TRIALOG

43

Urban India

Urban India

Impressum

Editorial

Als Territorien mit vergleichsweise hoher Siedlungsdichte und Arbeitsteilung haben Städte, um dauerhaft funktionieren zu können, bestimmte technische Vorkehrungen nötig, um ihre Versorgung mit Lebensmitteln, Wasser, Brennstoffen und für die gewerbliche Produktion notwendigen Rohstoffen zu sichern.

Unter dem Eindruck der in dieser Hinsicht weit fortgeschrittenen Technologie Europas und Nordamerikas sind eigenständige Entwicklungen in Afrika (z.B. in der Sahelzone) oder in Asien weitgehend aufgegeben worden. Im Norden etablierte Standards des Kraftfahrzeugverkehrs haben die Fahrräder, Druckwasserleitungen offene Bewässerungssysteme, zur Verschwendung auffordernde Strom- und Gasnetze die Biomassenfeuerung verdrängt. Als soziale Infrastruktur sind ein hierarchisches Schulsystem von der obligaten Primärschule bis zum Postgraduate-Seminar und ein Gesundheitssystem von der Basisstation bis zur Fachklinik ungefragtes Ideal.

In dieser Perspektive sind städtische Probleme solche unbefriedigte Nachfrage. Daß Infrastruktur auch angeboten, also produziert (und letztlich von den Nutzern auch bezahlt) werden muß, wird nicht immer in Ansatz gebracht. Im Verhältnis zur Infrastruktur ist die Einwohnerschaft einer Stadt sowohl Nutzer, also unmittelbarer Konsument, als auch mittelbarer Konsument als Güterproduzent und schließlich auch selbst Produzent des Gutes Infrastruktur. Sie könnte also für ihre eigenen Bedürfnisse maßgeschneidert produzieren. Naturgemäß geschah und geschieht dies in nicht europäischen Kulturen auf nicht-europäische Weise. Der sogenannte informelle Transportsektor mit Fahrradtaxis und Minibussen ist ein schlagender Beleg dafür. In der Regel wird das aber nicht gesehen und nicht gewürdigt. Keine Frage, daß solche Ansätze in Gefahr sind, in Projekten der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit oder der internationalen Finanzierung plattgewalzt zu werden.

Im vorliegenden Heft stellen wir Aufsätze im wesentlichen aus Indien zusammen, die alle um die Frage von Produktion und Konsum städtischer Infrastruktur kreisen. Zwei Ausblicke auf die ganz andere Landschaft Afrika sollen das Bild etwas relativieren.

Ashish Bose, bekannter Bevölkerungswissenschaftler aus Delhi, fordert neue, angemessenere Indikatoren für eine erfolgreiche städtische Entwicklung: etwa die Schaffung von Arbeitsplätzen, Wohnrecht, Schutz für Frauen und Kinder usw.

Florian Steinberg befaßt sich aus Anlaß des Pestausbruchs in Surat mit dem Infrastrukturprodukt öffentliche Hygiene und dem Starrkrampf der politischen Klasse, die sich unfähig zeigte zur Änderung krankheitsfördernder Lebensbedingungen.

Shovan K. Saha kommt mit einen Ansatz nach dem Konzept des "ecosystem" nahe an eine Diskussion über kollektive Nutzung und kollektive Reproduktion von "Stadt" in Indien heran, führt den Gedanken aber nicht weiter aus (eine weiterführende Fassung des Aufsatzes erreichte uns leider bis zur Drucklegung des Heftes nicht mehr).

Narayani Gupta thematisiert die Verknüpfung von Konsum und Produktion städtischer Lebensqualität. Ihre Schlußfolgerung: Die Bewohner konnten vor der Umwertung von Gebäude und Raum sehr wohl eine sie befriedigende städtische Umwelt produzieren und könnten es auf der Ebene der Quartiers auch heute und in Zukunft.

Veena Garella bestätigt dies in ihrer kenntnisreichen Untersuchung von Delhis Quartiersstruktur. Über dort auftretende Konflikte - Indien ist schließlich eine Klas-

Editorial

In order to be able to function over the long term, cities, as territories with comparatively high densities and divisions of labor, require that certain technical measures be taken in order to assure their supplies of food, water and fuel, as well as the raw materials necessary for their industrial production.

Due to the dominant influence of - in this regard - very advanced technologies of Europe, Japan and North America, independent developments in Africa (e.g., the Sahel) or Asia became marginalized. The urban pattern established in the North became the standard worldwide. Thus, for example motor vehicle transportation forced out bicycle transport, piped water supply replaced open irrigation systems and provocativly wasteful networks of electricity and gas supply superseded biomass fuel.

From this perspective, urban problems can be seen as simply those of unsatisfied demand. That the infrastructure is provided and, therefore, has to be produced (and in the end paid for by the users) is not always a consideration. In relation to infrastructure, the residents of a city, as their users, are direct consumers. They are also indirect consumers as producers of goods and , finally, as themselves producers of the infrastructure. They are, therefore, able to produce infrastructure tailor-made for their own needs. Naturally, this take place in non-European cultures in non-European ways. The so-called informal transport sector with bicycle taxis and minibuses is one striking example. As a rule, however, this is neither seen nor valued. There is no question that such attempts are in danger of being wiped out by foreign aid projects and internationally financed local projects.

In this issue of TRIALOG, we have assembled articles which are essentially from India, and which all revolve around the question of the production and consumption of urban infrastructure. Two views of the completly different landscape of Africa, however, serve to place the perceptions of the issues in a wider perspective.

Ashish Bose, a weel known population expert from Delhi, demands new, more appropriate indicators for successful urban development, which includ aspects such as job creation, housing rights, the protection of women and children, etc.

Florian Steinberg, on the occasion of the outbreak of plague in Surat, is concerned with public hygiene as an infrastructure product and with the rigidity of the political class, which has shown itself to be incapable of improving the unhealthy urban living conditions that promote illness.

Shovan K. Saha, using an approach following the "ecosystem" concept, comes close to discussing the collective use and reproduction of the "city" in India. However, he doesn't elaborate on this thought (His revised and expanded article did not arrive in time for inclusion in this isue).

Narayani Gupta considers the connection between the consumption and production of the urban quality of life. He comes to the conclusion that before the concepts of space and dwellings were revised, the inhabitants were able to produce a very satisfactory urban environment for themselves and that they could do the same at the community level both now and in the future.

Veena Garella supports this view in her knowledgable look at Delhi's community structure. The conflicts which can emerge from this, however, with India such as

Inhalt / List of Contents

sen- oder Kastengesellschaft - wären vertiefte Untersuchungen erforderlich. Sollte es diese geben, so sind sie uns und unseren Autoren anscheinend entgangen.

Mulkh Raj thematisiert den in Indien ebenso wenig beachteten Aspekt der Nutzung städtischer Infrastrukturleistungen für die lokale exportierbare Produktion. Seine Folgerung, effiziente öffentliche Infrastruktur führe automatisch zur Stimulierung der Produktion und zur verbesserten Nutzung von Ressourcen, folgt der in Indien laufenden aktuellen Diskussion über den nötigen Rückzug von Staat und Bürokratie.

David K. Edelman berichtet von der Evaluierung eines umfangreichen Programms, das die Attraktivität von Klein- und Mittelstädten steigern und damit das Wachstum der Metropolen bremsen sollte. Dabei erwies es sich als schwierig, soviel zu verbessern, daß die Migration beeinflußt wird. Als Lerneffekt dieses Programms rückten die bisher als Randbedingungen wahrgenommen lokalen Entscheidungskompetenzen ins Zentrum.

Indiens Stadtkultur, ihre spezifische Art, "Stadt" zu produzieren und zu reproduzieren, hat sich offensichtlich bis heute erhalten. Eine Zeit lang verstand es die Kolonialmacht, das zu ignorieren und auszublenden. Bis heute gibt es keine umfassende Stadtgeschichte Indiens. Die hier versammelten Aufsätze unserer indischen Kollegen zeigen, wie mühsam die Ansätze dafür erarbeitet werden müssen. Das wird zweifellos nicht erleichtert durch den Umstand, daß das dafür zur Verfügung stehende Idiom von uns, d.h. den Planern der europäischen Tradition, stammt.

Die Situation in Afrika zeigt ähnliche Ausblendungen. Wenn **Regina U. Obi** für sich die Landwirtschaft in der Stadt Benin in Nigeria entdeckt, schwingt das Aha-Erlebnis nach dem Ablegen eines Irrglaubens mit. Landwirtschaft ist und war - wie unzählige Reiseberichte belegen - immer ein Bestandteil der afrikanischen Stadt. Auch hier gelang es den subsistenzfeindlichen Kolonialinteressen, solch eigenständige, autonome Konzepte, Stadt zu reproduzieren, aus den Köpfen zu verdrängen.

Kenia wies in der Vergangenheit keine eigenständige Stadtkultur auf. **Peter Herrle** berichtet, wie eine einfache, überzeugende Infrastrukturmaßnahme die zuvor politisch und finanziell paralysierten Strukturen einer Kleinstadt handlungsfähig machen kann und zeigt damit die noch unsichere Anfangsphase der Entstehung kollektiver Entscheidungskompetenz und der Selbstfindung auf kommunaler Ebene.

Nicht nur in diesem Falle wurde dies durch ein Projekt der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit in Gang gebracht. Anstöße von außen sind eben nicht eo ipso verderblich. Es kommt darauf an, daß solche Anstöße von den Stadtbewohnern und ihren Repräsentanten zu etwas Eigenem gemacht werden, als Bestandteil von Entwicklung als aktiv-reflexiver Prozess verstanden werden. Wir würden uns freuen, wenn die Lektüre der folgenden Aufsätze die Diskussion über Eigenständigkeit in der Produktion und Reproduktion von Stadt beleben würde.

class and caste oriented society, require deeper analysis, and until now, such studies seem to us and our authors not to have been undertaken.

Mulkh Raj looks at an equally ignored issue, that of the relationship of the quality of urban infrastructure to the export-oriented local production. His conclusion, that efficient public infrastructure leads automatically to the stimulation of production and the better use of resources, is a subject of current debate in India within the context of reducing the role of the government and the bureaucracy.

David J. Edelman reports on the evaluation of a comprehensive program to increase the attractiveness of small and medium size towns and thereby to stem the growth of urban metropoles in India. It is found, however, to be extremely difficult to improve such towns enough to really influence this migration. One effect of the program, nonetheless, has been the realization of the central importance of the local level in decision-making. Previously, the local role was considered to be marginal.

India's urban culture has apparently retained even now its unique way of producing and reproducing a "city". For a long time, this urban culture was ignored by the colonial power, and as yet no comprehensive urban history of India exists. The articles which have been contributed here by our Indian colleagues, demonstrate how difficult any attempt to compile and elaborate this history must be. That would without doubt not to be made any easier by the fact that the planning idiom they have at their disposal stems from the European tradition.

The situation in Africa has similar elements. When **Regina U. Obi** explains in her article discovering for herself agriculture within the city of Benin in Nigeria, the reader feels a sudden recognition of an obvious fact, such as when one lays aside a long held misconception. The fact is that agriculture is and has always been a component of the African urban experience and was mentioned in many travelogues. It is the legacy of the colonial anti-subsistence attitude which succeeded in driving the concept of autonomeously reproducing a city out of our consciouness.

Kenya exhibited in the past no independent urban culture. **Peter Herrle** reports, how a simple, convincing infrastructure mesasure can lead to the politically and financially paralyzed structures of a small city becoming functional. This experience shows, that creating a collective decision-making structure and gaining self-confidence at the community level are still in an uncertain starting phase.

Community awareness and action, of course, have not only in this case come about through a devlopement assistance project. Outside impulses are not in themselves perishable. Instead, their durability depend on whether or not such impulses have been accepted and made their own by the population and its representativs, and been understood as components of an ongoing process. We would be very happy, if the following articles would stimulate a lively discussion about independence in the production and reproduction of the city.

David J. Edelman, Jürgen Oestereich, Klaus Teschner

From Hibernation to Hope?
India's Urban Sector

Ashish Bose

Will cities in the 21st century be spectators of their own future or will they shape their own destinies? Will the marvels of high tech, electronic mail, fax, videophones and computerized banking make city centres and main streets studded

Looking at the process of urbanisation in India, one is left with a disturbing thought. Is it really urbanisation or is it ruralisation of our cities? Instead of suburbanisation we have the phenomenon of "slumurbanisation". All our cities are

Zusammenfassung

Der Prozess der Verstädterung in Indien läßt sich an den Millionenstädten ablesen, deren Zahl sich allein in den 80er Jahren von 12 auf 23 vermehrt hat, obwohl die Wachstumsraten der meisten großen Städte zurückgegangen sind. Wie am Ballungsraum Delhi demonstriert wird, findet man von Fall zu Fall jedoch große Unterschiede, deren Ursachen noch nicht untersucht sind. Ob bei Wachstumsraten von mehr als 40 Prozent pro Dekade überhaupt noch gesteuert werden kann, kann bezweifelt werden.

Der Autor läßt konventionelle Indikatoren von Lebensqualität (Analphabetenrate, Kindersterblichkeit, Lebenserwartung) beiseite und empfiehlt stattdessen als Maß den Erfüllungsgrad kommunaler Aufgaben: die Schaffung von Arbeitsplätzen, Wohnsicherheit, Gewaltfreiheit und Rechtssicherheit, den Schutz von Frauen und Kindern, die Fähigkeit, Steuern einzuziehen und sie für Infrastruktur, kulturelle Zwecke usw. zu verwenden. Maßnahmen gegen die Verslummung sollten dabei prioritär sein. Die Experten der Nationalen Planungskommission wollen dafür Regelungen des Boden- und Wohnungmarktes abgeschafft und staatliche Eingriffe eingeschränkt haben. Selbst ein so umfassendes Programm der Planungskommission wie das Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns Scheme (s. auch D. Edelmans Beitrag in diesem Heft) hat jedoch bisher wenig zur Lenkung des Städtewachstums beigetragen. So bleiben Fragen wie: Erschwert nicht der Rückzug des Staates die Lenkung des Wachstumes? Wird das Scheitern der Familienplanung Bevölkerungsprognosen und Ressourcenplanungen obsolet machen? Und wäre eine nachholende Infrastrukturversorgung überhaupt finanzierbar?

City	Population in 1991 (in millions)	Growth rate (per cent)	
		1971-81	1981-91
Greater Bombay	12.6	42.9	33.4
Calcutta	10.9	23.9	18.7
Delhi	8.4	57.1	46.2
Madras	5.4	35.3	25.0
Hyderabad	4.3	42.7	67.0
Bangalore	4.1	75.6	39.9
Ahmadabad	3.3	45.9	28.9
Pune	2.5	48.6	47.4
Kanpur	2.1	23.5	28.8
Nagpur	1.7	40.8	36.2
Lucknow	1.6	23.8	63.0
Jaipur	1.5	59.4	49.2
Surat	1.5	87.4	64.2
Kochi	1.1	48.8	38.1
Coimbatore	1.1	25.0	23.4
Vadodara	1.1	67.4	42.5
Indore	1.1	47.9	33.1
Patna	1.1	66.7	19.6
Madurai	1.1	27.6	20.5
Bhopal	1.1	74.4	58.5
Vishakhapatnam	1.1	66.1	74.3
Varanasi	1.0	25.5	28.8
Ludhiana	1.0	51.3	66.8

Table 1: Population and Growth by Decade in Million-Plus Cities of India

with shops and banks an obsolete concept? Will urban poverty occupy a backroom or become a central issue in the cities? Will unemployment, ethnic conflicts, and violence make cities unpleasant habitats?

Dr. Ashish Bose, Professor at the Population Research Centre, Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi University and at the Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health, Jawarhalal Nehru University, New Delhi; Visiting Professor at Harvard and various other universities abroad. Address: I-1777,Chittaranjan Park, New Delhi 110016, India

facing the same fate. All our cities are becoming ungovernable. The population figures give only a glimpse of this perspective.

We present three tables which summarize the demographic situation in regard to our million-plus cities. The reader can choose his own cutt-off point for determining whether or not a city is a mega-city. From Surat down, cities are listed which became million-plus cities after 1981.

Region Subregion	Population in 1991 (in thousands)	Growth rate (per cent) 1971-81	1981-91
Haryana			
Faridabad Complex	614	169,4	85,5
Gurgaon UA	135	76,5	33,5
Rothak MC	216	33,7	29,4
Panipat MC	191	56,8	38,5
Sonipat MC	143	75,3	30,7
Uttar Pradesh			
Ghaziabad UA	520	109,6	80,9
Noida	167	new town	
Meerut UA	847	41,7	49,1
Hapur MB	147	44,3	42,6
Uttar Pradesh			
Alwar UA	211	45,2	44,8

Table 2: Population and Growth by Decade in Selected Towns in the NCR

With the exception of Hyderabad and Lucknow (both state capitals), Vishakhapatnam and Ludhiana, the growth rate has declined. In Surat, Bhopal, Delhi, Jaipur and Pune, the growth rates, although decreasing, remain considerably above 45 %.

Delhi Union Territory (UT) comprises Delhi City and New Delhi and a sprinkling of villages. Interestingly enough, the growth rate of urban Delhi was 46,2% during 1981-91, compared to 108,6% for rural Delhi and the most significant demographic feature of Delhi UT is the relentless growth of population at a very high rate during the last four decades.

This reflects the spillover for urban Delhi. The demographic picture of the major Delhi Metropolitan Area (DMA) in its urban areas (UA), municipal corporations (MC) and municipal boards (MB) is quite confusing and must await detailed analysis until the 1991 census tables are ready.

For over three decades, the planning for the National Capital Region (NCR) has been in hiberation. In 1959, when the Draft Master Plan of Delhi was completed, that town planners thought of diverting the unending migration to Delhi to other cities and towns in the adjoining areas of Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan by creating the NCR. The strategy was to develop a number of ring towns, satellite towns, growth centres and countermagnets which were outside communting distance from Delhi. These towns which would grow independently and not in the shadow of Delhi were Patiala in Punjab, Hissar in Haryana, Bareilly in Uttar Pradesh, Kota in Rajastan and Gwalior in Madhya Pradesh..

The final Master Plan for Delhi (1962), moreover, recommended the setting up of a statutory body called the National Capital Region Board. Strangely enough, it was only in 1985 that the National Capital Region Board Act was passed. During the intervening period nothing much happened. At this stage, politicians did not quite understand the concept of the National Capital Region. For example, the then Chief Minister of Haryana proclained that, "Haryana would not part with an inch of her territory". But perhaps the main reason why the NCR did not take off was the meagre allocation of funds for implementation of the proposed plan of diversifying migration patterns in the region. Now there is a ray of hope. The Planning Commision has provided for Rs 20 million for the NCR in the Eighth Five Year Plan. This is a quantum jump from the present figure of about Rs 3,5 million.

The objectives of the NCR are indeed lofty. The introduction to the NCR Planning Board Act states: "... it is expedient in the public interest to provide ... for coordinating the implementation of such a plan and for evolving harmonized policies for the control of land uses and the development of infrastructure in the National Capital Region so as to avoid haphazard development thereof ...".

The renowned Indian Town Planner, Professor E.F.N. Ribeiro, points out that the collapse of infrastructure is imminent in cities with a growth rate of population of 40 % and over in a decade. Apart from physical infrastructure, there are many other elements which determine the qualitiy of urban life. Leaving apart standard indices such as the literacy rate, the infant mortality rate and life-expectancy (measuring the quality of life), I propose to consider, in the Indian con-

**Indien**

Million-Plus Cities of India

text qualitative indicators for measuring accomplishments in sectors such as the following ones (this is not a comprehensive list):

- Generating employment fast enough to absorb surplus labour from rural areas so that cities play a generative role and not a parasitic role in the process of economic growth.
- Providing for a land market which does not price the poor out and force them to take to unauthorized colonies which are eventually "regularized" under political pressure;
- Enabliing city administrators, police and the legal apparatus to minimize landlord confrontation.
- Providing against robbery (bandh), student unrest, strikes, lockouts, rioting, curfew, brutality (lathi), firing, bomb explosions, attacks by terrorists, etc.;
- Assuring the safety of women.
- Actions against child labour, particularly in the unorganized sector.
- Allowing for affordable house rents, property taxes and other municipal taxes.
- Assuring correct pricing and improved efficiency of public utilities (which tend, at present, to be "public futilities"), in particular, the public transportation system, hospitals banks, post offices, municipal offices, the traffic police and the general behaviour of public servants.
- Accomplishing the decline in road accidents and increase in the care of victims. And
- Promoting a better cultural life as well as more opportunities for sports and youth activities.

Such a list, however, tends to become an exercise in wishful thinking in the face of the stark reality that 30 to 50 per cent of the population of big cities live in slums. For them, the fulfilment of basic needs take precedence over any other aspect of the quality of life.

The stranglehold of urban legislation and in particular, the Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act of 1976 and the Rent Control Act have played havoc with the urban land and housing market. The Rent Control Act has, in fact, led to an extreme housing shortage, avoidable litigation, crime and violence and the absurd phemomenon of a large number of vacant houses in the face of a tremendous demand for housing.

The Central Planning Commission organised a high-powered Expert Group Meeting to discuss the implications of
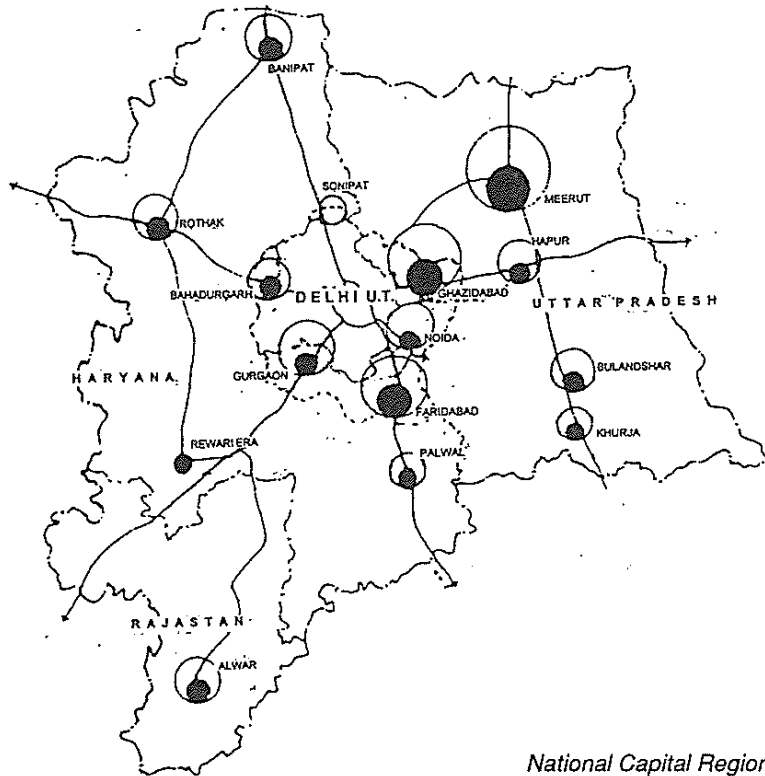
National Capital Region (NCR)

economic reforms in the urban sector. Experts like Dr. Mehta, Director of the National Institute of Urban Affairs, argued in favour of more equity and access to land for the poor. Dr. Mehta proposed a three-point formular:

(1) Creation of a fund from vacant land tax for purchase of land and housing;

(2) Fiscal incentives to private developers for EWS housing, and

(3) the promotion of public-private partnerships such as land sharing, land pooling, guided development, coloniser licensing for land allocations to the poor.

The high rate of transaction cost was mentioned by more than one speaker. In a recent study of towns in Northeast India, it was found that the transaction cost was as high as 39 per cent. This is a result of the over-regulation of the urban sector and, of course, corruption. The urban sector has to be deregulated.

It would be rather surprising that in the new economic environment of liberalisation and structural reforms, the urban sector remains untouched. However, it should be recalled that the National Commission on Urbanisation has done a detailed exercise to generate a balanced spatial distribution of population in India, and it suggested 49 Urbanisation Regions spread throughout the country and 329 GEMs (Generators of Economic Momentum) classified into National

Priority Cities (NPCs) and State Priority Cities (SPCs). Of course, these cities have to be backed up by massive investment in infrastructure. In this respect, one could not bank on the government sector for generating these resources. The private sector and the joint sector have to participate in a big way.

In conclusion, three questions are posed to planners and policy makers in the context of future prospects of urban India:

(1) What will be the impats of the recent liberalisation of economic policies on investment, employment and the migration pattern? Will there not be a tendency towards future concentration of economic activities in the urban areas because international investors may still prefer Delhi to Rewari or Hapur which are unlivable?

(2) In view of the failure of India's family planning programme even in the urban areas and big cities, will the natural increase in population not play a big role in urban growth? Are the demographic projections valid?

(3) Is the recent slowing down of urbanization not indicative of the fact that almost all our cities and towns are beconimg saturated with people, leading to a near collapse of the urban infrastructure? Has the World Bank enough funds to dole out to our cities? What should we do then?

India's Cities after the Plague - what next?

Florian Steinberg

Zusammenfassung

Der jüngste Ausbruch der Pest hat weltweit Aufmerksamkeit auf die indischen Städte und die dortigen hygienischen Zustände gezogen. Vor allem wirtschaftliche Folgen der Seuche, hochgerechnet u.a. aus dem Imageverlust, waren Anlaß, um gezielte Maßnahmen in die Wege zu leiten. Aber selbst in Surat, dem Zentrum des Ausbruchs, scheinen die Behörden wie gelähmt zu sein und sind unfähig, verfügbare Mittel einzusetzen.

Das war anders beim Pestausbruch 1897/98. Damals war dies der Auslöser für eine weitgehende Restrukturierung der kommunalen Ebene. Heute entfachen zwar die Medien eine große öffentliche Diskussion über die Unzulänglichkeit der Entsorgung fester und flüssiger Abfälle und die Umweltverschmutzung allgemein. Dennoch scheinen die Behörden sowohl auf staatlicher als auch auf kommunaler Ebene längst wieder in die alte Lethargie zurückgefallen zu sein.

Wasserstelle, Delhi   Foto: F. Steinberg

The recent plague crisis in India in September/October 1994 has very dramatically thrown light on the precarious sanitary conditions of indian cities and also on the public health situation in general. As the plague-related panic scaled down, the first news about the economic impacts of the plague came in. The losses in export earnings were estimated to have reached US$ 1 billion (i.e., Rs 30.000.000.000), and india's interna-

tional image has been damaged indefinitely. Additionally, the losses in tourism earnings are not yet estimated, but they may reach 40-60 % for this winter season. In addition, it dawned on the public that something must be done to clean up India's cities. In fact, it is now recognized that many cities are sitting on a "volcano of epidemics". Clean up drives were started, in Delhi for instance which has recently been listed as the fourth most polluted city in the world, and the civic authorities worked overtime making efforts to remove the most obvious eyesores of solid, uncollected waste.

However, this "clean up" drive came to a standstill as the plague vanished, and now that all is back to "normal" it can be seen that many open waste dumping spots remain dangerous breeding

grounds for infections. What one would have wished to see after the plague is some susutainability in this cleaning-up and some more substantial changes in both individuals' attitudes towards their own solid waste disposal and in the authorities' attention to doing a proper job of solid waste collection and processing.

Instead, however the irritating news has not stopped. Indians are being warned that "burning garbage in narrow lanes can be lethal" ("pioneer", 14/11/1994) - which is an everyday phenomenon and even a necessity in so many places - or that a new gas accident, in New Delhi this time, was averted, but 300 persons were taken ill and survived only due to the swift action of the health authorities ("pioneer", 14/11/1994).

Dr.-Ing. Florian Steinberg, Member of the Institute of Housing Studies (IHS) Rotterdam, formerly lecturer at the IUIDP Training Project, Jacarta, currently lecturer at the IHSP, Human Settlement Management Institute, New Delhi. Address: IHSP, Human Settlement Management Institute, 212 Asian Games Village, Khelgaon Marg, New Delhi 110049, India

Fortunately for everybody, the plague was contained within three to four weeks as was predicted by the World Health Organization (WHO) and the local authorities. But what is the lesson of the plague experience ? What does the public remember ? Instead of drawing up long-term institutional arragements for cleaning up India's cities, the citizens are confronted with debates about the sources of the plague, whether it is "man-made", i.e., related to the filth of the cities, due to the impact of the Maharashtra earthquake in 1993, or even due to some imaginary intevention of Pakistani saboteurs...

In the case of Surat -where the plague surfaced and reached epidemic dimension- it seems that the plague has been forgotten; the opportunity seems to be lost; and the city is a filthy as before with garbage piling up again. "It is as if the plague never happened." The press reported that for Surat some major sanitation measures were already proposed in a comprehensive urban development plan of Rs 42 million (to be financed by the World Bank), but this plan has not yet gotten off the ground due to other interests of the concerned government officials (see "pioneer", 06/11/1994). although some claim that there is a need for additional, special funds to clean up Surat, others see that the city and its civic authorities have more than suffisant funds. But what matters is to spend these funds on priorities such as water supply, sewerage, solid waste and, of course, improvements in the public health services.

Certainly, there is also a need to rejuvenate the sanitation and solid waste systems in most of India's cities. composing plants need to be built, more garbage collection vehicles should be operationalized (including the reinstruction of those vehicles presently out of order, better solid waste collection systems need to be devised with the participation of the private sector and the citizens need to be briefed and educated in a more environmentally conscious behaviour. They need to learn, in particular, where garbage should be deposited and where not. Equally, the public should realize that it may indeed be desirable to pay for municipal services and to have a better and more healthy leaving environment, instead of waiting for "the big brother" to dish out a free lunch.

If the last main plague in 1897-98 is reconsidered, one can see that it prompted some rather drastic improvements in urban management, such as the imme-diate establishment of the Urban Improvement Trusts and Century India, should it not be possible to initiate similarly urgently required urban management measures ?

It is felt today that most of the economic reform measures aiming at more direct and indirect foreign capital investments will result in failure if the Indian cities are not able to cope with their urban problems. This concern for "urban productivity" relates in particular, to the pressures on the urban environment resulting from industrial and population growth, the low levels of infrastructure services and the very poor level of sanitary and urban health conditions.

Actually, if one considers the dramatic decline in overall sanitary and environmental conditions in India's cities, it is quite remarkable that the incidence of epidemics is not more frequent and more devastating. who will be able to tell that the plague will not resurface in some other ciy, in some other slum ? India's cities abound with slums, wich have been considered for a long time as eyesores, but actually, they are much more health hazards for their unfortu-nate inhabitants and also for the cities as a whole. Slum upgradation has been the remedy in a number of cities, but presently, in most of the States, there are very few slum upgragation projects being executed. Funds earmarked for the environmental improvement of urban slums lie unutilized, and it seems that governments see little mileage in slum upgradation. The actual growth and spread of slums would warrant massive public and private investment in residential infrastructure and in slum upgradation, but the actual investment needs - estimated by the VIIIth Five Year Plan as Rs 200-300 billion- may in actual fact climt to four or five times this requirement.

The recent cover story of "India Today" (31/10/1994) on the breakdown of urban sanitation systems asked, "Can We Clean the Mess ?" There are certainly clear that indifferent municipal performance and the hability of urban local bodies to raise sufficient ressources are the main reasons for the urban crisis and they must adressed in the near future. But how will the general apathy of the numerous officers of public sector agencies and the public be addressed ?
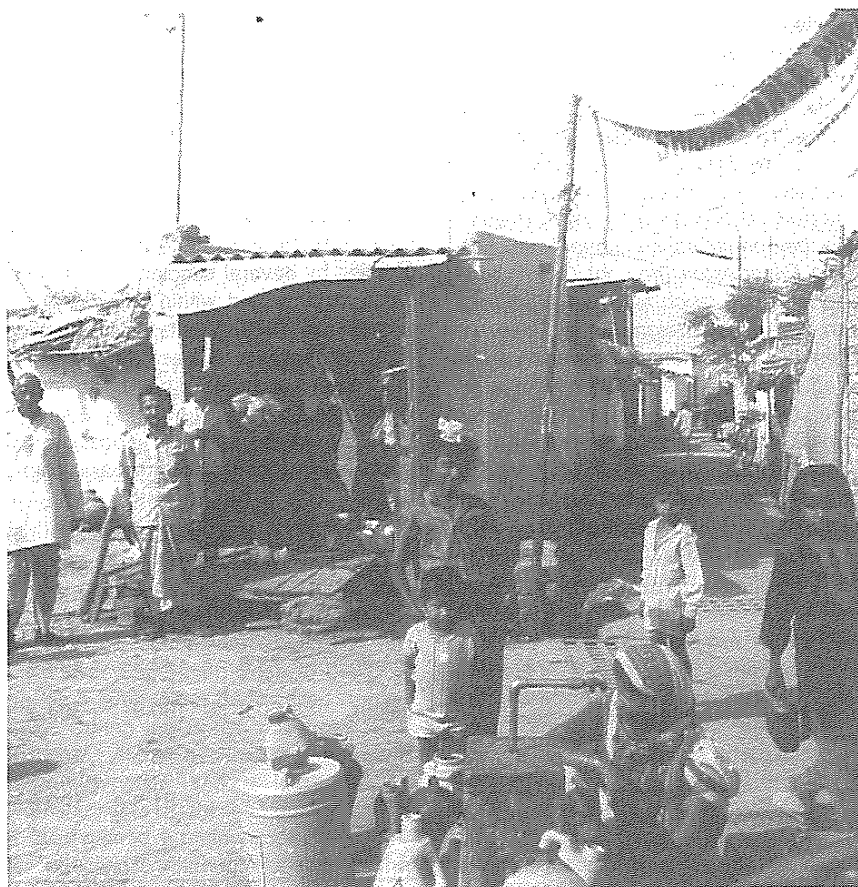
Am Rande von Delhi

Foto: J. Oestereich

Ecosystem of Four Historic Indian Cities
Ajmer, Jaipur, Bhopal and Ujjain

Shovan Saha

Zusammenfassung

Die hier betrachteten vier zentralindi-
schen Städte sind mit zwischen
370.000 und 1,5 Mio. Einwohnern im
indischen Verständnis Mittelstädte.
Sie sind entweder bedeutsam als Pil-
gerstätte, als Messe und Marktort,
wegen ihrer archirektonischen Schät-
ze oder wegen ihrer langen ge-
schichtlichen Tradition , die teils bis in
die vor-Moghul-Zeit zurückreicht. Für
alle vier Städte liegen Stadtentwick-
lungpläne vor, die das geschichtliche
Erbe zu berücksichtigen vorgeben.
Mit ihrer schemahaften Ausweisung
von Gewerbe- und Wohngebieten
stellen diese jedoch eher eine Gefahr
für die historschen Besonderheiten
dar. Der Autor präsentiert einen An-
satz, der auf dem Konzept des "Eco-
system" der Chicagoer Soziologen-
schule basiert. Für Indien identifiziert
er vier wesentliche Komponenten,
nämlich a) Bevölkerung, auch diejeni-
ge bei periodischen Ereignissen wie
den Pilgerfesten etc., b) Ortsverbun-
denheit, d.h. auch religiöse Affinitäten
an bestimmte Ereignisse; c) Ressour-
cenverbrauch, besonders von Wasser
und Boden, wobei deutlich wird, daß
die technischen Implikationen einer
Politik des Ressourcensparens noch
nicht verstanden sind, und schließlich
d) die physische Erscheinung, die
Landschaft und Baugestalt von Monu-
menten oder Siedlungen. Diese vier
Komponenten wirken in einer schwer
abzuschätzbaren, unterschiedlichen
Stärke, da sie auch durch äußere Ein-
griffe (Palastbau, Eisenbahnbau, bu-
desstaatliche Investitionen) - oft
durchaus positiv - bewegt werden..

Dr. Shovan Saha, Fellow of the UNCRD,
Nagoya, currently Assistant Professor at the
School of Planning and Architecture, New
Delhi. Address: School of Planning and
Architecture, Indraprastha Estate, New Delhi
110002, India

Geographically, Ajmer, Jaipur, Bhopal and Ujjain are located in the central region of India that consists of medium to low hill ranges, rivers and generally an undulating land profile (Fig. 1). Due to these locational and topographical factors, this region, and particularly the large settlements therein grew as they were on the long distance routes of traders and warriors and became, over the millenia, the crucibles of a variety of socio-cultural characteristics. Thus, in terms of living environments, each of the cities offered to its citizens an extraordinary atmosphere: an intense combination of significant images, activities and a number of intangible dimensions. So much so, that the contemporary city planning practices seem to be unable to measure up to the task of perceiving their complex character, far less to be able to organize their planned development.

The urban ecosystem approach has been used to understand the dynamics of cities by several scholars at different points of time and within different contexts [Bose 1968; Meier 1974; Stearns et al. 1974; Berry & Kasarda 1977]. In the process,ecosystem has been interpreted quite differently (see Fig. 3 later), there by making it nearly impossible to apply pragmatically. Yet the basic com-
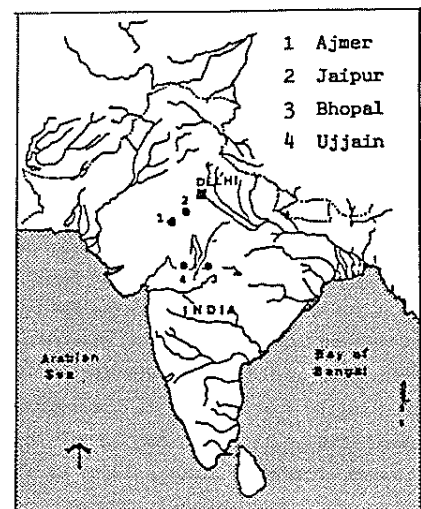
Fig. 1: Location of Ajmer, Jaipur, Bhopal and Ujjain

parability of natural ecosystems and urbane societies seems to be universal.

Two of the four cities under discussion, Jaipur and Bhopal, are currently provincial capitals as well as metropolitan cities with population sizes of 1.51 and 1.06 million persons respectively [Table 1 above]. The other two, Ajmer and Ujjain, though neither capital cities nor metropolises at present, are recorded by historians as great cities known within

Cities	Population in thousands						
	1901	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991
Ajmer	73.8	147.3	196.6	231.2	264.3	375.6	402.0
Jaipur	160.2	180.9	304.4	410.4	636.8	1015.2	1514.0
Bhopal	77.0	75.3	102.3	223.0	385.0	667.0	1064.0
Ujjain	39.8	81.3	129.8	144.1	208.6	282.2	367.0

Source : Govt. of India, Census Reports

Tab.1: Population growth of Ajmer, Jaipur, Bhopal and Ujjaijn in1901 to1991

India and to the outside world long before many of the current metropolises were born [Ray 1964; Majumdar 1985; AK Srivastava 1989]. By 2011 or 2021, both Ajmer and Ujjain may qualify as metro-cities in terms of one million population size. A study of the ecosystems of these historic cities may offer important lessons in identifying some key variables relating quality of life in Indian metropolises. It is with this hope that the current exercise is being undertaken. However, the volume and quality of data needed to fulfill the above mentioned objective empirically are far from being readily available. Thus, the paper depends heavily upon studies, observations and interviews with carefully selected individuals who showed concern for the future of these cities.

