

programme is a partnership between the Brazilian Government and the World Bank. It has done much to deliver water and sanitation to a growing number of São Paulo's favelas.

In some favelas, help has been made available so residents can get legal rights over their homes and land. This means that they are more secure, and can sell (and buy) property. This stability has also encouraged further investment in favelas. There are also schemes to lend small sums of money to people running businesses in favelas via '**microlending**'. A microcredit scheme was launched in Heliópolis favela by a US non-profit-making organisation and a Brazilian bank working together. Local people with small businesses, such as bakers and grocery store owners, may apply for loans of between \$100 and \$1500 to develop their businesses.

No two favelas are exactly alike. Because of this, any improvement programme has to be tailored to suit the specific conditions in each favela. Hence the variety of actions just described. However, if any project is to succeed, it is vital that there is community approval and participation. A majority of residents (often set as high as 80% of them) must agree to the project for it to be accepted and to work. They also have to agree to pay some of the costs of installing and providing the services. Sadly, for many residents, this last requirement is too much.

As life improves in an increasing number of São Paulo's favelas (Figure 6.22), there is concern that this will merely encourage more newcomers to the city. In the long term, there needs to be other solutions. The best would probably be to improve the quality of life in the rural areas of Brazil, and so reduce the volume of rural-urban migration. São Paulo is seeing new **edge cities** like Berrini and Jardines develop on the city's outer limits. These may help by encouraging rural-urban migrants – and existing residents – to live away from the main city.

This is a very important point, that no two shanty towns are alike. The only thing they have in common is that they have arisen in order to provide poor people with some basic shelter in urban areas.

6.6 Changes at the edges of HIC cities

The areas where the green fields and open spaces of the countryside meet the built-up parts of the towns and cities is known as either the **rural-urban fringe** or the **urban fringe**. Here countryside is being lost by the outward growth of towns and cities, particularly their suburbs. The **greenfield sites** of the open land around the edge of a city are in great demand for housing, industry, shopping, recreation and the needs of the public utilities, such as reservoirs and sewerage works.

One reason for urban growth and change in the rural-urban fringe is a feeling of dissatisfaction with the city (Figure 6.23).

- Housing is old, congested and relatively expensive
- There are various forms of environmental pollution – air quality is poor, and noise levels are high
- Companies find that there is a shortage of land for building new shops, offices and factories. As a consequence, what unused land there is, is costly.

These are all **push factors**. There are also **pull factors** on the urban fringe.

For more information about changes in the urban fringe, see Chapter 5.9 (page 139).

- Land is cheaper so houses are larger.
- Factories can be more spacious and have plenty of room for workers to park their cars.
- Closeness to the main roads and motorways allows for quicker and easier customer contacts.
- New developments on the outskirts are favoured by the personal mobility allowed by the car.

What else is happening around the urban fringe? Besides the appearance of new housing estates, there are significant non-residential developments. We shall focus on four of these.

Retail parks

In HICs there has been a great increase in **out-of-town retailing**, with large purpose-built **superstores** and shopping centres located at or just beyond the urban fringe. The number of superstores has increased dramatically in the UK since 1980. It is easy to understand why. More people own their own cars. The large car parks are free. Access is easy because the shopping centres are located next to main roads and motorway junctions. In contrast, city centre shoppers face traffic congestion and expensive parking. The larger out-of-town centres have shopping malls which are bright and modern with everything under one roof. Other facilities, such as multi-screen cinemas or bowling alleys, are often included within the shopping centre, or are located close by, so that there is something there for all the family.

Often, due to good main roads, the big retailing developments are serving customers drawn from more than one town or city.

Industrial estates

These are areas of modern light and service industries with a planned layout and purpose-built road networks.

Business parks

These are areas created by property developers in order to attract firms needing office accommodation, rather than industrial units. These often include leisure activities such as bowling alleys, ice rinks and cinemas.

Science parks

These are usually located close to a university or research centre with the aim of encouraging and developing high-tech industries and quaternary activities.

An important point about all four developments is that they have been created to serve much wider areas than the town or city in which they are located.

