporary migrants who move to the cities to maintain their incomes.
	3b. Permanent migrants with low levels of skills.

III. DIMENSIONS OF THE URBAN UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

The data available from most developing countries show that the problem of unemployment is much more acute in the urban than in the rural areas. A comparison of the urban and rural rates of unemployment is provided in Table III. With the exception of India, the urban rates are higher than the rural rates in all the countries listed in the table. The data of the table are based on surveys and census results that identify open unemployed as the people are who are not working but are looking for work. There is considerable evidence to show that the bulk of the open unemployment are the "urbanities"—those who have either been born in the urban areas or have been in residence there for a considerable length of time [1]. A large proportion of open unemployment in most developing countries is the result of structural imbalances and is therefore not the result of an overall shortage of productive job opportunities. One such structural imbalance is between skills and expectations on the one side and opportunities on the other which results in unemployment among the young. For instance, in Ceylon in 1969-70, over 90 percent of those under 20 years of age who passed the school-leaving examination and who were seeking work were unemployed [21,p. 102]. In 1973, in Mauritius 95 per cent of those entering the labour force had received at least six years of schooling [7]. TableIV gives some indication of the size of the problem for one large Asian city. The rate of unemployment among all males in Delhi was estimated at 2.2 per cent. However, among males between the age of 15 and 24 years, the rate of unemployment was 8.1 per cent.

While the young males, particularly those with some education constitute an important part of the labour force unemployed in the urban areas, it is not possible to reach this group with the help of UPW Programmes. Their problem calls for the adoption of a different strategy altogether. The strategy adopted for providing jobs to these unemployed is usually resource intensive and is confined to the formal sector of the economy. For instance, it has been estimated that an additional job provided to the semi-literate unempolyed in the formal sector costs about $1500 to the economy. The cost per head for providing jobs to those with an average of ten years of schooling is of the order of $12,000. In addition to this, this type of labour also demands housing, health, education and other facilities. Taking these together, the resource cost of *accommodating* an additional worker in the formal sector is of the order of $2500 to $12,500 per head [25 Pp. 19-24].

Rural-urban migration contributes little to the problem of open unemployment. There is evidence to show that even the educated among the migrants

find their way into some kind of employment, usually in the informal sector of the economy [15]. This does not mean that rural-urban migration does not contribute to the urban employment problem. What is being suggested here is that the problem generated by migration is qualitatively different from the problem of open unemployment among the urbanities. In order to emphasise this difference it would be appropriate to examine briefly the contribution of migration to urban growth and then identify the type of employment problem generated by the migrants.

The very rapid expansion of the urban population in most developing countries is the result of both the very rapid increase in population and a very high rate of rural-urban migration. The fact that it is the influx of migrants that has produced the socalled urban explosion can be appreciated more readily by an examination of the data in Table V. In the eleven cities listed in the Table, only two had migrants constituting less than one half of the total population. In the remaining nine, the proportion of migrants ranged from 50 to 76 per cent.

All the urban areas listed in Table V belong to the large city category of the model presented in Section II. This model identified the migrants to the cities as belonging primarily to the class of people who move either from the villages or from the towns, mostly for the purpose of augmenting their incomes. Those coming in from the subsistence part of the agricultural sector are usually heads of families. Even those migrants who go straight to the cities, their movement takes place in steps—from the village to the informal sector of the city and from the informal to the formal sector of the urban economy. In other words, the problem of unemployment or underemployment, as generated in the cities by rural urban migration, is first felt in the informal sector.

The problem of unemployment or underemployment in the informal sector of large cities closely resembles the problem of underutilization of labour in the agriculture sector. The migrants who move to the informal sector, usually que for jobs in the modern (formal) sector. While so queing, they take up low productivity and hence low income jobs in the informal sector. Therefore, surveys of unemployment conducted in the cities do not usually cover this underutilized section of the urban work-force even though it is these people who are at the bottom of the income distribution scale in the urban areas. A good picture of the state of the informal sector is provided in the report prepared by the recent ILO Mission to Kenya:

> "We identify the main problem as of employment rather than unemployment. By this we mean that in addition to people who are not earning incomes at all, there is another and in Kenya more numerous group of people whom we call the "working poor". These people are working, and possibly working very hard and strenuously, but their employment is not productive in the sense of earning them an income which is upto a modest minimum. Thus an analysis of the problem of low incomes, income distribution and the concept of a minimum income are inherent in our approach to the problem" [10, P. 9].