Muslim saint, Khwaja Moinuddin Chisiti, arrived in India probably towards the end of the reign of Prithvi Raj (1179-1192). His large number of followers founded the famous Dargah (shrine) of Moinuddin Chisiti and added this new landmark that is unmistakably associated with Ajmer since that time. The number of visitors to Ajmer every year - pilgrims and tourists - has been large enough to call for special arrangements during the Urs mela (fair) which is held annually for eleven days during October-November. The total number of visitors to the fair grew from about 325,000 in 1977 to about 500,000 in 1987. During the peak days (5th and 6th days of the Urs) 50 to 60 thousand persons actually reside in and around the Dargah, temporarily increasing the density of the area

the Taragarh Hills at the northeast end of the Aravalli Ranges (see figure 2).

Currently, Ajmer lies on the important Delhi-Ahmedabad railway and is also the convergence point of one national highway and three state highways. Its importance as a city and trade and commerce centre during the 17th century is reflected by the existence of 'Ajmeri Gates' (gates facing Ajmer) in the Walled cities of Lahore, Delhi, and Agra.

Curiously enough, Ajmer is also one of those cities whose municipal area fluctuates from time to time. In 1901 the municipal area was about 70 sq.kms.; in 1951, it shrunk to 44 sq.kms.; in 1961, it was nearly 6 sq.kms. and in 1971 it was again reduced to about 47 sq.kms. The reason for the reduction of the municipal area is the inability of the municipal government of Ajmer to supply safe drinking water to its citizens. Soon after 1947, due to the influx of refugees to Ajmer, sporadic and haphazard growth took place in all directions. In this way, the area of Ajmer grew from 220 ha. (the fortified area) to 3800 ha. in 1971.

The Master Plan for Ajmer 1971-91 was published in August 1976. This document stated:

- A Master Plan is a "long ranged comprehensive general plan" [MPAJ 71,p13];
- "Ajmer should Develop as a Major Commercial and Transportation Centre of Rajasthan. ... The importance of Ajmer as an Historic and Pilgrims' Centre of Rajasthan shall of course remain. Development Plan shall take cognizance of this fact and make provision for enhancing facilities and tourists' amenities."

According to the clarifications indicated above in the MPAJ-71. the number of workers in industries was proposed to be increased by about three times from 1961 to 1991. Similarly workers engaged in trade and commerce were proposed to be increased by almost four times during the same period. Correspondingly the land to be used for industries and commercial activities was proposed to be increased by over five times and nearly three times respectively. Although specific areas are used every year for accommodating thousands of pilgrims in Ajmer, in the land use table such a phenomena remains latent.

In this way, the Master Plan of Ajmer exemplifies an unreal and unimaginative way of interpreting a city, its functions

Land use	Existing 1971		Proposed 1991	
	ha	%	ha	%
Residential	676	41.6	2900	50.8
Commercial	70	4.3	200	3.4
Industrial	120	7.4	624	10.9
Governmental	54	3.3	48	0.9
Recreational	28	1.7	336	6.0
Public and semi public	436	26.9	700	12.2
Circulation	240	14.8	904	15.8
Developed area	1624	100.0	5712	100.0
Govt. reserved	120	-	328	-
Agricultural	152	-	120	-
Other vacant and undeveloped	312	-	-	-
Water bodies	-	-	332	-
Unbanised area	2216	-	-	-
Urbanisable area	-	-	6492	-

Source : Master Plan for Ajmer 1971-91, p. 21

Tab. 2: Existing and proposed land use pattern of Ajmer

Ajmer - the holy city of Hindus and Muslims

Lake Pushkar is associated with Hindu mythology, and it is believed that a dip in its sacred waters nullifies the sins of a lifetime and ensures nirvana (eternal peace after death) for the repentant. This lake has been visited by thousands of pilgrims in the month of October-November every year for centuries. The animal fair held annually during the same time has been noted as one of the biggest in the world [Imperial Gazetteer of India 1908, Vol.1].

In the 6th century A.D., Ajay Pal, a Hindu King built a fort1,Ajay Maru Durg" on top of the Taragarh Hills, about 12 krns. east of Pushkar. On the foothills a settlement grew which has been known as Ajmer. In late 12th century A.D. a great

upto 2000 ppHa [MPAJ 71; ASHOK SRIVASTAVA 1989]. Independent of their caste, creed, income level, religious belief and cultural diversity, they willingly share the physical discomfort in exchange for gaining emotional satisfaction rooted in the sense of participation in the festival for those few days.

In terms of its physical environment, Ajmer is surrounded by hillocks and occupies the valley in between them. It is believed Ajmer occupies the bed of an ancient river Sagarmati; close to the Dargah is a large water body called Annasagar. During the British rule from 1818 to 1947, Ajmer became an important railway junction and a large railway workshop was established during 1870s. It also gained prominence as a centre for education. Although located in the desert-like climate of Rajasthan, it is protected from the desert sandstorms by

Land use	Existing 1969-71		Proposed 1991	
	Ha	%	Ha	%
Residential	1954	49.6	5980	50.3
Commercial	134	3.4	570	4.8
Industrial	278	7.1	1210	10.2
Governmental	84	2.1	106	0.9
Recreational	132	3.4	556	4.7
Public & semi-public	670	16.9	996	8.4
Circulation	692	17.5	2384	20.1
Total developed area*	3944	100.0	11872	100.0

* The total developed area was about 68 percent and 78 percent of the 'urban area' in 1969-70 and 1991 respectively.

Source : Draft Master Plan for Jaipur 1972-91

Tab. 3 : Existing and proposed land use pattern of Jaipur
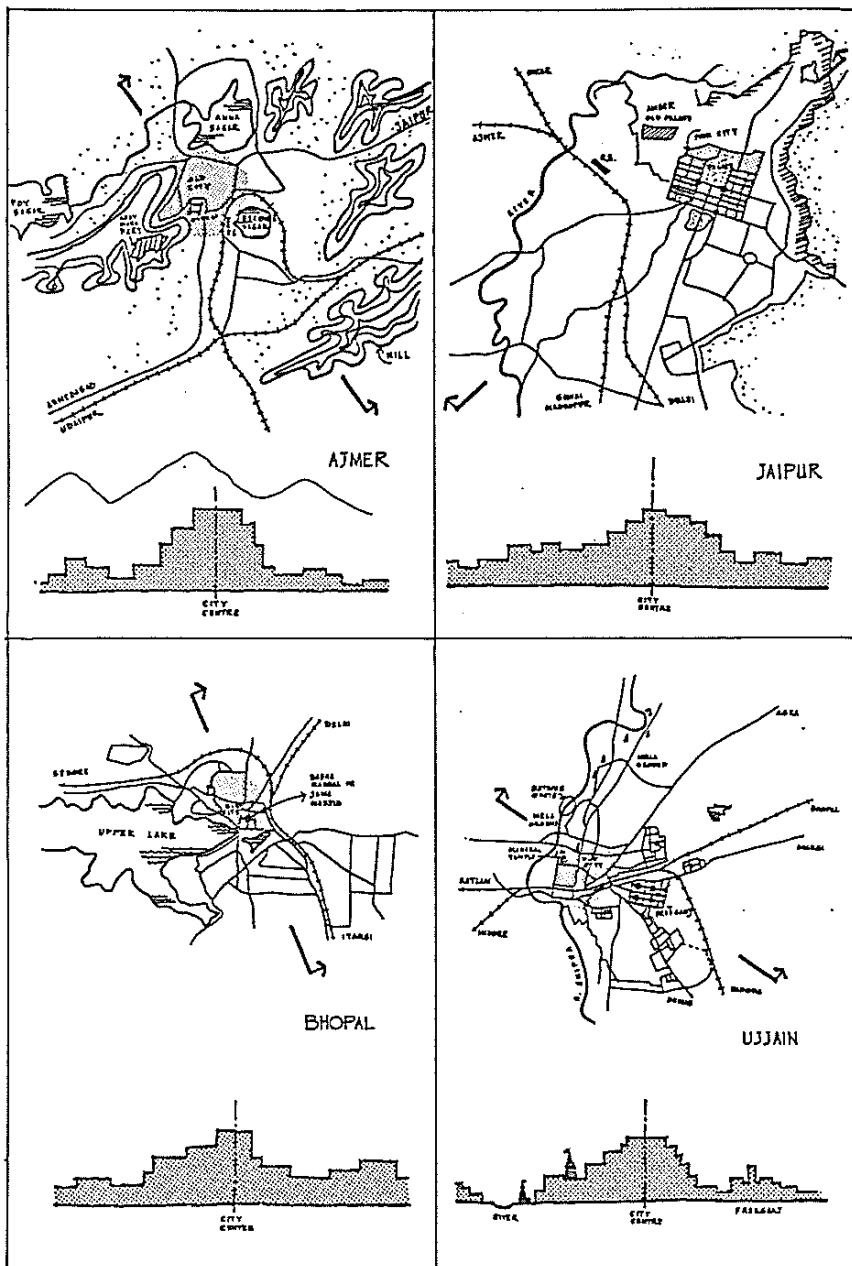

Fig. 2: Plans and profiles of Ajmer, Jaipur, Bhopal and Ujjain

and its potentials to contribute towards establishing an indigenous town planning practice.

Jaipur : the pink city

Popularly, Jaipur is called the 'pink city' as the colour pink happens to be the dominant colour used in the old part of the city in order to achieve a sense of identity for the entire town.

At a point of time when the Moghul Rule in India began to decline -soon after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 - the city of Jaipur was built by the regional king Sawai Jai Singh in 1727. Keeping with the tradition of building a new capital city during one's own reign, Jaipur was built just 11 km south of Amber, the former capital city. As can be seen from Figure 2, Jaipur was laid out in a gridiron pattern, apparently following the directives of the ancient Indian scriptures. Some important features of Jaipur are

- a disciplined physical frame for the town not only in terms of its road pattern, but also in terms of the location of activities. For example, markets at the intersection points of the major roads were permitted to operate freely but at a respectable distance from the residential areas.
- The three-dimensional as well as visual aspects of the city were given a serious place throughout the design of the city.
- In order to achieve a unique sense of identity, a very simple but effective device - the use of the colour pink in all the buildings - was used.
- In order to allenate the sense of congestion along the main thoroughfares, the upper floors of the buildings on both sides were carefully receded back from the street facade.

Probably due to the reason that there were already several flourishing cities in the northern belt of India at the time of Jaipur's inception, and due to being in the initial phase of growth, the city did not attract the attention of the then prevailing destructive currents: the wrath of Nadir Shah in 1739 and later those of the English East India Company. The railway was introduced to Jaipur in the early 20th century. In 1932, five 'town planning schemes were initiated close to the walled city of Jaipur. essentially to accommodate the growing population of the city.pink

The Development Plan for Jaipur 1972-1991 was conceived to accommodate

Land use	Existing 1973		Proposed 1991	
	Ha	%	Ha	%
Residential	1534	47.5	4050	40.0
Commercial	65	1.9	405	4.0
Industrial	348	10.8	1135	11.2
Public and Semi public	382	11.8	1215	12.0
Public utilities and facilities	160	4.9	280	2.8
Recreational	203	6.3	1415	14.0
Transportation	542	16.8	1620	16.0
Total	3234	100.0	10120	100.0

Source : Bhopal Development Plan 1973-91, p187.

Tab. 4: Existing and proposed land use pattern of Bhopal

Land use (in percent out of total area of 172ha)	1961	1973	1982
Residential	59.0	49.5	46.8
Commercial	8.0	15.2	23.5
Industrial	1.6	5.8	3.9
Public & semi-public	8.5	8.7	6.9
Recreation	1.7	1.1	0.8
Transportation	12.8	11.9	14.6

Source : Midha 1987, unpublished Master's dissertation

Tab. 5: Trends of land use pattern of central area, Bhopal

"what is likely to be" rather than what should be in termspink of population growth, changes in the quality and intensity of urban functions and other related dimensions of transformations that would depict the future of Jaipur. The state of the old Jaipur was recorded as consisting of chaos infested with mixed and incompatible land uses, while the plan called for a "smoother functioning of the old city".

Conservation, rehabilitation and redevelopment of the old city were proposed to be taken up. But the proposed occupational structure aimed at increasing the number of workers in the industrial and in the trade and commerce sectors by over four-and-a-half times and three-and-a-half times respectively between 1961 and 1991. Accordingly, the land uses for industries and for trade and commerce were proposed to be increased by over four times and three times respectively from 1969-70 to 1991. Probably such proposals were made with the expectation of doubling the city population between 1971 and 1991.

Bhopal - the most picturesque city of central India

Bhopal was founded by the Hindu king Raja Bhoja around 1010-1055. Before building the city, Raja Bhoja created the upper lake by constructing an earthen dam. About a century later during the reign of Raja Vidia Dat (1151-1184), his queen built a great stone temple called the Sabha Mandal. Apart from being a place of worship Sabha Mandal was also a centre for teaching the Vedas, the Shastras, the Puranas etc. Subsequently, Bhopal suffered from the impacts of frequent invasions and fury of the feudal lords of the region. Around the time of Aurangzeb's death in 1707, Bhopal was completely ruined. But soon it was rebuilt by Dost Mohammed Khan (1720-1726). A gridiron pattern was used for laying out the streets. In 1828, Qudsia Begum built the Jama Masjid in place of Sabha Mandal, which still exists as the landmark of old Bhopal. By this time, however, the English East India Company had already established its existence in Delhi (1803) and other places in north India. For practical reasons related to

governance, the rulers of Bhopal entered into a pact with the East India Company in 1871. In 1877 the railway was introduced to Bhopal.

By the 1930s, a few medium sized industries started functioning in Bhopal. As can be imagined, the railways, the trade and commerce activity and the industries resulted in rapid growth of the city. The old parts soon became congested and over-burdened with non-residential activities. So much so that in 1940, the city was pulled down and replaced by commercial activity. It must be noted that adiministratively, Bhopal continued to be the capital of a princely state till 1948. Thereafter, the State was merged with India, and Bhopal started functioning as the capital of Madhya Pradesh, the central province of India. During the post-independence era, Bhopal experienced rapid growth of population and intense activities like trade and commerce and industries. In 1961, a large township was built to accommodate the employees of a public sector heavy engineering unit BHEL (Bharat Heavy Eclectricals Limited).

The rapide growth in economic activities contributed to further intensification of non-residential activities in old Bhopal. Currently (1990s), this area depicts a typical scenario of the core areas of historic cities of India. Old Bhopal is packed with shops shop-houses and specialised trade areas that depict an image of confusion, congestion and mixed-up character. Even so, the residents of old Bhopal claim that it has a life of his own which is both unique and attractive to them.

The Development Plan of Bhopal 1973-91 recognises its unique position among the historic cities of India for two reasons
- till recently (1948) it continued to have its own political and administrative identity; and
- Bhopal is endowed with a very attractive natural setting surrounded by hills while being on the banks of a large lake.

This document also recognised the socio-cultural richness of Bhopal and noted that Bhopal has 352 places of worship, innumerable Dargahs and other relics of its historic past.

The central area of Bhopal was discussed in a separate chapter of the plan document where its problems such as mixed landuse, overcrowding, mixed traffic, an outdated circulation system, the lack of parking spaces and inade-

Land use	Existing 1974		Proposed 1991	
	Ha	%	Ha	%
Residential	463	46.7	1460	38.2
Commercial	39	3.9	205	5.4
Industrial	136	13.7	450	11.8
Public & semi public utilities	161	16.3	495	12.9
Recreational	36	3.6	54o	14.1
Transportation	157	15.8	675	17.6
Total	992	100.0	3825	100.0

Source: The Ujjain Development Plan 1976-1991

Tab. 6: Existing and proposed land use pattern of Ujjain

quacy of open spaces were mentioned. It was noted that Bhopal is a picturesque city with much squalor and ugliness at its centre. Accordingly, the widening of streets, the relocation of incompatible activities along with the minimum dislocation of people and other activities and recreation areas for the lake front were proposed.

At the same time, however, a three-fold increase in the number of workers in industries and trade and commerce was proposed during the plan period. In terms of the land use pattern, land under commercial and industrial uses were proposed to be increased by about six times and three times respectively. A recent study on the central area of Bhopal revealed that in spite of ten years of efforts to retard commercial and industrial activities, they continued to grow steadily. Between 1973 and 1982, land under commercial use in the central area increased by over 50 percent, while those under residential and industrial uses dropped marginally [Midha 1987 unpublished] (refer to tables 4 and 5).

These trends clearly indicate that in spite of the good intentions of the official plan documents, inadequate recognition of the key determinants of the ecosystem of old Bhopal led to a general degradation of its environment.

In December 1984 Bhopal shot into global prominence as the world's worst man-made industrial tragedy took place in the form of industrial air pollution that affected about 10,000 persons. This industrial unit was located in the heart of the city. That tragic record of Bhopal should be taken as the extreme result of negligence of the aspect of conservation in planning and development of cities, especially historic cities in India.

Ujjain : the city of temples

During 7th century B.C. the city of Ujjain was known by the name Avantika as it was the capital city of the kingdom called Avanti. The city was surrounded by mud walls and was also interspersed with natural and man-made hillocks. Avantika was well known for industrial products like textiles, dies, leather goods, pottery, gold ornaments and blacksmith products. It is claimed that the city belongs to the era of 'river valley civilization' that dates back to 2500 B.C.

As can be expected, due to its long history, this city went through several periods of glory and decline. One of the nine 'jewels' in emperor Vikramaditya's Court (1413-455 AD) was the celebrated poet Kalidasa who belonged to Ujjain city. During the first few centuries of Moghul rule (1526-1803), Ujjain lost its status;but during Akbar's reign (1556-1605), Ujjain regained its place as an important city.

Towards the end of Moghul rule, Maharaja Jai Singh looked after the city as the governor (1733). He brought Ujjain on to the astronomical atlas of India by constructing the finest observatory in the country. Astronomical readings and observations were recorded in this centre regarding the relative positions of the celestial bodies including the sun, the moon, the planets and the stars using the Indian system of calculations. Similar, but less elaborate observatories were built in Jaipur and Delhi at about the same time.

Between 1743 and 1947, the development of Ujjain was largely controlled by the Scindias, one of the most influential and powerful families of Central India. Being progressive in their outlook, atten-

tion was paid to creating the image of a prosperous city, as well as to introduce industries to Ujjain. However, in 1810, the 'capital function' was taken from of Ujjain and transfered to the city of Gwalior. Even so, the Scindias continued to ensure that Ujjain should not fall behind in terms of modern urban amenities. Thus, piped water supply, street lighting and a medium sized textile industrial unit, the Vinod Mill, were established towards the end of 19th century. In 1930, a new area was established that intended to accommodate residential and commercial as well as recreational, activities according to relatively generous norms and space standards. This area is the prestigious district of Ujjain called Freeganj, where traders were not required to pay taxes on their transactions, thus the name. More industrial units like the Hira Mill were established in the city.

The Ujjain Development Plan 1976-1991 noted that "After independence (19147), the city received its due share of development. Industries such as Bone Mill, Spun Pipe, a large unit of Synthetic Rayon and a large unit of manufacture of milk from Soya Beans have been established." In 1956 the Ujjain Improvement Trust was established; in 1957, Vikram University came into being; in 1958, the Kalidasa Samaroh Samiti began functioning by holding special celebrations in memory of the poet every year; in 1965, an Enginering College with a large campus (120ha) was initiated.

The Plan further noted that there were 573 registered temples in the city, while there were about 2000 temples and 97 mosques in all. Above all, the Plan proposed to promote five 'main functions consisting of
- a religious cum tourist centre,
- a regional centre for culture and education,
- a trade and commerce,
- agrobased industries and
- the district administration.

It is evident from the proposals of the Plan that in spite of recognising the city as a great historic centre of temples and traditional culture, this was not intended to be reflected in the future development and images of Ujjain. Neither the occupational pattern nor the land use pattern, for example, include a separate category for the purposes for which the city has been known far and wide for centuries; i.e., its temples including their precints used for very large congregations. Indeed, the establishment of large industrial units was thought to be the appropriate function for Ujjain.

Fortunately, the Plan also treated the renovation of temples, the maintenance of the Ghats and the landscaping of the surroundings of the places of pilgrims' and tourists' interest. The central area of Ujjain was discussed under a separate chapter where problems and proposals relating to this district were presented. Intense commercial activity, a mixed land use pattern and industrial units dealing with foodstuffs, soap, etc. were noted to exist through out the central area. The Relocation of incompatible uses was proposed to revive the pleasant image of central Ujjain. The Mahakal Mandir (the Temple of Time, i.e., Lord Shiva) and the Gopal Mandir (the Temple of Lord Krishna), which have been associated with the identity of Ujjain for centuries, are located near the western boundary of its 'central area'.

Perception of Urban Ecosystem

Concepts of ecosystem and urban ecosystem per se are holistic abstractions of the real world that are capable of depicting the complex and multiple dimensions of nature and urban settlements respectively. From this point of view, neither a systemic bias [Meier 1974], nor a social anthropological bias [Bose 1968, Berry & Kasarda 1977], appear to be fully satisfactory. Essentially, undesirable changes in terms of attributes of the physical environment of cities (such as several types of pollution) and the socio-cultural character of the urban community (such as loss of traditional values, rituals etc.), appear to be the central concerns of the above mentioned two perceptions of the urban ecosystem respectively. Both these perceptions are linear, unidirectional and irreversible in nature while historic cities throughout the world as well as those under discussion, demonstrated their capacity to return to a state of stimulating urban environment in response to appropriate inputs and conditions [Kondratieff's Cycle 1935; Mensch's Innovative Phases 1979; Kovnitz's work 1985; refer Lawton Ed., 1989 for an overview of these works]. Further, in an urban ecosystem, like its counterpart in nature, catalytic or regulatory forces play a vital role in determining the state of health of the city. But none of the two approaches cited earlier explicitly exhibit the existence of the regulatory forces or their role in defining the character of the urban ecosystem. Finally, the physical structure of the city, which in any case serves as the container of the live component of the ecosystem and thus contributes to the general health and image of the city, is

not represented in any of the two abstractions.

In order that these conceptual difficulties are eliminated or at least reduced, a hybrid of the systemic, input-output model and the societal evolution model appear to be more suitable as it permits sufficient flexibility to enable an accurate depiction of the real world in terms of the diversities within an urban settlement from one location to another.

The work initiated by TIE (The Institute of Ecology, New York), in the 1970s appeared to be promising from this point of view. Accordingly, the model proposed to be used here is based on the concept of Stearns and Montag (1974) with some modifications. Data on the items presented subsequently were collected in the respective cities through observations, secondary sources and personal interviews at different distances from the city centres. At a later stage, the results were plotted at roughly the same locations in order to obtain the 'profile' of the characteristics superimposed with the profile of the city (see figure 3).

Ecosystem of Ajiner, Jaipur, Bhopal and Ujjain

Analysis of the character of Ajmer, Jaipur, Ehopal and Ujjain through time from the point of view of the third model of uran ecosystems enabled identification of a few major components and their determinants as presented below.

The key components of the four historic Indian cities were

i)Population:
Human beings are the dominant actors in cities, their character as individuals and as a community depicts the most lasting image of the cities. The total population size, their social, economic and cultural character together constitute this vital component of the city. Characteristics of the other living beings in the city also contribute to the quality of the urban environment as they represent, indirectly, the natural environmental setting (refer to figure 4).

ii) Emotional attachment of the citizens to the city or its elements:
The population of the historic cities of India as they exist today consists of several communities having varying levels of attachment to the city. Their resistance or enthusiasm towards changes in the city, expressed spontaneously or informally or in an organised fashion contrib-

utes to the image of the city as a whole. Frequently, the sense of emotional attachment of citizens living outside the historic city contribute to the quality of life in the city in unique forms as in case of Ujjain and Ajmer (refer to figure 5).

iii) Resource consumption characteristics:
The patterns of consumption of certain key resources such as drinking water, energy and land depict the variations of character of the four cities. The two main attributes in this context are a)gradual change in per capita consumption and b)sudden changes during short or temporary phases in aggregate consumption due to convergence of large number of people, generally pilgrims. The per capita consumption of energy in the case of newer areas of Jaipur and Bhopal is significantly higher (10% to 15%) compared to the older areas. The dramatic rise in the demands of drinking water, etc. in Ujjain and Ajmer, on the other hand call for special arrangements during specific periods (see figure 6).

iv) Physical structure and built form of the city:
The built form of the historic cities not only records the important stages of their evolution but also faithfully reflects the overall state of development of the community as a whole. The distinct features and characteristics of the 'layers' of

1 Urban Ecosystem: input-output model
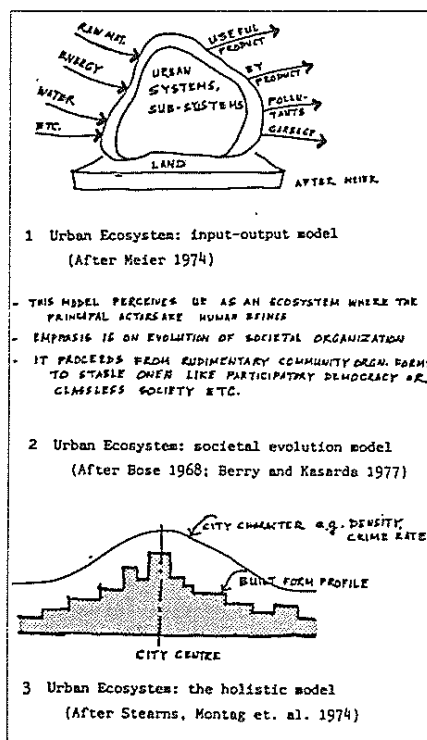(After Meier 1974)

2 Urban Ecosystem: societal evolution model
(After Bose 1968: Berry and Kasarda 1977)

3 Urban Ecosystem: the holistic model
(After Stearns, Montag et. al. 1974)

Fig. 3: Three perceptions of urban ecosystem

Cultural homogeneity does not indicate a uniform pattern. Currently, the old, central parts of Bhopal are inhabitated by both Hindus and Muslims; but in Ujjain, the corresponding areas are inhabitated predominantly by Hindus.

Periodic population density consisting of daily incomingwage earners or traders etc., or pilgrims congregating on predetermined days in the city, exhibit a significantly different pattern. High densities here are clearly determined by the location of the centers of the popular religious faith.

Income homogeneity of the community is low in the central areas, while in newer areas, it is higher for all four cities.

The residential population density is generally higher at the center. The patterns of both Bhopal and Jaipur indicate the establishment of new centers of residential concentration.
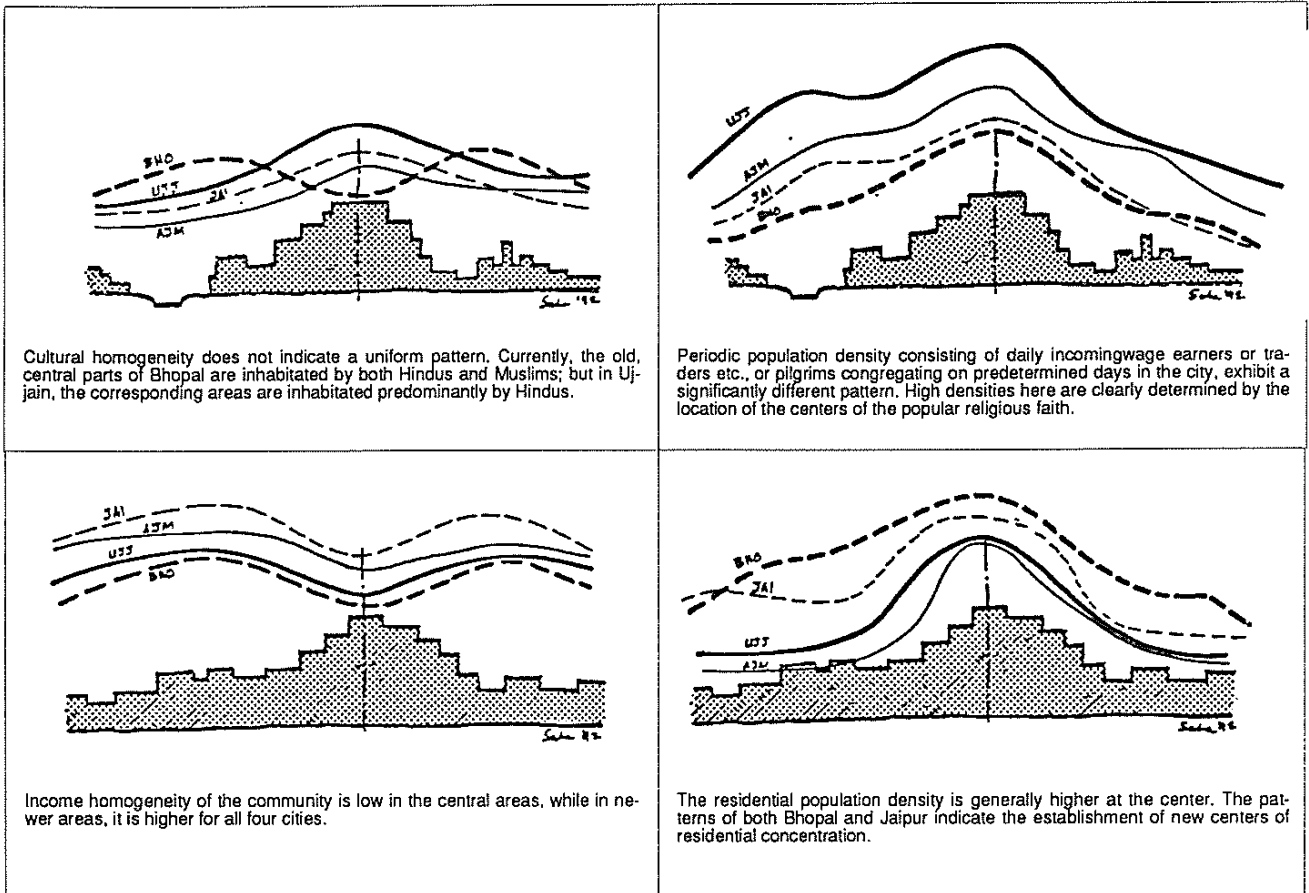
Fig. 4: Population characteristics of Ajmer, Jaipur, Bhopal and Ujjain

the built form represent the quality of technology, skill and, above all, the ability of the community to innovate and create a living environment under varying conditions. The gridiron pattern of Jaipur, central Bhopal, parts of Ujjain and concern for wide thoroughfares in Jaipur stand out in great contrast to the informal, organic built form of Ajmer and parts of Ujjain and Bhopal (see figure 7).

The determinants or the regulators of the urban ecosystem in terms of the

quality of the components as identified above appear to be, however, universal and not pertaining to historic Indian cities alone. They are

- location with respect to proxiiity to certain natural elements and/or conditions (such as hills, rivers and/or a particular climatic zone),
- political will,
- technology,
- coitimunication and
- law and administration (see figure 8).

Figure 8 is an attempt to conceptualize the dynamic, difficult-to-predict interrelatedness of the components and regulatory forces of the urban ecosystem perceived through the study of Ajmer, Jaipur, Bohpal and Ujjain. The driving force of the dynamism being human behavioural responses to the large number and variety of stimulations in the form of regulatory forces, it is and will be a difficult task to predict fully and accurately the course of futureroughly development of the cities. Like the movement of the hon-
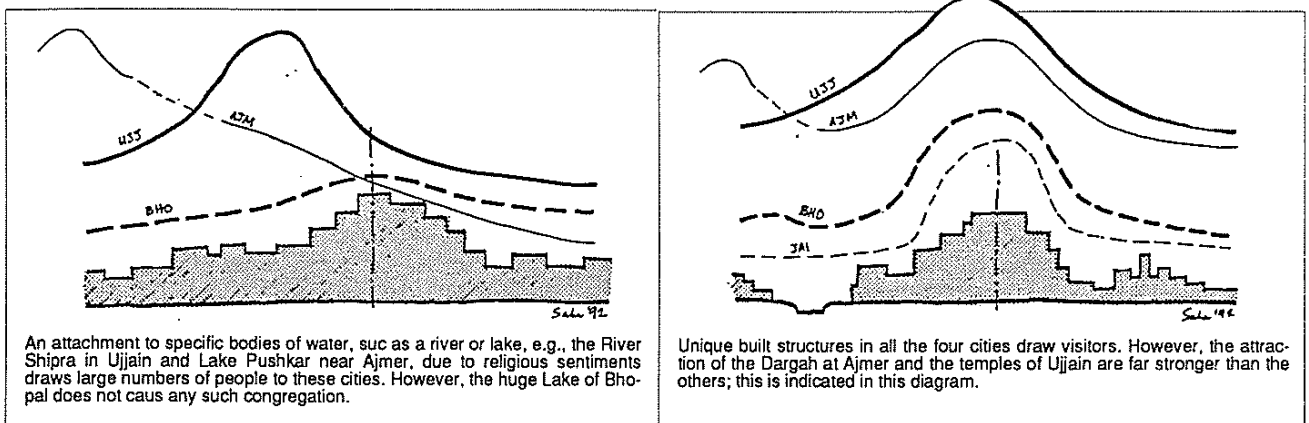

An attachment to specific bodies of water, suc as a river or lake, e.g., the River Shipra in Ujjain and Lake Pushkar near Ajmer, due to religious sentiments draws large numbers of people to these cities. However, the huge Lake of Bhopal does not caus any such congregation.

Unique built structures in all the four cities draw visitors. However, the attraction of the Dargah at Ajmer and the temples of Ujjain are far stronger than the others; this is indicated in this diagram.

Fig. 5: Emotional attachement of citizens to Ajmer, Jaipur, Bhopal and Ujjain

The supply of community open space is low in the center, but it increases with the distance from the old city cores. The pattern of increase, however, varies significantly from one city to the other.

Access th safe drinking water has little locational variation in all four cities. However, it appears that the availability of better quality data might reveal the true situation more accurately.

The incidence of mixed land use is a common feature in all four cities. In the cases of Jaipur and Bhopal, where efforts to ensure planned developement have been relatively higher, this phenomenon drops sharply with increasing distance from the center. But the phenomenon shows less variation in Ujjain and Ajmer

The use of fossil fuel for transport is limited in the historic core areas of all the four cities, though the necessity of using such a mode of travel is directly related to city size in terms of both population and area.

Fig. 6: Resource consumption pattern of Ajmer, Jaipur, Bhopal and Ujjain

Newer built forms in all four cities are less sensitive to their respective regional climates than the one found in their core areas.

Except for Ajmer, the core areas of the remaining three cities occupy a plain land form permitting a responsably intense developement. Especially Ujjain and Bhopal have large expanses of gently undulating land form outside their central areas.

The occurrence of formal and informal patterns of the circulation network are usually associated with newer and older areas respectively. However, Jaipur and Bhopal are examples where formal networks were laid out at the stage of inception, quite in contrast to the situation of Ujjain and Ajmer.

Visual imageability of the four cities is significantly higher in the central areas due to the existence of easily recognizable landmarks such as temples, mosques, etc. Such imageability is enhanced dramatically with the occurrence of elements such as the Lake of Bhopal, the open spaces near the river banks of Ujjain, etc.

Fig. 7: Physical structure of Ajmer, Jaipur, Bhopal and Ujjain

Components:
- population,
- emotional attachement,
- resource consumption pattern and
- physical structure

Determinants:
- location,
- political will,
- technology,
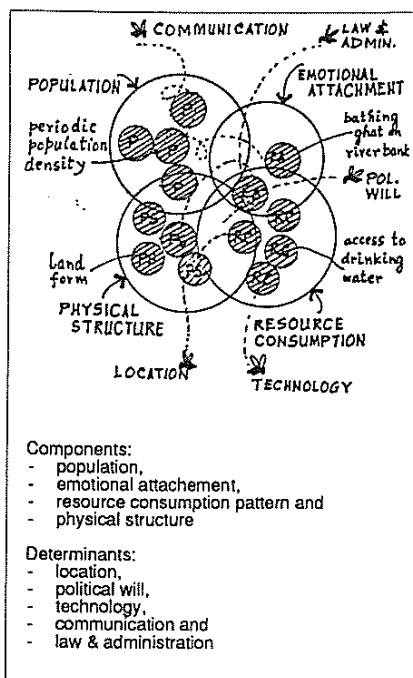- communication and
- law & administration

Fig. 8: Ecosystem of Ajmer, Jaipur, Bhopal and Ujjain

ey bees from one flower to another in a garden, the occurrence and intensity of influence caused by regulatory forces appear to fluctuate unpredictably, resulting in unexpected, even dramatic, changes in the character of the components. Even so, as exemplified by these cities, if an attempt to identify the broad requirements of a city originates in the analysis of the socio-cultural character of its inhabitants, it is possible to arrive at development proposals that will be welcomed by all, especially by the ultimate clients: the citizens.

In the case of historic cities such as Ujjain or Ajmer, component ii) may easily be perceived as a determinant of the image and environment of the city and not so much as one of its 'key components.' However, it is important to remember that the emotional attachment of the citizens leading to their congregation in large numbers in such cities in India occurs due to the sanctity associated with those cities, and due to their locational uniqueness, which is in turn, linked to religious sentiments. Even so, there are instances when the strength of political will or other determinant(s) is able to overrule the expected pattern of response from the community and create permanent marks on the environment and image of the city.

Replacement of the Sabha Mandal by the Friday Mosque during 1720-26AD in central Bhopal and construction of the railway station in the centre of Ajmer

took place as a result of changing political conditions in the region. Political will invariably determined from time to time the location, and initiation of new administrative centres, market and educational centres, transportation nodes, etc. that transformed the character of the cities significantly. The introduction of the railway and the establishment of railway stations invariably led to an explosive increase in trade transactions in the historic cities, while the enlargement of the hinterland due to enhanced accessibility and the growth of the resident, as well as the day time, population were some other impacts. Availability and societal acceptance of telecommunications dramatically improved the access to information without actual physical movement of individuals.

As such, since the impact of a determinant essentially depends upon the response from the community as a whole, or at least from certain segments of it, and their propensity to changes, modifications etc, it appears to be nearly impossible to foresee the developmental changes with full accuracy. In other words, it is hazardous to attempt to predict accurately which of the determinants would have a greater impact than others in modifying the character of the components of the urban ecosystem beyond the immediate future. Nevertheless, as long as the 'abstraction' depicts the possibility and potential role of the determinants clearly, urban planners would have an opportunity to visualise the future more realistically or at least be conscious of the existence of the determinants and their potential strengths and weaknesses.

But these are some of the inherent problems of trying to model human behavioural responses and identifying the dependent and independent variables that in turn create and recreate the built form of tities over time.

