

IT'S THE HUMAN RIGHT TO HOUSING - IN ACTION - WE JUST LET THE MARKET TAKE CARE OF IT!

POLICIES ONLY WORK IF THERE'S A LIFT!

LAND GRABBING, ILLEGAL PLOT ALLOCATIONS ARE AT THE ROOT OF ALL CITY CORRUPTION AND DECAY!

DISEASES RELATED TO POVERTY - CAUSED BY OVERCROWDING, LACK OF ADEQUATE WATER SUPPLY, OR DRAINAGE AND SANITATION ARE INCREASING EVERYWHERE!

OVERCROWDING MEANS LITTLE OPEN SPACES AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES! THERE'S NO WHERE FOR THE CHILDREN TO PLAY SAFELY!

THE MOST VALUABLE RESOURCE OF ANY EXPANDING CITY IS THE KNOWLEDGE AND INGENUITY, THE SKILLS AND ORGANISATIONAL CAPACITY OF THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES-THE CITIZENS WE MUST SET IT FREE!

JUST AS HEALTH CARE AND EMERGENCY SERVICES FOR THE POOR ARE COLLAPSING!

MORE AND MORE SETTLEMENTS WILL BE ON DANGEROUS SITES - LIKE STEEP HILLSIDES, FLOOD PLAINS, AND POLLUTED IN-FILL LANDSITES, WITH TOXIC WASTE!

ALL THOSE SHANTIES WILL HAVE TO COME DOWN TOMORROW!

WITHOUT SECURITY OF TENURE, HOW CAN WE INVEST IN BETTER STRUCTURES AND HOMES? EH?

HAVE WE GOT THIS RIGHT?

IT'S WHAT THE PLAN SAYS!

WE NEED AFFORDABLE ACCESS TO LAND AND MATERIALS, WITH THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING HERE!

WHAT KIND OF DEMOCRACY IS THIS? HOW CAN VOTING CITIZENS BE DENIED WATER, SANITATION AND BASIC INFRASTRUCTURES?

COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION

COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION

Editorial

Für Trialog Als "Vereinigung zur wissenschaftlichen Erforschung des Planens und Bauens in Entwicklungsländern" war Habitat II als Weltkonferenz über das Siedlungswesen naturgemäß ein Hauptereignis. Wir haben den Zentralthemen dieser Konferenz, "Angemessenen Wohnraum für alle" und "Zukunftssichere Stadtentwicklung" mit den Themenschwerpunkten in den vorangehenden Ausgaben über Kommunale Stadtentwicklung, Wohnungsfinanzierung, Infrastruktur und Istanbul als Beispiel für eine unkontrollierte Stadtexplosion bereits Rechnung getragen. In der Folge werden wir uns weiteren, auf der Konferenz behandelten Themen wie Ökotechniken, kommunales Umweltmanagement zuwenden.

Für eine eingehende Bewertung der Konferenzresultate, die neben den beiden offiziellen Erklärungen, der Habitat Agenda und der Istanbul Erklärung Stellungnahmen von Autoritäten und Reaktionen von wichtigen Gruppen wie den Frauen, den Lateinamerikanern und gewissen Nicht-Regierungsorganisationen einbeziehen sollte, ist es zu früh. Persönlich gefärbte Eindrücke und ein gewisses Spektrum von spontanen Einschätzungen des Ereignisses aus verschiedenen Beobachterpositionen heraus meinen wir, unseren Lesern, ob Teilnehmer oder nicht, nicht vorenthalten zu sollen.