This phenomenon can be explained in terms of the behaviour of the migrants to the cities. Compared with the urbanites, the new comers are usually more prepared to take low productivity jobs in the informal sector of the urban

economy. Therefore, while the surveys show them as employed, their incomes are considerably lower than those of the natives. Since, as shown in Section II, the bulk of this migration is of the income augmenting type, the fresh comers to the city would keep on pressing for jobs in the formal sector for as long as the return from employment in the informal sector does not approach their expectation before migration. It should, therefore, be the principal concern of public policy to provide precisely such opportunities to the under-employed in the informal sector. This can be done with the help of UPWP's.

While the type of programmes that can be undertaken to alleviate the problem of underutilization of labour in the urban areas are described in the following section, it would be appropriate here to mention the demand on resources that such programmes are likely to make. The recent experience of Indonesia can serve as a good illustration. The Indonesian Kabupaten Programe has provided additional jobs at the cost of $800 per head to the semi-skilled and semi-literate and jobs to the skilled and literate at the cost of $7700 per head [18]. The claim on resources for such a programme is, therefore, between 36 to 47 per cent less than the more conventional approach toward the creation of urban jobs. Moreover, those in the informal sector of the urban areas do not usually make extravagant claims for the provision of services and amenities.

IV. PUBLIC POLICY AND URBAN UNEMPLOYMENT

Urban Public Works Programmes can be expected to make some contribution toward solving the problem of urban unemployment if some of the following conditions exist. First, there is a large reservior of labour with low level of skills and with no opportunity for immediate absorption in the urban economy. Second, there is likelihood that if employment opportunities are not provided, the unemployed labour would move on to some other urban sector. Third, there is some possibility that, because of economic and social changes a large number of workers employed in occupations requiring a low level of skills would find themselves without jobs. Fourth, there is need for economic and social infrastructure that can be created by using known labour intensive technologies.

In the following discussion we will provide illustrations from some developing countries where some of these conditions exist and where urban works programmes can be used as part of an employment generating strategy.

In section III we pointed out that rural-urban migration is a very important contributor to the problem of urban unemployment. One way of helping solve the problem is to reduce the number of migrants entering the large urban centres. There are two ways of doing this. One school of thought holds that this can be done by placing greater emphasis on the *creation of jobs* and improving *amenities* in the countryside [24, p. 22].

The two assumptions implicit in this argument are not necessarily correct. First, investment in agriculture need not lead to the creation of new jobs or improvement in the levels of income for the rural poor. We know enough about the impact of Green Revolution to suggest that agricultural growth produces more jobs, reduces income disparities and leads to a reduction in rural-urban migration. In fact the experience of Pakistan had demonstrated

quite the contrary; that it is not stagnation in the agricultural sector which leads people to go to the towns and cities, but rather economic dynamism [2, 3 and 22, Pp. 321-31].

The other assumption—that migrants to the cities are looking for amenties —is just an extension of the now discredited "bright lights hypothesis." Rural-urban migration is mostly a consequence of rural poverty and seldom the result of a search for amenities. The emphasis on amenities has many times led to wrong investment decisions—building of hospitals, colleges, extravagant shopping centers in the countryside and clearance of slums in towns and cities.

Those who rejected this approach of developing rural areas to reduce the flow of migrants into the cities, sometimes suggest the development of growth centres. It has been argued that developing countries need a large number of small urban centres. According to one view, an important reason why some countries are underdeveloped is because they have too few central places where farmers can sell their farm produce and buy consumer goods needed by them or obtain farm outputs that could greatly increase their total output [11]. The fact that under-developed countries are far behind in developing urban centres has been demonstrated by using town-village ratios. Thus with 564,718 villages and 2,690 towns and cities in 1960, gave India a ratio of 1 to 210; much less than 1 to 16 for Europe or 1 to 2 for the United States [11]. At least *prima facie*, a policy for developing small urban growth centres appears to combine many advantages. It would help to relieve population pressures both in the major cities and the countryside, increase the modernization spin-off which urban centres invariably provide to surrounding rural areas, and provide less conjested and polluted urban living at an infrastructure cost no greater and possibly less than in the main cities [24, p. 24]. In some circumstances this policy would make a great deal of sense; in other circumstances, however, it is likely to be counter-productive. Let us consider some of these cases.