Acknowledgement

References

AMITA RAY 1964, Villages, Towns and Secular Buildings in Ancient India, Firma K L Mukhopodhaya, Calcutta

A K SRIVASTAVA 1989, Urbanization Concept and Growth, H K Publishers, Delhi

ASHOK SRIVASTAVA, 1989, School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi, Unpublished Master of Urban Planning Disertation on "Impact of Dargah on Ajmer City"

BRIAN JL BERRY and JOHN D KASARDA, 1977, Contemporary Urban Ecology

FOREST STEARNS and TOM MONTAG Ed., 1974, Urban Ecosystem: a Holistic Approach, Hutchinson Press Inc. New York

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE, 1968, Calcutta 1964: a Social Survey

R.C.MAJUMDAR et.al. 1985 (1984), The Main Currents of Indian History, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi

R.L. MEIER, 1974, Planning for an Urban World: the Design of Resource Conserving Cities, MIT Press

RICHARD LAWTON, Ed., 1989, Rise and Fall of Great Cities, Belhaven Press, London

Draft Master Plan of Jaipur 1972-91 The Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908, Vol I The Master Plan of Ajmer 1971-91 (MPAJ 1973) The Development Plan of Bhopal 1973-91 The Udjain Development Plan 1976-91

RICHARD LAWTON, Ed., 1989, Rise and Fall of Great Cities, Belhaven Press, London

Draft Master Plan of Jaipur 1972-91 The Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908, Vol I The Master Plan of Ajmer 1971-91 (MPAJ 1973) The Development Plan of Bhopal 1973-91 The Udjain Development Plan 1976-91

18

Public Places in Modern Indian Towns

Narayani Gupta

Zusammenfassung

Die indischen Städte sind bis heute traditionell aus Nachbarschaftszellen gebildet, deren wesentlicher Kern die öffentlichen Bezirke, die Straßen vor und die Gässchen hinter den Häusern sind, welche privaten Geschäften, religiösen Festen und sozialen Spielen dienen und deshalb über einen hohen Grad an Kontingenz und über einen unbestimmtem Status verfügen. Beides steht im Gegensatz zu den unter persischem Einfluß formal streng konzipierten öffentlichen Gärten. Die Kolonialherren führten das in England übliche einheitliche Verfügungsrecht für Grund und Boden ein, sowie die säuberliche Trennung nach Nutzungsarten. Verwaltung, Gerichtsbarkeit, Lehre etc. wurden in repräsentative Gebäude verlagert, was vom Volk als repressiv und einschüchternd erlebt wurde. Repräsentative Parks und dekorative Platzfassungen für bestimmte Tempel blieben jedoch oft in Ansätzen stecken, gelegentlich konnten historische Bauten - museumshaft abgeschottet - vorm Verfall bewahrt werden. Später übernahm die einheimische Elite dieses Konzept und fügte spezifische Elemente der Selbstdarstellung hinzu. Trotz des repressiven Grundzugs staatlicher Planung in Indien heute, haben die Planer wenig Kontrolle über die Ausführung ihrer Pläne. Hier sind die Armen zu zahlreich, dort die Reichen zu mächtig. Öffentliche Gebäude werden mit Grafitti verunstaltet, öffentliche Bereiche sind kaum mehr als Verkehrskorridore. Soll das städtische Leben in den Straßen wieder heimisch werden, müssen die öffentlichen Bereiche von der Nachbarschaft her neu erdacht werden.

Dr. Narayani Gupta, Lecturer at the Department of History and Culture, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi. Address: E-75 Masjid Moth, Greater Kailash 3, New Delhi 110048, India

Towns are areas of conviviality, coexistence and conflict, and these can be mapped on the ground since "human activity and social interactions are space-forming as well as space-contingent"[1]. Modern Indian towns have many features which have passed down through centuries, and some of which have resulted from recent changes in policy and technology. In the last two centuries, while European towns changed from artisanal and oligarchic to industrial and democratic, and then to post-industrial and Corporatist, towns in India were overtaken by colonial government and the transport revolution; they have been at the periphery of an impoverished and inegalitarian rural economy and have been flattened out by that supreme vehicle of land-use control, 'planning'.

In order to understand the nature of changes in Indian towns in the colonial period (mid-18th to mid-20th centuries), certain features of older indian towns have to be understood. Pre-colonial towns in India were not permanent., through history, many communities carrying the name of the village/town continued as a group even after the settlement had been abandoned /conquered /destroyed. Babur, the prince of Samarkand who founded an empire in north India in the 16th century, was struck by the fact that in India towns were quickly set up or abandoned. "The populousness or decay, or total destruction of villages, nay of cities, is almost instantaneous. Large cities that have been inhabited for a series of years (if, on an alarm, the inhabitants take to flight), in a single day are so completely abandoned that you can scarcely discover a trace of population."

He explained the rapid establishment of towns by the abundance of building material, their being deserted by the fact that crops were dependent on the monsoon[2]. Indian tows of ancient lineage are unevenly layered with settlements from many different periods of time. Material was recycled, the alignments of roads modified. Market-towns declined when political boundaries changed.

As a town filled out, it acquired a cellular character. Agraharas, pols, mohullas, wadas were the names for neighbourhoods which formed separate and adjacent units. Even today, Shahjahanabad (that part of modern Delhi which was the mughal capital in the 17th century) has 600 mohullas, just as it had a century-and-a-half ago[3]. Within each mohulla was open space, chowk or chaupar, etymologically of the same family as chaupal, the piazza in a north India village where the village Panchayat/council meets. In the british Indian towns of Bombay and Calcutta (established in the late 17th century), the areas where Indians lived show a similar development. For most people, movement was restricted to their mohulla, except on specific occasions of festivity or ritual. The kucha/pol gate locked in the inabitants for perfect security. The ground floor and the front rooms were the territory of the men, the back and the first floor that of women and children, who could communicate with friends on the other side of the gali[4]. A lot of nostalgic Urdu poetry is woven around the gali. The sense of attachment was so great that people preferred to live in familiar mohullas even when they became crowded rather than move to a vacant space. The interiors of houses were governed by rules of formality, but public spaces were informal.

Over time, a gradation of public spaces evolved, clearly indicated by a hierarchy of road widths. By Islamic law, the open space around a building could be built upon only with the consent of the owner, and the higher floors could not overlook the private areas of adjacent houses. (Older Sanskrit canons were concerned with the relative position of houses, not with open areas.) Disputes were settled by the mohulla head. Roads became narrow and
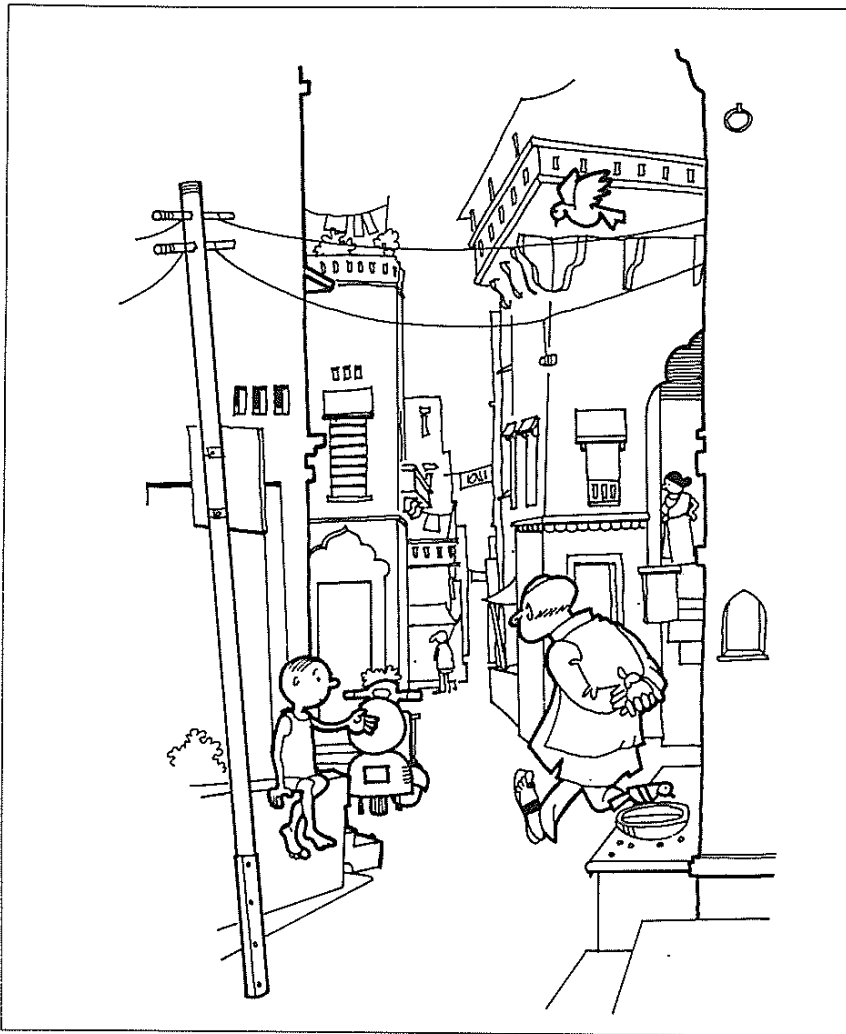
Fig. 1 The Gali

lanes culs-de-sac. In medieval European towns, too, "streets were as narrow as they could be while allowing for the transit of goods and persons. The success of encroachments depended on the relative political power of the builder involved". However subsequently, Islamic towns and European Christian ones, diriged revised Roman law, with its emphasis on private property rights, was also able to enforce the sanctity of the public ways in a manner that Islamic law, which emphasised communal rights over land, could not do. This was true of non-Islamic towns in India too. The story of the British district officer who planted palms along a roadside, only to find them, a few years later, enclosed into rooms and verandahs, was by no means unusual.

In Indian towns, the streets were not like the vista avenues of European baroque cities (or, later, of New Delhi) which led out into the countryside. The waterchannels and trees lining the streets were not traffic corridors, but rathed linear bazaars, their length punctuated by chowks. The souk of Turkish towns - a tight-knit beehive of

shops - was replicated only in very small versions in India. Trade transactions were only a fraction of the activities carried on in an Indian street. Streetlife went on at many different tempos. Sitting on the threshold of shops, strolling, stopping to listen to a poet or storyteller, participating in public debate, were activities not limited by the time or place[5].

On arcaded streets as in 18th century Jaipur (later copied by LeCorbusier in Ahmedabad), the public way extended to the first floor, where the shops were set back. When processions passed down the street, people on the first floor could see the worthies on elephant-back at their own level. A distinctive Indian ethos could be seen in 1857, when thousands of rebellious soldiers billeted themselves in Delhi; the local people, instead of grumbling, revelled in the redoubled raunaq in the streets. The street belonged to everyone. In the various rituals and ceremonies associated with the public areas, the rulers were often involved as patrons and participants. Thus the street bonded together the rulers and the ruled; in temple rathya-

tras all devotees, king and subjects alike, were pedestrian as against the deity's carriage-drawn movement[6].

A sharp change of mood was conveyed by the other open areas - the green spaces. Against the animation of streets and the intimacy of galis was the beauty and tranquillity of baghs. Local traditions (pavilions named after the cloudfilled monsoon months of Sawan and Bhadon) combined with Persian (the 4-square chahar-bagh) to fashion gardens. These were often the sites of mausolea and madrasas and were sited near rivers or broken up into manageable units by water channels. These sites had their own calendar of rituals and festivities, and they were not private or exclusive. Indians would have empathised with the sentiments of the Polish writer who said that "the emotions felt on viewing a beautiful landscape as a combination of fine architecture, green space and water are among the strongest experiences enriching man's personality".

In contrast to the Europe of the Roman empire and the baroque era which had secular assembly places, city halls and auditoria, which were welcomed refuge from inclement weather, Indian towns had none. In India places of worship could be used for such gatherings or congregations but it was the open spaces, gardens and riverbanks that usually served for informal gatherings. Like the street, these played a vital part in city life.

In Britain, the 19th and early 20th centuries saw a revolution in towns as a result of policy. Urban activities became more segregated, urban dwellers began to live in more and more distinctly separate territories, many activities moved from the street to within buildings, and buildings and streets were sought to be made aesthetically attractive, and the town as a whole healthier. In the anxiety to keep everything "in its place", public and private spaces were becoming distinct. This involved massive land-use changes, with a lot of land becoming "public". Land was acquired for primary services (roads, sewers, watersupply pipes, railways) or bought at market rates for secondary services like parks, statues, and community buildings. In Britain, municipalities benefited from contributions by their newly-rich citizens who wanted the towns to celebrate their success (cf. the Free Trade Hall in Manchester).

If the "urban revolution" in Britain was catalysed by the industrial revolution and resulted in demarcating public and private territories more shanply, in British India it was colonial conquest which prompted a

20

similar demarcation at two levels - into "Indian" and "British", and "private" and "public".

The British empire in India differed from earlier ones in two respects - one, a long term upswing or decline in the fortunes of individual towns began as a result of the construction of a permanent communications network (railways were different from the more flexible road and river routes). Secondly, it was based on cartography and mensuration. Towns, like fields and forests, became fixed in space. But within the limits of each town, there was no clear demarcation of public/private territories, because houses were not taxed, as fields were, for revenue. From the middle of the 19th century, there was a series of urban 'reforms' in British India which, superficially, seemed to be like those in Britain a little earlier. Their included the creation of a town police force, municipalities, water-supply and sewerage systems, road lighting, municipal offices and clocktowers. But whereas in Britain the underlying spirit of these reforms was cooperation, in India it was control - both under the British and in independent India.

The nondemocratic municipal governments of 19th century British India could requisition land arbitrarily in a way that was not possible in Britain. But in the absence of an imaginative policy, the services provided by the municipalities were limited by their meagre finances. This was even in towns where the municipalities were rich landlords, having inherited the properties of former rulers[7]. The Indian towns had men of great wealth as much as did British towns. But, as in Surat, these merchants were not interested in financing schemes which would benefit other neighbourhoods[8]. Private donations were readily forthcoming to supplement government funds for visible secondary services; in return, a marble plaque was ample recompense. From the late 19th century there was an obsession with monumentality, to some extent copied from Europe, where the city was being seen as a work of art, and there was an obvious competition between towns to create spectacular city centres. Rich Indians who did the fashionable Grand Tour of Europe approved of showpiece architecture. This was a particular weakness of the Indian princes[9], who engaged in the pleasant competition of designing pretty capitals (like the states of the new German empire).

In Britain, as more and more people of the 'lower classes' became educated, were provided with houses and entered the portals of policy-making, it came to be accept-
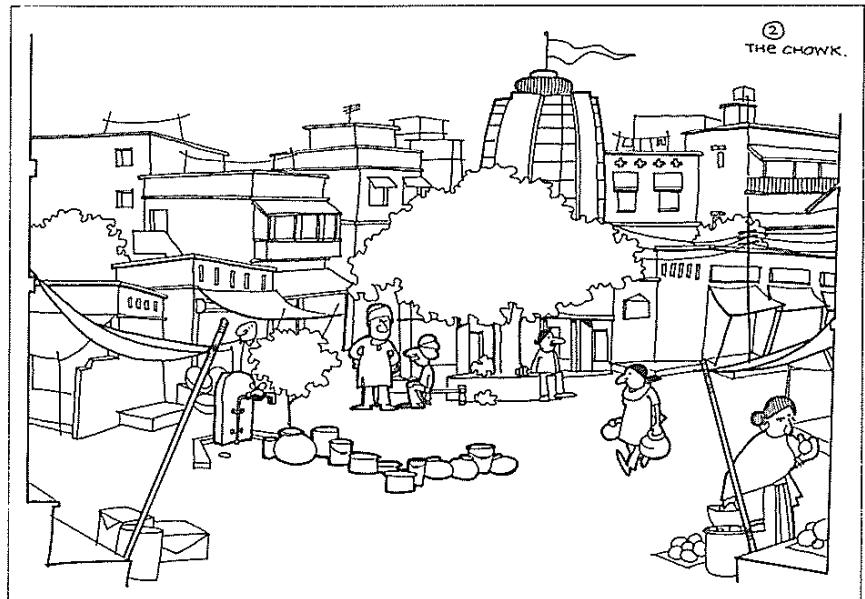

Fig. 2 The Chowk

ed that formal public space was a shared responsibility as well as a shared pleasure. Indians, denied a sense of participation, saw formal areas as barriers, as blocks in an informal space with they were accustomed to using flexibly for festivity, trade and personal services. More and more activities were withdrawing from the street into buildings. The Parkinson's Law of bureaucracy led to a multiplication of 'Writers' Buildings Offices (the east India compagny's office blocks in Calcutta), courts and universities were built to discharge services which earlier towns had performed without such a paraphernalia of buildings and paper. This became even more pronounced after Independance. People became dwarfed as the buildings became taller.
Of medieval European towns Saalman wrote "Public buildings may be a necessity, but in contrast to most public spaces, they are not fully accessible. Therefore, they constitute an institutional block, discouraging normal human activity near them". Likewise in India intimidating, unfamiliar in their architectural vocabulary, unrelated to the average towndweller who passes in their shadow but is not drawn in, these buildings still exude a sense of distance more in the mind than on the ground.

Even more 'open' buildings like libraries attract a small but faithful clientale. Museums are worthy in objective, but the lines of people who enter them are depressed by their sombre interiors, tired by the long distances, unattracted and uneducated by the often dreary display of objects which have been wrenched out of context, shorn of the sunshine, the smells and the sounds which had given them meaning. A variant of this was the strange

depression reported about British soldiers living in the dreary British barracks in Delhi's Red Fort; the architect Sris Chatterjee explained this as caused by the elegant Mughal architecture amidst which they were so incongruously situated[10].

In the sphere of leisure, tented circuses drew away some of the adherents of the sports of the gali, as did formal playing, fields. Baghs were supplemented by parks. At the height of the municipal park euphoria ('People's Parks' were peculiar to conquered territories), in 1868, Crawford in Bombay dreamed of a 350-acre People's Park, with a stylised 'Place' around the temple of Mumbai Devi which would be lovelier than Napolean III's Place Vendome (which, incidentally, the Communards were to destroy in 1871). But Crawford reckoned without the problem of having to demolish some shops and an opium bazaar. Mumbai Devi had to do without a facelift[11].

Another area of 'created' space (from 1904, when Lord Curzon made the Archaeological survey very active) was museumified historic buildings. These innumerable examples of fine architecture were now made numerable, defined, categorised and enclosed, with specific paths of movement, often enthusiastically landscaped out of context. This 'gentrification' of monuments isolated them in the process of 'protecting' them. The pity is that in many cases the process of hiving them off remained incomplete, and as land values began to escalate, they became the victims of encroachment and vandalism. Again, this was the result of a lack of shared responsibility and shared pride.
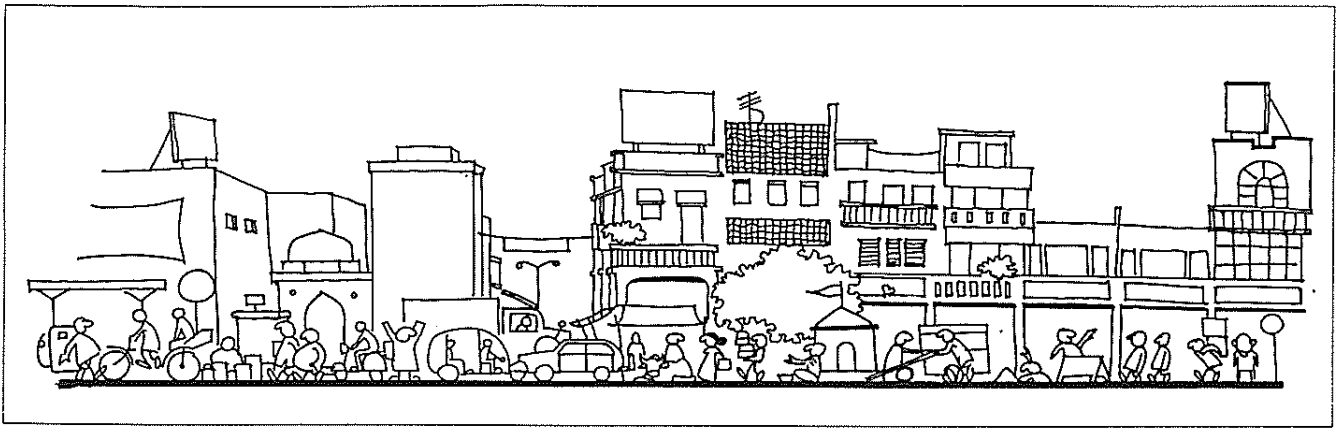
Fig. 3 The street

In Britain, as sections of towns became more decorous, the informality of older urban areas generated unease among the middle classes. It was even more so in India, especially after 1857. Unlike the French, who have become an enthusiastically outdoor people even in cold Paris, the British, when they saw the street life of an Indian town, were hit by fear, a fear in which there were elements transferred from their conjectures of Paris in 1789 and 121848, mixed up with lurid Arabian Nights cityscapes[12].

By contrast Munshi Ismael from India, visiting London in the 1770s, had suffered from a sense of insecurity of a different kind. "The houses were all 5 storeys high and were distinguishable from each other only by the numberplates on their doors. Fear that he would be unable to find again the house from which he had come made him afraid - for 3 days - to venture out alone"[13].

Officials apprehensive of social tension (ethnic, not class) discovered the value of open spaces as a means of self-protection (like the British haw-haw). Perceived open spaces (as distinct from invisible ones) have three functions - to be used, to be viewed and to be felt. Earlier rulers had let the people build right up to the palace. In British India, the utilitarian maidan and the spaces in frount of temples, river banks and the sacred spaces around khangahs were supplemented with clearly demarcated malls, esplanades and Company Baghs (a reference to the East India Company) to separate the British areas from the Indian; in Calcutta the Maidan was out of bounds to Indians till 1897. Apart from a sense of order, these areas conveyed a sense of distance between the rulers and ruled, a barrier as effective as a barbed-wire fence. The most awesome of these was the 2 miles of Kingsway in New Delhi14. There was also often an overwhelming sense of desolation, the opposite of the raunaq of crowded streets.

A century later Indian planners followed the then current British fashion of delineating "green belts", only to find that informal and extensive open spaces abetted crime, and that small neighbourhood parks were much safer[15].

In difference to the new cult of town planning, with its naive faith in creating an ideal urban world, the demarcation of public spaces hardened into control of these on paper. Indians were excited by the strident tone of CIAM's Charter of Athens (1933), which sounded off against inefficient urban management, and asked that attention be paid to four criteria - living, working, recreation and communication[16]. The hypnotic fascination with an inappropriate ideology was not limited to India. Of China, a commentator said sadly, "Many areas of character and significance in the cities have vanished". Planning propaganda prevailed, even after Independence. This was in spite of the fact that India had been lucky in having had in the country for close to a decade (1914-1924) the "antiplanner", Patrick Geddes. He had cautioned Indians against overeagerness to 'provide' 'services', i.e., to build and sell markets and 'community centres', and to widen and straighten roads in a country where so much of life was still largely pedestrian. The wisdom of this can be appreciated by anyone looking at the wastes of New Bhubaneswar (built in the 1950s)[17] or the 'civic centres' in many towns.

The faith in planning continued for decades after Independence. Bureaucrats, losing all sense of reality, made glib statements like the following, "the plan is concerned with city form. Providing a solution to the problems of shelter and urban poverty is not its object." Despite all the details in paper plans, the planner today has rio control over the use of his planned city any more than the architect has over the use of his building - and often has no wish for it. His relationship with the users of the plan is not a two-way one. Organic towns are not a category distinct from planned towns. The organic briar-shoots and patterns of behaviour can overcome the planned rose plant. If shelter and urban poverty are ignored, the poor will colonise the public areas.- An experienced town-planner said "The secret of an open space is that you must give it an assigned use. It is then well maintained"[18]. Encroachment by the rich becomes very evident as real-estate values increase. Chowkidars, policemen and officials cannot restrain either the very poor (whose strength is in numbers) or the very rich (who have political clout). As traffic becomes more hierarchical, and pedestrian movement is equated with poverty, there is little respect for appearances at the facade level -graffitti, posters and litter proliferate. The symbiotic relations in the town break down; those concerned with the use of public buildings become more preoccupied with defining the limits of their responsibility than their
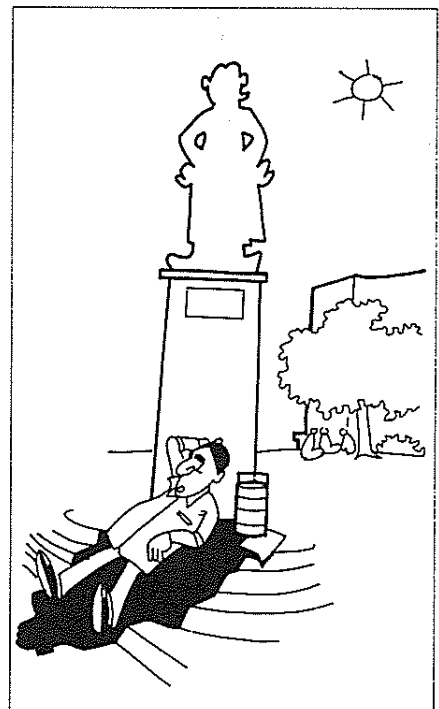

Fig. 4 The green area

extent; public buildings become shabby or hostile. And because heavy investments in infrastructure are made in tows on the assumption that they are permanent, the option open to Emperor Akbar in the 17th century of pulling out the tent-pegs from Fatehpur Sikri is no longer available to us.

There is another way in which public areas are modified, a way which is as sudden and unpredictable as the assembling of a cluster of shanties in an 'undeveloped' public area, or the construction of a multi-storey hotel that disturbs the skyline. This is the appropriation of the public spaces of an earlier regime. This is seldom done harmoniously or tastefully, and often is unintentionally comic - the use of the Red Fort's Diwan-e-Am for ceremonial balls and the Diwan-e-Khas for a jharokha-darshan of a british Viceroy, or the recent proposal to substitute Gandhiji's statue for that of George V[19]. This has to be distinguished from the democratisation of haughty public areas - the Boat Club protest rallies in Delhi are the reply to the annual statement of power on Republic Day, when heavy military tanks roll down the 2-mile avenue of New Delhi's Rajpath. Our towns today are areas of coexistence, but less and less so of conviviality, and, alarmingly more than before, sudden of conflicts. Planning practice and private predilections have increasently made the street less an area of social intercourse than a traffic corridor. The expressed sense of need - as distinct from real need - of built space has created more and more public buildings in place of open areas. A lot of green areas have passed from the public realm to the private. All this can sharpen and-increase the frequency of
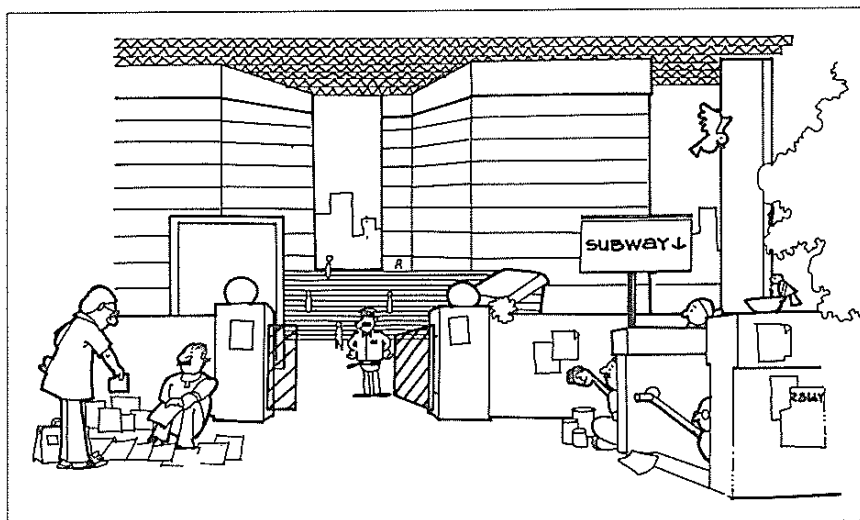

Fig. 5 The Business Centre

hostile behaviour and decrease the nuances of civilised conduct. It also increases the degree of impersonality and therefore of indifference. Without in any way becoming a 'slum romantic' or an apologist for the 'premodern city', the another believes that it is still possible to think of ways in which urban life in India can become mind-enriching experiences, essentially by restoring the sense of neighbourhood and small-scale.

Footnotes

1. J.Friedmann, quoted; J. Abu-Kaghod and R. Hay (eds.) Third World Urbaniation (1977), p. 157.

2. Baburnama, translated by A.S.Beveridge (reprinted Delhi 1970), p.487

3. E.Ehlers and T.Krafft, Shahjahanabad / Old Delhi: Tradition and Colonial (Stuttgart 1993)

4. One of the best-known lines of the 18th century Urdn poet Mir Taqi Mir translates as 'Who would want to leave Delhi / Forsking its Galis?'

5. Galib, a 19th century poet of Delhi, wrote: "Neither temple nor mosque, nei ther door nor threshold, It is the public road we are sitting on. Why should any rival dislodge us ?" (translated by, F.F.Devji in South Asia, Australia, XIV,1 (1991), p. l48

6. Cf Hermann Ku1ke, 'Rathas and Rajas: the Car Festival at Puri' in Kings and Cults (Delhi 1993), p 67-81

7. This applies to particularly to Delhi and Lucknow after the abortive Revolt of 1957.

8. Douglas Haynes 'Merchantstate Relations in Surat 1600-1924' in D. Haynes and G.Prakash (ed.) Contesting Power (Delhi 1991), p. 261

9. 300-odd statest of widely varying sizes remained autonomous and separate from British India between 1858 and 1947.

10. Sris Chandra Chatterjee, India and the New Order (Calcutta 1949), p. 102

11. Mariam Dossal, Imperial Designs and Indian Realities (Bombay 1991), p.206

12. This comes through in many english novels, as in E.M.Forster's Passage to India (1924)

13. Simon Digby, 'Munshi Ismail's New History in Christopher Shackle (ed.), Urdu and Muslim South Asia (Delhi 1991), p.57

14. The Kingsway (today Rajpath) was the central axis of the capital city design, ed. by Sir Edwin Lutyens between 1914 and 1931.

15. Edgar Ribeiro in Werner Y.Wolff, Open Space Planning in India (Hanover 1988), p.46

16. Madhu Sarin, Urban Planning in the Third World: the Chandigarh experience (London 1982) p.31

17. The planner, Otto Koenigsberger, wanted the new capital to 'help the people who have to live in it', in contrast to earlier capitals which were statements of power -but spacious zones separated by wide barriers are inconvenient for a society which is still largely pedestrian.

18. See note 15

19. In 1989, the government proposed that the canopy which had contained the statue of George V be removed and a statue of Gandhiji installed. The Conservation Society of Delhi opposed this and built up public pressure to persuade the government to abandon the proposal.

GLOSSARY

agrahara	section of town reserved for Brahmins
bagh	garden
chaharbagh	Persian design, where the garden is divided into 4 sections
chowk	open area at crossroads, or a widening out of one street
chowkidar	watchman
gali	lane
jharokha darshan	literally 'window-viewing' - Indian custom of the King presenting himself at a window so that his subjects could see him
khanh	shrine of a saint
kucha	lane / cul-de-sac
madrasa	school, often attached to a place of worship
maidan	open area (in Indian town, used for military reviews, in British Indian towns, retained as a cordon-sanitaire)
mohulla	neighbourhood
pol	closely built beehive of houses with only one entrance
rathhyatra	annual ceremony when temple deity is taken in a procession (or journey = yatra) in an ornate carriage (rath)
raunaq	liveliness

Income, Occupation and Life-styles in Delhi's Neighbourhoods

Veena Garella

Zusammenfassung

Delhi ist zusammengewachsen aus einer großen Anzahl von Quartieren, die sich je nach Entstehung einteilen lassen in historische, koloniale, nach-koloniale und spontane Nachbar-schaften sowie in Großsiedlungen. Diese Klassen vereinen eine mehr oder weniger große Zahl von Unter-klassen.

Die meisten Wohnungseigentümer beginnen nach etwa zehn bis zwölf Jahren, meist in Selbsthilfe, ihr Anwe-sen zu erweitern oder zu verbessern. Es entsteht Mobilitätsdruck nach oben und nach unten. Die vielfältigen Ver-änderungen in Delhis Quartieren las-sen insgesamt auf eine Verbesserung der wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse schließen.

Diesen Prozeß der Nachbarschafts-bildung bzw. -findung illustriert die Au-torin anhand von Fallstudien. Er ist besonders verschränkt und komplex in Neubaugebieten, wo er von der Zu-teilung, den Eingriffen der Behörden abhängt. Die Ärmeren, welche ein Obdach finden - legitim oder nicht - versuchen, dies ökonomisch rentabel zu nutzen und ihre Umgebung ent-sprechend ihrem Wertsystem zu ge-stalten. Die Wohlhabenderen haben schwächere soziale Bindungen, aber eine bessere Organisationsfähigkeit, besonders wenn sie in Großsiedlun-gen wohnen.

Mrs. Veena Garella, Professor of Town Plan-ning at the School of Planning and Architec-ture, New Delhi. Address: School of Planning and Architecture, Indraprastha Estate, New Delhi 110002, India

Delhi, as the capital of the world's se-cond most populous country is a fasci-nating and diverse place, with a neigh-bourhood structure that reflects this di-versity. The variety of these neighbour-hoods is presented in this paper through discussion of their historical background, housing types, neighbourhood changes, demographics and consumption pat-terns, with typial families profiled for se-lected representative areas.

Delhi's Neighbourhoods: an Historical Overview

Judging by Delhi's standards, Ruth Glass' definition of appropriate neigh-bourhoods appears to be valid; that is, each neighbourhood is, "...a distinct teri-torial group, distinct by virtue of the spe-cific physical characteristics of the area and special social characteristics of its inhabitants." The city's history clearly provides a milieu for such neighbour-hood formation, which this paper classi-fies as historic, induced or spontaneous, depending on the circumstances under which the development of a particular residential district took place.

Historic refers to traditional housing in the inner city (known as Shahjahana-bad) or the several traditional villages within the urban area, wherein "mohal-las" still denote the bounded territory of homogenious social groups who live in mixed neighbourhood.

Induced developments have occurred as a result of urban pressures, policies or the plan-making mechanism; and they constitute officially recognized enclaves of the middle or upper income classes, but do not exclude low income housing areas. Spontaneous developments con-stitute the residual informal housing con-sidered illegal by the city managers where the poor resided.

Each of the neighbourhoods in this ty-pology is also characterized by a spe-cific mix of housing types as is summa-rized in Table 1, with historic neighbour-hoods dominated by traditional housing, induced neighbourhoods by modern, pri-vate housing and public housing com-plexes, and spontaneous neighbour-hoods by unauthorised colonies and squatter housing. Neighbourhoods pro-
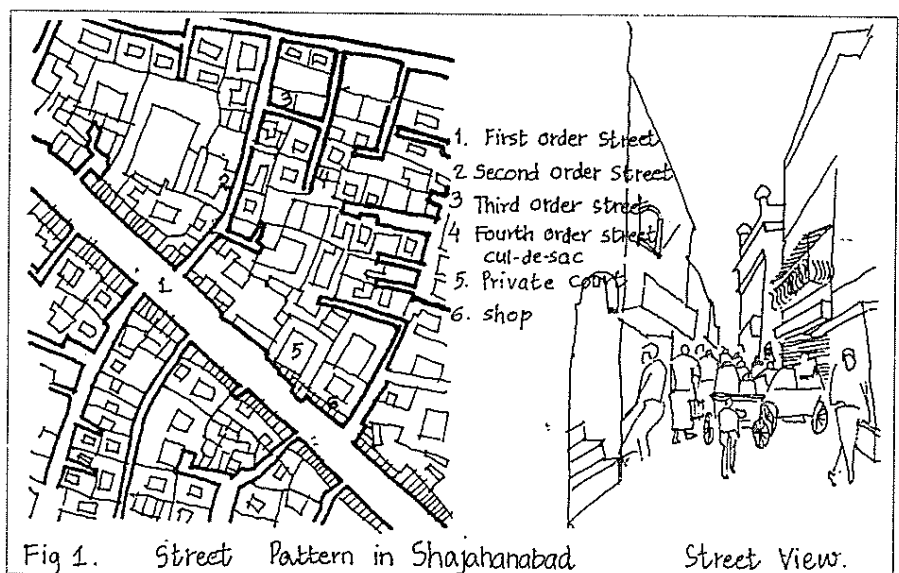

Fig 1.   Street Pattern in Shajahanabad   Street View.

1. First order Street
2. Second order Street
3. Third order Street
4. Fourth order street cul-de-sac
5. Private Court
6. shop

Table 1: Neighbourhood and Housing Typologies - Delhi

| | Neighbourhood types | | |
	Historic	Induced	spontaneous
Housing type	Traditional	Private	unauthorized
	Inner City (Shahjahanbad) and overspill	Plotted	regularized
		Builder apartements	unregularized
	Urban villages	Public Housing	Squatter
		Rehabilitation Colonies	
		Resettlement Colonies	

filed on the above basis exist in various parts of the city as is illustrated by Figure 2.

Prior to the establishment of Shahjahanabad by the Mughals in 1638, Delhi was composed of seven other cities, parts of which are still discernible today, although they show evidence of the former living quarters (see Figure 3). Of additional importance in the historical analysis of Delhi's neighbourhoods is the existence of four distinct periods of urban growth, because this is a major factor in determining the mix of housing in each type (i.e., historic, induced, spontaneous) of neighbourhood. These periods are the pre-colonial period (before 1911), the pre-independence period (1911-1947), the post-independence period (1947-1961) and the Master Plan period (1961-).

Housing Typology for Delhi

In view of the above discussion, a housing typology for Delhi can be developed based on the three elements of neighbourhood type, housing type and period

of urban growth. This becomes clear when housing type is analyzed further in relation to Figure 5. For example, traditional housing in the historic neighbourhoods of the pre-colonial period is still in existence in the inner city of Shahjahanabad, as well as in the rural communities which have been brought into Delhi's urban boundaries. The housing of these neighbourhods is outlined below and illustrated in various figures.

1. Pre-Colonial Housing

Pre-colonial or traditional housing has a number of spatial elements which can be arranged in a hierarchy.