Zufrieden, quasi belohnt für ihre Lobbyarbeit, äußern sich viele Teilnehmerinnen. **Kerstin Zillmann** erläuterte dies mit Bezug auf die deutschen Verhältnisse, ergänzt von einer allgemeineren Sicht von **Eva Quistorp**. enttäuscht erscheinen **Klaus Teschner** und **Antje Wemhöner**, insbesondere von dem Verlauf des NGO-Forums. **Rod Burgess** kritisiert die offensichtliche Scheu aller Beteiligten, den aktuellen Mode-Ideologien Strukturanpassung und Marktglobalisierung entgegenzutreten. **Peter Marcuse** äußert Skepsis für die Zukunft angesichts der Tendenz, faktische Probleme hinter der Diskussion linguistischen Konstruktionen "Recht auf Wohnung", "Nicht-Regierungsorganisationen" usw. zu verstecken und auf Beifall von zuhause zu schielen. **Jürgen Oestereich** zitiert das politische Wortgeklänge am Beispiel der Schlußrede von **Fidel Castro**. Wenn überhaupt, können ökologisch nachhaltige Strukturen und verträgliche Lebensweisen nur in praktischer Tätigkeit, die möglicherweise im Verborgenen stattfindet, erreicht werden.

Über institutionelle Neuerung in dieser Richtung berichtet **Bernd Decker**, insbesondere über das Konzept, die kommunale Ebene durch Vernetzung in übergreifenden Städtenetzwerken zu stärken. Den "Dialog" über die Schaffung und Sicherung von Arbeitsplätzen in städtischen Wirtschaftsräumen, veranstaltet von ILO, faßt **Steven Miller** zusammen. Ein weiterer Workshop thematisiert die Wohnungsüberbelegung und Gesundheitsrisiken. Aus diesem, der als Beispiel für das allgemeine Diskussionsniveau stehen könnte, drucken wir einige wesentliche Arbeitspapiere. **André Dzikus** und **Jes Clauson-Kaas** stellen eine vergleichende Studie — anhand von Beispielen in Djakarta und Bissau — zu diesem Thema vor, **Edmundo Werna** und **Rubenio Simas** aus Brasilien illustrieren die direkten Folgen gesetzlicher Regelungen auf Wohndichte und, damit zusammenhängend, Gesundheit in Brasilien, **Yasmin von Schirnding** und ein Team des Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council, berichten über einen Ansatz, mit dem diesen Problemen in Johannesburg begegnet wird. Aus seiner sehr umfassenden Kenntnis zieht **David Satterthwaite** vom IIED; London, in einer tabellarische Übersicht Bilanz über mögliche Ansätze um Wohn- und Gesundheitsverhältnisse unter den gegebenen Sparzwängen u.a. durch vertieftes Verstehen zu verbessern. Alle Beiträge betonen die überragende Bedeutung kultureller Faktoren, um Probleme der Dichte und Gesundheit wahrzunehmen und zu lösen.

Die abschließenden Beiträge, die nicht in direktem Bezug zur Konferenz stehen, vertiefen die Schlußfolgerung der Autoren auf ihre Weise: **Sacher Olabi**, freiberuflicher Stadtplaner in Syrien, bringt die Veränderungen in der Altstadt von Aleppo mit dem einschneidenden kulturellen Wertewandel im Bezug. **Darwis Khudori**; als Stadtplaner Schüler von Father Mangun, dem Weisen hinter der mit dem Aga Khan-Preis ausgezeichneten Sanierung des Kampung Tschode in Yogyakarta, zeigt, daß solcher, in gewisser Weise negativer Wertewandel nicht hingenommen werden muß, sondern ihm mit humanistischen Idealen offensiv begegnet werden kann.

The world conference Habitat II on human settlements was for TRIALOG, an association of experts in that field, clearly of utmost importance. With respect to the two conference headings "Adequate shelter for all" and "Sustainable urban development" we had dedicated previous issues of our journal to intimately related subjects such as local government, housing finance, infrastructure and on the city of Istanbul as a typical example of uncontrolled urban explosion. In future issues we shall try to elaborate on further subjects which have been discussed at the conference such as eco-technologies, environmental management at the local level and the like.

At present it is too early for a thorough evaluation of the conference results. This would require account to be taken not only of the Habitat Agenda and the Istanbul Declaration, but also various statements by important personalities, reactions by influential groups such as the women organizations, the Latino-Americans and certain NGO's etc. But we should not withhold from our readers, whether they attended the conference or not, individual impressions and a certain spectrum of preliminary assessments of the event from various perspectives.