(a) UPW Prgorammes and Rise and Decline of Towns

Economic activities within urban communities may be divided into two classes. To the first category belong the 'base' or 'town building' activities which, according to the theory, are industries which export goods beyond the boundaries of the urban center. The second category is composed of the service or 'town developing' activities which are purely local in nature. They complement the base and react to changes in it. According to this theory, the force of change develops in the base industries, and therefore, for purpose of analysis, these industries are the more significant [6]. But base industries can be created only when there is a demand for their product.

A number of towns in the agriculturally prosperous districts of the Punjab (both the Indian and Pakistani parts of the province) are growing rapidly. They are growing rapidly because of the new demands of the agricultural sector. The scale of economic activity in the villages is just too small to fulfil these demands. On the other hand, most of the major cities are too far removed from the countryside (physically and economically) to serve as adequate service centres for the agriculture sector. Hence the importance of towns in the regions with high rates of agricultural growth.

Daska, located on the border of the agriculturally prosperous districts of Gujranwala and Sialkot is one example of a rapidly growing town in Pakistan. Growing at a rate of 6.0 per cent, it doubled its population in the 1961-1972 inter-censal period. This was also the period during which the agricultural output of the Gujranwala-Sialkot region grew at a rate of nearly six per cent. Daska's growth as a town is largely due to the very quick development of the diesel engine manufacturing, and tubewell and tractor repairing industries.[5] The town now provides these services to the semi-mechanized agriculture of the surrounding country side. The people who migrated to Daska were not looking for amenities or bright lights but for the type of job opportunities that they did not expect to find either in the countryside or in the major cities.

Most small towns, built around a few "base industries" very often run into labour absorption difficulties. Relatively easy absorption of labour in the early stages of their growth soon results in the supply of migrants increasing the demand for them. This produces step-wise migration, with migrants first coming to towns and then going on to the cities. It is at this stage that additional jobs provided by UPW programmes can help to reduce present unemployment in the towns and prevent a further deterioration in the problem of unemployment in the cities. But the content of the UPW programme must be geared to the particular requirement of the town and the migrants that it has attracted. Taking the example of Daska again, an UPW programme for instance by improving communication and storage facilities can help to increase the reach of the town's service sector. In other words, with the help of more and better roads and with the availability of more storage and warehousing facilities, the town can serve more villages in the districts of Gujranwala and Sialkot. In this case the object of the UPW programme would be to provide employment opportunities to those who have been attracted to the town but have low levels of skills (primary employment) as well as to expand the service sector and provide additional employment opportunities to those with some skills and capital (secondary employment).

There is another situation of high unemployment in towns in which UPW programmes would be of little help. Towns decline rapidly in importance when the goods and services they produce are no longer in demand. For instance Iskilip in 1970 a town of 16,000, (306 kilometers northeast of Ankara), is now losing its competitive position in the national market as a producer of leather goods. The reason: "the leather processed in Iskilip became outdated as higher level technologies spread from the Marmara and Agean regions, and consequently the demand for Iskilip products declined"[13]. The affected craftsman had three options: "they could continue practising their craft in the town at low incomes, while retreating into a subsistence gardening supplemented by wage labour; if they had capital, which is unlikely, they could become merchants or shopkeepers; finally they could migrate[13]. In the case of Iskilip a very large number of craftsmen adopted the third alternative, they migrated. Iskilip's experience can be repeated in Daska if, for instance, there is a shift in agricultural technology in the direction of larger tubewells and bigger tractors. If such a shift does occur, it is improbable that Daska's present cottage-type industry would be able to service the agricultural sector. In that case the artisans of Daska would have two options; to restructure their industry to meet new de-

[5]For a detailed discussion of the development of light engineering industry in Daska see[12].

mands in the agricultural sector or to migrate to some urban centres that would have some use for their skills. Like the craftsmen of Iskilip, lack of capital would probably force them to migrate. In this situation what is needed is a programme of rehabilitation aimed at providing the town with a new "base industry." This task can be accomplished by the development of new skills and attraction of new kinds of industries. UPW programmes can only make a marginal input in solving this type of urban unemployment problem.

(ii) Large City Infrastructural Requirements and Urban Public Works Programmes

A 1959 demographic survey of Karachi city indentified the following characteristics about the unemployed. First, 24.0 per cent of the unemployed were migrants. Second, among the unemployed migrants the proportion of those under the age of 34 was considerably higher than among the city natives; 75.5 per cent compared with 50.8 per cent (Table-VI). Third, while 80.7 per cent of the natives without work had over five years of schooling, only 24.3 per cent among the migrant unemployed had this much education. Fourth, 62.5 per cent of the unemployed migrants were looking for work in what we have described above as the informal sector. Against this, 75.3 per cent of the native unemployed were seeking work in the formal sector [9].