Figure 4 presents the elements of traditional housing noted above, while Figure 7 shows various perspectives of the traditional residential unit in Delhi.
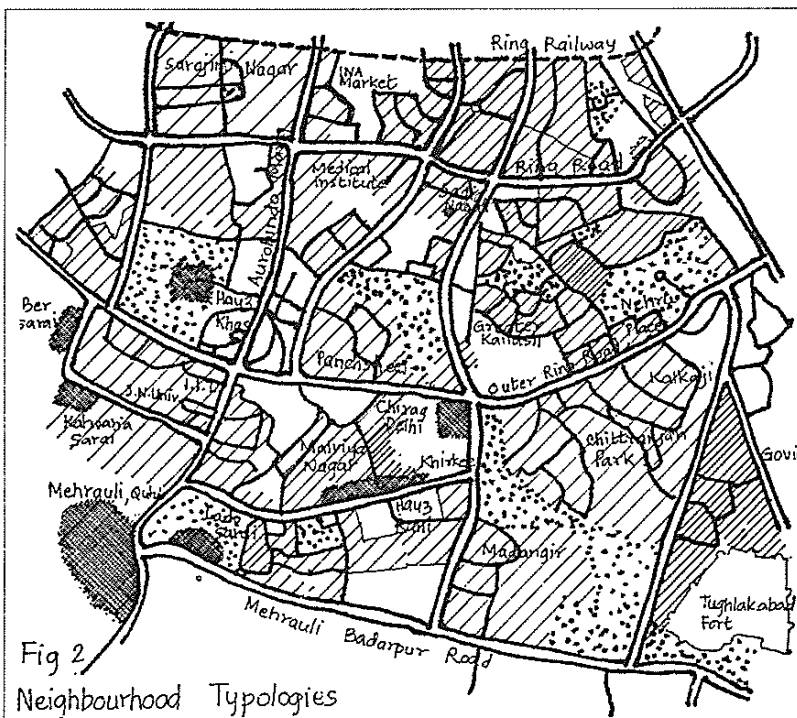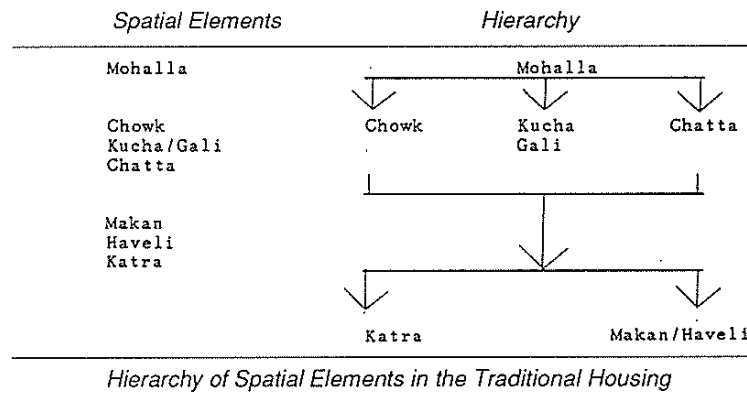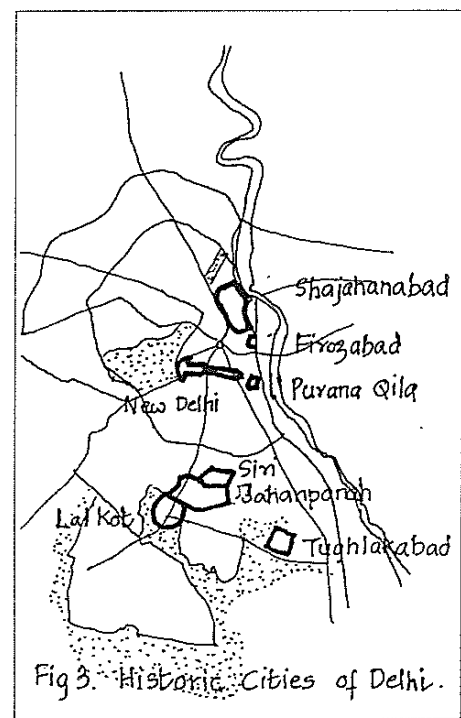
Hierarchy of Spatial Elements in the Traditional Housing

Fig 2
Neighbourhood Typologies

Fig 3 Historic Cities of Delhi.

Historic   Induced   Spontaneous   Green areas

MOHALLA

A TRADITIONAL NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT HAVING SOCIAL & SPATIAL

IDENTIFICATION; DERIVED FROM JATI (CASTE) ENCLAVES OF RURAL COMMUNITES RELATING TO COMMON OCCUPATIONS. RELIGION & PLACE OF ORIGIN; SELF CONTAINED IN RELIGIOUS COMMERCIAL FUNCTIONS. CONSIST OF MIXED NEIGHBOURHOODS — POOR SERVICE THE NON-POOR — IN TURN ARE SUSTAINED AND PATRONISED. MOHALLA COMMITTEES REPRESENT NEIGHBOURHOOD ISSUES.

MOHALLA IS A DEFINED GEOGRAPHIC AREA WITH A SPINE STREET (WITH COMMERCE) CONNECTING TO 2ND & 3RD ORDER BAZAR STREETS AS WELL AS A NETWORK OF GALIS, KUTCHAS, KATRAS, CHATTAS; ENTRANCE DOORWAYS TO MOHALLAS ARE FORTIFIED.

COURTYARD
TEMPLE
SHOPS

ENTRANCE DOORWAY WITH GATE.

GALI - BAJRANGBALI

KUTCHA - DILWALI SINGH

CUL DE SAC PROVIDES PROVIDES ACCESS TO SELF CONTAINED GROUPS

CHOWK — A FOCAL POINT AT CROSSING OF TWO OR MORE STREETS, USED FOR SOCIAL INTERACTION. GEARED TO MOHALLA REQUIREMENTS.

CHOWK

KATRA - ISHWAR BHAWAN.

CHATTA, A STRUCTURE SPANNING A STREET

CHATTA

STREET SECTIONS

Fig. 4   Elements of Traditional Housing.

Fig. 4   Elements of Traditional Housing
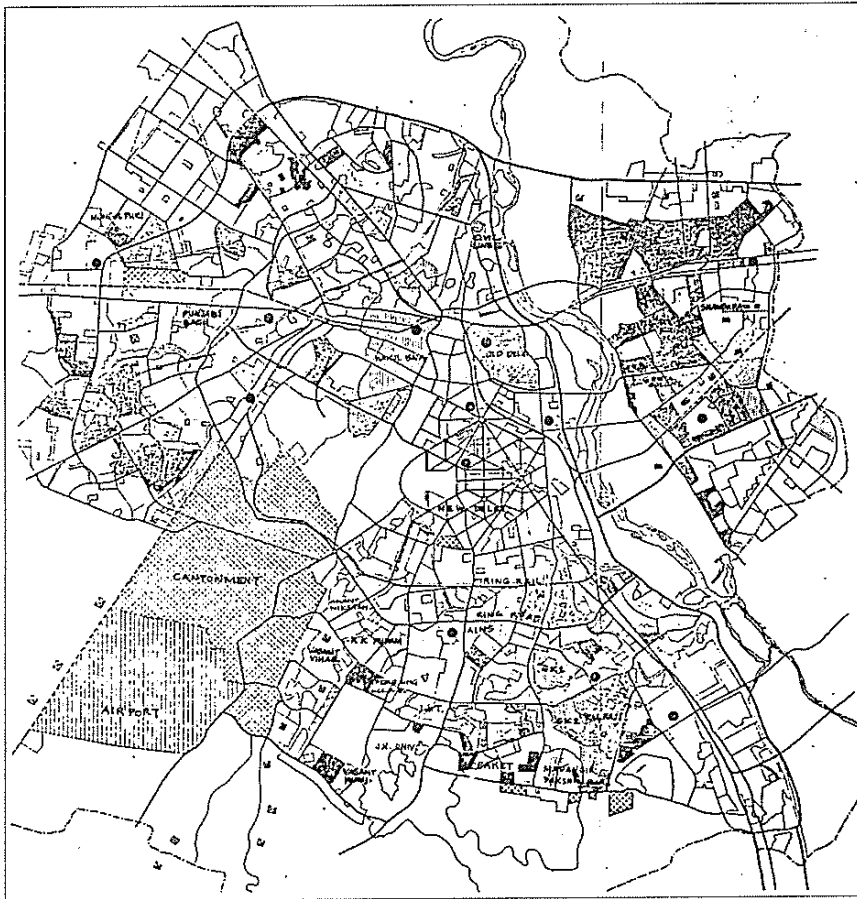
Fig.5 Map of Delhi, Location of Neighbourhoods and Housing

.2. Pre-Indepenence Housing

The transition of neighbourhoods from a close-knit and cellular traditional structure to a "segregated" one came about during British rule. The neighbourhoods the colonists built consisted of low density bungalow areas with geometrically laid out roads, tree lined avenues and vistas. This is illustrated by Figure 6.

These neighbourhoods were, of course, for middle to high level officials. Those with lower level positions were housed in separate enclaves in barrack like structures. However, this pattern has since been replaced in India by four storey government employee housing.

3. Post-Independence Housing

Following independence and the partition of the country in 1947, new neighbourhoods were constructed in Delhi consisting of rehabilitation colonies and private plotted development.

Rehabilitation colonies are neighbourhoods with small plots of 80 sq.m. in dispersed locations ten to fifteen kilometers away from the city centre. They were

originally intended to house displaced refugees. Figure 8 gives a graphic description of such housing.

The second type of housing built during this post-independence period is private plotted development for high income groups in "approved" layouts six to seven kilometers from the city centre. Many of these neighborhoods are in South Delhi and are now high status areas. Figure 9 indicates why.
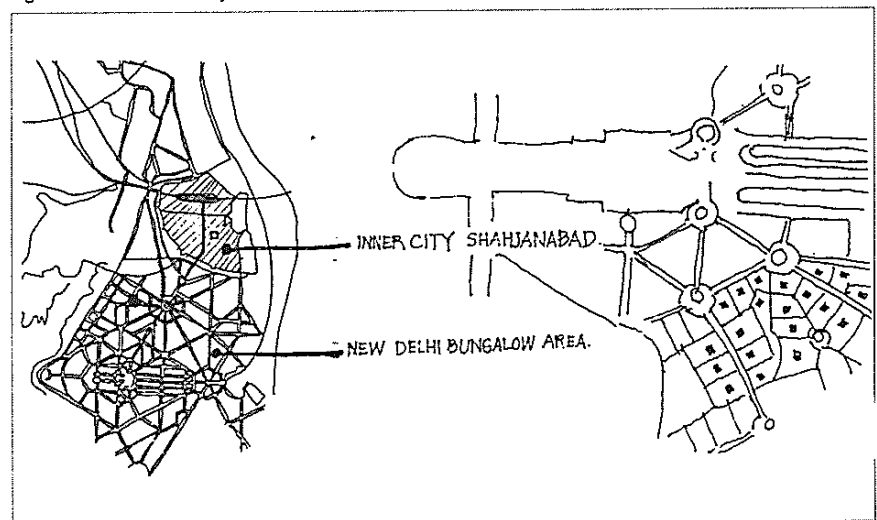
In addition to the planned housing built during this period, spontaneous neighbourhoods had their genesis. These originated either as squatter settlements or as unauthorised colonies, that is, as illegal subdivisions of unserviced land in organic layouts for low income groups. Both of these forms of neighbourhoods have been growing. Unlike squatter settlements, however, unauthorised colonies consolidate over time, and most services eventually reach them through community organisation efforts Both of these neighbourhood types are illustrated in Figure 10.

4. Master Plan Housing

Neighbourhoods and their associated housing have now been discussed for the pre-colonial, pre-independence and post-independence periods. The current Master Plan period began in 1961.e Housing characteristic of this period is of several types, including public housing, resettlement colonies, cooperative group housing and private sector conversion from single family to multi-unit housing.

The first type of housing built during this period is public housing built in plotted areas and intermixed with different income group multi-family built up units (group housing). These are the most visible neighbourhoods in the newly urbanised areas. There are nearly 150 different schemes covering 200,000 households in Delhi.

The second housing type from the Master Plan period is the resettlement colonies. Such housing is intended for evicted squatters and is constructed on the "sites and service" model in 21 sq.m. plots. Forty-four dispersed and outlying locations have been developed, each
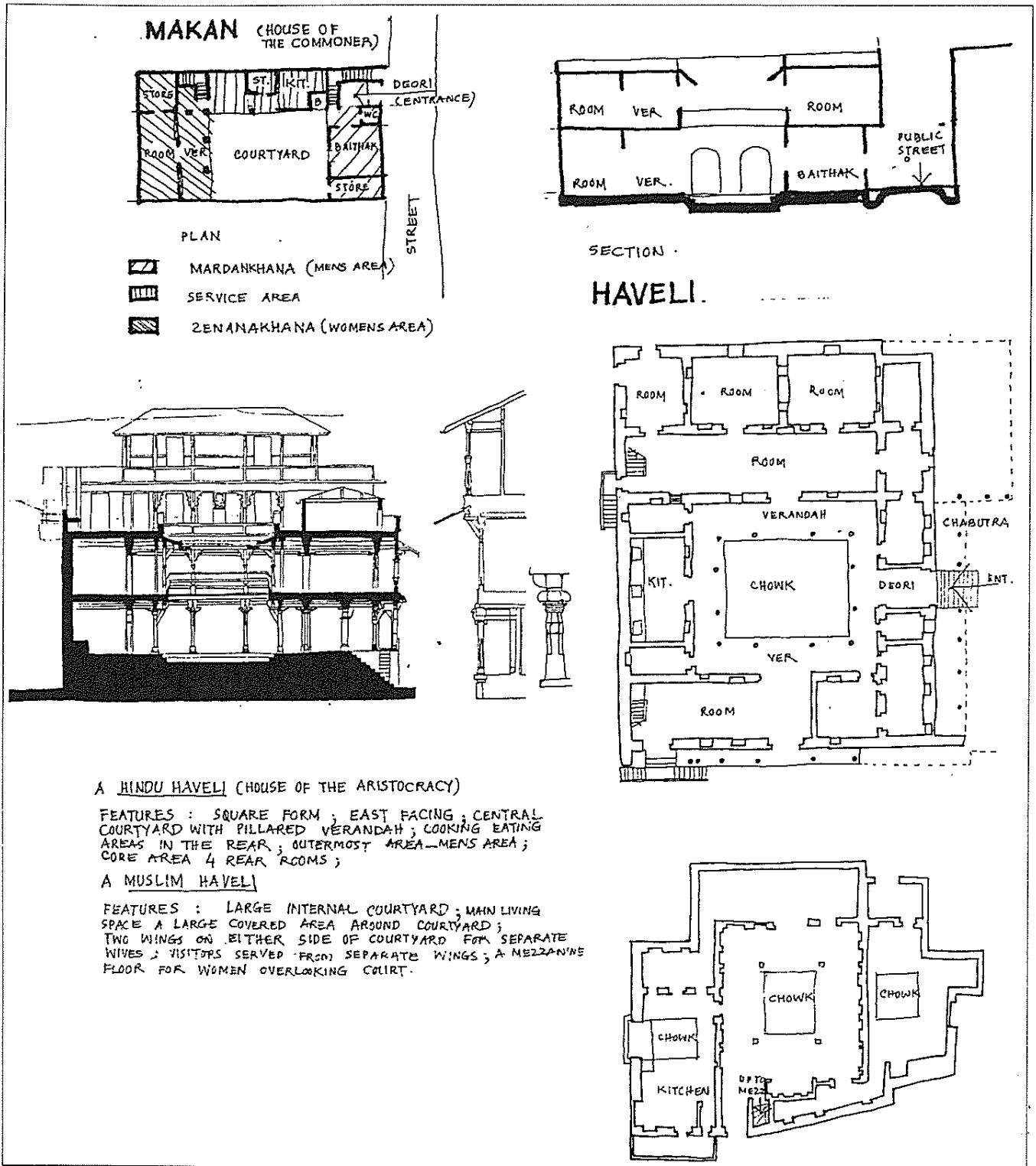

Fig. 6 Bungalow Areas of Lutyen's Delhi

MAKAN (HOUSE OF THE COMMONER)

PLAN

SECTION

HAVELI.

▨ MARDANKHANA (MENS AREA)

▥ SERVICE AREA

▩ ZENANAKHANA (WOMENS AREA)

A HINDU HAVELI (HOUSE OF THE ARISTOCRACY)

FEATURES : SQUARE FORM ; EAST FACING ; CENTRAL COURTYARD WITH PILLARED VERANDAH ; COOKING EATING AREAS IN THE REAR ; OUTERMOST AREA—MENS AREA ; CORE AREA 4 REAR ROOMS ;

A MUSLIM HAVELI

FEATURES : LARGE INTERNAL COURTYARD ; MAIN LIVING SPACE A LARGE COVERED AREA AROUND COURTYARD ; TWO WINGS ON EITHER SIDE OF COURTYARD FOR SEPARATE WIVES ; VISITORS SERVED FROM SEPARATE WINGS ; A MEZZANINE FLOOR FOR WOMEN OVERLOOKING COURT.

Fig. 7 The Traditional Residential Unit

one housing 10,000 households. This is a prominent neighbourhood type in newly urbanised areas and is shown in Figure 11.

Cooperative group housing, the third type of Master Plan housing, is a decade old programme, which supplies developed land to registered fraternity groups to build their own multi-family dwellings. These are normally four to eight storey buildings at densities of 150 dwelling units per hectare.

Another important development during this period is building conversion. Private sector actors have been reinvesting and clandestinely converting single family homes to multi-family apartments by rebuilding both private and public plotted housing for younger, more affluent professionals.

Neighbourhood Change Issues

The last paragraph points to the recent development that all such neighbourhoods in Delhi which are older than ten to fifteen years are now coming under pressure to change, usually upwards, through new investments for home improvements such as adding floors, rooms or bathrooms, rebuilding, renewing the facade, etc. The displacement of
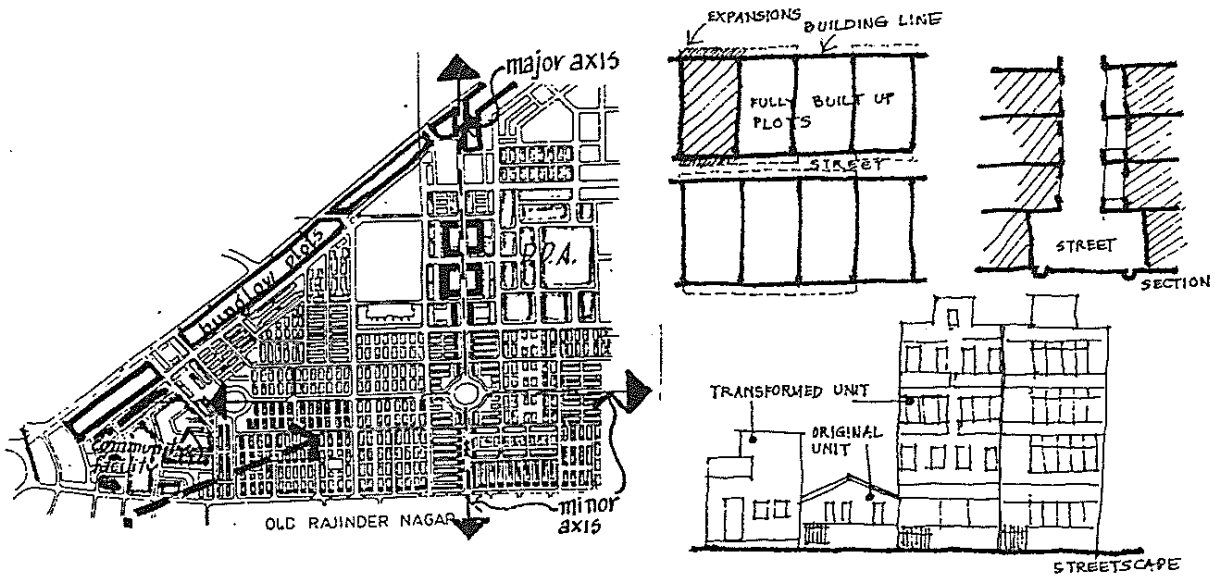
Fig. 8 Rehbilitation Colonies

residents occurs if they can no longer aford to pay the increasing rents. If they are owners, they may find the rising property values too hard to resist. They then sell their homes and move to less prosperous areas.

However, neighbourhood stability is essential to maintaining social networks, and, in that context, continued displacement can be detrimental. Since the upward mobility of homeowners is limited by land and the suply of housing, by upgrading their physical environment through home improvements, i.e., the legal or illegal addition of space or amenities, homeowners perceive that they have crossed barriers from low status to intermediate or high status housing without physically moving.

The major advantage of this process, then, is that private sector conversion, if it is owner-occupier driven (i.e., self help upgrading), assists in meeting society's housing goal of achieving a better match betwen residential needs and aspirations at no expense to the government.

In adition, the process enhances neighbourhood prestige through improvements in maintenance and the visual quality of the neighbourhood. Thus, the external resemblance to middle or even upper middle class neighbourhoods is perceived as reducing the gaps between social clases.

Change in inner city neighbourhoods is limited to conversion of land uses on major street spines (the rest remains

residential in nature). Conversion of low rise development in the inner city is also limited since a policy exists to prohibit the height of buildings from wxceeding that of the Jama Masjid, a landmark historic religious building.

The decline in the inner city population (unlike in western countries) is not significant enough to threaten social stability, with only some residents having moved to newer residential quarters for reasons of overcrowding, conversion of their neighbourhoods to commercial land use, trafic, noise, air pollution, etc.

Neighbourhoods in "Katras" consist of "downwardly mobile" and "deprived" households. Special measures are needed for their physical upgrading.
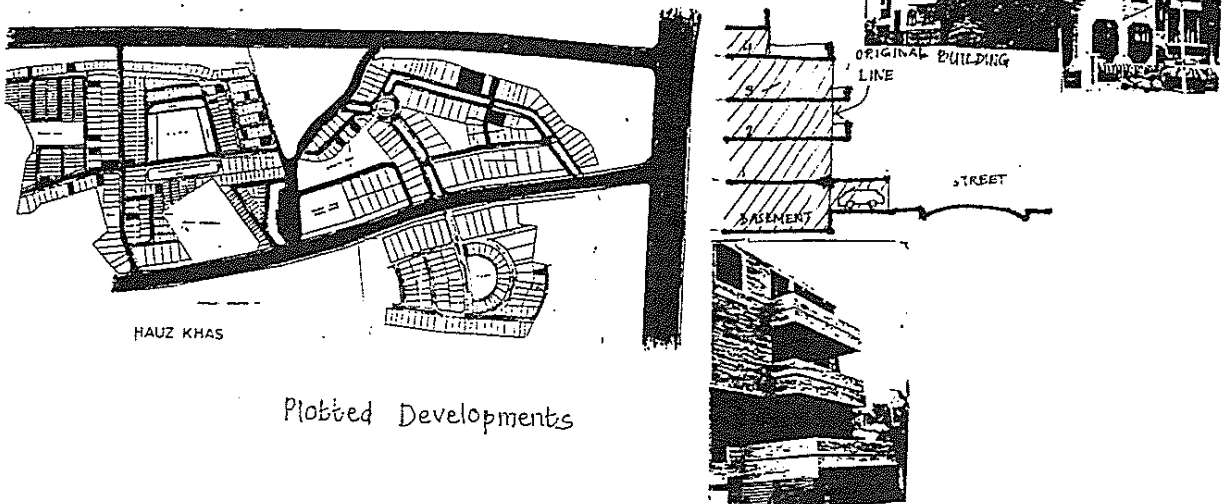
Fig. 9 Plotted Developments
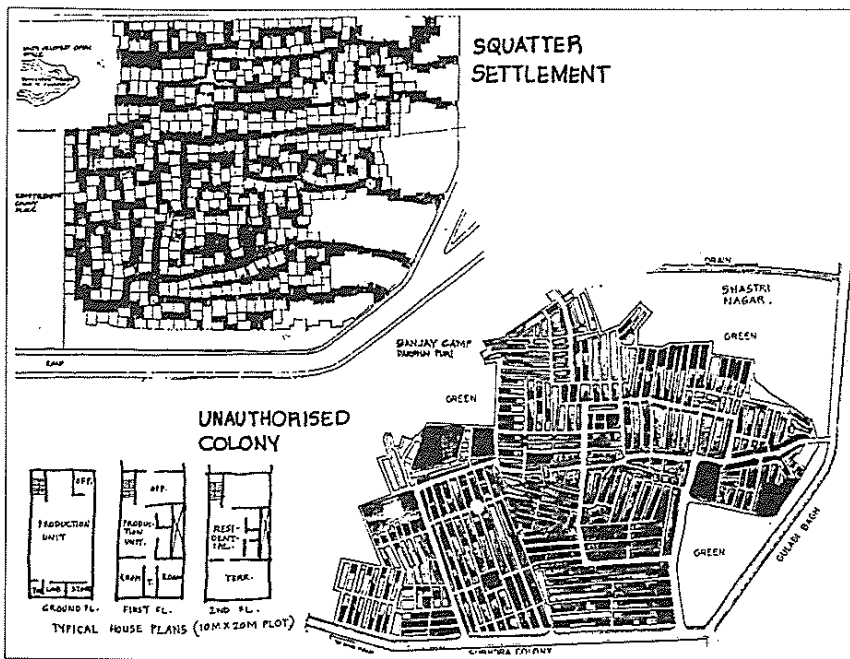
Fig. 10 Squatter settlements

Socioeconomic Context

To this point, this paper has considered Delhi's neighbourhoods from the historical perspective, has analyzed housing types and discussed neighbourhood change issues. The last element leads to a consideration of the socioeconomic context of these changes, which is discussed in this section.

Comunity Profiles

To illustrate this context and relate the abovediscussion to the lives of Delhi's inhabitants, profiles of typical comunity life in some of the city's neighbourhoods follow.

Raju

Raju, a driver on daily wages in a public office in Delhi, is not exactly poor. He lives in a two room house with a tin shed in Madangir, a resetlement colony (see Figure 11) constituted entirely of 21

sq.m. plots, which is part of the Social Housing Programme of the government for evicted squatters established eighteen years ago. He bought the plot sixteen years ago for a sum of Rs. 800 (USD 25); its present worth is Rs. 90,000, an increase in value of 113 times the purchase price. Since he and his wife also work part-time, their joint monthly earnings of Rs. 4000 (USD 125) are enough to support their four children. Two are boys whose education fees total Rs. 300 per month, and two are girls (both school dropouts) who look after the home while the parents are away. The family's expenditure on food is 50% of income. Raju also needs to mobilise Rs. 120,000 (USD 3750) for the marriage of his two daughters, so he saves in a chit fund (not a bank). He has ceiling fans in both rooms and a cooler, and he owns a black and white television along with a gas connection for cooking. The plot also has individually metered water and electricity connections. As soon as the settlement gets se-

wered, he will have an individual toilet (Presently, they use community toilets). His immediate neighbours (in 4 rows of housing) are all immigrants from Tamil Nadu, his home state, and together they have a very strong community bond.
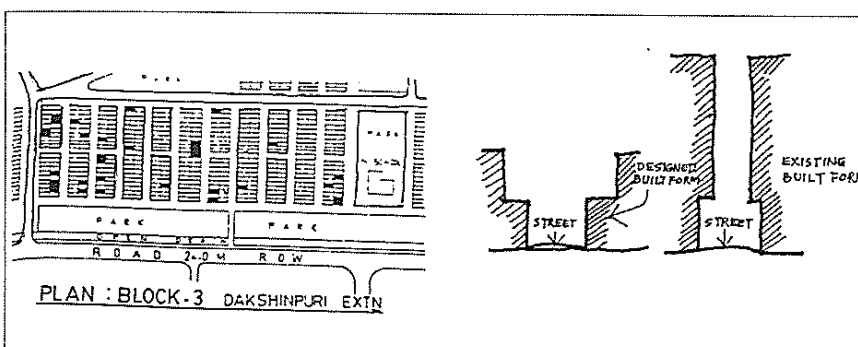
Kishan

By Raju's standard, Kishan and his family, who live in the South Delhi locality of Saket are rich. They own most of the consumer durables associated with the affluent, i.e., a car, a refrigerator, a colour TV and a stereo. Nineteen years ago in their mid-thirties, they moved into this three room public housing apartment for middle income people. Its cost was Rs. 50,000 (USD 1565), and its present worth after illegally adding a room and a toilet is Rs. 1,000,000, an increase in value of twenty times. The six member family household has five wage earners, none of whom are professionals but two of whom work for foreign companies, and their monthly household income is Rs. 40,000 (USD 1250). They are rich by normal Indian standards, but they prefer a simple lifestyle. They have no desire to move out to a higher status area or invest in a second home. Most of their surplus income goes to a bank savings account. Their close social contacts are limited to a few close relatives outside the locality and to only their next door neighbours within the locality.

Virender

In contrast, Virender, with his wife (both architects in their mid-thirties) and their five year old school-going son, live in a high income public housing four room apartment in one of the newer developments (Vasant Kunj) in South Delhi. They bought this house five years ago with loans from their parents for Rs. 400,000 (USD 12,500); its present worth represents an increase in value of three times. They put very little of their savings into the bank and usually invest in the stock market.

They maintain cordial relations with neighbours, but they had their share of problems at the time of moving in when they renovated their apartment to suit their lifestyle. This irked their immediate neighbours. Their house is equipped with all modern gadgets, including a microwave oven, electric dishwasher and all usual consumer durables. They are aspiring for second home ownership away from the city and hope to purchase a weekend cottage on a small farm. They entertain occasionally, but most of their friends are from outside the locality.

Fig. 11 Resettlement Colonies

The Elite

The elite of the city, typifying an upper crust, close knit community, live in the exclusive and fashionable bungalow areas of Lutyen's Delhi (see Figure 6), which forms a special neighbourhood. Similarly, the new rich have built palatial houses set amidst acres of land at the southern outskirts of the city, complete with swimming pools, bars, gardens, orchards and vegetable farms. They occasionally throw lavish parties. Large tracts of land are taken up by these neighbourhoods.

There are other exclusive residential neighbourhoods, which have houses with smaller gardens, in low housing density areas such as Vasant Vihar, Jorbagh, Golf Links and Friends Colony. In these neighbourhoods, houses with three to four bedrooms fetch monthly rents of Rs. 30,000 (USD 940) to Rs. 50,000 (USD 1560).

Pratap

At the opposite end of the scale is Pratap, a rickshaw driver who migrated from one of the backward states of the country. He sleeps on the pavement in the inner city commercial area known as Ajmeri Gate, where he drives a rickshaw during the day. Along with ten of his friends, he has rented a hutment to keep his meagre belongings safe. His monthly income is Rs. 1200 (USD 38) to Rs. 1500 (USD 47), one third of which goes towards rental for the rickshaw. Wen he is caught plying an unregistered rickshaw, three to four days earnings go to getting it released from the Municipality. His wife and two children back home in his village, where he has no land, live with his mother and brother.

The above examples illustrate a range of communities found among the neighbourhoods of Delhi, the city with the highest per capita income in India, a capital city with its numerous diplomatic missions and abundant work opportunities for migrants who constitute two thirds of its population and a city whose Moghul and British history is still traceable in the streets of Shahjahanabad and Lutyen's Delhi, neighbourhoods described in Sections 2 and 3 of this paper.

Demographics and Consumption Patterns

Based on income, people like Pratap represent a majority of urban households in Delhi. They form nearly two thirds of the total population and are classified as poor in Table 2. While Raju would be considered middle class based on income alone, his lifestyle and housing status exclude him from this category if broader socioeconomic considerations are taken into account. Again, on the basis of income as in Table 2, Kishan (see page 30) would be expected to live in a higher income neighbourhood. His earnings are far higher than his housing status.

Supporting the contention that most of Delhi's inhabitants are poor are consumption (or expenditure) patterns (see Table 3) and housing statistics (see Table 4). Only at the upper middle income level, representing just 5.2% of the population, are people able to save any of their monthly income, and fully 61.2% of the population live in either traditional, squatter resettlement, informal, squatter or unauthorised housing.
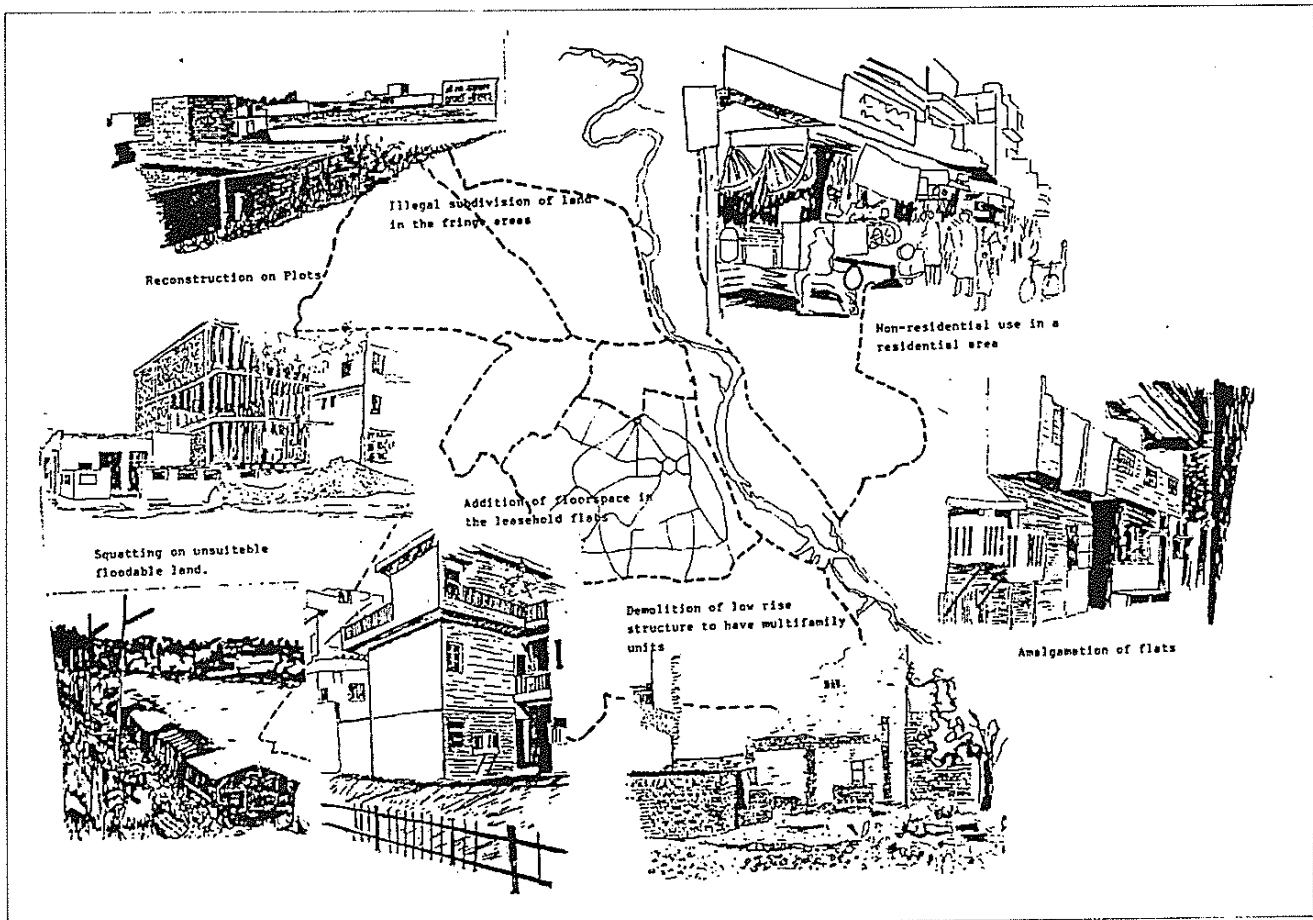

Fig. 12 Changes observed in Neighbourhoods

Table 2: Percentage Urban Households in Each Income Class

Income Class	Annual income (Rs 84-90)		
1. Lower lower	upto 12,000	49,5	62,5
2. Lower	12001 - 25000	13,0	
3. Lower middle	25,000 - 40000	23,7	32,3
4. Middle middle	40001 - 56000	8,6	
5. Upper middle and high	above 56000	5,2	

Source: Consumer Market Demographics (NCAER)

Table 3: Expenditure Patterns in Delhi

Income Class (family income)	Percentage Expenditure Food	Non Food (Rent, Education Transport, others)	Savings
1. Lower middle income monthly Rs. 2,000 to 3,500	62	38	0
2. Middle middle income monthly Rs. 3,501 to 4,500	59	41	0
3. Upper middle income monthly Rs. 4,501 to 3,500	45	47	8

Source: (NCAER)

Thus in the city, a dualistic structure of neighbourhoods has emered - those of the poor and those of the non-poor. The former look to the latter as role models and reference communities. They perceive their rank in a social order dominated by values reflecting the achievements and aspirations of the non-poor. In the process, they exhibit dynamism and strive for mobility. The inherent dilemma in their situation, however, is the choice of integrating into an intimate neighbourhood network, where mutual aid and cooperation is implicit, or, allowing material competition to influence their choices, thereby inhibiting contacts and forgoing traditional neighbourhood values. Poor neighbourhoods most often remain close knit communities, and those higher income people living in them have embraced those values rather than pursue higher status by moving to more prestigious neighbourhoods.

Table 4   Housing Studies Delhi

Housing Type	Percentage urban households	
1. Inner city and traditional area housing	13.5	
2. Social housing (squatter resettlements)	17.2	61,2
3. Informal housing Squatters	17.5	
Unauthorized colonies	13.0	
4. Public housing built up units,, all income categories	16.7	
		33,7
5. Plotted housing Middle income	17.0	
High income	5.0	

source: Delhi Development Authority (1986)

Final Observations

This paper has sought to present the diverse neighbourhood structure of Delhi. This has been undertaken by discussing their history, housing, changes over time, income distribution and consumption patterns. Almost two thirds of the population cal be classified as poor and living in sub-standard housing, although these neighbourhoods can be rich in social terms.

While researching this paper, a few observations were made which are of interest, and it is worthwhile to note them in concluding this article. First, although most of Delhi's neighbourhoods are large enough to permit neighbourhood organisations to perform effectively, it was observed that outside the unauthorised colonies, only the most pressing and urgent issues are taken up for collective action.

On the other hand, awareness of the quality of life in a neighbourhood and the harnessing of positive and creative forces for solving neighbourhood problems is limited to small size neighbourhoods of the non-poor, especially in public (built up) housing.

Physical decline and ageing housing stock, as well as the lack of repair and maintenance, are soon goingto be issues of concern in public housing; and it has been left to neighbourhood organisations to devise strategies for dealing with them. Since financial investments are required, a suitable system will need to be developed (including, for example, incentive grants, low interest loans, direct grants, etc.) with the participation of the government if living standards are to be maintained.

Throughout Delhi, households of which both parents work, as well as single parent households, are on the increase. Both require day care facilities, which need to be provided through neighbourhood resources or other group organisational efforts.

Single parent led families or single working women would prefer to live in public (built up) housing if suitable units were designed as an integral part of the scheme, rather than in separate and exclusive hostels as at present.

The unique potential and constraints of each of Delhi's neighbourhoods needs to be identified, and neighbourhood issues need to be prioritised. To make neighbourhood oeganisations workable, a size of 200 to 250 households is suggested for participatory involvement.

Selected References

The City as a Social System, the Open University Press, Sussex, 1973.

Glass, Ruth. Cliches of Urban Doom; Basil Blackwell, Inc., Oxford, 1989

Master Plan for Delhi, Delhi Development Authority, Delhi, 1990.

Planning and the City, The Open University Press, Sussex, 1973.

Rapoport, Amos. Human Aspects of Urban Form, Pergamon Press, 1977

Soen, Dan et al. Cities, Communities and Planning in the 1960's, Gower Publishing Co., Vermont, USA, 1984.

Urbanization, Infrastructure and Economic Growth Potential

Mulkh Raj

The Urban population in India is making a significant contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In 1951, though it was only 17.29% of the total population, its contribution to GDP was 29%. In 1981, the urban population increased to 23.34%, while its contribution to GDP was 47%. In 1991, the contribution of Urban India to GDP increased further to 60%t though the urban population is only 25.72% of the total population. The main reason for this is the higher per capita income levels in urban India. In 1951, the urban per capita GDP was 1.97 times higher than the rural per capita GDP, the corresponding differential increased to 3.62 times in 1991. Further the states in India which have a higher share of urban population in the national population also have a higher share in GDP.