Case study: Southampton

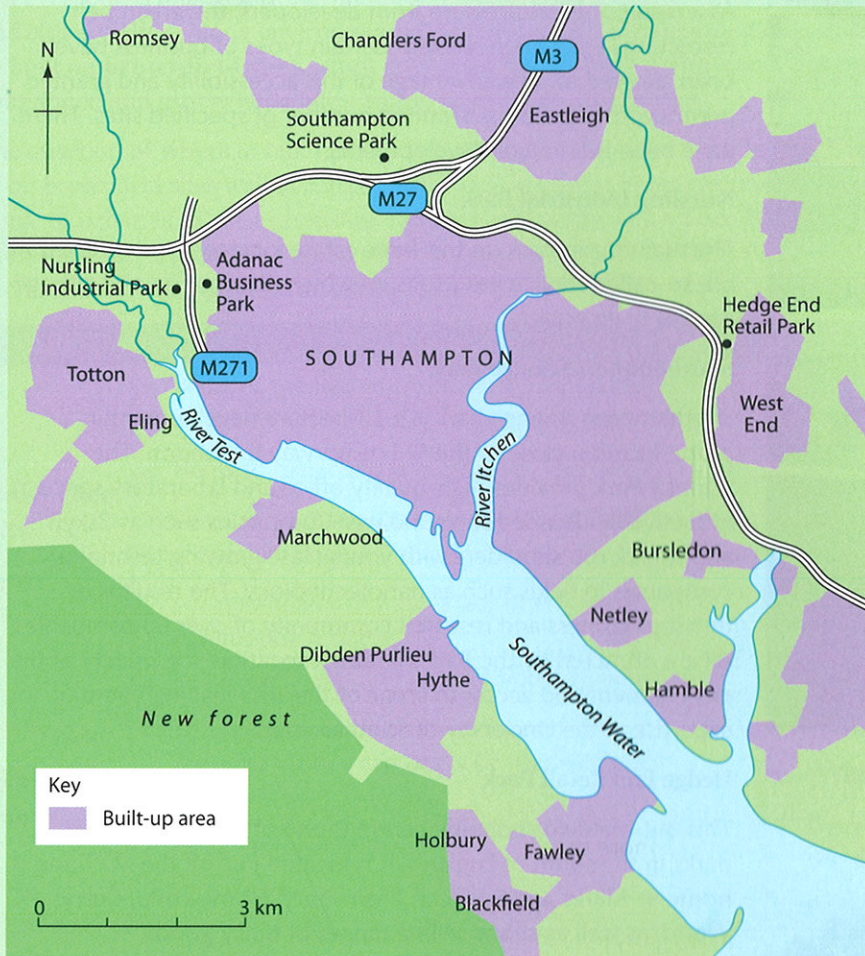


Figure 6.23: The Southampton area

Southampton is a city with a population of just over 200 000. For many centuries, the built up area within was confined to the peninsula between the Itchen and Test estuaries. Since the late 19th century, however, the built-up area has spilled over to the east of the River Itchen. For much of the time since the end of the Second World War in 1945, the growth of the built-up area has been held back by a green belt – a tract of countryside in which urban development was prohibited. In the postwar years, the city's economy prospered, largely due to its port. The economic growth attracted workers and their families to the Southampton area. However, because of the green belt there was no room to build the houses for the incoming workers. Instead, the housing had to be built on the other side of the green belt at Totton, Chandlers Ford, Eastleigh and West End. These places became Southampton's 'detached' suburbs or **commuter dormitories**.

Nursling Industrial Park



The motorways that run through the green belt – parts of the M3, M27 and M271 – mean that there is very good accessibility. As a result of great pressure from developers, the green belt restrictions have been relaxed. Certain types of business have been allowed to take advantage of this accessibility and granted permission to build on a limited number of specified sites. There have been four major developments.

Nursling Industrial Park

The main businesses on this large estate located beside the M271 are so-called service industries, of which distribution and storage are the main ones.

Southampton Science Park



Southampton Science Park

Southampton Science Park is a 17-hectare development in a prime location close to the M3 motorway to London. The Science Park provides high-quality office and laboratory space in attractive landscaped surroundings. Companies such as BskyB and Merck rub shoulders with young, fast-growing technology companies in fields such as nanotechnology. The result is a thriving business and research community of over 60 companies. All are attracted by the Park's strategic location, the quality of the environment and access to some of the UK's leading scientific expertise at the University of Southampton.

Hedge End Retail Park



Hedge End Retail Park

This out-of-town shopping centre is one of the largest retail parks in the south of England. It is located just off the M27 and is home to Marks and Spencer, J Sainsbury, Homeworld, Currys, PC World, as well as stores selling ranges of bulky goods.

Adnac Business Park



Adnac Business Park

This development was only approved in 2008. It is a 74-acre site and its first occupant will be the Ordnance Survey which produces all the maps of the UK. The park is earmarked for major office developments and 'large space' occupiers like the Ordnance Survey.

Imagine that you have been asked to promote one of Southampton's 'parks' described above. What points would you make in your sales pitch?

Figure 6.24: Four developments in Southampton's urban fringe

The greenfield versus brownfield debate

Not everyone is happy with the continued loss of countryside around the towns and cities of HICs. Many environmentalists believe that new developments should be built on **brownfield sites** – that is land within the built-up area that has been abandoned and is now lying idle – rather than on greenfield sites.

The question of where to build (on greenfield sites at the edge of the built-up area or on brownfield sites well inside the built-up area) arises in connection with a range of urban land uses – housing, retailing, industries and offices. With all land uses, there are arguments for and against each type of site. As Table 6.1 shows, each has its advantages and disadvantages.

For more on the use of brownfield sites, see Part 6.8.

Site	Advantages	Disadvantages
Brownfield site	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduces the loss of countryside and land that might be put to agricultural or recreational use • Helps to revive old and disused urban areas • Services, such as water, electricity, gas and sewerage already in place • Located nearer to main areas of employment, so commuting reduced 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Often more expensive because old buildings have to be cleared and land made free of pollution • Often surrounded by rundown areas so does not appeal to more wealthy people as residential locations • Higher levels of pollution; less healthy • May not have good access to modern roads
Greenfield site	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relatively cheap and rates of house building faster • The layout is not hampered by previous development so can easily be made efficient and pleasant • Healthier environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Valuable farm or recreational space lost • Attractive scenery lost • Wildlife and their habitats lost or disturbed • Development causes noise and light pollution in the surrounding countryside • Encourages suburban sprawl

Table 6.1: The advantages and disadvantages of using brownfield and greenfield sites

There is no clear winner in this particular debate. It all depends on:

- the particular land use. Housing is fairly flexible in terms of where it might be built, but shops, offices and industries need more specific locations.
- the circumstances of the particular town or city. Is the green space really valuable? Are there serious problems and high costs involved in reusing the brown space?
- your own set of values. Do you think that the countryside should be protected at all costs or do you think that more should be released for urban growth?