Particularly the women seem to be content with the fruits of lobbying. **Kerstin Zillmann** explains her view with respect to the situation in Germany, being assisted by **Eva Quistorp** from a more general perspective. Conversely, **Klaus Teschner** and **Antje Wemhöner** seem rather deceived, especially from the NGO-Forum which did not bring new ideas and fresh enthusiasm. Likewise, **Rod Burgess** criticizes the obvious timidity of all participants to challenge the fashionable ideologies of structural adjustment and the global market. **Peter Macuse** seems sceptical for the future because of the obvious tendency to hide real problems behind the discussion of linguistic jargon such as the "Right to Shelter" and "Non-Governmental Organisations", being met with approval from home. **Jürgen Oestereich** points to the political phrase-mongering in, for example, the speech by **Fidel Castro**. If there is hope for the future, then it resides in institution-building and establishing sustainable life-styles through activities, which often remain hidden.

Bernd Decker reports on innovations in institution-building to this end, especially on the concept of reinforcing the local government level by means of combining the existing city networks into a supra-network. **Steven Miller** gives a summary of the "Dialogue" on "Creating and Protecting Employment for Sustainable Human Settlements", promoted by the ILO. Another workshop dealt with the effects of level of the discussion. **André Dzikus** and **Jes Clauson-Kaas** present a study on the subject comparing situation in Jacarta and Bissau. **Edmundo Werna** and **Rubenio Simas** describe the effects of legislation on crowding, density and health in Brazil. **Yasmin von Schirnding** and a team from the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council elaborate on a strategy to come to terms with crowding and concomitant health problems in Johannesburg. **David Satterthwaite** from the IIED, Housing and health conditions under financial restrictions through better understanding. All authors agree on the utmost importance of cultural factors for the identification of problems and possible solutions.

Independent from the discussions on the conference, the two concluding articles of this issue confirm this same conclusion. **Sacher Olabi**, free-lance town planner and architect in Aleppo, Syria relates the changes in the historical center of aleppo to the changes in society's values. **Dawis Khudori**, confessing to be a disciple of Father Mangun, the wise old man behind the upgrading enterprise of Kampung Tschodé in Yogyakarta which was honored with the Aga Khan-Architectural Award, demonstrates that such a change, if judged to be negative, need not be suffered fatalistically, but could be encountered offensively.

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Hope against Hopes: Notes and Comments on the Habitat II Conference

KERSTIN ZILLMANN
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EVA QUISTORP

Kerstin Zillmann

Putting Gender on the Habitat-Agenda Before, at and after Habitat II

Numerous activities of women organizations and networks for the „Big Five“, the five UN conferences of the nineties, on Environment, Human Rights, Population, Women and Human Settlements, have been going on all over the world. Everything started in Miami in 1992 with the preparation of the UNCED in Rio, when the Womens Agenda 21 was elaborated. To prepare the UN-Conference on Women and the UN-Conference on Human Settlements an international congress on „Gender, Environment and Urbanization“ was held in Nairobi in June 1994 (see TRIALOG 44). In Istanbul the main result of this huge project of the womens movement was obvious: women concerns are on the international agenda. We achieved the recognition of gender issues and questions of housing, urban development and the environment as interrelated fields. The strong presence and influence of women organizations and networks at the HABITAT II-Conference and its parallel activities confirm that women in different nations and continents are able to bring sustainable human settlement development into practise, often linked to the Local Agenda 21 process and the Beijing Follow Up. Their professionalism in lobbying and their presen-

tation of good practises and experiences of women-centered projects at the NGO Forum, the Habitat Dialogues, the UN Events and the Best Practices-Exhibition was effective.

The National Round Table of Germany began by searching for a common understanding of sustainability and equality in relation to urban development.¹ Similar to the results from the „Ecological Cities Project“ of the OECD, sustainable development is defined as having economic, social, cultural and environmental dimensions and carrying ideas of equality among humans and generations. It sets forth that future development will only take place within the carrying capacity of natural and man made systems. Sustainable development in cities requires appropriate local government planning and management.