Thus, the rate of growth of urbanisation has become a critical factor in determining the per capita income levels in various states and for the country as a whole. The contribution of urban India to GDP will further go up as more and more of the population earn their livelihood in urban areas. The towns as in the past which will grow faster will be the ones which have relatively better infrastructure facilities. A survey of 1095 towns sponsored by the National Commission on Urbanisation brought out the close relationship that exists between physical infrastructure facilities and the rate of growth of the town. Various

Mulk Raj, Economist and Financial Analyst, former Director of Finance HUDCO, Delhi, the largest housing and urban infrastructure finance institution of its kind in India. Currently he is Chairman of the Sulabh International Centre for Action Sociology, Secretary of the London School of Economics Society and visiting faculty member of various Indian and international Institutions. Address: Sulabh International Centre for Action Sociology, Mahavir Enclave, Palam Dabri Road, Sulabh Bhawan, RZ-83, New Delhi 110145 India

physical infrastructure facilities for which data were available, i.e., road length, average number of domestic electricity connections, average number of commercial and industrial electric connections were taken per thousand persons and then related to population growth of the towns, i.e., fast, medium and slow. From this analysis, it emerged that the fast growing towns are also the ones with relatively higher physical infrastructure facilities on a per capita basis, and, hence, they are relatively better equipped to attract industrial and commercial activities.

Infrastructure Investment, GDP and Total Factor Productivity

The positive impact of the availability of infrastructure facilities is also evident at the national level. From a study of the national accounts of India, two clear relationships as discussed below can be drawn. First, there is a close relationship between the rate of growth of investment in infrastructure and the rate of growth of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Second, although urbanisation has contributed significantly to growth of GDP, increases in GDP were achieved at avoidable high cost due to declining total factor all factors of production takes together and capital productivity (Capital out put relationship). But for these declining trends, urban India's contribution to GDP could have been much higher or GDP growth rates accomplished at much less cost.

Investment in Infrastructure and GDP

The supply of electricity, gas, water, transport and communication services are taken as key infrastructure services in the Indian planning system, and their annual rate of growth of investment exhibits a close relationship with that of GDP. During the period of 1971 to 1976, there was a decline in the infrastructure

Zusammenfassung

Dieses Papier erörtert das Verhältnis zwischen öffentlichen Investitionen in technische Infrastruktur in Indien und deren ökonomischen Wirkungen auf der Makroebene der Stadt und auf der Mikroebene der Unternehmen. Am Beispiel von zwei Betrieben der Baustoffproduktion wird demonstriert, daß sich die Produktionskosten senken ließen, wenn die Infrastruktur der Nachfrage entsprechen und wirkungsvoll arbeiten würde. In diesem Falle wären die entsprechenden "economies of scale" zu realisieren und wegen der Vermeidung zusätzlicher Investitionen der Betriebe z.B. für Notaggregate Erspamisse zu erreichen. Auf der Makroebene müßten, um die Produktivität der Infrastrukturleistungen zu verbessern, politische Vorgaben geändert werden. Dazu gehören der teilweise Rückzug des Staates aus der Produktion, eine rentabilitätsorientierte Kostenkalkulation und die technische Modernisierung.

investment growth rate (IGR) over the period 1966 to 1971 (from 14.26% per annum to 12.37% per annum). During the same period, the rate of growth of GDP (RGDP) also declined (from 4.66% p.a to 3.08% p.a). During the period 1971 to 1981, the IGR had a marginal increase during 1976 to 1981 (from 12.37% p.a. to 12.69% p.a). The RGDP during the same period also increased marginally. In subsequent years, i.e., 1980 to 1986, when there was a significant increase in IGR (12.69% in 1976 to 1981 to 15.22% in 1981 to 1986) it was accompanied by sizable increase in RGDP. Similarly, a close relationship is observed between IGR and RGDP (3.24% to 5.06%) during the period 1986 to 1990 over the period 1981 to 1986. Based on this observation, it is argued that if acceleration in GDP growth rates is to be achieved the this relationship

needs to be exploited by making adequate investments in the infrastructure sector. Furthermore, instead of taking urbanisation as a problem to be tackled, it needs to be taken as a planning goal, if the country has to improve per capita as well as national income.

Declining Capital and Total Factor Productivity

Unfortunately, investments in the infrastructure sector have not been adequate. The neglect of the infrastructure sector has resulted in huge shortages of urban services with all round adverse economic impacts. This in turn has led to inefficiency in the use of resources. For example, during 1956 to 1987 though the long term growth in the manufacturing sector was 5.3%, it was accompanied by a negative rate of growth of total factor productivity, i.e., (-) 0.4% per annum. During the same period, capital productivity also declined at the rate of 2.5% per annum. Increases in GDP were achieved with more and more deployment of capital. Furthermore the falling capital productivity was not due to any increased share of the relatively capital intensive industries but of the increases in the capital output ratios of the individual industry groups.

One of the major reason for this state of affairs was the decline in investment rates in the infrastructure sector. While growth in public investment slowed down from 9.2% to 4.7%t per annum during the period 1960 - 1965 1965 - 1975, the growth of investment in the infrastructure sector declined from 15.0% per annum to almost 4.2% per annum. At the same time, the share of infrastructure in total public investment declined from 39.8% to 34.3%. The growth in infrastructure investment continued to be low during the period 1975 to 1980 (5.4%) and 1979 to 1985 (9.7%).

Economic Planning and Infrastructure Sector

The problems of infrastructure investment deficiencies can be directly attributed to the planning strategy that India adopted since 1951. Indian economic planners ordained the commanding role for the Government sector in the economy. The industrial Development and Regulation Act 1948 reserved the provision of key infrastructure services (i.e., railways, roads, electricity, telecommunications, etc.) for the Government sector. The annual rate of growth of investment in these sectors hence became dependent on the extent to which resource al-

location could be made through the Government budgets. Furthermore as provision of these services was highly subsidised, it was also not possible to generate internal resources. The organisational inefficiency, high overhead cost, problems of cost recovery, etc. of the government owned supply institutions created further problems in the infrastructure sector.

The economic planners also made no attempt to find out alternative ways of providing infrastructure facilities. Due to strict ideology considerations, no attempt was made to open the sector to private entrepreneurs or make the users pay for these services.

Infrastructure Constraints

As a result of these policies, there are shortages of all infrastructure facilities. For example with respect to transport, all the 57 state transport undertakings taken together in India have a fleet strength of no more than 87,000 vehicles to meet the needs of 51 million passengers every day. The person trips in four big cities (Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Madras) alone is estimated at 50 to 60 million, which is equivalent to requirement of additional 50,000 bus fleet. The quality of roads is equally abysmal. Similarly deficiencies exist in the supply of water and which has forced more and more households, commercial enterprises and production units to make their own arrangements. For example, with respect to the metropolitan area of Baroda, where four decades ago, only 15% of water was provided by non-municipal sources, it has gone up to 85% during the year 1991. It has also been estimated that by the year 2001, an additional potable water supply of 6500 million cu.m. is needed to meet domestic water needs alone. This calls for an annual investment of Rs. 150,000 million as against the plan outlay in the Central Sector of only Rs. 5871 million for the period 1987-92.

There are also serious problems in getting access to electricity. To overcome frequent power breakdowns, enterprises are putting up their own captive power generating units. Apart from increasing the capital costs of the enterprises, it also increases the cost of energy per unit cost of production. At national level, the unmet demand (already suppressed due to shortage) of electricity is as high as 16% of the current consumption level. Of late, due to the higher generation of electricity the unmet demand as a percentage of current consumption has now

declined to 8%. All this can be directly attributed to the poor management of government owned State Electricity Boards. Serious deficiencies exist with respect to social facilities like education, health, etc. An all India survey of 1095 towns reveals that in terms of social amenities (sanitation, medical, education, etc.) the fast growing towns are not placed in any better position, rather are worse off than all towns taken together. This explains the declining quality of life in fast growing towns despite their growing role as generator of economic momentum.

Infratructure Supply, Productivity and Corporate Profitability

To analyse the role that a reliable infrastructure supply system plays in corporate viability, two case studies in the states of Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh (adjacent to Delhi) were carried out. Both of these case studies relate to construction material production units for which cost data on production, scale of breakdown in supply of selected infrastructure facilities (i.e., electricity and water facilities) was available. In both of these case studies, production units have their own captive power generating sets and water supply arrangement, which are used as and the use of which is made of as and when there is disruption in supply of water from the local municipality and electricity from the State Electricity Board. On an average 20% of power and water requirements during the three years were met by these building material production units through their own captive sources of electricity and water. In a case of disruption in supply of these services, the management has two options. The first is to reduce production and face adverse financial impact. Second, use its own captive units to meet its need of electricity and water supply. But by resorting to its own captive units the firms had to incur 50% more cost per unit of electricity/water than would have been the case if supply of these services was available from government owned State Electricity Board and the local municipality.

The comparative financial impact of the breakdown in power and water supply, as well as the cost of obtaining the services from captive plants and its financial implications were worked out. In Case Study I (project cost Rs. 1450 lakhs) as per the project report, the cost of power/electricity varied from 7.4% to 8.77% of variable cost depending upon the level of utilisation of installed capacity of plant. Assuming no interruption in

Table I: Case Study I: Percentage of Cost of Power/ Water to Total Variable Cost etc. when the Supplies are Obtained from Government and Captive Sources

		1991	1990	1989
Capacity Utilisation %		85	65	45
Power/ Water Cost as Percentage of total Variable Cost %		9.76	8.2	8.25
Percentage of Operating	Normal supply	+23.32	+7.42	-32.28
Profit to Sales (%)	Captive sources	+22.48	+6.56	+33.50
(+)Profit, (-)Loss	Breakdown in supply	+13.69	-5.07	-55.37
	Normal supply	1.52	1.99	3.84
Capital to Sales Ratio	Captive sources	1.52	1.99	3.84
	Breakdown in supply	1.90	2.49	4.79

supply of electricity/water, the percentage of operating profit to sale was expected to be 23.32 at 85% capacity utilisation and a capital to sales ratio at 1.52. when the plant went into operation. However, it was faced with breakdowns in the supply of electricity and water. To prevent any adverse impact of these breakdowns, the plant utilised its own captive facilities. If it had not done so, then at 85%, utilisation of installed capacity, the percentage of operating profit to sales (OP/S) ratio would have gone down from 22.48% to 13.69% and the capital sales ratio (C/SR) would have increased from 1.52 to 1.90. To avoid this, the management resorted to its own supply system and preferred to incur additional costs per unit of supply (50% higher than that available from government resources). Thus, it was able to minimise the financial setback. By incurring an additional per unit cost of power generation and water production, the OP/S fell marginally to 22.48%, and capital productivity in terms of C/SR was maintained at the same level. A similar pattern of the adverse impact of power or other breakdowns emerges when the data for the period 1989 and 1990 (Table I) are analyzed.

Case study II is again with respect to a building materials production unit with

capital investment of Rs. 550 lakhs'. While in normal circumstances, the plant would have attained an operating profit to sales ratio of 18.71% at 80% capacity and 34.86% at 100% utilisation of capacity, the situation became serious on account of a disruption in the electricity and water supply. If the production unit did not have its captive power generation and water supply units, operating profit to sales would have fallen from 18.08 to 9.16% during 1988, from 29,50 to 22.43% during 1989 and from 34.29 to 28.07% during 1990. Similarly the capital sales ratio would have increased from 1.98 to 2.47 in 1988, from 1.59 to 1.99 in 1989 and from 1.44 to 1.75 in 1990. To prevent these operational setbacks, the management resorted to its own captive power and water supply arrangements with a unit cost of production higher by 50% However, the capital/sales ratio was maintained, and there was much less of a decline in operating profits as well as in the percentage of operating profit to sales (Table 2) than would otherwize have been the case.

These case studies are just examples of how production units are adversely affected by quality and uncertainty in the supply of essential infrastructure services. Though these two units are not representative of the entire industrial

sector due to the relatively high percentage of energy/water cost in variable cost and due to the fact that the extent of infrastructure deficiencies varies from city to city. Still, these case studies provide insight into the relationship that exists between infrastructure breakdown/ deficiencies and the financial cost thereof to the industrial units.

Unlocking the Besieged Growth Potential

Based on the above, it is argued that if only adequate investment had been made in the infrastructure sector, it would have been possible for urban India to reach its full economic potential. At present avoidable investments are being made by production units to have their own captive arrangements. If only city /regional level infrastructure supply institutions were demand driven , not only the per unit cost of production would have been less due to economies of scale, but extra investments made by the production units to have captive units could have been avoided. The data on declining total factor productivity and capital productivity is an object reminder that all is not well with the way production activities are being carried out in urban areas.

To have a complete idea as to how much urban income is being lost, it is necessary to carry out comprehensive city surveys to quantify productivity losses resulting from inadequate and poor infrastructure quality. In the absence of these surveys, one can only trace at macro level the relationships between infrastructure, GDP and corporate viability. It becomes obvious from this analysis that the adequate provision of infrastructure at a required level of quality can significantly increase the contribution of urban India to GDP. For example, a ten% increase in total factor productivity can generate an additional urban GDP (1991-92) on the order of Rs. 31.183 million as against a provision of only Rs. 12.921 million as Central Sector Plan outlay for Urban Development for the entire plan period of 1992-97.

Ideology based industrial policies have thus lead to the besieged growth potential of urban India. It is thus argued that the infrastructure sector awaits serious policy initiatives. This includes full or partial denationalisation of the infrastructure sector, charging of remunerative prices, improving cost recovery and upgradation of technologies. It is only then that it will be possible to unlock the besieged growth potential of urban India.

Table 2: Case Study II: Percentage of Cost of Power/ Water to Total Variable Cost etc. when the Supplies are Obtained from Government and Captive Sources

		1991	1990	1989
Capacity Utilisation %		80.00	90.00	100.00
Power/ Water Cost as Percentage of total Variable Cost %	Supply from captive sources	6.92	7.41	7.84
Percentage of Operating	Normal supply	+18.71	7.41	7.84
Profit to Sales (%)	Captive sources	+18.08	+29.50	+34.29
(+)Profit, (-)Loss	Breakdown in supply	+9.16	+22.43	+28.07
Capital to Sales Ratio	Captive supply	1.98	1.59	1.44
	Supply Breakdown	2.47	1.99	1.75

The Development of Small and Medium Size Towns in Karnataka State

David J. Edelman

Zusammenfassung

Der Autor resümiert die Ergebnisse einer Evaluierung des Programms "Integrated Development of Small and Medium Cities Scheme" am Beispiel von drei Kleinstädten im Bundesstaat Karnataka. Das Ziel des Programms ist, die auf einige wenige Metropolen gerichtete Migration zum Erleigen zu bringen. Als Mittel dafür sollen die Lebensverhältnisse in den ländlichen Zentren und Kleinstädten verbesert werden, was seinerseits mit Hilfe von Investitionen in die Super- und Infrastruktur erreicht werden soll. Es zeigt sich nun, daß es bereits Schwierigkeiten bereitet, die konkreten Investitionen angemessen zu plazieren und durchzuführen. Unter diesen Umständen ist eine spürbare Verbesserung der Lebensbedingungen kaum erreichbar. Folglich ist ein Effekt auf die Wanderungsbewegungen nicht nachweisbar.

Immerhin zeigt der Fall der jüngst hinzugekommenen Stadt Tiptur, daß eine lokale Führungsgruppe mit Entscheidungskompetenz mehr als eine Randbedingung darstellt. Eine solche Konstellation scheint bereit, aus den Fehlern andernorts zu lernen und sorgfältiger auf die Herstellung besserer Lebensbedingungen achtend zu planen.

Dr. David J. Edelman, formerly Lady Davis Research Fellow at the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology in Haifa and Asociate Professor at the Asian Institute of Technologie (AIT) in Bangkok, is now Director of the CUE MSc programme in Urban Environmental Management, a joint programme of thr Wageningen Agricultural University and the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS). Address: The Centre for the Urban Environment (CUE), P.O.Box 1935, NL 3000 BX Rotterdam, The Netherlands

1. The IDSMT in Karnataka

Due to the high level of rural-urban migration in India over the first twenty-five years of independence, the Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns (IDSMT) Scheme was established by the Government of India (GOI) at the start of the Sixth Five Year Plan. It's basic purpose was to develop about 250 small and medium towns by investing on average about a crore (10 million) of rupees in each in order to stem this tide of migration to the metropolitan centres of the country. The strategy of the scheme was to accomplish this by providing new and improved infrastructure and essential basic services in a coordinated and integrated fashion. This was to provide employment opportunities and stimulate the additional investment and further growth of economic activities.

From inception until 31 March 1992 (the last date for which complete data are available), a total of 517 towns in various States and Union Territories have been covered under the scheme. The central assistance released to this date amounts to Rs.176.17 crores, while the employment generated during this period has been estimated to be 591 lakhs man-days.

With the Eighth Five Year Plan now in progress, it has been almost fifteen years since the inception of the scheme. Few government schemes have such a long life, and with the release of revised guidelines in 1994, it is an appropriate time to take a long-term view of what has occurred under the scheme. This paper comments briefly upon how the scheme has worked in Karnataka, which is a suitable State for such an evaluation since it has been involved in the scheme from its inception and because it has a metropolitan city, Bangalore, which has been a primary destination for rural-

urban migrants. Three of the fifty-one towns included in the IDSMT scheme for Karnataka since its inception have been chosen for analysis and visited in April 1994. They represent each of the three plan periods during which the scheme has been in operation. One has been considered a success (Magadi, Sixth Plan), one a failure (Ramanagaram, Seventh Plan) and one is still in progress (Tiptur, Eighth Plan). The conclusions drawn from these visits and from the subsequent detailed evaluation performed for each town are summarized below in Section 4. First, however, it is necessary to discuss how the scheme has worked in each of the three towns.

Magadi

The town of Magadi, one of the initial sixteen towns selected by the State for inclusion in the IDSMT during the period of the Sixth Five Year Plan, is the subdistrict or taluk headquarters of the taluk of the same name located in the western part of Bangalore District. Its population in 1971 was 13,349, and it was 19,846 in 1991. The town is of historical importance in the region since Kempe Gowda I, the founder of Bangalore, ruled from Magdi. The town is well connected to Bangalore, 50 kilometers to the east,

INDIA

and to the rest of the district and the State through a network of roads. Magadi was, therefore, selected to be developed as a growth center of the Magdi taluk.

The project components included land acquisition and development, land development, traffic and transportation, markets/mandies and low cost sanitation. The physical progress achieved under the IDSMT Scheme in Magadi by the end of February 1994 included the acquisition of land for two sites and services layouts, the development of one layout including 448 sites formed, the completion of 4.3 kilometers of road, the construction of 67 shops and the completion of 700 of a planned 2000 market units. A total of Rs. 72.235 lakhs was approved and Rs. 80.99 lakhs spent.

Ramanagaram
Ramanagaram is a taluk headquarters in Bangalore District situated along the Bangalore - Mysore State Highway No. 17 at a distance of fifty kilometers southwest of Bangalore. The town is a center for sericulture activities, and a large cocoon market is found there. The population of Ramanagaram in 1981 was 43,996, and it grew to 50,437 by 1991. The town also has a floating population of 20,000 persons mainly due to cocoon marketing. Under the Seventh Five Year Plan, the town was chosen to be developed as a growth center for its surrounding hinterland and became part of the IDSMT Scheme.

The components of the project included land acquisition for sites and services, road construction and a shopping complex. By the end of February 1994, the financial resources for land acquisition had been reallocated to the shopping complex due to a lack of available land. The complex was in progress and the roadwork had been completed. The cost for the planned scheme was Rs. 52.99 lakhs, of which Rs. 16.51 lakhs has been spent.

Tiptur
Tiptur is a town in the Tumkur District of Karnataka with a population of 36,095 in 1991. The town's economic potential lies in the processing, trading and transportation of agricultural produce, particularly of dried coconut and coconut powder, from its hinterland to the northern part of the country. There, the demand for this sweet, low-oil content, coconut powder is very high for sweets and other edibles. Located at a distance of 72 kilome-

ters from Tumkur, the district headquarters, and 142 kilometers from Bangalore, Tiptur is a service center to about 230 surrounding villages and to four taluks. The town experienced a growth rate of 1.16% per year over the last decade, which is much lower than that of the State figure of 2.11%. This indicates a trend of out-migration, probably due to a lack of sufficient employment opportunities.

As an important service center, market town and taluk headquarters, Tiptur was selected for the IDSMT Scheme under the Eighth Five Year Plan. Its individual components included land acuisition for sites and services schemes, land development for the same, traffic and transportation, markets/mandies, a municipal abattoir, as well as low cost sanitation and water supply through other funding sources. A total of Rs. 141.12 lakhs was approved for this scheme, while Rs. 33.34 has been spent.

2. Three-Level Evaluation

A complex scheme such as IDSMT, which has been in operation for fifteen years over three Plan periods in more than 500 towns, requires a multi-facetted method of evaluation. There are, most significantly, three levels at which such a scheme operates and should be judged. At the most basic level (Level I: Satisfying Project Objectives), it is important to answer the question of whether a scheme for a particular town has been implemented. This is possible to determine objectively in terms of financial and physical progress achieved. If, for example, a certain sites and services scheme has been constructed and the plots sold is simple to ascertain, but simply selling the plots does not necessarily mean the scheme has been successful, except in the narrowest sense.

Nevertheless, conclusions as to the success of a scheme are often made at this level. This is not sufficient. At the next level (Level 2: Improving the Quality of Life of the Inhabitants), if the sites and services scheme is again used as an example, the plots could lie undeveloped because no adequate water supply is forthcoming, etc. It is clear, then, that while this component of IDSMT might have improved the municipality's financial situation by generating income through sales, it has not actually provided additional housing.

Even if the hoped for housing had been generated, IDSMT for that town would

not necessarily be successful at the program level (Level 3: Satisfying IDSMT Program Objectives) of stemming rural-urban migration to the big and metropolitan cities if the plots were developed by long-term residents of the town in a period of declining town growth. In consequence, the particular IDSMT scheme for each of the three towns which were visited was evaluated at these three levels before the conclusions on the whole IDSMT program, which follow, were drawn.

Magadi
Magadi has been judged by the State Department of Municipal Administration (DMA) to have been a successfully implemented IDSMT scheme under the Six the Sixth Five Year Plan, although there have been some cost overruns. This appears so at Level 1. All components have been finalised, and the funds have been released and spent. The town feels the scheme has been a success, because the sixty-seven shops that have been constructed provide a steady income to the municipality, its only self-generated revenue other than licensing fees, and more shops are being built from this income.

Most cost overruns have been marginal and can be attributed to various factors such as cost escalation or changes in the types of building materials and/or technology used. The problem here lies with the Low Cost Sanitation Scheme, for which the actual cost of construction has been Rs. 9.31 lakhs more than the actual amount released by the Karnataka Urban Water Supply and Development Board (KUWS&DB). This scheme was funded by GOI and the Karnataka State Government and was executed by the KUWS&DB. Though the amount sanctioned was Rs. 28.235 lakhs, the additional amount of 10.278 not yet released is unlikely to be forthcoming since the KUWS&DB has since opted out of this scheme for the entire State. It simply did not have the staff to implement the scheme adequately. This means the overrun will have to be covered by the municipality itself.

While no problems arose during actual physical implementation, there were difficulties along the way. A special engineering post was created to supervise the implementation, but engineering support from the Department of Town Planning (TCP) and DMA was not sufficient, and the engineering cell of DMA needs to be strengthened. The town's engineering post, moreover, continues

to remain unfilled. Land acquisition was a very difficult and long process, because at that time land could not be purchased directly by the town, but had to be bought at prices set by TCP and acquired through a cumbersome administrative process. This has changed, although as will be discussed later, land acquisition remains a serious problem.

In addition, as a small Sixth Plan town, the municipality was not always in the loop as far as the release of funds was concerned. Often, funds were released from one GOI and/or State organisation to another without the municipality knowing. This meant its knowledge of repayment obligations and its ability to schedule them was insufficient. This problem, however, has been recognised and eliminated.

An example is the low-cost sanitation scheme. Although almost the entire amount of money budgetted was spent, only 700 of the 2000 units planned were constructed. The municipality has no records because the funds were released directly to the implementing agency, the KUWS&DB, which never consulted the town. This problem has been addressed in the Eighth Plan, however, and the Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) now funds these projects, which are implemented by private contractors chosen by municipalities from a list approved by DMA.

At Level 2, moreover, this picture of success is even more mixed. The site plan for the shops, unfortunately, is not optimal; additional income could have been generated had more shops been situated on the main road. This could have been overcome had the town been consulted in the design stage. In addition, only 150 of the 480 plots developed under the sites and services scheme have actually been allotted. Here again, the problem was in the planning stage, when no proper needs assessment was carried out, and the benefit to the population from this component has been minimal at best.

As the smallest of the case study towns, Magadi has no resident engineer, which means its participation in the technical planning of the project was minimal. Thus, as a Sixth Plan town, staff of the State's TCP were responsible and carried out the planning and design work in Bangalore. Administrative delays occurred at all stages, and it took five years to develop the land instead of the planned two.

The low cost sanitation scheme was a failure at this level in that few of the units built are in operation. The community has, therefore, derived little benefit from it. Latrines were not built according to the correct specifications and soon became full. Also, the people were never properly informed as to the fact that the latrines were being provided on a loan basis. Consequently, repayment was almost non-existent.

As far as the sites and services scheme is concerned, the leadership of Magadi feels the process would be much more successful and benefit more people if the municipality itself could tender instead of the Karnataka Land Army Corporation Limited. This would be more flexible and would allow better accommodation to local problems. For example, in Magadi, the roads and culverts were initialy constructed and the sites marked out. Had the municipality itself managed the project, water supply and electricity would have been addressed first. This would have allowed local contractors to be used and local jobs generated.

At Level 3, moreover, the IDSMT scheme for Magadi could not be viewed as truly successful. Jobs were not generated in significant numbers, rural and agricultural development were not stimulated and, most importantly, rural-urban migration was not slowed; that is, Class I cities have continued to grow far faster than Magadi over the 1961-1991 period. On the other hand, there have been some gains. Infrastructure improvements were realised and some boost to the town economy was provided by the scheme, especially by the shops.

Ramanagaram

Ramanagaram is a town in which IDSMT was implemented under the Seventh Five Year Plan. The scheme was judged to be a failure in that only the road proposed under the scheme has been completed, although 89% of the released funds have been spent. At Level 1, this is clear. However, a modified scheme was submitted and approved in March 1994. It remains a Seventh Plan project, which means all procedures in force during the Seventh Five Year Plan when the original IDSMT Scheme for the town was sanctioned remain in force for the duration of the modified scheme.

Basically, the sites and services component has been dropped and the money diverted to the shopping complex. There has been a court imposed stay on site

acquisition for almost seven years. The problem is felt to be that the acquisition procedures are poor.

For such a scheme to be successful, the land must be near town, but any attempt to acquire such land immediately ends up in court. The feeling among the town leadership was that the land should be treated in the same way as land that is acquired by the railroad. The District Commissioner should have the authority to require sale at a fair price set by him.

Nevertheless, there is demand for the sites, and 2800 applications were received before the scheme was dropped. It is felt that the Eighth Plan arrangements for land acquisition would work in Ramanagaram, but as a Seventh Plan town, it is ineligible to apply them.

At Level 2, the project has also been relatively unsuccessful in that virtually no benefits have accrued to the residents of the municipality. The shopping complex, however, will provide some construction jobs to town dwellers in the short term, and will generate municipal income from rents that the town will put to other uses. The IDSMT scheme for Ramanagaram is also unsuccessful when viewed at Level 3 in that no impact on rural-urban migration is apparent. There has also been no effect whatsoever on the rural and agricultural hinterland, and no permanent jobs have been generated. Infrastructure created has also been very minimal. The only positive development is that the shopping complex should give the town a bit of economic help. Some temporary construction jobs have been created, and revenues will rise when the complex is finished.

Tiptur

Tiptur was the first municipality sanctioned and also the first to start work under the Eighth Five Year Plan. This fact, plus the existence of enlightened and dedicated leadership in the town, indicates that the town's scheme under IDSMT should be a success, although it is too early to evaluate it. Profits are projected from both the commercial complex and from the sites and services scheme. What is of more interest here is to see how the various problems identified in the Sixth and Seventh Plan periods have been dealt with.

While the process seems to have been improved significantly some problems still remain in the formulation stage. Preparing the Project Report, which is the required detailed proposal for project

sanctioning, is one. Tiptur, like the other towns discussed, doesn't have the technical staff competent to formulate a project so large. Under the Eighth Plan, a municipality is allowed to use up to 2% of project funds for preparation by private consultants. This is an important improvement, which can speed up the whole formulation stage considerably.

Unfortunately, this money will only be repaid to the town at a later stage of the process. This means a town must be reasonably healthy financially to be able to do this. As a thriving commercial center, Tiptur had no problem in this regard. Other towns will. It was suggested that DMA provide a team to provide the technical input through conducting quick town surveys and making recommendations to the municipalities as to what components should be included. It was conceded, however, that DMA does not now have enough engineering staff to carry this out.

Difficulties in land acquisition persist as well. The purchase of land directly by the municipalities at market prices is hailed as one of the most important improvements to the IDSMT Scheme under the Eighth Five Year Plan. Market prices, however, are not free market prices, but rather the registered purchase prices of parcels. These are not the same, since purchase prices are usually registered at lower levels than those of actual transasactions in order to avoid stamp duties. Guidance is, therefore, needed from HUDCO (responsible under the 8th Plan for sites and services) to resolve this matter and avoid delays.

A related difficulty is that for the Eighth Plan period, the institutional (i.e., HUDCO, etc.) component for funding sites and services, as well as other components, now seems to be required for a town IDSMT scheme. Although this does not appear in the revised IDSMT guidelines and is not required by HUDCO, it is apparently a condition imposed by DMA to assure that all sources of funds are utilised. Unfortunately, due to the persisting difficulties in land acquisition, this can slow down the entire IDSMT process in some towns. Thus, DMA should be have the power to change the mix of components in a particular town to adjust to local realities.

Conclusions

Viewing the IDSMT Scheme in Karnataka after nearly fifteen years, supported by a literature review, document acquisi-

tion, search and analysis, as well as by field visits and discussions with more than thirty people at the GOI, State, institutional finance and municipal levels, it is clear that the program has had mixed results and can be improved further. However, there have been some real achievements at Levels 1 (project objectives) and 2 (quality of life); that is, infrastructure has been provided in many towns, and this has led to some improvements in the quality of life in those municipalities. Problems of technical support in project formulation and land acquisition, although somewhat mitigated under the revised guidelines, remain and must be resolved. The program requires more flexibility in the choice of components as well. These problems, however, are all capable of resolution.

Whether the funds allocated have been cost effective, how program success compares to other comparable GOI schemes, how integrated IDSMT really is and to what extent the IDSMT Scheme really responds to community needs and desires, along with other program level (Level 3) considerations, are issues that lie out side the scope of this paper, but which should be addressed in a full scale evaluation which includes the Eighth Plan period. What can be said in this regard, however, is that the primary objective of the IDSMT Scheme - improving the infrastructure of small and medium towns to provide jobs, boost the municipal economy and otherwise improve the attraction of these towns - in order to stem the rural migration to the bigger cities has been a failure in Karnataka.

Such policies have rarely been successful anywhere, and history demonstrates that development leads to increasing urbanisation and concentration in virtually all societies. The provision of better infrastructure and services in small and medium towns can best be judged by its effectiveness in improving the quality of life of the inhabitants of these towns.

If the objective is really to cut off the flow of migrants to the largest cities, the most effective way is to create a very large number of jobs in somewhat smaller cities outside the metropolitan areas. However, the towns in the IDSMT Scheme are much too small for that, and determining the location of large employment generating industries is a very complex matter involving regional, national and international market forces. This is clearly outside the capacity of any program such as IDSMT to address.

KARNATAKA

Location map of the case study towns in Karnataka

Footnotes

1 Prasad, R.D. et al., Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns in Karnataka and Tamilnadu - An Evaluation, Regional Centre for Urban and Enviromental Studies, Osmania University, Hyderabad, 1988, p.9.

2 IDSMT Guidelines, Town and Country Planning Organisation, Government of India, Ministry of Urban Development, New Dehli, 1994, p.1.

3 Only two evaluations of the entire programme have been completed to date. The first was Wishwakarma, R.K. et al., Evaluation and Impact of IDSMT Programme, Centre for Urban Studies, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Dehli, 1985. However, this study covered only the Sixth Five Year Plan period. The second was Dhar, V.K. et al., Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns (IDSMT): An Evaluation Study, Research Study Series Number 42, National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Dehli, January 1990. However, the macro-level data used were from 1985, and the micro-level field visits to a sample of 22 towns were carried out between 1979 and 1984. Two other important studies have been carried out by Osmnaia University, but they have only covered four states, although both the Sixth and Seventh Five Year Plan periods were included, at least in part. The first study covered Karnataka and Tamilnadu (see Footnote 1 for complete reference), and the second treated Andhra Pradesh and Kerala. See Prasad, D.R. et al., Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns - An Evaluation, Regional Centre for Urban and Environmental Studies, Osmania University, Hyderabad, 1991. Unfortunately, none of these studies analyse the success of the IDSMT Scheme at the three levels of evaluation suggested by this paper, although the Dhar study comes closest. A full and satisfactory evaluation of the programme at all the levels over the three relevant planning periods remains to be undertaken.

Urban Agriculture in Benin City, Nigeria
A study of small-scale crop farmers

Regina U. Obi

Zusammenfassung

Nigerianer haben die Tendenz, auf landwirtschaftliche Tätigkeiten herabzusehen. Landwirtschaft hat für sie das Image ärmlich und bäuerlich, gewerbliche und Verwaltungstätigkeiten dagegen besitzen das Image städtisch und reich. Dennoch gibt es eine überraschend intensive Landwirtschaft in der Stadt, wenn auch wenig bis nichts darüber dokumentiert ist. Mit der Erhebung, über die hier berichtet wird, sollte herausgefunden werden, warum die landwirtschaftlichen Erzeuger in Benin-City, Edo State, Nigeria, dieser Tätigkeit nachgehen, welche Feld- und Gartenfrüchte angebaut werden, welche Probleme die Produzenten als Voll- oder Teilzeitbauern haben und ob es Lösungen für ihre Probleme geben kann.

Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse der Studie auf der Basis von 150 Befragten sind, daß es sich in der großen Mehrheit um Teilzeitlandwirte handelt, die damit ihr Einkommen und die Nahrungsmittelversorgung ihrer Familie verbessern. Ihre Hauptberufe in der formalen Wirtschaft waren so unterschiedlich und vielfältig, daß die Autorin auf eine statistische Analyse verzichtet hat. Die von ihnen genannten Probleme sind technischer und juristischer Art, und um sie zu lösen sind institutionelle Veränderungen auf den Ebenen des Staates und der Teilstaaten, sowie im Bankensystem erforderlich.

Mrs. Regina U. Obi, Lecturer in Sociology and Labour Relations, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Benin, Benin City, Nigeria

Basics of Benin History

Benin is situated in the tropical rain forest region about 100 kilometres west of the River Niger, where the weather is hot and humid, and the soil is fertile. The indigenous people of Benin Kingdom are the Edo. The capital of Edo State is Benin City. According to Hull (1981:9) long before the arrival of the Europeans, a brisk West African coastal trade propelled Benin exports at least as far as Fante on the Gold Coast of modern Ghana. Internal and external trade was intensified with the arrival of Europeans, culminating in the obnoxious slave trade across the sea encouraged by European and American enterprises.

Benin City was very prosperous when it was first visited by the Europeans during the reign of Oba Ozulua in about 1485 A.D. It had up to 50 wards. Each ward specialised in a specific economic activity, e.g. bronze and brass smith work, wood and ivory carving, leather work, weaving, carpentry work, and bead work. Each economic activity was organised in a craft guild affiliated with the guild system. The products were exclusively for the Oba being used for orna-

mentation and record keeping (Bradbury 1969:12-24). Subsistence agriculture was practised by most people. Only some chiefs who had access to large parcels of land and numerous slaves and servants were engaged in commercial agriculture. (Ize-Iyamu, 1987:29) Benin Kingdom remained independent until 1877, when a British military expedition contrary to international law took possession of Benin City. The British scrapped off Benin's traditional government of checks and balances. Later, the Obaship was restored in 1914 under Governor Lugard's principle of indirect rule.

In the 1930's the colonial government expanded health services, roads, communication systems and public works. These facilities attracted people for work and trade. These migrants could not farm as they used to do in their villages. In 1978, the Federal Government of Nigeria ruled that all land is vested in the Governor of that state who holds it in trust and administers it for the use and common benefit of the people. This decree notwithstanding, there are still many monetary transactions and much speculation on land.

Today, according to the 1991 Population Census, the population figure of Edo State is 2,159,848. Benin City has 780,976 inhabitants. It is a metropolis with communication networks to and from all parts of Nigeria and beyond. Residents have greater need than ever before to industrialise the ancient city. They purchase plots of land for industrial, commercial and domestic use and construct solid, modern buildings to suit their purposes. At the front of their buildings, they plant varieties of flowers. In the backyards and on undeveloped plots of land, they farm and plant "catch crops" as well as cash crops. Urban agriculture is becoming a common phenomenon in Benin City. Why? What crops do people in Benin City grow in their farms? Do they encounter any problems in farming? Which problems do they encounter, if any? How would such problems be solved? These are some of the questions this paper hopes to answer.

Decline of Nigerian Agriculture

Since the pre-colonial era in the traditional sector in Nigeria, agricultural production has been organised around the household as the basic production unit. The household uses its labour, friends and hired labour to produce food mainly for its subsistence needs (Smith 1955 in Zaria among the Hausa; Fadipo 1970 among the Yoruba; Onwuejeogwu 1981 in Nri Kingdom and Obi 1983 in Uke among the Igbo). The mode of economic production is small-scale, labour-intensive and low tech. The people adopt a humane type of labour relations rooted in the philosophy of "communal humanism" (Obi 1989). The colonial masters had introduced cash crops such as cocoa and groundnut for the export market. Since then, the household has started to combine cash crop production with food-crop production.

Agriculture has played crucial role in Nigeria's economy in terms of total output and employment. The share of agriculture in Nigeria's GDP averaged 40.3% per annum between 1960 and 1986. In 1963, it employed 66.4% of Nigeria's labour force. Since then, the figure has dropped (Ayo 1979). Foreign exchange revenues from agricultural exports which constituted, between 1960 and 1971 an average of 58.4% p.a. of total foreign exchange revenues dropped to an average of 5.3% p.a. between 1972 and 1981 (FRN 1986). Since then, Nigeria has been facing a food crisis. Factors which have been identified to explain the

causes of the food crisis include:

(i) The emergence of the oil boom. This led to the neglect of the agricultural sector by the authorities and the drift of farmers to towns and city centres for 'greener pastures'.

(ii) Small size of operation. The size of farm for peasant agriculture is small, and thus cannot accommodate modern agricultural plants and machineries.