The above characteristics seem to suggest that a UPW programme type of activity can be of help to the unemployed migrants while it would not assist the natives. If this is the case, what form should be UPW programme take?

As we saw above, the unemployed migrants are concentrated in the informal sector. Therefore, the UPW programme to provide employment to this group should be confined to this part of the city. In Karachi, the informal sector overlaps with the slum and shanty-town parts of the city. This is also the case with most other major cities of the developing world. Given this, the UPW programme in cities would take the form of public works in slums and shanty-towns.

It is not being suggested here that public works in the city slums should take the form of slum clearance and urban renewal. If they do, they are likely to be counterproductive so far as their objectives are concerned. Instead, they should take the form of developing economic and social infrastructure that can be done on a small-scale basis, using known labour-intensive technology. A few examples would help to illustrate this point.

It is frequently asserted that investment in furnis'ing safe drinking water has very high returns [5, p. 837]. While this may be accepted, it does not imply that cities have to undertake large drinking water supply schemes. For instance, one study has concluded that with a reasonable rainfall regime and availability of cheap labour, rainwater tank collection was an economically feasible technique where per capita demands for water were low (of the order of 5 gallons per head per day). Where rainfall is in-adequate and where some kind of a central water supply system already exists (as in Karachi), it would be economically feasible to cater to incremental demands by redistributing water between waste and consumption. High levels of system wastage have been reported from a number of cities in the developing countries but the use of waste

detection techniques is often neglected by water authorities. To quote from a study on the infrastructure problems of the cities of developing countries:

> "To keep a pipeline distribution system working at a high level of efficiency requires the expenditure of a few scarce resources; little capital is needed and very few imported raw materials. The chief resource required is unskilled labour from the reserves of unemployed workers usually found in urban areas of LDCs" [14, p. 53].

Therefore, there is a known technology that would help to utilize unemployed labour in the cities for creating or adding to the economic and social infrastructure. Some of the projects that would be handled can be located only in the lesser developed parts of the cities. As we have seen, it is these parts that require public works most to generate additional opportunities.

This does not mean that the effectiveness of UPWPs as a problem solving instrument of public policy is contingent upon the development of the type of intermediate technology described above. In many developing countries there is little qualitative difference between the infrastructural requirements of the rural areas and the informal sectors of the large cities. Therefore, the type of labour-intensive projects that can be executed in the countryside can also be undertaken in the shanty-towns around the major cities. Jobs for the new comers to the urban areas can thus be created by undertaking a public sector programme for infrastructural development—building roads and laying pavements; providing sewerage, drainage and drinking water subsystems; constructing schools, dispensaries and community centres.

One important policy implication of this approach is the acceptance of the informal sector as an integral part of the urban community. This runs counter to the thinking in many countries—developed and developing—in which urban development programmes usually take the form of slum clearance. Programmes of slum clearance do not solve the problem of employment and poverty in the urban areas; they merely shift the problem geographically to other parts of the cities. In addition to providing jobs to the underutilized labour in the informal sector, UPWPs can also help to improve the quality of life in this part of the urban society.

V. CONCLUSION

The most important conclusion to be drawn from this analysis is that a strategy for generating employment by the use of Urban Public Works Programme can play only a marginal role. This is for two reasons. First, in most of the developing countries the problem of underutilisation of labour is a problem of the rural areas. It is in this sector of the economy that efforts have to be made to provide additional and productive employment to the labour force. Second, in the urban areas the problem of employment is usually the problem of social and economic groups that can derive little benefit from public sector, labour intensive, employment generating programmes. These groups, therefore, would not accept employment in labour intensive programmes of infrastructural development. Therefore, the UPWP can be effective only in those urban areas which have a fairly large number of unskilled illiterate or semi-literate unemployed. Where such a large concentration of people sharing these characteristics are present, more often that not, they are the spill-over from the

countryside. In these circumstances, the Urban Public Works Programme as an employment generating strategy is an extension of the programmes that are undertaken in the rural areas.