Without equality, sustainability is neither desirable nor possible. Although many positive overlapping areas in gender-sensitive and ecological planning exist, it cannot be ignored that ecologically sound measures often create extra burdens for women. At the same time, there are great differences among women that are the result of age, economic status, lifestyle or ethnicity. These differences must be accepted and respected without prejudice. To be sure that women are placed in an equal position to men and that their differences are acknowl-

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Looking at the increasing number of homeless women and families in Germany they confirmed that shelter is a central building block of an independent life for women and fundamental to securing independent material existence. Because the right of women to a decent place to live is congruent to current social standards, the National Round Table of Women Planners supported the demand of the international NGO-community for a „Right to Housing“. They suggested some self-help housing projects by women-headed households in Hamburg to be shown as an example for adequate shelter and sustainable inner city development in the exhibition of the German Best Practices in Istanbul.

Vorsichtige Hoffnungen: Beobachtung zur Habitat II-Konferenz

Die hier wiedergegebenen Stimmen zu der Weltkonferenz in Istanbul reichen von einer gewissen Zufriedenheit über Erreichtes, — insbesondere der Frauen (also auch von Kerstin Zillmann und Eva Quistorp), deren Lobbyarbeit sich in den Verlautbarungen weitgehend auszahlte, — gepaart mit Zuversicht bis zu herber Kritik — was die Konsolidierung bekannter Ansätze im Forum der Nichtregierungsorganisationen betrifft (Klaus Teschner) — und Skeptizismus für die Zukunft. Dieser gründet sich auf Beobachtungen der Tendenz, faktische Probleme hinter linguistischen Scheinproblemen zu verstecken (Peter Marcuse), und der offensichtlichen Scheu, den gerade hochmodernen Ideologien der Strukturanpassung und Marktglobalisierung Gegenmodelle entgegenzustellen (Rod Burgess, Jürgen Oestereich). Wenn überhaupt, scheint der praktische Ansatz, die Kompetenz für Zukunftssicherung sich auf basisnahe Ebenen, besonders die Kommunen, zu verlagern, worüber weitgehend stiller Konsens herrschte, weiterzuführen. Alle Beobachter sind sich einig, daß zukunftsverträgliche städtische Lebensstile zu schaffen sind und daß es dafür über Erklärungen und Manifeste hinaus überzeugender Beispiele und angemessener Institutionen bedarf.

ged, it must always be asked whether a gender-sensitive planning project allows choosing one's lifestyle and whether it empowers women.

With respect to the HABITAT II-themes „Adequate Shelter for All“ and „Sustainable Human Settlements Development in an Urbanizing World“ a set of goals and planning approaches in keeping with this conceptional framework were formulated by the women experts addressing sustainable inner city development and urban expansion, ecologically sound transport and mobility and housing supply and development.² Some of the central positions of

ting more and more attention in many communities and neighbourhoods.

In the HABITAT II-conference itself, the women's movement was mainly represented by the members of the „Super-Coalition“ (see the observations by Eva Quistorp) of several international women networks which was founded for Beijing and by representatives in several delegations, such as in the German case. The so-called Huairou-Committee, a committee of gender experts, worked as consultants with the Secretary General of HABITAT II. To offer the delegation members and working

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The Positions of the National Round Table of Women Planners for HABITAT II on „Gender-Sensitive and Sustainable Urban Development“ can be ordered at FOPA Hamburg e.V., Schmilinskystr.4, D-20099 Hamburg.



Foto 1: Closing Plenary of the Super-Coalition

Foto 2. Meeting at the panel on „Gender, Social Policy and the City“

Foto 3: Contribution of HIC W&S Latin America to the Women Caucus or Spoke Out at the Women Caucus

All fotos by Kerstin Zillmann.

the women planners and architects could be brought into the national documents. The experiences of women are specified in a separate chapter of the German National Report for HABITAT II. The Minister of Housing, Mr. Töpfer, supported the fact that women are experts regarding safety in the cities, a topic which is get-

groups of the conference a practical tool, a Women's Habitat Agenda had been produced and widely distributed. Paragraph by paragraph the demands of the women networks could have been integrated easily into the document.