(iii) Problem of access to land. In some traditional economies land is not easily obtainable by all small scale farmers. The system of ownership of land makes it difficult for women and strangers to obtain land.

(iv) Lack of information about modern techniques, new crops and other inputs is disseminated through government organisations and ministries It is easier for large scale farmers than the small scale farmers to have access to this information.

(v) Lack of access to outside funds. Financial institutions do not make their resources available to small scale farmers because they have no collateral securities and are alleged to be high risk borrowers.

(vi) Difficulties in organising groups. Small scale farmers find it more difficult than large scale farmers to combine themselves into groups or cooperatives, perhaps out of ignorance or illiteracy. They fall easy prey to market vagaries, middlemen and other swindlers (MANSER 1988).

Findings of the survey on small-scale crop farming in Benin City *)

(i) Socio-Economic and Demographic Background of the Respondents (Table 1)

Data used in the analysis were collected from 150 respondents, 127 (84.7%) of them were male, and 23 (15.3%) female. Their average age was 43.6 years and the agerange was 21 to 73 years of age. The families are fairly large with 7 children on average (Table 1). By using the children in the farms, the parents are teaching them how to farm. They are also saving the money which they would have paid for hired labour. The educational status with only 5.3% without any schooling seems to be rather urban. In terms of ethnic affiliation, the indigenous Edo constitute only 46 %. Naturally, thay have better access to land in terms of ownership and acquisition. The other ethnic groups rather have to rent farms if they decide to farm.

Only 28 respondents were full-time farmers. Their average income was N 38,100 p.a. ranging from N12,000 to N180,000 p.a. The costs of farm products which the farmers consumed with their families, friends and relations as well as the "reserves" for the next planting season were excluded, being difficult to quantify these in monetary terms.

122 (81.3%) of the respondents were part-time - farmers, working in industries, in the civil service or trading in the

Table 1	Demographic Data: Size of Household, Marital Status, Education, Ethnic Affiliation		
Category of Responses		Frequencies	in %
Size of Household:	no children	16	10.7
	< 5 children	84	56.0
	6-10 children	39	26.0
	> 11 children	11	7.3
Marital Status:	married	125	83.3
	spinsters	17	11.3
	widowed	8	5.3
Formal Education:	Graduates	48	32.0
	secondary school	43	28.7
	primary school	51	34.0
	none	8	5.3
Ethnic Affiliation:	Edo	70	46.0
	Yoruba	10	6.7
	Igbo	28	19.3
	Esan	25	16.7
	Urhobo	5	3.3
	Itsekiri; Etsako, Owan; Isoko; Afemai and Twi of Ghana	12	8.0

Table 2	Size of Farms "Give an estimate of the size of your farm"		
Category of Responses		Frequencies	in %
Size of Household Up to 1 plot of land (4.5 sqm)		20	13.3
2 - 3 plots of land (9 -13,5 sqm)		75	50.0
4 and more plots (> 13,5 sqm)		55	36.7

markets, in shops, stores etc. as messengers and cleaners, carpenters and plumbers, panel beaters and mechanics, but also clerks, secretaries and typists, shoemakers, drivers and painters. Likewise, students, teachers and professors, pastors, police officers and army officers, contractors, bankers and administrators were involved in small-scale crop farming. They earned an average income of N 12,890 p.a. from farm products ranging from N 2000 to N 60,000, which constituted, on average, about the same income as they earned in their full time jobs.

(ii) Crop Farming and Size of Farms (Table 2)

The farms of the respondents were grouped into three sizes, namely: small size (up to one plot of land); medium size (two to three plots of land) and large size (four plots of land and above). One plot of land is 4.5 sqm being located in the backyards, in uncompleted buildings and in undeveloped plots close to their houses. Medium and large farms.were located up to 35 kilometres away from their houses. Not all the respondents owned vehicles, motorcycles or bicycles. So, movements to and from the farms presented some problems. The high fares of public transport most corresponts to high prices of the farm products. Today, a fairly big bunch of plaintain csts N 50.00 - N 70.00. About three years ago, the same size was sold for N 10.

Farming in Benin City starts with the first few rain falls in the year, around February and March when farmers begin to clear the bush. The most popular method they adopt is bush -burning. This could be dangerous and cause problems especially when fire exceeds the boundary and enters into other people's farms. The owners of the farms could engage in serious disputes and eventually take the matters to the chief ot court

for resolution. Only few respondents use fertilizers and high-breeding seeds and crops in their farms. They combine crop farming with horticulture by cultivating with simple tools crops such as yams, cassava, cocoyams, sweet potatoes, maize, oranges, pears, pineapples, bananas, plantains, mangoes, coconuts, waterleaves, bitterleaves, melons, pumpkins, tomatoes, okro and pepper.

(iii) Why People in Benin City Engage in Small Scale Crop Farming. (Table 3)

When the respondents were asked the question, "Why do you decide to farm in Benin City ?" the majority claimed that food was very expensive and the costs were rising daily. They did not want to continue borrowing money to buy food for their families and relations living with them. Farming helped them to eat well, to eat fresh food and still to have surpluses for reserves and sales. The yields are used as "catch crops" in the sense that the farmers pick crops, fruits, vegetables, etc, on demand for domestic use, and as cash crops which are harvested for sales. The money realised is used to pay fees for the children at school, purchase household requirements etc. The respondents found farming very rewarding financially, psychologically, and physically. They encountered some problems, to be considered in the next section. Despite problems, they would like to continue to farm.The proceeds from sales were used to supplement incomes received from paid jobs. Salary alone was insufficient to maintain reasonable lifestyle for the family.

About 58 respondents (38.7%) said that they had access to fertile farmlands. They did not want the land to remain idle and wasted. They wanted to be industruous, and productive and not lazy. Only 2 respondents stated that they found great joy in farming and harvesting.

Farming was a hobby to them. it helped to keep the body and mind fit and sound and the environment clean and clear of weeds.

(iv) Small Scale Crop Farmers and their Problems (Table 4)

The problems which the farmers encountered were many and varied. Insufficiency and scarcity of farmland meant that sometimes landlords received bribes before renting the land and the rents increased annually. When the demands of the landlord could not be met,.the land tended to be over-worked, resulting in low yields.

Transportation problems made it difficult to evacuate farm products out of the farms. Bush burning and boundary disputes often lead to serious fighting, prosecution, and claiming of damages. Stealing and pilfering of farm products occurred. Insects, birds, reptiles and animal lake grass-cutters, rabbits, goats, sheep and rams entered the farms, ate vegetables and grains, damaged the plants and uprooted crops such as cassava. This problem had "reached an alarming scale". High costs of labour and tools, of fertilizers and high-breeding crops and seeds, of fungicides and insecticides which were not available for them at subsidised prices from the Ministry of Agriculture and other institutions. Finally, unfavourable weather conditions like inconsistent sunshine and excessive rainfall caused water-logging, rapid growth of weeds and soil erosion.

Two respondents had difficulties in getting loans having no colateral as security for the banks. and others argued that improper storage of perishable items such as fruits, maize, and vegetables causing waste was a general problem.

Obviously, the problems are more-or-less similar to those which peasants encounter in the traditional sector. (Idachaba 1979, Habeeb and Ibe 1987, and MAMSER 1988)

(v) Small Scale Crop Farmers and How to solve their Problems (Table 5)

Respondents were given the opportunity to suggest ways to reduce the problems which they encountered in farming. The majority suggested reducing and subsidizing the costs of tools, fertilizer, highbreeding crops and seeds, insecticides, fungicides and pesticides to encourage more farmers to purchase and use them. Rents on land should be reduced and farmers should be given loans to fa-

Table 3	Engagement "Why do you decide to farm in Benin City?"		
Category of Responses		Frequencies	in %
access to lands; industriousness		58	38.7
Economic consideration		90	60.0
Liking of foarming		2	1.3

Table 4	Problems "Enumerate the problems which you encounter in farming in Benin City"		
Category of Responses		Frequencies	in %
Insufficiency of farm lands		10	6.7
Transportation problems		36	24.0
Bush-burning / boundary disputes		8	5.3
Stealing and pilfering		12	8.0
animal invasion1		34	22.7
Farm inputs		27	18.0
weather conditions		11	7.3
Difficulties in getting loans		2	1.3
Lack of proper storage system		6	4.0
None		4	2.7

cilitate growth and expansion Efficient extension workers should be sent to educate the farmers on how to use farm inputs to improve yields

Others suggested that motorable roads and special transport services should be provided. Out of these 23 respondents, 5 added that they were saving up money to purchase their own pick-up/vans and motorcycles in order to ease transport problems to and from their farms

The Bini Native Law which stipulates that "any fruit which falls can be picked by anybody " should be abrogated. Farms should be fenced with bamboo poles, planks, etc. Dangerous "juju" charms should be pegged in order to scare away thieves and pilferers. The respondent also suggested that rodents, e.g. grass-cutters should be trapped. Polythene bags should also be hung on poles on the farms to scare away rodents, birds and animals. These had the tendency to run away when they see polythene bags dangling in the air as the wind blows. They thought they had seen their invaders.

Suggestions for an Urban Agriculture Policy

This paper helps to reaffirm the truism that small scale farmers produce most of the food that feeds the nation. It is, therefore, proper that their problems should be re-examined. The following suggestions would assist towards effective policy implementation:

(i) The Nigerian government should reduce and subsidize the costs of farm inputs. Their distribution must be monitored by extension workers teaching small scale crop farmers how to use the inputs, overseeing their use and discouraging bush-burning.

(ii) Loans should be granted to small scale crop farmers on low interest rates, and without collateral.

(iii) State government should reserve sufficient land for small scale crop farmers, abolish the Bini Native Law and provide motorable roads and special transport.

Small-scale crop farming is lucrative, rewarding and satisfying. This experience may not be peculiar to the people of Benin City. Their counterparts in other cities in Nigeria may be sharing similar experiences. The paper, therefore, calls on the State Governments and the Federal Government to re-examine the problems of small-scale crop farmers in order to encourage a more effective and efficient policy implementation. This would help to achieve self-sufficiency in food production, a low cost of food and improved lifestyle for all.

Footnote

*) Random sampling was used to select 150 small-scale crop farmers. All the respondents, males and females, lived in Benin City. Their farms were located in Benin City and environs. The sample size was considered manageable and large enough in view of the constrains in time and finance.
The research used structured questionnaires for data collection. The questionnaire format contained more open-ended questions than multiple choice questions on personal details and questions relating to the objectives of the research. This enabled the respondents to 'open-up' and 'speak out'. A preceding pilot study helped to make necessary amendments in the questionnaire form and to locate the respondents.

References

Adedeji A.O. (1992) Market Gardening inan Urban Environment: A Lase study ot Agege Area of Lagos State. Unpublished B.Sc Thesis. University of Benin, Benin City

Ayo, E.O. C1979) "Agriculture in Multi-Sectoral National Planning: Lessons from the Nigerian Experience for the 1980's" Workshop paper for the 2nd Agricultural National Planning Conference Centre, University of Ibadan.

Bradbury, R.E. (1969) "The Kingdom of Benin" in: D. Forde and P.I. Kaberry(eds); West African Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century; .Glasgow (Oxford University Press): 1-24.

Daily Times, (1993)"Fruits Cost 400% More", March 18

Directorate for Social Mobilization (MAMSER) (1988) Manual for Mobilizing Co-operatives: Towards a Developed and Self-Reliant Society; Abuja; MAMSER.

Fadipe, N.A. (1970) The Sociology of Yoruba Ibadan, Ibadan University Press

Federal Republic of Nigeria (1986) Structural Adjustment Programme for Nigeria July 1986 -June 1988; Lagos:: Government Printing Press.

Habeeb,Y.A. and Ibe,A.C. (1987) "Government Policies for Agricultureal Development in Nigeria" Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Nigerian Anthropological and Sociological Society, University of Ilorin, Ilorin

Hull,R.W. (1981) Benin Art as Power" in: Flora S. Kaplan and Mary A. Shea (eds.) Images of Power: Benin Art of the Royal Court of Benin; New York (New York University Press)

Idachaba,F.S. (1979) "Planning within the Context of a National Food Policy for Nigeria in the 1980s"; Workshop Paper on The 2nd National Agricultural Planning Conference; University of Ibadan, Ibadan

Ize-Iyamu (1987) The Role of the Chiefs in the Political System: A Case Study of the Bini Kingdom; B.Sc..Thesis, University of Benin, Benin City

Obi,R.U. (1983) The Impact of Industrialisation on the Nigerian Family: A Case Study of Onitsha and Ukaa in Anambra State; M.Sc.Disssertation; University of Benin, Benin City

Obi,R.U. (1989) "The Role of Indigenous Small-Scale Industries in Nigeria's Economic Development" in: Asian and African Studies, 23/1: 73-85

Onwuejeogwu,M.A. (1981) An Igbo Civilisation: Nri Kingdom and Hegemony; London (Ethnographica)

Smith,M.G. (1955) The Economy of the Hausa Communitiesof Zaria: London (HSMO)

Table 5	Solutions suggested "Suggest ways to overcome the problems which you encounter"		
Category of Responses		Frequencies	in %
Subsidies		82	54.7
roads and transport		23	15.3
defense of plots		22	14.7
no burning		6	4.0
Proper storage system		5	3.3
drainage and irrigation		8	5.3
None		4	2.7

Source of table 1-5: Fieldwork conducted by R.U. OBI, 1992

Kommunalförderung unter schwierigen Bedingungen -
Ein Beispiel aus Kenia

Peter Herrle

summary

This paper attempts to sketch out the scope for and the conditions of community self-management for Narok, a small city in Kenya, within the framework of a German (GTZ) development assistance project. First, the nature of local government in Kenya is discussed, and the water supply and sewage difficulties of the town of 18,000 are outlined. These are seen as forming a combined problem with environmental, managerial, financial, personnel, technical, information and consciousness-raising elements. In particular there is a need for breaking the vicious circle of withholding certain obligations on the part of the authorities, of not paying certain fees on the part of the public which makes it impossible for the authorities to offer anything and, in turn, to persuade the public of the use of any contribution. The project included a simple, convincing infrastructure measure on the local level which leaded to unexpected cost recovery as seed money for the municipality and helped to overcome this deadlock.

German development policy in the field of urban development aims at strengthening community self-management. However, the concept of community differs from country to country, as do the tasks a community might undertake. Thus, any meaningful discussion of community self-management must focus on the conditions prevailing at a particular place.

Dr. Peter Herrle, architect and urban planner, Professor of Planning and Building in Developing Countries at the Technical University of Berlin, Germany. Address: Rappweg 7, 70192 Stuttgart, Germany

Die Stärkung der "kommunalen Selbstverwaltung " ist Schwerpunkt deutscher Entwicklungspolitik im Bereich Stadtentwicklung[1]. "Kommunale Selbstverwaltung" ist eine anspruchsvolle Vokabel, die mit Inhalten geladen ist, die zunächst unserer eigenen Erfahrungswelt entstammen. Bezieht sich der Begriff "Kommune" z.B. in Nepal, Thailand oder Kenia auf ein und dieselbe Sache oder wurde er in der entwicklungspolitischen Diskussion auf durchaus unterschiedliche Strukturen aufgesetzt? Und welche Aufgaben können diese "Kommunen" unter den jeweiligen Umständen wahrnehmen?

Löst man sich von der Kommune als dem Produkt spezifisch bürgerlicher politischer Kultur des Abendlandes und faßt darunter auch andere Formen lokaler Selbstverwaltung, z.B. auch solche auf Quartiers- oder Nachbarschaftsebene nicht-formeller Art, dann sind in fast allen Ländern der Welt autochthone, halbtraditionelle oder moderne Formen lokaler Organisation festzustellen, die typische Aufgaben der formellen Lokalverwaltung z.T. erheblich effektiver als diese wahrnehmen - selbst in den klassischen Bereichen von Planung und Infrastruktur. Erfolgreiche Beispiele für lokales Ressourcenmanagement durch "Kommunen" im Sinne von selbstverwalteten Gebietskörperschaften sind dagegen seltener. Sie müssen sich nicht nur innerhalb des staatlichen Systems gegen die Interessen zentraler Institutionen durchsetzen, sondern auch einen Konsens in lokalen Interessenkonflikten herstellen können. Nur selten sind alle Einwohner von Mangel und Problemen gleich betroffen, und in der Regel sind auch die zur Lösung verfügbaren Ressourcen knapp und ungleich verteilt.

Der folgende Beitrag versucht, am Beispiel einer Kleinstadt in Kenia den Spielraum und einige Bedingungen lokaler Selbstverwaltung und Initiative zu skizzieren wie sie im Rahmen eines Projekts der entwicklungspolitischen Zusammenarbeit sichtbar wurden[2]. Kenia ist aus einer Reihe von Gründen ein Beispiel für vergleichsweise ungünstige Ausgangsbedingungen:

Die Grundstruktur der kenianischen Verwaltung ist ein Erbe aus der kolonialen Vergangenheit. Zwei Systeme, die untereinander in Konkurrenz stehen, existieren nebeneinander: Das koloniale hierarchische System der Verwaltung reicht ausgehend vom Präsidenten über die Provinzkommissare bis zu den Distriktkommissaren. Es diente traditionell der Kontrolle und Aufrechterhaltung von Recht und Ordnung. Daneben existiert eine lokale "Selbstverwaltung" (Local Government) nach angelsächsischem Muster, deren Hauptaufgabe die Versorgung mit lokalen Dienstleistungen (örtliche Straßen, Abfallbeseitigung, Grundschulen, Gesundheit, Parks, Schlachthäuser, etc.) und die Erhebung lokaler Abgaben zur Finanzierung der Leistungen ist. Diese lokale Verwaltung wird kontrolliert durch eine auf der lokalen Ebene gewählte Versammlung (council).

Damit sind aber die "Kommunen" in Kenia noch lange keine Kommunen in unserem Sinne: Generell herrschen klientelistische Legitimationsformen vor, in denen die Verantwortung gegenüber der eigenen ethnischen Gruppe, dem Clan oder der Familie mehr gilt als diejenige für ein abstraktes "Gemeinwohl" aller Bürger. Gebühren für Marktstände effektiv einzutreiben ist für die Verantwortlichen schwierig, wenn davon auch die eigenen Verwandten betroffen sind. Eine "kommunale" Politik, die einen Konsens konfligierender Interessen von "Bürgern" widerspiegelt, ist unter solchen Umständen kaum machbar.

Seit der Unabhängigkeit ist die Tendenz, das bestehende System zu zentralisie-

ren und die Kompetenz der lokalen Selbstverwaltungen auszuhöhlen oder sie durch die Wegnahme von eigenen Steuereinnahmen finanziell auszutrocknen, unverkennbar. Eine Vielzahl von Gesetzen und Regelungen tragen diese Handschrift. Die massive politische Manipulation ethnischer Konflikte tut ein übriges, um lokale Solidarität zu korrumpieren. Erst seit Ende der 80er Jahre ist - ausgelöst durch den politischen Druck wichtiger Geberländer und vor allem der Weltbank - eine gewisse gegenläufige Tendenz zu beobachten, die schließlich zur Einführung des Mehrparteiensystems in den Wahlen vom Dezember 1992 führte. Seitdem ist die Situation labil. Ungebrochen ist die in Kenia beobachtbare Kultur des Nichtzahlens von Verpflichtungen: sie hat einen oberen und einen unteren Teufelskreis: Kommunen geben Steuereinnahmen nicht weiter an die Zentralverwaltung, weil zugesagte Zuschüsse für Infrastruktureinrichtungen nicht ausgezahlt werden. Auf der lokalen Ebene zahlen die Bewohner keine Gebühren für kommunale Leistungen, weil die Leistungen, wenn überhaupt, sowieso nur bruchstückhaft erbracht werden; und die lokale Verwaltung kann diese Leistungen nicht erbringen, weil sie finanziell so schwach ist, daß sie noch nicht einmal die Gehälter ihrer Angestellten regelmäßig zahlen kann.

Etwas verkürzt läßt sich die Realität der Selbstverwaltung in den kleinen Städten des Landes in der folgenden Formel zusammenfassen: Lokale Selbstverwaltungen sind in Kenia legal möglich, politisch paralysiert und wirtschaftlich bankrott[3].

Dieser Realität der Administration steht eine schwierige Situation gegenüber: Gegenwärtig wird das Bevölkerungswachstum auf ca. 3,9% geschätzt; das durchschnittliche Stadtwachstum liegt in Kenia bei 7,8%. Zum Zeitpunkt der Unabhängigkeit lebten etwa 9% der Kenianer in Städten; 1975 waren es 15%, 1993 sind es ca. 25%. Selbst wenn man den zum Teil eher ländlichen Charakter vieler als "städtisch" deklarierter Siedlungen in Betracht zieht, wird an diesen Zahlen ein dynamischer Umstrukturierungsprozeß sichtbar, der im Zusammenhang mit politischen und ethnischen Konflikten und einer notorischen Unfähigkeit der staatlichen Verwaltung auch nur ein Minimum an Infrastrukturleistungen zu erbringen, dramatische Formen annimmt. Der chronische Mangel an Kapital auf der lokalen Ebene führt zu zunehmend geringeren Investitionen in wichtige Basisinfrastruktur (Wasser, Abwasser, Drainage, Straßen); dramati-

sche Umweltbedingungen sind die Folge, vor allen in den überdurchschnittlich wachsenden informell besiedelten Stadtteilen.

Die Problematik trifft im Grundsatz auf Städte jeder Größenordnung zu; sie scheint in Kenia jedoch auch in den Kleinstädten brisant zu sein: Hier liegt das größte Bevölkerungswachstum vor (bis 14%), hier stehen Infrastrukturdefizite und Umweltprobleme in besonders krassem Widerspruch zu den finanziellen Möglichkeiten; hier ist schließlich die Diskrepanz zwischen den de jure zugestanden Selbstverwaltungskompetenzen und der faktischen Unfähigkeit der lokalen Verwaltung, eine aktive Rolle in der Sicherung der Lebensbedingungen zu spielen, noch größer als in den halbwegs administrierbaren Mittel- und Großstädten.
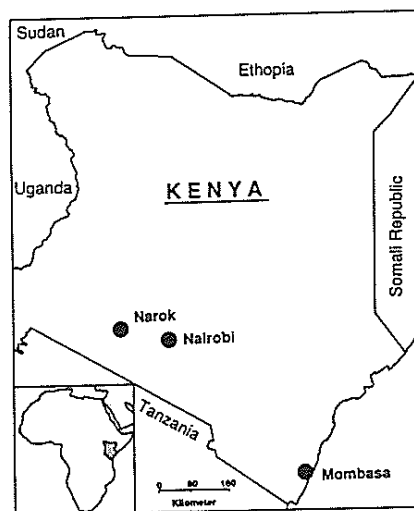
Die meisten Wasserversorgungssysteme der kleinen Städte stammen aus den 50er Jahren und sind heute unterdimensioniert und marode. Selbst im nachher erwähnten Fallbeispiel der Stadt Narok, wo ca. 90% der Bevölkerung einen eigenen Wasseranschluß haben, holt die Hälfte der Bewohner Wasser vom Fluß, in dem die Autos gewaschen und in den die Abwässer des kommunalen Schlachthauses eigeleitet werden. Der Überlauf der im Gebrauch befindlichen Grubenlatrinen, die nicht oder nur sporadisch geleert werden, bildet stehendes Wasser und dringt ins Grundwasser ein. Abfälle werden verbrannt oder ungeplant deponiert. Dadurch werden öffentliche Freiräume unnutzbar; der Müll verursacht Infektionsrisiken, blockiert Drainagesysteme und führt zu einem allgemeinen Verfall der Umweltqualität der Wohnquartiere.

Es wäre zu kurz gegriffen, diese Probleme nur als klassische Infrastrukturprobleme und damit sektoral zu betrachten. Sie sind typisch für eine im Zuge der Urbanisierung zunehmende Zerstörung der natürlichen Umwelt, ohne die Mittel für einen Ausgleich durch Technik in der Hand zu haben. Es hat sich gezeigt, daß die Lösung der Probleme nicht nur zuständige Institutionen - diese gibt es in Kenia wie andernorts auch -, sondern über Geld und technisches Wissen hinaus - beides fehlt auf der lokalen Ebene in Kenia -, auch eine "Kommunalisierung" von Interessen verlangt, eine Solidarisierung über ethnische - und Clan-Barrieren hinweg.

Narok

Das folgende Beispiel einer kleinen Komponente eines Projektes der technischen Zusammenarbeit[4] zeigt, daß trotz ungünstiger Rahmenbedingungen kommunale Solidarisierung und Handlungsfähigkeit entstehen können, wenn akute Problemlagen aufgegriffen werden, von denen alle betroffen sind, und der Nutzen gemeinschaftlicher, hier "kommunaler" Organisation praktisch erfahrbar wird.

Von den ca. 18.000 Einwohnern der Stadt Narok benutzten etwa die Hälfte sog. *septic tanks*, der Rest einfache Grubenlatrinen. Die Tanks wurden nur sporadisch geleert, der Klärschlamm wurde ungeplant auf ungenutzten Grünflächen in der Stadt und am Stadtrand abgekippt. Die hygienischen Bedingungen, die sich durch das Überlaufen der Gruben nach Regenfällen und eine unzureichende Drainage noch verschlimmerten, wurden allgemein als schlimm empfunden. Hinzu kam das Fehlen rechtlicher Handhaben auf Seiten der Stadt, dem wilden Entleeren der Gruben beizukommen. Die Situation ist typisch für "kombinierte" Problemlagen. Hier verschränken sich

- Umweltprobleme (von denen viele spürbar betroffen sind)
- Managementprobleme (wer entsorgt wann wie?)
- finanzielle Probleme (die Stadt hatte kein Geld zur Entsorgung),
- personelle Probleme (die Stadt hatte kein geeignetes Personal),
- technische Probleme (es fehlte Gerät zur Entsorgung),
- Probleme der Unkenntnis über die Gefährdung der Gesundheit und technische Erfordernisse,
- Probleme der Motivation und des "kommunalen Bewußtseins".

Der Beitrag des Projektes bestand u.a. in der

- Initiierung und Durchführung von "Öffentlichkeitsarbeit", Seminare mit Schlüsselpersonen, wie Haus- und Hoteleigentümern, Lehrern, Angehörigen der Distrikt- und Stadtverwaltung,
- Beratung der Stadtverwaltung bei der Standortentscheidung, Planung und Ausführung von einfachen Deponien für den Fäkalienschlamm; (die Kosten der Herstellung der Deponien wurden von der Gemeinde getragen),
- Bereitstellung eines Pump- und Tankwagens,
- Ausbildungsprogramme für Fahrer und technische Personal,
- Beratung bei Aufstellung, Einführung und Monitoring eines Tarifsystems,
- Ermöglichung von Erfahrungsaustausch mit anderen Städten des Landes.

Innerhalb kurzer Zeit wurden gesundheitliche Risiken drastisch und spürbar reduziert. Ca. 40% der Stadtbevölkerung kamen direkt oder indirekt in den Genuß der hygienischen Verbesserung. Mit zunehmendem Erfolg wuchs auch die Zahlungsbereitschaft und die Zahl der Anträge zur freiwilligen Teilnahme am Programm. Unter Einbeziehung sämtlicher Kosten (einschließlich Personal und Reparaturen, jedoch noch ohne Abschreibung) erwirtschaftete das Programm bereits 12 Monate nach dem Start einen Überschuß für die Stadtverwaltung. Eine kommunale Satzung, die die Teilnahme allgemein verbindlich macht, wurde im Sommer 1993 vorbereitet.

Die wachsende Zahlungsbereitschaft kann im oben geschilderten Kontext als Indiz des Entstehens von kommunaler Solidarität gelten. Zum ersten Mal in der Geschichte von Narok wurde mit der Schaffung nennenswerter lokaler Einnahmen aus den Gebühren ein Stück echter kommunaler Handlungsfähigkeit erlebt und damit - wenigstens - die untere Schleife des eingangs beschriebenen "Teufelskreises" durchschnitten. Vielleicht noch wichtiger - weil langfristig bedeutsam - ist die in kleinen Schritten eingetretene Bewußtseinsänderung bei einer anfänglich völlig demoralisierten Verwaltung ebenso wie bei einer skeptischen Bevölkerung, die zur Erfahrung der realen Möglichkeit eines erfolgreichen lokalen Managements relativ komplexer Aufgaben führte.

Seinen Erfolg verdankt das kleine Programm der Tatsache, daß die anstehende Problematik eben nicht nur technisch

und auch nicht als bloßes Management-Defizit der Verwaltung interpretiert wurde. Aus der intensiven Einbeziehung der Bewohner und vor allem der wichtigen lokalen Schlüsselpersonen entwickelte sich eine Veränderung des Verhaltens und festgefahrener Einstellungen. Erst dadurch wurde aus technischen "Komponenten" ein funktionierendes *sanitation*-Konzept. Vor dem Hintergrund der positiven Erfahrungen wurde in Narok plötzlich auch über andere Bereiche kommunalen Managements nachgedacht: z. B. schien das bislang ungelöste Problem der Müllbeseitigung angehbar. Außerdem begannen sich andere Städte für das Modell zu interessieren.

Es scheint, als ob gerade die relativ kleinen Städte in der Größenordnung von Narok bessere Chancen als die Metropolen bieten, den erwähnten "Teufelskreis des Nichtzahlens" und der kommunalen Handlungsunfähigkeit zu durchbrechen. Die Probleme sind in den kleinen Städten überschaubarer, die unmittelbare Betroffenheit aller Segmente der Bevölkerung ist größer, die Verwaltung ist der unmittelbaren Betroffenheit stärker ausgesetzt, die Ortsverbundenheit der Politiker und teilweise auch der Administration ist größer; schließlich ist es auf der lokalen Ebene leichter, ethnische Spannungen zu lösen und zu einem "kommunalen" Konsens zu finden.

Der Teilerfolg in Narok darf allerdings nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, daß die wesentlichen Rahmenbedingungen lokaler Autonomie unverändert gelten. Die Abhängigkeit von der nationalen Ebene macht den Erfolg fragil; auch in Narok sind ethnische Konflikte politisch manipulierbar und können rasch zum Zusammenbruch des Systems führen.

Viel hängt von der Kooperation der Person des örtlichen Verwaltungschefs, des sog. *Town Clerk*, ab, der der üblichen Rotation unterworfen ist. Und schließlich stellen auch die durch das Projekt geleistete "Rückendeckung" auf nationaler Ebene, konkret: die Präsenz im zuständigen *Ministry of Local Government* und die externe Teilfinanzierung der Maßnahmen nicht verallgemeinerbare aber erfolgsentscheidende Voraussetzungen dar. Dennoch zeigt dieses kleine Beispiel, wie selbst unter ziemlich restriktiven politischen Bedingungen eine gewisses Maß an Handlungsfreiheit in formellen lokalen Selbstverwaltungen entstehen kann,

- wenn ihr Status rechtlich gesichert ist,
- wenn der durch lokale Betroffenheit erzeugte Konsens der Bevölkerung

nicht durch (manipulierte) ethnische Konflikte gesprengt wird, wenn weiterhin

- die Probleme lokal lösbar sind (im Gegensatz zu den Makro-Systemen der Wasserversorgung), und wenn schließlich
- eine kommunale Solidarisierung hinsichtlich der Übernahme von Lasten erreicht werden kann.

Es hat den Anschein, als ob gerade unter restriktiven Bedingungen wie sie z.B. in Kenia vorliegen, externe Unterstützung, also auch geeignete Projekte der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit, eine wichtige Rolle als Katalysator im Prozeß des Aufbaus von kommunalem Selbstbewußtsein und lokaler Selbstverwaltung spielen können.

Anmerkungen:

1 Förderkonzept Stadtentwicklung. Grundsätze für die Planung und Durchführung von Vorhaben der entwicklungspolitischen Zusammenarbeit der Bundesregierung im Bereich Stadtentwicklung, Bonn 1989, derzeit in Überarbeitung.

2 Der Beitrag stützt sich u.a. auf Ergebnisse einer Evaluierung, die ich im Auftrag der GTZ für das BMZ zusammen mit Philip Amis durchgeführt habe. Der GTZ und allen beteiligten Stellen sei an dieser Stelle für die gute Kooperation gedankt.

3 Zur allgemeinen Situation zu Beginn der 90er Jahre: Smoke, P.(1993): Local Government Fiscal Reform in Developing Countries: Lessons from Kenya. In: World Development Vol.21. No.6; The World Bank (1990): Kenya local Government Finance Study.

4 Small Towns Development Project, Kenya. Dieses Projekt der deutschen Entwicklungshilfe wird von der GTZ durchgeführt und ist auf die Beratung kleiner Städte in den Bereichen Planung, Finanzmanagement, Infrastrukturmanagement gerichtet

Kongressbericht
Conference Report

Kommunale Selbstbestimmung in der Dritten Welt - Neue Ansätze zur Entwicklungszusammenarbeit ?
zum TRIALOG-Kolloqium
am 21. Oktober 1994 in Berlin

An prominenter Stelle, im Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin fand die diesjährige Fachtagung von TRIALOG statt, der "Vereinigung zur wissenschaftlichen Erforschung des Planens und Bauens in der Dritten Welt". Fast 100 Leute aus verschiedenen Fachbereichen und Kontinenten waren gekommen, vor allem Planungsfachleute sowie Praktiker und Forscher im Feld der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit.

Ausgangspunkt war die These, daß "ökologische Belange (auch) im Süden am besten und effektivsten auf der lokalen Ebene berücksichtigt werden" und der Wunsch, dies in die Praxis der entwicklungspolitischen Arbeit einfließen zu lassen . Thema waren so auch die Grenzen und Möglichkeiten einer kommunalen, ökologisch orientierten Selbstbestimmung in den Ländern des 'Südens' und des Nordens.

Daß dieser Gedanke nicht neu ist und auch immer mehr zum Konsens in der Entwicklungzusammenarbeit gehört, davon zeugten unter anderem die Beiträge Erfried Adam's von der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung sowie von Klaus Hermann von der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. Gleich zu Beginn tauchte die Frage auf, ob die Idee der Selbstverwaltung auf kommmunaler Ebene nicht nur deshalb so konsensfähig wurde, da der Zentralstaat eben immer öfters nichts mehr zu verteilen hat und die lokalen Verwaltungseinheiten als Lückenbüßer diese Aufgaben übernehmen müssen.

Jürgen Oestereich von TRIALOG präsentierte ein Thesenpapier als Leitfaden für die Diskussion auf dieser Tagung und betonte die Schlüsselfunktion der kommunalen Selbstbestimmung für das ökologische Umsteuern bei uns und im Süden.

Da selbst die Programme der großen Trägerorganisationen der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit bereits auf das Konzept Kommunalförderung ausgerichtet sind, gab es an diesem Punkt keinen grundlegenden Widerspruch. Die Schwirigkeiten beginnen bei der Umsetzung schön usgedachter Konzepte vor Ort, im Geflecht lokaler Interessengruppen, mit handlungsunfähigen Gemeinde- oder Kommunalverwaltungen oder eben lokalen Strukturen, die nach ganz anderen Spielregeln funktionieren. Dies betonten auch Werner Kersting von der Deutsch-Burkinischen Freundschaftsgesellschaft und Hermann Herf vom Dritte Welt-Haus Bielefeld, bezogen auf Erfahrungen in Burkina Faso und Peru.

Der zweite Teil des Kolloquiums stand unter dem Thema "Zukunftsgestaltung auf lokaler Ebene in unterschiedlichen politischen Kulturen". Die Beiträge dieses Teils berichteten von Projekterfahrungen aus Kolumbien (Anette Bähring, GTZ), Kuba (Ruben Bankroff, Havanna), Peru (Hermann Herf, FOKUS, Bielefeld), Benin (Lazare Séhouéto, FU Berlin), Kenia (Peter Herrle, Stuttgart/ TU Berlin - siehe dazu den in dieser TRIALOG-Ausgabe veröffentlichten Beitrag), Zimbabwe (Uwe Otzen, DIE, Berkin), Thailand und den Philippinen (Jürgen Rüland, Universität Rostock), Nepal (Adiran Atkinson, London) und aus dem Jemen (Wolfram Schneider, Gelsenkirchen).

Im Zentrum der Berichte und der Diskussion standen neben kulturspezifischen Unterschieden im einzelnen die vielfältigen Behinderungen auf kommunaler Ebene: finanzielle Blockade, schwierige und fragile politische Legitimierungsvrfahren, Angst der zentralen Behörden vor zu viel lokaler Autonomie und möglichen separatistischen Konsequenzen, ethnische oder politische Polariierung, die auf Pluralität und Konsens basierende Entscheidungsfindungsprozesse blockieren, etc. Es schien jedoch auch die Tendenz durch, daß es vielerorts eine große Bereitschaft gibt, sich gerade in Umweltfragen Kompetenzen auf lokaler Ebene und dezentralere Entscheidungsstrukturen zu erstreiten.