Even within these limits, UPWPs can prove to be very effective. This is for three reasons. First, the nature of urban growth in most developing countries is likely to by-pass a very large number of underutilized labour in the informal sector of the major cities. These people can be reached by UPWPs. Second, the infrastructure requirement of the informal sector of the large cities can be met by labour intensive programmes that place considerably less demand on national resources than the usual capital intensive programme of providing the same kind of amenities. Third, in a large number of small towns scattered all over the country these programmes can help to make this type of urban economy a more effective means of employing labour. This approach calls for the linking of towns with the surrounding countryside with the help of such infrastructure as roads, markets, storage godowns etc. Once again the development of this type of infrastructure can be undertaken with the help of labour intensive UPWPs.

In sum, it should be emphasised that while the Urban Public Works Programme cannot by itself constitute a strategy for generating employment, it can, nevertheless, be an important part of such a strategy.

TABLE I

LENGTH OF STAY OF MIGRANTS

Length of stay	Per cent of migrants in survey
Cities of population with more than 100,000	
0—1 years	19.7
1—2 ,,	17.2
2—3 ,,	14.8
3—4 ,,	14.9
4—5 ,,	8.7
5—6 ,,	7.1
6—7 ,,	4.2
7—8 ,,	3.8
8—9 ,,	0.7
9—10 ,,	1.1
More than 10 years	7.8
Towns with population between 50,000 and 75,000	
0—1 years	2.1
1—2 ,,	3.2
2—3 ,,	5.2
3—4 ,,	4.8
4—5 ,,	9.2
5—6 ,,	10.5
6—7 ,,	6.3
7—8 ,,	4.5
8—9 ,,	8.7
9—10 ,,	13.4
More than 10 years	23.3

Notes: (a) Number of migrants surveyed in cities=1254
(b) Number of migrants surveyed in towns=1378

Source: Shahid Javed Burki [4].

TABLE II

RATIOS OF MALES TO FEMALES ACCORDING TO THE SIZE OF THE URBAN CENTRE IN PAKISTAN

Size	No. of centres	Males per 100 females
More than 1,000,000	2	131.9
Between 100,000 and 1,000,000	17	127.1
Between 50,000 and 100,000	19	123.9

Source: [8]

TABLE III

RATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS

Country	Year	Urban rate %	Rural rate %
Morocco	1960	20.5	5.4
Tanzania	1965	20.5	5.4
Ceylon	1959—60	14.3	10.0
Korea	1968	3.5	1.4
Iran	1956	4.5	1.8
India	1961—62	3.2	3.9
Philippines	1967	13.1	6.9
Jamaica	1960	19.0	12.4
Chile	1968	6.1	2.0
Panama	1967	9.3	2.8

Source: David Turnham [23,p.57]

TABLE IV

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALES ACCORDING TO EMPLOYMENT CATEGORIES DELHI, 1956

Age group	Employed	Unemployed	Houseworkers	Other
0—14	0.9	0.1	0.1	98.9
15—24	48.5	8.1	0.2	33.2
25—54	95.9	1.8	—	2.3
55+	57.9	1.2	0.1	40.8
All	48.6	2.2	0.1	49.1

Source: V.K.R.V. Rao and P.B. Desai [19, Pp. 211-215 and 379-381].

TABLE V

ESTIMATES OF MIGRANTS AS A PERCENTAGE OF RECENT POPULATION INCREASES

City	Period	Total population increase, (000)	Migrants as a percentage of total population increase
Abidjan	1955—63	129	76
Bogota	1956—66	930	33
Bombay	1951—61	1,207	52
Caracas	1950—60	587	54
	1960—66	501	50
Djakarta	1961—68	1,528	59
Istanbul	1950—60	672	68
	1960—65	428	65
Lagos	1952—62	393	75
Nairobi	1961—69	162	50
Sao Paulo	1950—60	2,163	72
	1960—67	2,543	68
Seoul	1955—65	1,697	63
Taipei	1950—60	396	40
	1960—67	326	43

Source: [24, Annex I, Table 4, p. 80].

TABLE VI

AGE COMPOSITION OF UNEMPLOYED NATIVES AND MIGRANTS IN KARACHI, 1959

(Percentages)

Age	Natives	Migrants
Under 15	5.3	5.4
15—19	15.2	20.1
20—24	13.6	21.7
25—34	16.7	28.3
35—44	10.6	6.5
45—54	12.1	7.1
55—64	15.2	8.0
65 and over	11.4	2.7

Source: [9, Pp. 110-112].

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