Klaus Teschner

Neue Bücher

Book Reviews

Architektur

Steele, J., Architecture for Islamic Societies Today, Academy Editions/The Aga Khan Award for Architecture, London 1994, 152 Seiten, DM 128 (Bezug: VCH Verlagsgesellschaft, Boschstr. D-69469 Weinheim).
Dies ist ein weiteres Buch aus der Reihe der Aga Khan Publikationen, welche den Aga Khan Wettbewerb zum Thema haben. Hier handelt es sich um den 4. Wettbewerbszyklus mit Arbeiten aus dem Libanon, Marocco, Bangladesh, Indonesien, Turkei, Saudi Arabien und Frankreich. Die sehr unterschiedlichen Arbeiten wurden von einer internationalen Jury ausgewählt und stehen als Beispiele der 'islamischen' Architekturkonzeption. Bei den Arbeiten der allesamt gebauten Projekte handelt es sich (a) um recht protzige institutionelle Gebäude, (b) Altstadtsanierung in Marocco in einer marokkanischen Kleinstadt, (c) um Moscheenbauten, sowie (d) um sozial orientierte Projekte wie das Grameen Bank Wohnungsprogramm (Bangladesh) und den interessanten Markt in Samarinda/Indonesien (siehe TRIALOG Nr. 32). Alle 1992 in Cairo prämierten Projekte werden mit Text und gutem Bildmaterial vorgestellt.
Zusätzlich gibt es vom Herausgeber und einigen Aga Khan Freunden einleitende Essays über die Mission des Islam, die Rolle der Vergangenheit für die Zukunft, Komplexität - Koexistenz und Pluralität, und wie immer in den Publikationen der Aga Khan Stiftung über die Suche nach Bedeutung in der 'islamischen' Architektur. Durchaus ein prächtiges Buch, nur scheint konzeptionell wenig Neues hinzugekommen zu sein. Die Argumentation der Aga Khan Freunde hat sich wenig verändert, wenn man dies mit den Publikationen von 1990, 1986, 1984 etc. vergleicht...
Florian Steinberg

Stadtentwicklung

Walter Kieß, Urbanismus im Industriezeitalter. Von der klassizistischen Stadt zur Garden City. 496 Seiten, 450 Abb., ISBN 3-433-02038-8, 1992, Leinen DM 198,-. Berlin: Ernst und Sohn Verlag.
Eine historisch relativ kurze Zeitspanne von rund einhundert Jahren wird in diesem Werk zur Stadtbaugeschichte in bewundernswerter Gründlichkeit aufgearbeitet. In einzelnen Abschnitten werden revolutionäre Stadtverordnungen, frühindustrielle Urbanisierungsprozesse, die "großen Städtebauentwürfe" à la Haussmann, Stadtutopien, erste radikale Sanierungs- und Stadterweiterungsprojekte, der philanthropische Wohnungsbau, die städtebaulichen Theorien der Jahrhundertwende und die Gartenstadtbewegung analysiert und dokumentiert. Im Gegensatz zu vielen anderen stadtbaugeschichtlichen Veröffentlichungen wird den Gefahren eines naturgemäß oberflächlichen Rundumschlags dadurch aus dem Wege gegangen, daß sich der Autor jeweils auf wenige Städte und Projekte beschränkt. Diese werden jedoch - meist auf Eigenrecherchen basierend - ausführlich diskutiert und mit vielen Abbildungen illustriert. Für städtebaulich ausgerichtete Bibliotheken ist die Anschaffung dieses Werkes obligatorisch.
Kosta Mathéy

Greg Girard; Ian Lambot. City of Darkness - Life in Kowloon Walled City. 220 Seiten, 200 Farbabb., ISBN 3-433-02355-7. 1993, Leinen DM 110,-. Berlin: Ernst und Sohn.
Wer hat noch nicht Fotos der cages in Hong Kong gesehen? Diese vergitterten Balkone der über 10 Geschosse hohen Wohnblöcke sind ein Wahrzeichen der walled city - einer kaum 20.000 m² großen Fläche, die von 35.000 Menschen bewohnt wird. Dieser weltweit wohl am dichtesten bewohnte Flecken Stadt verdankt seinen Ursprung der Tatsache, daß er 1898 -obwohl mitten im Territorium der von Großbritannien gepachteten Kronkolonie gelegen - formal weiterhin unter chinesischer Jurisdiktion verblieb. Praktisch war das Gelände jedoch, da für die britische Gesetzgebung tabu und für die Chinesen belanglos, ein rechtliches Niemandsland - ein Manifest gelebter Anarchie. Die walled city wurde Zufluchtsort und neue Heimat für Tausende aus der Volksrepublik geflüchteter Chinesen, die hier von gesetzlichen Bestimmungen und Steuern unbehelligt ihre Existenzgrundlage suchen konnten. Zu ihnen gesellten sich jene, die sich aus anderen Gründen dem Zugriff der Polizei zu entziehen suchten. Der britischen Verwaltung war diese "Stadt in der Stadt" stets ein Dorn im Auge. 1984, wenige Jahre vor der Rückgabe der Kolonie an China, erlangte die Regierung endlich die Genehmigung von den Chinesen zum Abriß dieses Slumgebietes, und begann 1990 mit der Umwandlung in einen Park. Dieses Buch hat sich zum Ziel gesetzt, die Erinnerung an dieses städtebauliche Phänomen wach zu halten. Neben den vielen unvergleichlichen Fotos tragen über dreißig ausführliche Interviews und Features zum Gelingen des Vorhabens bei. Es entstand ein einmaliges Dokument über extremste Lebens- und Überlebensbedingungen in der totalen Stadt. Am Meisten erstaunt die Erkenntnis dabei, daß selbst hier bestimmte positive Qualitäten von den Bewohnern geschätzt und hervorgerufen werden.
KM

Rakesh Mohan, Understanding the Developing Metropolis. Lessons from the City Studies of Bogotá and Cali, Colombia. 342 Seiten, ISBN 0-19-520882-X, 1994. Oxford University Press New York.
Bereits in den 1970er Jahren begann sich die vorausschauende Weltbank Sorgen zu machen über die rapide Urbanisierungsprozesse in den Ländern des Südens und beschloß, das Phänomen zum Gegenstand einer gründlichen wissenschaftlichen Studie zu machen. Mit den Erkenntnissen könnten sich später geeignete Steuerungsinstrumente entwickeln lassen. Exemplarisch sollte zunächst eine einzelne Stadt untersucht werden - die Wahl fiel auf Bogotà - die dann später als Meßlatte für die Entwicklung in anderen Ländern dienen könne. Ergänzende Daten wurden selektiv auch für Cali erhoben - so sicher war man sich wohl in der Auswahl Bogotàs nicht. Die Forschung hat 15 Jahre in Anspruch genommen; das jetzt vorliegende Resultat ist eine vorbildlich gründliche Stadtanalyse, wie sie über kein anderes Wirtschaftszentrum in den Ländern des Südens existieren dürfte. Der Report ist, abgesehen von den allgemeinen Einleitungs- und Schlußkapiteln, sektoral gegliedert: Armut und Einkommen; Arbeitsmarkt; Gewerbe und Industrie (-Standortentscheidungen); Wohnungswesen; Transport; Administration, Stadtplanung.
Die zu Bogotà gewonnenen Daten sind reichhaltig und aufschlußreich; zahlreiche bisher als Konsensus hingenommene Annahmen werden revidiert werden müssen. Doch in Hinblick auf die Annahme, mit Bogotà ein ganz durchschnittliches Beispiel ausgewählt zu haben, dürften Zweifel an der Übertragbarkeit der meisten Erkenntnisse angemeldet werden - hier scheint noch die Naivität der sechziger und siebziger Jahre durch. Dennoch, als methodisches Beispiel und Referenzwerk für quantitative Größen in anderen Stadtforschungen ist die Publikation auch über das Ortsinteresse hinaus unschlagbar.
KM

Einhard Schmidt-Kallert, Metropolen - Leben und Überleben in den großen Städten der Dritten Welt. 49 S., ISBN 3-927905-16-X 1990, DM 12,-. Horlemann Verlag Bad Honnef.

In der Reihe "Explizit - Materialien für Unterricht und Bildungsarbeit" erschien diese Textesammlung zur Stadtentwicklung im Süden. Das Material, z.T. aus TRIALOG Heften oder von TRIALOG-Mitgliedern verfaßt, gliedert sich (verkürzt) in acht Bausteine: Urbanisierungsprozeß; Magnet Großstadt?; Marginalsiedlungen; Überleben in der Großstadt; Infrastruktur und Umweltbelastung; die Wohnungsfrage; Selbsthilfe; Europa und die Dritte Welt. Zu den jeweils kurzen Textauszügen werden Themenvorschläge zur Diskussion und vorbereitete Antwortkästchen angeboten - wohl für sachunkundige Lehrer/innen gedacht. Gerade die Reduzierung des Materials auf knappe Textauszüge ist - als Kontrast zu den oft endlosen Literaturlisten im Universitätsbetrieb - eine gute Hilfestellung, um schnell zur Diskussion zu gelangen. Kurz: viel Hilfestellung für wenig Papier.
KM

Renate Borst, Stefan Krätke, Margit Mayer, Roland Roth, Fritz Schmoll (Hrsg.). Das neue Gesicht der Städte. 316 Seiten, ISBN 3-7643-2540-2, 1990. Birkhäuser Verlag Basel.

Davon ausgehend, daß die Korrelation zwischen urbanen sozialökonomischen und räumlichen Umstrukturierungen in Deutschland theoretisch noch nicht genügend thematisiert, geschweige denn aufgearbeitet, worden sind, ist diese Aufsatzsammlung zusammengestellt worden. Es kommen führende Autoren der internationalen Debatte, wie David Harvey oder Joe Feagin zu Wort, an deren Konzepte sich die deutschen Beiträge im zweiten Teil des Buches z.T. tendenziell anlehnen. Erwartungsgemäß stehen die wirtschaftlichen Konzentrationsprozesse und die zunehmende soziale Spaltung im Mittelpunkt. Wenn auch viele der Argumente schon aus anderen Abhandlungen bekannt sein dürften, ist deren Zusammenführung in einer Publikation nützlich, und liefert im Ergebnis ein wichtiges Referenzwerk.
Eine Zumutung allerdings sind die dreihundert von oben bis unten mit mikroskopisch kleiner Schrift und langen Zeilen bedruckten Seiten, die auch bei den geneigtesten Leser/inn/n unweigerlich binnen kürzester Zeit zu heftigen Ermüdungserscheinungen führen müssen, und die ganze Mühe der Autor/inn /en und Herausgeber/innen weitgehend verpuffen lassen. Schade. Bis zur Veröffentlichung als Microfiche ist es wirklich nur noch ein kleiner Schritt. Viele der vorgebrachten Argumente hätten sicher auch kürzer auf den Punkt gebracht, und vielleicht auch durch Grafiken illustriert, werden können - und die Lesbarkeit verbessert.
KM

GTZ, Sektorübergreifende städtische und ländliche Programme Kurzinfo. Unregelmäßig erscheinender Rundbrief der OE 425. Erhältlich bei: Zimmer 1307, GTZ, Postfach 5180, 65760 Eschborn.

Trialog Leser/innen und Redaktion haben immer schon bedauert, daß sie relativ selten die Gelegenheit hatten, durch Artikelbeiträge an dem reichen Erfahrungsschatz der GTZ-Mitarbeiter/innen partizipieren zu dürfen. Insider wissen bereits, daß dies nicht so sein muß: die Organisationseinheit 425 der GTZ, die sektorübergreifende städtische und ländliche Programme betreut, gibt periodisch ein sog. Kurzinfo mit durchschnittlich 40 A5-Seiten Umfang heraus. Es enthält hausinterne Erfahrungsberichte zu jeweils aktuellen Schwerpunktthemen, abgesehen von für Externe weniger interessanten Fortbildungshinweisen und Personal-Neuigkeiten. Allen, die gelegentlich mit der GTZ zu tun haben, sei empfohlen, dort um die letzten Ausgaben des Kurzinfo zu bitten.
KM

Ronald Daus (Hrsg.), Großstadtliteratur. 231 Seiten, ISBN 3-89354-545-X, 1992. Vervuert Verlag Frankfurt.

Der Band dokumentiert die Ergebnisse eines internationalen Kolloquiums über lateinamerikanische, afrikanische und asiatische Metropolen, das 1990 in Berlin stattfand. Bemerkenswert ist, daß die Autoren weder Planer/innen noch Architekt/inn/en, sondern literarisch arbeitende Schriftsteller/innen sind, was eine eher emotionale als technische Sicht der Realität widerspiegelt. Zu jeder der ausgewählten Metropolen México, Buenos Aires, Sao Paulo, Luanda, Lima, La Habana, Dakar und Manila wurden ein oder mehrere Originalbeiträge, zum Teil von einheimischen Autor/inn/en (in spanisch oder französisch) erbeten, und durch eine Zusammenfassung der Diskussion ergänzt. Ein Buch für geruhsame Stunden.
KM

Marc Askew, William S. Logon (Ed.), Cultural Identity and Urban Change in Southeast Asia, Interpretative Essays, Deakin University Press, Geelong,Australia 1994, 252 S. (Deakin University, Geelong, Victoria, Australia 3217).

Kaum eine Region hatte in den letzten Jahrzehnten eine so dynamische urbane Entwicklung zu verzeichnen wie Südostasien. Dieser aus Australien präsentierte Sammelband vereint eine internationale und renommierte Autorenschaft verschiedener Disziplinen (Historiker, Geographen, Stadtplaner, Soziologen), sowohl aus der Region, als auch aus Canada, Australien, Frankreich etc., die sich mit den urbanen Traditionen und deren Zukunft im Prozess der schnellen Modernisierung dieser Länder befassen. Mit einer Ausnahme sind sämtliche Artikel speziell für dieses Buch verfaßt, das den südostasiatischen Raum fast perfekt abdeckt mit Beiträgen zu Manila, Hanoi, Phnom Penh, Bangkok, Chang Mai, Phuhat und Hua Hin in Thailand, Singapur, Kuala Lumpur, Yogyakarta und Denpasar, Bali. Im Vorwort beschreibt der bekannte kanadische Geograph T.G. McGee den Wandel dieser Stadtregionen in Richtung auf profane Gesichtslosigkeit und ausufernde middle-class-Vorstädte.
Tatsächlich zeichnen einige Autoren ein düsteres Bild mit wenig Chancen zur Rettung des baukichen Erbes für die nächste Generation, auch wenn sie solche Anstrengungen ermutigen und stärken wollen. Zwei Artikel zu Thailand beschäftigen sich mit den negativen Folgen des Tourismus für die historischen Strukturen der Städte. Und natürlich wird in einem der Beiträge die skurrile und halbherzige Rekonstruktion der abgerissenen Bugis Street in Singapur thematisiert, einst ein verrufener Ort, heute verkitschter Ausdruck für das zu spät erkannte Bedürfnis nach traditionsreichen städtischen Räumen.
Gegen solche Inszenierung von Geschichte, gegen die neo-klassizistischen Neubaufassaden und gegen einfache nachträgliche Kosmetik im historisierenden Stil, die eine Erhaltung der Altstädte und Baudenkmäler oft garnicht als Ziel vermittelbar ist. Der Beitrag über Hanoi beleuchtet die Schwierigkeit, ein wertvolles koloniales Bauerbe zu erhalten, wenn dieses von der Bevölkerung ja nicht ohne Grund als Erinnerung an fremde Domination abgelehnt wird. Betont wird demgegenüber die Notwendigkeit der lokalen Verankerung und Wertschätzung einer eben nicht nur baulichen Identität auf Quartiers- und Stadtebene, ohne die alle Anstrengungen vergebens sein werden.
Das Buch ist ansprechend schlicht und besitzt lobenswerterweise einen Index. Nachteilig sind die - ohne ersichtlichen Grund - zu klein geratenen und schwer erkennbaren Fotos, mit denen wohl kaum Werbung zu machen ist für zu erhaltende Baustrukturen. Doch die kenntnisreichen, gut geschriebenen Beiträge aus den verschiedenen Fachrichtungen und der hier gebotene regionale Überblick machen die Publikation zu einer anregenden Lektüre.
Klaus Teschner

Ursula von Petz, Klaus M.Schmals (Ed.), Metropole, Weltstadt, Global City: Neue Formen der Urbanisierung, Dortmund 1992, 365 S., IRPUD (Institut für Raumplanung der Universität Dortmund), Dortmunder Beiträge zur Raumplanung 60

Als Ergebnis einer Veranstaltungsreihe zum Thema "Brennpunkt Weltstadt" an der Universität Dortmund, dessen Vorträge hier in überarbeiteter Form dargeboten werden, erschien dieser Band bereits 1992 in der nüchternen "Blauen Reihe" des Dortmunder Instituts für Raumplanung (IRPUD).
Die Bandbreite der "sperrigen" und schwer zu definierenden Begriffe "Metropole, Weltstadt, Global City" wird im Vorwort ausführlich dargelegt. Der weitgefasste Rahmen, der hier gespannt wird, schließt denn auch Städte stark differierender Größenordnung und Bedeutung als 'basing points für global agierendes Kapital' ein.
Von den 18 Beiträgen des Bandes beschäftigen sich sieben aus unterschiedlicher Perspektive mit aktuellen Entwicklungsfragen der klassichen "Weltstädte mit Führungsfunktion" London, Paris, New York und Tokio. Zehn weitere Artikel beleuchten die heutige Situation erheblich kleinerer Weltstädte in Europa mit - wie auch immer gearteter - "Vermittlungsfunktion": Wien, Rom, Neapel, Athen, Barcelona, Moskau, Berlin und das Ruhrgebiet, dessen Qualität als Metropole im letzten Beitrag diskutiert wird. Als einziges Beispiel der Dritten Welt wurde noch der Bevölkerungsriese México Ciudad (als "Mexico City") in diese Reihe mitaufgenommen.
Die enorme Unterschiedlichkeit dieser Städte sowie der Untersuchungsansätze und Beschreibungen der Autoren macht einen direkten Vergleich schwierig, auch ein Gesamtbild "neuer Formen der Urbanisierung" läßt sich nur schwer erkennen. Dennoch ist das Buch eine interessante Sammlung von Momentaufnahmen verschiedenster Stadträume. Gemeinsamkeiten lassen sich vor allem feststellen bei den ausführlich thematisierten Tendenzen der neoliberalen Modernisierung, die natürlich am stärksten sind bei den um die globale Führungsposition konkurrierenden Metropolen London, Paris, New York und Tokio. Spannend lesen sich auch die Artikel über Städte der südeuropäischen Peripherie: Rom, Neapel, Athen und Barcelona, mit teilweise sehr einfühlsamen oder analytisch pointierten Beschreibungen. Deutlich trockener ist der stark monographische und mit Statistik gespickte Beitrag über "Mexico City". Mehr graphische Erläuterungen und Photos wären den meisten Fallbeispielen dringend zu wünschen, hier sticht vor allem der Artikel über Moskau hervor, der eine gute Bilddokumentation liefert über den Zerfall der Innenstadt und die verschiedenen Phasen des Wohnungsbaus bis hin zu den Großsiedlungen der 70er Jahre. Und auch das frischvereinigte Berlin fehlt nicht, ein Beitrag präsentiert Thesen zum "Umbau zur neuen Metropole", ein zweiter Beitrag beschreibt die "Wanderungen der Berliner City". Alles in allem ein lesenswerter Band.
Klaus Teschner

Reilly, C.A.(Hg.), Nuevas Políticas Urbanas, Las ONG y los gobiernos municipales en la democratización latinoamericana, Arlington/Virginia 1994, 360 Seiten, (Bezug: Inter-American Foundation, 901 N. Stuart Street, 10th Floor, Arlington, Virginia, 22203, USA).

Diese Übersetzung eines auch auf englisch erschienen Buches ("Joint Ventures in Urban Policy: NGO-Municipal Collaboration in Democratizing Latin America") gibt einen weiten Überblick zu den diversen Gemeindepolitiken in Lateinamerika, das zur Zeit von einer allgemeinen Tendenz der politischen Dezentrlisierung gekennzeichnet ist. Die 13 Artikel des Buches repräsentieren Forschungsarbeiten aus den Jahren 1990-91 und beziehen sich auf Buenos Aires und Rosario in Argentinien, Brasilien allgemein und São Paolo speziell, die Müllentsorgung in diversen Städten/Ländern, Chile, Kolumbien, Mexico und Peru.

Wenige Artikel befassen sich konkret mitv den typisch städtischen Probelmen von Einkommen und Armut/sozialer Disparitäten, Versorgung mit sozialen Einrichtungen, technischer Infrastruktur, Wohnungsversorgung etc. Vielmehr geht es den Autoren um die Veränderungen in der politischen Kultur und Struktur, um die Demorkatisierung der Gesellschaften im Allgemeinen, und um die Einführung direkter lokaler Wahlen im Besonderen.

Das Buch dokumentiert wichtige Entwicklungstrends, ist jedoch hier und da schon recht veraltet, und die eklatant akademische Sprache fast aller Beiträge wird nicht zu seiner Popularität beitragen.
FS

The World Bank, Urban Management Program Discussion / Policy Papers. Jeweils ca 10 US$. Erhältlich von World Bank Publications, PO Box 7247-8619, Philadelphia, PA 19170, USA ode UMP Coordinator, UNCHS, Box 30030, Nairobi, Kenia.

Das Urban Management Program ist eine von mehreren UN-Organisationen getragene Initiative zur Entwicklungsförderung und Armutsminderung in den Ländern der Dritten Welt. Hauptinstrumente sind Institutionenförderung und Fortbildungsmaßnahmen. Zu den unterstützenden Maßnahmen zählt die Herausgabe dieser Reihe, u.a. mit folgenden Titeln:

No 5: Reforming Urban Land Policies and Institutions (Catherina Farvaque; Patrick Mc Auslan, 1992, policy paper) ***

No 10: Utility Mapping and Record Keeping for Infrastructure (David Pickering, Jonathan Park, David Bannister, 1993) *

No 11: Elements of Urban Management (Kenneth Davey, 1993) *

No 12: Land Use Considerations in Urban Environmental Management (Janis Bernstein, 1993) **

No 13: Private Sector Participation in Municipal Solid Waste Services: the Formal Sector (Sandra Cointreau-Levine, 1994) **

No 15: Rapid Urban Environmental Asessment (Josef Leitmann, 1994) *

No 16: Decentralization and its Implications for Urban Service Delivery (William Dillinger, 1994) **

No 18: Toward Environmental Strategies for Cities (Carl Bartone et al., 1994) ***

Mehrere der Berichte sind die Ergebnisse von Evaluierungen in mehreren Ländern und Städten, und fast immer werden Fallstudien typischer Situationen oder positiver Beispiele präsentiert. Die Zielgruppe der Reports sind in erster Linie Politiker und high-level Beamte der Stadt- und Regionalverwaltungen. Bei der hohen Anzahl der Autoren ist die Qualität der Hefte und deren Brauchbarkeit für jeweilige Interessentengruppen natürlich sehr unterschiedlich - eine persönliche Wertung durch den Rezensenten wird durch die Vergabe der Sterne in der obigen Liste ausgedrückt.
KM
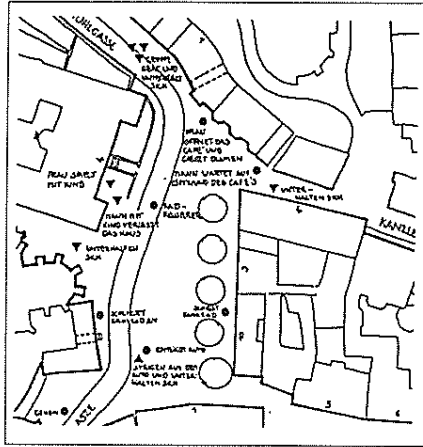
Wohnungsversorgung

Diana Lee Smith. Peasants, Plantation Dwellers and the Urban Poor. A Study of Women and Shelter in Kenya. 148 Seiten, ISBN 91-87866-10-2, 1993, 20,- $US. Dept. of Architecture and Development Studies, University, Box 118, S-221 00 Lund.

In dieser Lizenziatenarbeit überprüft die Autorin eine Reihe von gängigen Thesen über Wohnbedingungen für Frauen in Kenia, die sie ursprünglich 1990 formuliert hat und aus ihrer langjährigen Mitarbeit im HIC "Women and Shelter Network" erwuchsen. Diese Thesen werden anhand von 169 Interviews mit weiblichen Haushaltsvorständen in drei Siedlungstypen getestet: ländliche Behausungen, Plantagen-Siedlungen, und städtische Nachbarschaften. Die empirischen Ergebnisse sind detailliert aufgelistet und kommentiert: demographische Angaben, sozio-ökonomischer Status, Infrastrukturversorgung, Lebensmittel-Subsistenzproduktion, Grundstücks- und Hauseigentum / Wohnungsbau, auswärts lebende Familienmitglieder, Herkunft, Mitgliedschaft in Organisationen, Geschlechterbeziehungen, und Strategien der Wohnungsverbesserung.

Die wichtigsten festgestellten Abweichungen von den Hypothesen werden in einem Schlußkapitel noch einmal zusammengefaßt. So erstaunt z.B., daß Frauen in der Regel mehr Zeit für Energiebeschaffung als für Wasserversorgung aufwenden müssen - möglicherweise eine Folge der zahlreichen Sanitärprogramme in den vergangenen Jahren. In ländlichen Regionen, mit traditionell männlicher Erbfolge, haben Frauen so gut wie keinen Zugang zu eigenem Landbesitz, obwohl ihnen der größte Teil der Sorge um den Bau und Unterhalt der Behausung obliegt. Für junge Frauen gibt es außer über Heirat praktisch keine Möglichkeit, zu einer eigenen Behausung zu gelangen - es sei denn durch Migration in die Stadt oder in eine

Plantage. Innerhalb einer Plantage werden allerdings die kulturell fremden Wohnbedingungen weder von Frauen noch von Männern als angenehm empfunden. Alleinerziehende Frauen erhalten zwar dort im Tausch gegen harte Arbeit und Unabhängigkeit eine eigene Wohnung, können aber vielen traditionellen Pflichten nicht mehr nachkommen und leiden darunter. Bei den städtischen Haushalten war eine der überraschendsten Ergebnisse der relativ geringe Anteil von gelderwerbstätigen weiblichen Haushaltsvorständen, mit weniger als 20%. Haus- und Bodenbesitz ist hier im Vergleich zu den beiden anderen Situationen für Frauen am leichtesten zu erlangen, auch läßt sich eine größere Beteiligung der Männer an hausbezogenen Aufgaben feststellen - ohne jedoch auch nur annähernd freilich zu einer paritätischen Arbeitsteilung zu finden.

Im Vergleich zu manchen anderen Studien zum Thema 'Frauen und Habitat' überzeugt diese Veröffentlichung durch ihren klaren wissenschaftlichen Aufbau, die undogmatische Herangehensweise, und die ebenso neuen wie aussagekräftigen Ergebnisse.
KM

Claudia Warning. Partizipation bei der Wohnungsversorgung. Erfahrungen aus den Slums von Bombay. 278 Seiten. ISBN 3-88156-619-8, 1994. Breitenbach Verlag Saarbrücken.

Diese Dissertation (Bonn) versucht eine Klärung, wie sich der Anspruch der "Partizipation" konkret in Wohnungsprogrammen im Raum Bombay in der Praxis niederschlägt. Dazu wird weit ausgeholt: Eine ebenso gründliche wie nützliche Übersicht über verschiedene Interpretationen und Potentiale von Partizipation, generell und auf die Wohnungsversorgung bezogen, steht zu Beginn des Buches (wobei allerdings der klassische Artikel von Sherry Arnstein "The ladder of citizen partizipation" übersehen wurde). Es folgt eine umfassende und gut recherchierte Darstellung der Wohnungssituation in Bombay. Den Hauptteil des Bandes nehmen eine Reihe von Fallstudien über verschiedene Niedrigkosten-Wohnungsbauprogramme mit Partizipations-Anspruch in Bombay ein.

Die Ergebnisse werden in einem Querschnittsvergleich abschließend zusammengefaßt.

Vorbildlich ist die Fülle des dokumentierten empirischen Materials, aus der eine Vielzahl interessanter Beobachtungen abgeleitet wird. Vom konventionell-wissenschaftlichen Standpunkt aus ist das Fehlen einer klaren, auf einer eigenen (oder adoptierten) Theorie aufbauenden Arbeitshypothese, an der die empirischen Erfahrungen gemessen werden können, zu kritisieren.

Auch die Kriterien der Auswahl von Region und Projekten werden nicht deutlich, ebensowenig wie eine Festlegung auf eine bestimmte unter den vielen beschriebenen existenten Definitionen von Partizipation zum Zwecke der Untersuchung.

Somit bleibt die Relevanz und Repräsentanz der Ergebnisse am Ende unklar. Der Hauptnutzen der Publikation liegt deshalb in der Systematisierung der Einführungskapitel und in dem empirischen Material.
KM

Ulfert Herlyn; Bernd Hunger (Hrsg.). Ostdeutsche Wohnmilieus im Wandel. 360 Seiten, ISBN 3-7643-5049-0, 1994. Birkhäuser Verlag Basel.
Der Forschungsbericht über eine 1992 begonnene DFG-geförderte Untersuchung, die sich sozialplanerische Voraussetzungen für den in der ehemaligen DDR anstehenden Modernisierungsschub im Wohnungssektor herauszuarbeiten vornahm.
Die empirischen Befragungen wurden auf 4 unterschiedliche, aber repräsentative Quartierstypen (Altstadtkern, Gründerzeitquartier, Vorkriegsbauten, Neubaugebiete) ausgedehnt, die in den beiden Städten Halle und Wittenberg lagen.
Die sehr detailliert dokumentierten Ergebnisse zeigen eine Bündelung städtebaulicher Mißstände mit sozialen Problemen. Der Wegfall DDR-spezifischer sozialer Absicherung wird von den Betroffenen als Verlust erlebt, und sollte nach Vorstellung der Herausgeber durch gebietsspezifische Handlungsstrategien, wie z.B. Milieuschutz, kompensiert werden. Skepsis wird gegenüber der alleinigen Effizienz formaler, aus Westdeutschland übernommener Partizipationsangebote ausgedrückt, doch bilden vorhandene Selbsthilfepraktiken und informelle Kooperationserfahrungen einen Ansatzpunkt für erfolgreiche Sozialplanung.
KM

Marcussen, L., Third World Housing in Social and Spatial Development: the case of Jakarta, Aldershot 1990, 205 Seiten, (Bezug: Avebury/Ashgate Publishing Limited, Gower House, Croft Rd., Aldershot, Hampshire GU11 3HR, UK).
Der Autor verwendet fast 30% des Buches um die Wohnungsbau-Selbsthilfetheorien von J.Turner und den (neo-) marxistischen Opponenten, sowie die Artikulierung des informellen, semi-formellen und formellen Wohnungsversorgungssystems anhand von internationalen Beispielen zu illustrieren. Danach ein Überblick zur Siedlungshistorie von Jakarta, sowie eine mehr detaillierte, recht übersichtlichen Beschreibung der räumlichen, administrativen, boden-rechtlichen und politischen Systeme, welche die Elemente von Jakartas Struktur ausmachen. In der Einleitung zur eigentlichen Feldstudie werden ältere Forschungen in Jakartas Kampungs präsentiert. Der interessanteste Teil des Buches ist die Fallstudie selbst: eine Kombination von Parzellierungs- und Hausbauentwicklungs- Studie in mehreren Kampungs Jarkarta. Die bauliche und Umwelt-Qualität wird gewürdigt als eine positives Element dieses meist informellen Selbstbauprozesses charakterisiert. Im nachfolgenden Kapitel werden Daten zur sozialen und ökonomischen Situation der Siedler, sowie ihrer konkreten Wohnbedingungen dargestellt, wobei die Integration von raumplanerischen, Grundstücks- und Familiendaten wesentlich ist.
Rückblickend kommt der Autor zu der Schlußfolgerung, daß praktisch alle Stadien des J.Turner Siedlungsprozesses in Jakartas Siedlungsgeschichte zu identifizieren sind. Trotzdem ist der Autor nicht zufrieden mit der Turnerschen Formel von "Wohnungsversorgung/-bau als ein Verbum", und schlägt deshalb "wohnungsversorgung/-bau als ein "Spiel" oder ein "Kampf" um bestimmte Wohnungs(versorgungs)standards" vor. Planer sollen in diesem "Rollenspiel" eine bestimmtere Rolle einnehmen, und praktikable Strategien wie z.B. Landentwicklungsprojekte für die Selbsthilfebesiedlung (guided land development ?) vorschlagen.
Das Buch hat theoretisch wenig anzubieten, als Ausgleich dafür ist das Fallstudienmaterial interessant. Der marktschreierische Titel (auf dem Buchdeckel wird Jakarta nicht erwähnt)

ist schlichtweg irreführend, und das (billig produzierte) Buch ist viel zu teuer.
FS

Arrossi,S., Bombarolo, F., Hardoy,H., Mitlin, D., Coscio, L.P., Satterthwaite, D. (Hg.), Funding Community Initiatives: The Role of NGOs and other intermediary institutions in supoorting low-income groups and their community organizations in improving housing and living conditions in the Third World, London 1994, 190 Seiten, L. 11.95 (Bezug: Earthscan, 10 Pentonville Road, London N1 9JN).
Dieses Buch des International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), basiert auf Dokumentationen von Nicht-Regierungsorganisationen (NRO) im Habitat Sektor, welche vom United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) finanziert wurden. Das Buch bietet radikale, wenn auch nicht unbedingt neue Positionen zur Entwicklungspolitik im Stadtsektor. Einleitend wird die Situation des Infrastruktur-Investmentbedarfs in den Ländern des Südens beleuchtet, und die delikate Beziehung von staatlicher Ineffizienz und (unterstellter) höherer Effizenz des NRO Sektors dargelegt. Allgemeine Festellung der Autoren ist, daß der staatliche Sektor versagt hat und kooperative Zusammenarbeit zwischen staatlichen/gemeindlichen und NRO Initiativen nötig ist, wenn effektive Hilfe für den städtischen Sektor organisiert werden soll. Die Haupthese ist, daß die vorhandenen Entwicklungshilfegelder, staatlichen Budgetmittel wie auch -kredite für den Stadtsektor wesentlich effizienter eingesetzt werden könnten, wenn NROs, als ausführende Organisationen wie auch als Treuhandinstanzen für staatliche und Kreditmittel eine größere Rolle erhalten würden. Als Beweis werden eine große Zahl von NRO Initiativen zitiert, und auch im zweiten Teil des Buches im einzelnen vorgestellt, wobei als positiv hervorgehoben wird, daß die Frauen eine bedeutende Rolle bei der Durchführung von NRO Projekten haben. Es wird in den Schlußfolgerungen des Buches nochmals betont, daß NROs durchaus auch ihre Projektaktivitäten ausdehnen und beschleunigen könnten, und zu einer wesentlichen Ausweitung der vorhandenen städtischen Investitionsmittel beitragen könnten, wenn sie mehr Respektabilität und Verantwortung hätten. Zwar mögen manche NRO Erfahrungen bezüglich Effizienz und Effektivität zu wünschen übrig lassen, doch eine entsprechende Stärkung durch Ausbildung und technische Hilfe könnte dem NRO-Sektor den nötigen Entwicklungsimpuls und die erforderliche Stärke geben.
Im zeiten Teil des Buches gibt es eine interessante Anzahl von Fallbeispielen der NRO initierten oder von NROs gemanageten Sied-

lungsprojekte, welche die Potentiale für eine wesentlich ausgedehntere Förderung der NROs, dieses bislang im Schatten der Entwicklungspolitik agierenden städtischen Akteurs, beleuchtet.
Ein sehr empfehlenswertes Buch.
FS

Dandekar, H.C.(Hg.), Shelter, Women and Development: First and Third World Perspectives, Ann Arbor 1993, 447 Seiten, US $ 32,50. (Bezug: George Wahr Publishing Company, 304 1/2 South Gate Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104, USA)
In 1992 wurde von der Herausgeberin dieses voluminösen Konferenzbandes ein internationales Seminar zum Thema "Behausung, Frauen und Entwicklung; Perspektiven der Ersten und Dritten Welt" veranstaltet. 50 TeilnehmerInnen aus Asien, Afrika, Lateinamerika und der Ersten Welt präsentierten 50 Vorträge in 9 Themenbereichen: (1) Behausungspolitik: Auswirkungen für die Entwicklung der Frau; (2) gesetzliche Rahmenbedingungen; (3) Wohnungsversorgung und Frauen in der Krisis; (4) Frauenbeteiligung bei der Produktion von Wohnraum; (5) Behausung und Einkommensmöglichkeiten; (6) Frauen und wohnbezogene Infrastruktur; (7) Nicht-traditionelle Wohnformen jenseits der Kleinfamilie; (8) Entwurf und Gestaltung der Wohnung für Frauen; (9) Wohnoptionen für ältere Frauen.
Bei dieser Bandbreite von Themen und Fallbeispielen lassen sich natürlich nur sehr allgemeine Faktoren herausarbeiten: Die ökonomische, soziale und legale Stellung der Frau in der Gesellschaft ist ausschlaggebend für das Maß der Berücksichtigung ihrer Wohnbedürfnisse. Überwiegend sind die positiven Fallbeispiele im Bereich von Nicht-Regierungsorganisationen zu finden, aber auch einige innovationsfreudige staatlich geförderte Projekt- oder Programminitiativen haben zu den hier zitierten Erfahrungen beigetragen.
Ob Erste oder Dritte Welt, es zeigt sich, daß es auf das politische und sozio-kulturelle Klima ankommt, inwieweit Bewußtsein für die Frauen und ihre Wohnprobleme und ihre anderen Bedürfnisse existiert. Bewußtsein zu schaffen für den "gender"-Faktor in der Wohnungsversorgung ist das Anliegen der Autorenlnnen und ihrer Analysen, Anekdoten und Fallbeispiele. Dies ist der Erfolg dieses Seminars und der Publikation, der man weite Verbreitung wünscht. Leider fehlt es diesem Buch jedoch an einer zusammenfassenden Empfehlung, wie "gender" Bewußtsein und wie positive, sensible Wohnungsprojekte und -programme von Regierungs- oder Nicht-Regierungsseite initiert und stärker stimuliert werden könnten.
FS

Gesellschaft und Politik

Anisur Rahman, People's Self-Development. Perspectives on Participatory Action Research - A Journey through Experience. 234 Seiten, ISBN 1-85649-080-7. 1994, US$ 20,-. ZED BOOKS; / Cynthia Street, London N1 9JF.

Diese Aufsatzsammlung von Prof. Rahman aus Bangladesh, der 1977 bis 1991 in der International Labour Organization dem "Programme on Participatory Organizations for the Rural Poor" vorstand, liest sich wie seine Memoiren. Der Idee des Sozialismus verschrieben, sah Rahman in den siebziger Jahren die Lösung in seiner Heimat in sozialer Mobilisierung und einer vorübergehenden Periode der Austerität, die selbstverständlich auch von den Reichen mitgetragen werden sollte. Externe Entwicklungshilfe sollte prinzipiell abgelehnt werden. Die Regierung ließ sich damals nicht davon überzeugen.

Als Mitarbeiter der ILO machte sich der Autor später insbesondere als Promotor der Participatory Action Research - Leitthema auch dieses Buches - einen Namen. Leider werden zu viele Seiten mit der Schilderung der Erfolge und die dafür notwendigen ethischen Voraussetzungen gefüllt, während der Erklärung dieser interessanten Methode nur ein ganz kurzer Abschnitt gewürdigt wird. Danach besteht diese im Wesentlichen aus folgenden Schritten:

1. Politisch unabhängige, prestigeträchtige Persönlichkeiten werben als Katalysatoren für ein eine PAR Initiative.
2. Gruppen von Unterpriviligierten finden sich zusammen und analysieren die Ursachen ihrer und ihrer Umwelt Armut.
3. Die Unterpriviligierten werden ermutigt, gemeinsam Wege zur Überwindung ihrer Armut und Unterdrückung zu suchen.
4. Das Bewußtsein der möglichen Lösungen unter Einsatz der eigenen Ressourcen wird herausgebildet - externe Unterstützung ist bestenfalls Beiwerk, nie zentrale Voraussetzung.
5. Die Gruppen finden sich periodisch in Camps oder Workshops zusammen, um ihre Erfahrungen auszutauschen und Ideen für eigene Aktivitäten zu sammeln.
6. Durch Selbstorganisation, Wissenszuwachs und interne Führung werden die Katalysator-Persönlichkeiten in Ihrer Bedeutung zurückgedrängt bzw. überflüssig.
7. Von den Initiatoren der Bewegung wird die Methode in Zusammenarbeit mit den Akteuren verfeinert und dokumentiert.

Die Veröffentlichung enthält viel interessantes Material, das aber mit Hilfe eines energischen Lektors sicher zum Nutzen aller Beteiligten gewaltig hätte gestrafft werden können.
KM

D. Dirmoser et al., Jenseits des Staates? Lateinamerika - Analysen und Berichte Band 18. 278 S., ISBN 3-89502-008-7, 1994, DM 30,-. Horlemann Verlag Bad Honnef.

Wer die Jahresbände dieser Serie nebeneinanderlegt, findet in den Titeln eine hübsche Illustration der jeweils heißen Themen in der politischen Debatte in Lateinamerika und anderen Regionen der Dritten Welt. In diesem Jahr steht der Rückzug - oder besser: Flucht - des Staates aus vielen Bereichen der Gesellschaft, nicht nur aus der wirtschaftlichen Kontrollfunktion (das Thema der letztjährigen Aufsatzsammlung) im Mittelpunkt. In einzelnen Kapitein wird dies ausgeführt für das Gewaltmonopol (Drogenbanden, Todesschwadronen), die Sozialversicherung, das Aufblühen der NROs, die Stärkung regionaler Autonomiebewegungen (nicaraguanische Atlantikküste) und das Wuchern religiöser Bewegungen (afrocubanische Kulte). Wie auch in den früheren Bänden ist ein gutes Drittel des Buches aktuellen Länderberichten vorbehalten, dieses Mal über Argentinien, Bolivien, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico und Peru.

Während die Themen-Kapitel durchwegs anregend zu lesen sind und viele neue Gedanken enthalten, erscheinen einige der Länder-

berichte etwas lau und erwecken den Eindruck eines Verschnittes von inzwischen überholten Nachrichten aus der Tagespresse des vergangenen Jahres. Ein Beispiel hierfür ist der Länderbericht über Cuba von Bert Hoffmann. In journalistischer Manier berichtet er, unter Einschluß vieler in Anführungsstriche gesetzter cubanischer Bezeichnungen, über die Neuerungen und Skandälchen der jüngsten Vergangenheit. Ärgerlich dabei ist nicht nur der eurozentristische Zeigefinger, sondern mehr noch der Verzicht auf die tiefergehende Analyse der Hintergründe für die beschriebene Entwicklung, bzw. eine Gegenüberstellung verschiedener infragekommender Policy-Strategien - was die bestimmte getroffene Entscheidungen der cubanischen Regierung für Außenstehende plausibler machen könnte.
KM

Frans J. Schuurman, Ellen Heer. Social Movements and NGOs in Latin America. A Case Study of the Women's Movement in Chile. 149 Seiten, ISBN 3-88156-568-X, 1992. Breitenbach Verlag Saarbrücken.

Die Arbeit zerfällt in mehrere Teile: Zunächst wird die Geschichte der Städtischen Sozialen Bewegungen in Lateinamerika nachgezeichnet, dann deren Rolle in Chile beleuchtet, und schließlich wird das Segment der NROs in diesem Lande untersucht. Nach dieser allgemeinen Einleitung wird im zweiten Teil die Bedeutung der NROs für Frauengruppen in Chile hinterfragt. Hauptsächlich auf die Periode der Diktatur bezogen, identifizieren der/die Autor/in vier Typen von Frauenorganisationen: 1. An Fragen der Menschenrechte orientierte Gruppen, 2. Subsistenzorientierte Gruppen, 3. Feministische Interessens-Zusammenschlüsse, 4. Politische Gruppierungen.

Hervorgehoben wird, daß Frauen-Zusammenschlüsse aufgrund der besonderen Situation Chiles zwar eine Schlüsselstellung einnehmen konnten, doch trotz allem mittelfristig kaum eine Veränderung in den Geschlechterverhältnissen bewirken konnten. Erwähnt werden sollte auch die abgedruckte Niederschrift eines Gruppeninterviews mit 15 chilenischen Frauen zu den Fragestellungen, die dem/der Autor/in besonders am Herzen lagen: die Situation nach dem Coup von 1973; Gründe für das Engagement in der Frauengruppe; Organisatorische Aspekte; externe Widerstände; Persönlichkeitsentwicklung der Betroffenen; Zukunftsprojektionen; Verbindungen zur Politik.
KM

Silvina Arrossi et al., Funding Community Initiatives. 190 S., ISBN 1-85383-204-9, 1994, £ 12,-. Earthscan Publications London N1 9JN.

Der Bedarf für ein Buch über die Finanzierung von lokal kontrollierten Entwicklungsprojekten ist evident - dies erkannte auch der Promotor dieses Werkes, der 1983 verstorbene Jorge Hardoy. In diesem Sinne hat das Autorenteam ein umfangreiches Kompendium zusammengetragen - und dabei vielleicht ein bißchen zuviel des Guten getan. Denn nur 16 der 86 ersten Seiten des Bandes behandeln das zentrale Thema: innovative Kreditarrangements. Auf den übrigen Seiten wird über städtische Defizite ("Notwendigkeit der Finanzierung"), offizielle Wohnungsbauprogramme und die Arbeit von NROs referiert - Themen, die in anderen Publikationen (auch der gleichen Autor/inn/en) gründlicher behandelt werden. Der Verdacht drängt sich auf, daß hier noch einige Papers aus der Schublade verwertet werden sollten.

Die zweite Hälfte des Buches enthält 18 Fallstudien renommierter Wohnungs- und Subsistenz-Projekten in Indonesien, Philippinen, Sri Lanka, Bangla Desh, Pakistan, Ethiopien, Kenia, Chile, Argentinien, Peru, Kolumbien, Costa Rica, El Salvador, und Mexico. Auch hier scheint die Information nicht immer speziell in Hinblick auf die Frage der Finanzierung zusammengestellt worden sein, doch zumindest einige der Studien behandeln diesen Aspekt genauer.

Angesichts der allgemein raren Veröffentlichungen zur Frage der Finanzierung ist diese Publikation trotz der erwähnten Einwände zu begrüßen. Das Weglassen der nicht Finanzierungsaspekte betreffenden Textteile wäre der reinen Fachinformation zugute gekommen; stattdessen hätten auch Fund-Raising Alternativen, die nicht auf Kreditvergabe beruhen, ein oder mehrere eigene Kapitel verdient.
KM

Marco Antonio Guzman. Bicentralismo y Pobreza en el Ecuador. 328 Seiten, ISBN 9978-84-196-2, 1994. Quito: Corporación Editora Nacional. Erhältlich über: Programa de Fortalecimiento Municipal, Casilla 17-21-0914, Quito, Ecuador.

Diese Monographie erschien unter der gemeinsamen Obhut der Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar und der GTZ, die in Equador ein Gemeindeförderungsprojekt betreut. Der Autor führt die starke Armut in den Provinzen, die Hyperbürokratie und die wirtschaftliche Schwäche des Landes zu einem großen Teil auf die Konzentrierung von Macht und Investitionen in den beiden Metropolen Quito und Guayaquil zurück - einen Zustand, den er mit Bicentralismo charakterisiert. Aus der Analyse des Problems folgt einsichtigerweise die Empfehlung zu stärkerer lokaler Autonomie, Reduzierung der Bürokratie, und breiterer Streuung der sozialen Dienste sowie der produktiven Investitionen. So könne die Landflucht gestoppt, die bekannten Probleme der Metropolen reduziert, und die drohende Gefahr eines massiven Nahrungsmittelmangels in 20 bis 30 Jahren abgewendet werden. Einzelmaßnahmen zur Erreichung dieses Zieles werden in einem abschließenden 60 Punkte Katalog zusammengefaßt. Unklar bleibt, wie die notwendige Machtverlagerung durchgesetzt werden soll. Der umfangreiche Anhang setzt sich aus aktuellen Sozial- und Wirtschaftsstatistiken zu Ecuador zusammen. Das Buch stellt für Wissenschaftler eine wichtige Informationsquelle, und für Politiker eine kontroverse Diskussionsgrundlage dar.
KM

Torres Carrillo, A., La Ciudad en la Sombra: Barrios y Luchas Populares en Bogotá 1950-1977, 222 Seiten, (Bezug: CI-NEP, Carrera 5 N°.33A-08, Santafé de Bogotá, D:C:, Colombia).

Dies ist eine Geschichte der Migranten und Siedler des Informellen Sektors von Bogotá. Als Folge von ländlicher Armut und der Gewalt der Guerilla sind in den 50er bis 70er Jahren Tausende von Bauern nach Bogotá gekommen, und haben sich dort angesiedelt, versucht eine regelmäßige Arbeit zu finden, und mit allen möglichen Mittel eine Konsolidierung ihrer marginalen sozialen Situation angestrebt. In diesem Prozess hat sich die Organisierung der Armen bei der Landnahme ("Invasion"), bei der Schaffung von Arbeitsmöglichkeiten und dem Schutz vor Repressalien des Staates als wichtiger politischer Schritt erwiesen.

Das Buch beschreibt an Hand einiger Fallbeispiele die Etappen der Landbesetzung und Konsolidierung der Informell errichteten Siedlungen, wie auch der Ansiedlung auf illegal parzelliertem Land ("Colonias piratas").

Dieses von einem Historiker geschriebene Buch (leider gänzlich ohne Karten oder Städtebauliche Informationen zum wilden Siedlungsprocess in Bogotá) ist verfasst wie eine Chronik des (sub)proletarischen Siedlers, es behandelt überwiegend die Sozio-kulturellen und politischen Prozesse dieses wilden Siedlungsprozesses.

Der Autor beansprucht, in der Bewegung der Siedler so etwas wie eine Identität der sozialen Autonomie zu haben, und sieht seine Geschichte der wilden Siedler Bogotá als einen Beitrag zur "Geschichte von unten". In dem Sinne ist das gut recherchierte Buch eine Siedlungsgeschichte vergleichbar mit Klaus Novy's Publikationen zur Wiener Siedlerbewegung.
FS

Wade C. Pendleton: "Katutura - A Place Where We Stay. Life in a post-apartheid township in Namibia: Katutura before and now". 1994. Gamsberg Macmillan Publishers (Pty) Ltd, P.O. Box 22830, Windhoek, Nambia. ISBN 0-86848-862-3.

Die unter südafrikanischer Verwaltung konzipierte Stadtentwicklungsplanung in Namibia orientierte sich eng an den Grundsätzen der Apartheid, die eine strikte räumliche Trennung von Weißen, Schwarzen und Mischlingen (coloureds) vorsah. Das zentrale Gebiet von Windhoek war nur den weißen Bewohnern vorbehalten, die Coloureds durften sich nur in Khomasdal niederlassen und die Schwarzen in Katutura. Diese drei Wohngebiete waren noch zusätzlich durch breite Niemandsland-Gürtel voneinander getrennt, die sogenannten buffer zones. Katutura entstand in den 50er Jahren in der Nähe der Gewerbezone im Norden der Stadt als die "schwarze" Arbeitersiedlung. Das Aufenthaltsrecht und das soziale Leben waren weitgehend von den Weißen kontrolliert. Nur Personen mit einem Arbeitsnachweis durften sich niederlassen und das auch nur für die Dauer ihrer Beschäftigung; privater Grund- und Hausbesitz waren nicht erlaubt. Persönliche Beziehungen wie Heirat oder Wahl des Sexualpartners wurden durch die Rassengesetzgebung reglementiert.

Der amerikanische Anthropologieprofessor Wade C. Pendleton hat seit den 60er Jahren die Entwicklung der Siedlung mitverfolgt und bereits mehrere Bücher über Katutura veröffentlicht. Sein neuestes Buch schildert detailliert die sozio-ökonomischen und kulturellen Lebensbedingungen der Bewohner und basiert auf Studien und Befragungen, die 1990-93 durchgeführt wurden. Diese Forschungsergebnisse werden mit Daten aus den 60er Jahren verglichen: die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Siedlung wird nochmal ins Bewußtsein gerufen und mit Originalaufnahmen dokumentiert. Katutura ist ein Owambo-Wort und bedeutet "wir haben keine ständige Behausung". Die ersten Studien von 1968-70 wurden auch unter dem eher pessimistischen Titel "Katutura: A Place Where We Do Not Stay" herausgegeben. Das Selbstbewußtsein der Siedler und ihr Stolz auf Katutura ist seitdem gewachsen, ganz besonders nach der Unabhängigkeit Namibias 1990. Alle Namibianer haben jetzt Reisefreiheit, freies Niederlassungsrecht und können Grund- und Hausbesitz frei erwerben. Die heutigen sozialen und ökonomischen Unterschiede sind nicht mehr ausschließlich durch Hautfarbe determiniert, sondern vor allem durch Ausbildung und Zugang zu den besserbezahlten Jobs, aber auch durch Glück und Erfolg in den weitverzweigten Geschäftsbetrieben des formellen und informellen Sektors. Etwa die Hälfte der Bewohner Katuturas lebt zwar weiterhin unterhalb des Existenzminimums, von sozialen Problemen wie Alkoholismus, Kriminalität oder street kids begleitet. Die Bevölkerung Katuturas hat sich seit 1987 mehr als verdoppelt, die Anonymität nimmt zu. Und doch scheint die Siedlung nicht dem Verfall und der Ghettoisierung preisgegeben: eine neue räumliche Segregation hat eingesetzt, die bessergestellten (inzwischen auch einige wenige weiße) Siedler lassen sich im luxury hill nieder, die ärmeren sind eher im alten Teil von Katutura konzentriert.

Ein spannender Entwicklungsprozeß hat eingesetzt und wird hier beschrieben. "The death of apartheid has not seen the death of ethnic and 'racial' identities, but it has seen a redefinition of both." schreibt Prof. Pendleton. Ob das Wohngebiet zukünftig "Matutura" ("ein Ort, wo wir bleiben wollen") heißen wird, ist weiterhin offen.
Joanna Kotowski-Ziss

Siegfried Kohlhammer. Auf Kosten der Dritten Welt? 176 Seiten, ISBN 3-88243-245-4, 1993, DM 20,-. Steidl Verlag Göttingen.
Der Autor, Dozent an einer japanischen Universität, versucht mit diesem Essay nachzuweisen, daß die Misere der Entwicklungslän-

der hausgemacht ist, und daß die Lage dort ohne das Privileg der Einbindung in die Weltwirtschaft noch wesentlich schlimmer wäre. Diese Argumentation paßt sicher in die gegenwärtige politische Landschaft der Industrienationen, die für jedes Argument zur Reduzierung von Ausgleichslasten und Entwicklungshilfe für die Dritte Welt offen sind. Doch, selbst wenn die allein auf abstrakten Wirtschaftsdaten beruhenden Beweisführungen stimmten, ist es heute nicht mehr vertretbar, soziale und ökologische Argumente in einer derartigen Debatte auszugrenzen. Daß jedoch die vorgebrachten Fakten tendenziös selektiv sind und nicht die konkrete Situation im Süden wiedergeben, zeigt Rupert Neudeck u.a. in einem Nachwort an den Beispielen Sudan und Angola. Das Buch ist zwar ärgerlich, aber dennoch gut als Lehrmittel einsetzbar, um die argumentatorische Auseinandersetzung mit neo-liberalen Positionen in der Entwicklungspolitik zu üben.
KM

Infrastruktur

The World Bank (Hg.), World Development Report 1994: Infrastructure for Development, Washington 1994, 254 Seiten, $ 19,95. (Bezug: World Bank Publications, PO Box 7247-8619, Philadelphia, PA 19170-8619)
Der neue Weltentwicklungsbericht beleuchtet vor allem die Bedeutung der Infrastruktur für die Wirtschaft und ihre Entwicklung, sowie für die Beseitigung von Armutsfolgen. Infrastrukturinvestitionen können auch zu beständigen Umweltverbesserungen führen. Als Beispiele werden der produktive Sektor angeführt oder die Auswirkungen des Fehlens von technischen und sozialen Dienstleistungen für die Gesundheit und Arbeitsfähigkeit der arbeitenden Bevölkerung. Als Ziel setzt die Weltbank die bekannten Paradigmen von "Kostendeckung", "Wiederholbarkeit" und "Bezahlbarkeit" (cost-recovery, replicability, affordability), und ergänzt dies mit dem neuen Credo von dynamischem, wettbewerbsfreundlichem Infrastrukturmanagement, das wie ein privatwirtschaftlicher Geschäftsbetrieb gemanagt werden soll. Innovativ ist des weiteren, daß Nutzer von Infrastruktureinrichtungen auch Mitsprache und Verantwortung bei der Planung und dem Unterhalt von Infrastruturinvestitionen haben sollen. In dem Sinne werden Regierungsinstitutionen eine neue Rolle einnehmen müssen, wie sich auch aus den favorisierten "Public-Private Partnerships" schließen läßt.
Auch dieses Dokument ist ein wichtiger Beitrag zu Theorie und Praxis, und wird für die nächsten Jahre, wenn nicht gar Jahrzehnte, die Arbeit der Weltbank und vieler Regierungen beeinflussen und bestimmen.
FS

Ökologie

Umweltbundesamt (Hrsg.), Umweltfreundliche Beschaffung. 600 Seiten, ISBN 3-7625-2882-9, 1993. DM 32,-. Bauverlag Wiesbaden.
Umweltschutz fängt, wie wir wissen, vor der eigenen Haustür an. Bei der Vielzahl der Faktoren, durch die wir die Umwelt beeinflussen, geht leicht der Überblick verloren, und über die wünschenswerte Fachkenntnis zur sachkundigen Beurteilung vieler Einzelfragen kann keine einzelne Person verfügen. Dieses Standardwerk, das bereits in der dritten Auflage erscheint, hilft hier weiter und zeigt, durch welche Kaufentscheidungen jede/r Einzelne zur Verminderung der Umweltbelastung beitragen kann. Die wichtigsten behandelten Themenbereiche sind: Büroausstattung, Verkehr, Hoch- und Tiefbau, Energieversorgung, Wasserversorgung, Reinigungsmittel und Hygiene, Landschaftsgestaltung, Ernährung und Entsorgung. Zwei ausführliche Anhänge enthalten Adressen für eine weiterführende In-

formation und die Auflistung relevanter Gesetze in der BRD. Trotz des beachtlichen Umfangs von 600 Seiten bleiben bei der Vielzahl der behandelten Themenbereiche die Auskünfte zu jedem einzelnen unter diesen relativ knapp, reichen aber als Basisinformation aus. Zielgruppe sind primär die Beschaffungsabteilungen von öffentlichen Körperschaften (wegen ihrer Vorbildfunktion), doch die Informationen sind für jede andere Firma und Privatperson ebenso brauchbar - insbesondere auch für Planer/innen.
KM

Urs Heierli. Environmental Limits to Motorization. Non-motorized Transport in Developing Countries. 200 Seiten, ISBN 3-908001-41-2, 1993, 35,- SFr. St. Gallen: SKAT.
Kaum ein/e Verkehrsplaner/in in den Industrieländern des Nordens wird heute noch den kompromißlosen Ausbau der Verkehrswege für den privaten PKW-Transport vertreten. Die Gefahren für Leib und Leben der Stadtbewohner/innen und für die Umwelt stehen für das Gros der Bevölkerung in keinem Verhältnis zu dem Zeit- und Bequemlichkeitsgewinn gegenüber einem gut organisierten ÖPNV. Zaghaft und punktuell zeichnet sich hier eine tiefgreifende Strategieänderung ab. In den Metropolen der Entwicklungsländer ist die Schadstoffbelastung und Belästigung durch den KFZ-Verkehr fast ausnahmslos um ein vielfaches höher als im Norden - doch eine alternative Verkehrspolitik ist dort, von wenigen (ex-?) sozialistischen Regimes abgesehen - noch kein Thema. Mit seinen guten Argumenten, nüchternen Analysen und progressiven Vorbildern könnte diese Publikation von Urs Heierli die Entscheidungsträger/innen in der Dritten Welt zu einer Überwindung von rückständigem Statusdenken, Selbstkolonialisation und Aberwitz bewegen helfen. Natürlich hat der nichtmotorisierte Verkehr auch seine Grenzen, z.B. bei stark hügeligen Gelände oder bei größeren Entfernungen, doch eine Substitution des größten Teils der PKW-Zirkulation wäre im Norden wie im Süden unproblematisch. Auch Zwischenlösungen, wie elektrisch betriebene Mopeds, können in bestimmten Situationen eine spürbare Verbesserung bewirken. Das Buch ist ein guter Augenöffner und eignet sich vorzüglich als "nachhaltiges" Mitbringsel für unsere Partner im Süden.
KM

Peter Midgley. Urban Transport in Asia. An operational Agenda for the 1990s. 98 Seiten, ISBN 0-8213-2624-4, 1994, US$ 9,-. The World Bank, Washington DC.
Es ist kein Geheimnis, daß die Bewältigung des Straßenverkehrs zu den größten Problemen der asiatischen Städte zählen. Dieser Band der Weltbank kommt daher zur richtigen Zeit, zumal er wirklich aufschlußreiche Daten, Erfahrungen, und Vorschläge enthält. Die Publikation geört zu den nützlichsten Produkten der Bank und kann auch Kolleg/inn/en in anderen geographischen Regionen zur Anschaffung empfohlen werden.
KM

Technologie

Jacky Jeannet et al., Le Pisé. Patrimoine, restauration, Technique d'avenir. 124 Seiten, ISBN 2-902897-91-0, ohne Jahr, FF 100,-. Editions Créer, F-63340 Nonette.
Das Buch wurde von Mitgliedern des Fachverbandes "Pisé, Terre d'Avenir", der sich die Förderung der Lehmstampfbauweise in Frankreich zum Ziel gemacht hat, zusammengestellt. Es beginnt mit einer Einführung zu Lehmbau-Technologien und mit zahlreichen historischen Beispielen in verschiedenen Regionen Frankreichs. Technische und kulturelle Argumente zur Restauration alter Lehmbauten werden angeführt. Der Mittelteil des Buches enthält eine Serie technischer Merkblätter zur Sanierung einzelner Bauteile. Der Rest der Publikation besteht aus - immer-

hin interessanter - Eigenwerbung der herausgebenden, seit 10 bestehenden Gruppe: repräsentative Lehmneubauten der achtziger Jahre, angebotene Dienstleistungen. Viele schöne Fotos und Zeichnungen sind über den Band verteilt und veredeln die Lektüre - kurz: für jede und jeden etwas.
KM

Rolf Niemeyer; Klaus Gilles, Bernhard Riggers. Reduzierung von Wasserverlusten in Trinkwasserversorgungssystemen in Entwicklungsländern. 427 Seiten, ISBN 3-8039 -0421-8, DM 35,-. Köln: Weltforum Verlag.
Inzwischen dürfte es allgemein bekannt sein, daß das Wasserleitungssystem in den Metropolen der Dritten Welt bis zu zwei Drittel des kostbaren Naß' unterwegs verliert; Mismanagement, selektive Verlegung und absurde Preisgestaltung verschlimmern die Situation noch für einen Großteil der ansässigen Bevölkerung. Eine durchschlagende Verbesserung der Situation wäre häufig durch relative einfache technische wie administrative Maßnahmen möglich - wie, das erklärt dieses Buch. Etwa die Hälfte des Volumens der Publikation ist den zahlreichen Anhängen vorbehalten; sie enthalten meist detaillierte technische Grundlagen, die nur ein Teil der Leser /innen zu wissen braucht. Mit ausführlicher Bibliographie und Index versehen ist das Buch eine gleichermaßen notwendige und zuverlässige Informationsquelle zu einem Thema, das bisher an keiner anderen Stelle so gründlich dokumentiert ist.
KM

Djamel Ouahrani, TAGA - Daylighting of Houses in Desert Regions. 116 Seiten, ISBN 91-87866-02-2, 1993, 15,- $US. Dept. of Architecture and Development Studies, University, Box 118, S-221 00 Lund.
Taga oder Taqa heiß auf arabisch 'Fenster' - aber auch Energie. Deshalb hat der Autor dieses Wort über seine Lizenziatenarbeit über die natürliche Belichtung algerischer Wohnungen gesetzt. Die Publikation gliedert sich in drei Teile: eine allgemeine impressionistische Einführung zu Licht und Architektur über die Jahrtausende; eine kulturhistorische Betrachtung des Untersuchungsgebietes Ghardaia in Südalgerien, und die Ergebnisse seiner empirisch-technischen Forschungen - der zentrale und interessanteste Teil der Arbeit. Anhand verschiedener traditioneller wie moderner Wohnbauten werden Lichteinfall und Tätigkeitszyklen der Bewohner ermittelt. Der Autor kommt zu dem Schluß, daß moderne Häuser mit größeren Fenstern auch in der algerischen Wüstenregion lichttechnisch besser den gewandelten Tätigkeitsanforderungen entsprechen als traditionelle. Daraus entwickelt er abschließend Vorschläge für eine lokal adäquate Modifizierung der hergebrachten islamischen Bauordnung.
KM
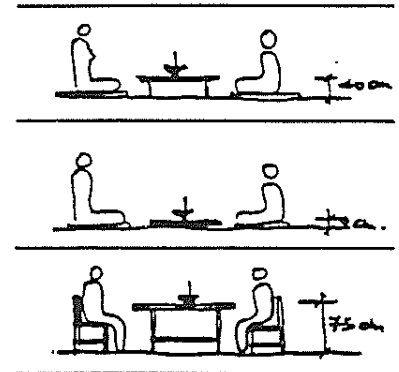
Reinhard Hempfling; Steffen Stubenbach (Hrsg.), Schadstoffe in Gebäuden. Erkennen, Bewerten, Sanieren, Vermeiden. 248 Seiten, ISBN 3-89367-037-8, 1994, DM 96,-. Taunusstein: Eberhard Blottner Verlag.

In dem Kontext dieses Buches werden Schadstoffe als für die Gesundheit der Menschen gefährliche Substanzen in Bauwerken verstanden. Neben einer Reihe administrativer und logistischer Probleme werden die wichtigsten Schadstoffe im Detail abgehandelt: Asbest, Formaldehyd, Dioxin, PCB, Pentachlorphenol, Quecksilber. Der Text ist sachlich und emotionslos verfaßt, der Gefahr der Panikmache wird so (wohl) bewußt aus dem Wege gegangen. Die von Gebäuden ausgehende Belastung der übrigen Umwelt wird lediglich in einem Schlußkapital von Joachim Glaser angesprochen und in Bezug auf eine Auswahl von 12 Baustoffen ausführlicher, aber in keinster Weise adäquat zur Problematik, diskutiert. Die Publikation dürfte insbesondere für Kolleg/inn/en nützlich sein, die mit Ausschreibung, Bauleitung und Baustellenorganisation betraut sind und sich von der trockenen Darstellungsform nicht abschrecken lassen.
KM

Andrew Clayton; Ian Davis. Building for Safety. 50 Seiten, ISBN 1-85339-181-6. 1984, £ 7,-. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Eine kommentierte Bibliographie zu vielen Teilaspekten des Bauens, und - wie der Titel schon sagt - besonders zu Sicherheitsfragen. Zum Thema Katastrophenvorsorge ist die Sammlung unschlagbar, zu den anderen Themenbereichen gibt es woanders ausführlichere Literaturverzeichnisse. Der Band wird ergänzt durch ein Adressenverzeichnis von AT-Institutionen für das Bauen in einer Vielzahl von Ländern weltweit.
KM

Tran Hoai Anh, Modelling the Vietnamese Kitchen. 127 Seiten, ISBN 91-87866-12-9, 1994, 20,- $US. Dept. of Architecture and Development Studies, University, Box 118, S-221 00 Lund.

In Vietnam haben sich die Kochmöglichkeiten und somit auch die Kochkünste im Laufe der letzten Jahrzehnte in den urbanen Zonen auffällig reduziert; moderne Wohnformen und die Überbelegung der Behausungen sind ein Grund hierfür. Während früher die Küche ein eigenes Gebäude im Gehöft darstellte, ist sie heute oft zu einem Abstellbrett unter der Treppe oder in einer anderen Nische verkommen. Auch die gültigen Wohnungsbaunormen helfen hier nicht weiter. Daher hat sich die Autorin dieses Problems angenommen, adäquate Küchenarrangements als Modell im Maßstab 1:1 in Schweden entwickelt, dann in Vietnam nachgebaut und dort von "echten" Hausfrauen testen lassen. Wie in der Frankfurter Küche war die Reduzierung der Wege durch geschickte Anordnung der Einrichtungsgegenstände ein wichtiges Beurteilungskriterium; doch da die Eßgewohnheiten anders sind, finden wir am Ende des Buches auch andere Empfehlungen.
KM
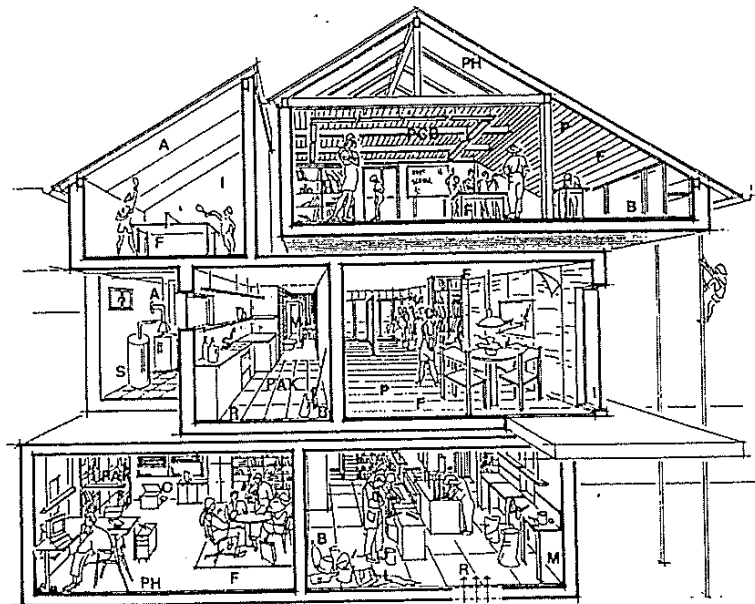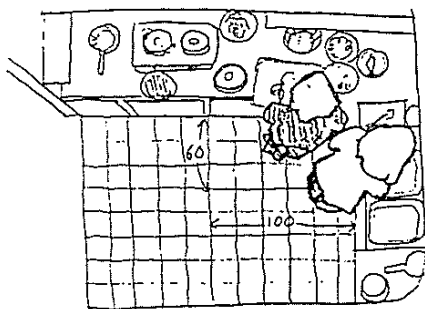
Stulz, R., Mukerji, K., Appropriate Building Materials: A Catalogue of Potential Solutions (Third Revised Edition), St. Gallen / London 1993, 434 Seiten;
Gut,P., Roof Structure Guide: Basics for the Design and Construction of Lightweight Sloped Roof Structures, FCR/MCR TOOLKIT Element 24, SKAT/ILO, 1993, 144 S.;
Gut,P., Roof Cover Guide: Design and Construction of FCR/MCR Roof Covering Principles, Detailing, FCR/MCR TOOLKIT Element 25, SKAT/ILO, 1993, 74 Seiten; (alle Bezug: SKAT, Vadianstr. 42, CH-9000 St. Gallen, Switzerland)

Das Buch von Stulz und Mukerji, nun in der überarbeiteten und wesentlich verbesserten Ausgabe, ist wohl das derzeit beste Kompendium dieser Art auf dem Markt. Es verbindet das Wissen der im 'Basin'-Netzwerk ("Building Advisory Service and Information Network") zusammengeschlossenen Organisationen gate/Eschborn, it/London, SKAT/St.Gallen, CRATerre/Villefontaine, die alle im Bereich der angepassten, Niedrigkosten-Bautechnologien und -Konstruktionstechniken für die Tropen und Subtropen arbeiten. Das Buch ist gegliedert in die Konstruktionsbereiche: Gründungen, Fußböden/Decken, Wände, Dächer, Bausysteme, Schutzmaßnahmen. Ein sehr übersichtlich gestaltetes Kodierungssystem führt den Leser schnell an die Beispiele des gewünschten Konstruktionsbereichs, und innerhalb dieses an die unterschiedlichen Baumaterialien. Die in dieser Ausgabe vorgestellten technischen Lösungen sind mit Zeichungen oder Fotos von gebauten Situationen gut illustriert. Im Annex finden sich Erläuterungen der wesentlichen Baumaschinen, sowie weitere nützliche Tips und Hinweise.

Die beiden Bücher von Gut stellen wichtige Basisinformationen zum klima-bezogenen Bauen dar, zu konstruktiven, d.h. tragenden Elementen von Dachkonstruktionen, und den raumabschließenden Dachhäuten dar. Während das erste Buch mehr Lexikon-Charakter hat, sind die zwei von Gut verfassten Bücher detailliertere Lehrbücher. In der von SKAT und der ILO herausgegebenen Reihe 'Toolkits' werden noch weitere Werke erscheinen. Sämtliche Publikationen sind 'state-of-the-art' Publikationen, deren Anschaffung sich lohnt.
Florian Steinberg

Nachschlagewerke

Dieter Nohlen, Franz Nuscheler (Hrsg.). Handbuch der Dritten Welt Band 8: Ostasien und Ozeanien. 592 Seiten, ISBN 3-8012-0208-0, 1994, DM 50,-. Verlag Dietz Nachf., Bonn.

Mit dem soeben erschienenen Band 8 ist die Serie dieses z.Z. aktuellsten entwicklungspolitischen Standardwerkes komplett. Wie auch bei den vorausgehenden 6 Regionalbänden (der Band 1 war grundsätzlichen Themen vorbehalten) werden die Länderkapitel durch übergreifende Analysen ergänzt: in diesem Fall zur Wirtschafts- und Politikentwicklung. Als besonders anschaulich ist dabei ein Vergleich der Implikationen westlicher und östlicher Kulturkonzepte und deren Vermischung hervorzuheben. Gegenüber dem im Süden konzipierten Third World Handbook sind das handliche Format und die "deutsche Gründlichkeit" hervorstechende Qualitäten, während der Verzicht auf visuelle Information in Form von Fotos, Schaubildern, Karten bedauerlich ist. Dennoch ein unersetzliches Werk für die ständige Benutzung im Kontext der Entwicklungsländerthematik.
KM

UNCHS, Directory of Non-Governmental Organizations in the Field of Human Settlements. 320 Seiten, ISBN 92-1-131199-3, 1993
Nairobi: UNCHS (P.O.Box 30030).

In einer ersten Ausgabe liegt nun das Adressverzeichnis von 380 NROs im Habitat-Bereich vor. Wie nicht anders zu erwarten, ist die Liste in keinster Weise vollständig, außerdem haben sich einige kommerzielle Consultants als NROs verkleidet eingeschlichen. Dennoch ist eine unvollständige Information besser als gar keine, und die Nützlichkeit des Verzeichnisses steht außer Frage. Der heraustrennbare Fragebogen wird vielfach ausgefüllt dazu beitragen, daß die nächste Auflage noch besser wird. Vielleicht wird sie auch handlicher, denn die A-4 Seiten enthalten noch viel weißes Papier.
KM

Veranstaltungen

Forthcoming Events

17. -20. December 1994 in Tunis, Tunisia
"Value in Tradition: The Utility of Research on Idendity and Sustainability in Dwellings and Sett-le-ments". IV International Conference of the In-ter-national Association for the Study of Traditio-nal Environments (IASTE). Contact: IASTE 1994 Conference, Center for Environmental Design Research, University of California, 390 Wurster Hall, Berkeley, CA94720, USA. fax: (1 510) 643 5571. ó 206 903.

16. -18. February 1995 in Delft, Netherlands
"Urban Habitat: The Environment of Tomorrow". International Conference organized by IHE Delft and the Research Team "Building, Environment & Development", Eidhoven Universiy of Techno-logy (EUT) , Faculty of Architecture. Topics: habi-tat, policies for sustainability, urban housing and environment related policies, focusing on infra-structural and environmental limitations. Contact: Dr. ir. Peter A. Erkelens (EUT), secretary of the research team "Building Environment & Develop-ment" Eindhoven University of Technology, P.O.Box 513, 5600 MB Eidhoven, The Nether-lands. tel: (31) 40 47 33 08 / (31) 88 59 52 724 / (31) 15 15 17 65, fax: (31) 40 45 24 32.

03. -07. April 1995 in Halle / Saale, Germany
"Societies in Deep-rooted Change". 27th Con-gress of the German Society for Sociology. Infor-mation, inscription and abstracts: Prof. Dr. Heinz Sahner, Institute for Sociology, Martin Luther Uni-versity, 06099 Halle a. d. Saale, Germany.

11. -13. April 1995 in Amsterdam, Netherlands
Building Identities: "Gender Perspectives on Chil-dren and Urban Space". Information: Else Rose Kuiper, P.O. Box 16625, NL-1001 RC Amster-dam. tel: +31 20 624 7743, fax: +31 20 638 4608.

18. -20. April 1995 in La Habana, Cuba
Second Seminar on Pedagological Issues in Ha-vanna. A Meeting in Havanna on acadamic work beyond frontiers and north-south differences. Inscription. 60 USD / 25 USD (students). Possibi-lity of organization of bed and breakfast. Services of translations. Organization: Prof. Dr. Elmer López de León Vicedecano/Prodecano, Facultad de Arquitectura, ISPJAE. Informations: Oficinas del Decano, Facultad de Arquitectura, ISPJAE, Calle 114 y 127 S/N, 19390 Marianao, La Hab-ana, Cuba. fax: (537) 332 429, tel.: 206 997 ó 206 903.

24. -28. April 1995 in Kopenhagen, Denmark
European Conference on Urban Environment. Organized by the Ministry of Environment and European Commission's Directorate-General for Environment, DG XI. Contact: The Ministery of En-vironment, Højbro Plads 4, DK - 1200 Copen-hagen K, Denmark, fax: +45 3332 2227 or Ger-trud Jørgensen, tel.: 45 35 82 85 08.

14. -19. May 1995 in Amsterdam, Netherlands
"Habitat and High Rise - Tradition and Innova-tion". 5th Word Congress of the Counil on Tall Buildings and Urban Habitat. Information: CAOS, W. G. Plein 475, NL- 1054 SH Amsterdam. tel: 31 20 616 5151, fax: 31 20 689 0981.

1995 in La Habana, Cuba
"International Seminar/Conference on Problems of Energy-saving Building". Informations: Prof. Dr. Elmer López de León, Vicedecano / Prodeca-no, Facultad de Arquitectura, Instituto Superior Poli-técnico José A. Echeverría, calle 114 y 127 S/N CP 19390, Marianao, Ciudad de La Habana, Cuba. fax: (537) 332 429, tel.: 206 997

May 1996, Denmark
Danish International Housing Exhibition "Live in Town". Organized by the Municipality of Ballerup in Conjunction with the Ministry of Housing, the Danish Association of Architects, the Danish En-gineers' Union, the Danish Building Research In-stitute and the Danish Town Planning Institute. Contact: Erik B. Jantzen, Danish Building Rese-arch Institute, P. O. Boks 119, DK-2970 Hörs-holm, Denmark.

03. -14. June 1996 in Istanbul, Turkey
"The Future of Cities" Habitat II. UNCHS World Conference. Contact: UNCHS, P. O. Box 300 3000, Nairobi, Kenia. .

26. -31. August 1996, Denmark
ENHR/SBI Housing Research Conference - Hou-sing and European Intergration. Organized by the Danish Research Institute and ENHR. Contact: Hans Kristensen, Deputy Director, Head of Hou-sing and Urban Planning Division or Hedvig Ve-stergaard, Senior Researcher or Eva Hultman, Secretary, Danish Building Research Institute (SBI), P. O. Boks 119, DK-2970, Hörsholm, Den-mark.

29. July -3. August 1998 in Montreal, Canada
XIVth World Congress of Sociology. Contact: Mr. Gilles Pronovost, Université de Québec à Trois-Rivières, P. O. Box 500, Trois-Rivières, Quebec, Canada G9A 5H7. Tel.: (819) 376-5133, fax: (819) 373-1988.