The Women and Shelter Network of an

The Newsletter and Habitat II-Report of the HIC Women and Shelter Network can be ordered at the HIC W&S Sekretariat, c/o FEDEVIVIENDA, Ave. 39#14-75, A.A. 57059 Santafé de Bogotá, Colombia e-mail: hicwas@colnodo.apc.org

association of human settlement NGOs, the Habitat International Coalition, HIC, considers the City-Summit as another step towards the equality of women which served to define their rights in much more practical terms.³ The achievements in Beijing with respect to economic rights, gender equality, access to land and property, to credit and information, the right to participate, to statistics broken down by gender and the right to non-discrimination, have been transformed into more precise and concrete objectives and actions referring to human settlement development. The concerns of girls, of older, of disabled and indigenous women have been considered. With the Habitat Agenda and the Istanbul Declaration the nations commit themselves to more democracy in public and every day life confirming the right of both men and women and children to participate in the design, production, maintenance and control of their housing, neighbourhood and city, with the technical support, co-ordination and an appropriate framework provided by the local and national government. The right to housing which was acknowledged implies obligations on the part of the State to protect the basic right to a place to live and action to promote or facilitate equal access to housing for women.

Bella Abzug, the „First Lady“ of the Super-Coalition, regards the Agendas of the „Big Five“ as contracts between the governments and the women movement. In the closing plenary of the Super-Coalition with UN-officials she asked for the music to play the written notes. The women representatives left Istanbul with the will to keep on working as they did before. The follow-up process in Germany is still to be established. The women planners and architects committed themselves to connect Habitat II results with the women movement in the Local Agenda 21 process. During the last two or three years in several German cities and communities, women in the institutions and women groups have started powerful projects for a sustainable development in numerous aspects. Some of them, like Heidelberg have been concentrated on gender-sensitive and sustainable human settlement development, some are just starting, such as Lüneburg. The relationship between the living and working conditions of women in the so-called developed and developing countries, often plays a central role in their activities like in Osna-brück. Beside all the critic on UN-Conferences, Beijing and Istanbul mark a very new moment in the German women movement in general and especially for the women planners and architects: the step on the international floor has been taken, the relations with women's organizations all over the world have been established and the German point of view has been widely spread.

Eva Quistorp

Women Voices in Istanbul

from Benazir Bhutto to Bella Abzug, from the European Union Female Government Delegates to the „Fight Eviction Nun“ from the Philippines

No participant, not even the journalists, could possibly follow all the conference sessions, meetings, debates, dialogues, workshops, seminars etc. with all their resolutions, motions, recommendations, proposals, suggestions and the like. On their own the attendance of the various events concerning women only at the NGO-Forum, the UN conference and the accompanying lectures would have occupied day and night. The UN agencies in particular were keen on organising meetings of experts and concerned women relating to particular regions and subjects.

A „Women Caucus“ was instigated in order to discuss daily such topics as the participation of women and gender lobbies, women centered neighbourhood groups working on housing, urban planning and the upgrading and reconstruction of towns and local communities in relation to the respective paragraphs of the „Habitat Agenda“ under negotiation at the UN conference. This Caucus also provided space for groups from Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia to publicise their ongoing struggle against forced evictions, water pollution, deficiencies in sewerage and garbage collection or in favour of self-help, building materials, neighbourhood credits and consumer unions etc.

One of the women networks supporting the social, cultural, economic and political role of grass-root women, called GROOTS, joined up with the German mother centers (which had organized the first ever day care for children at an UN-Conference) and with HIC International and other important NGOs, to form the „supercoalition“. This ad-hoc institution provided the platform for the NGO Forum to react to the controversies of the day. These included the repressive operations by the Turkish police, the ongoing struggles over a „Universal Human Right to Housing“ to be contained in the official documents, and discussions on the status of family, women and minorities triggered off by the „holy alliance“ of Vatican, Sudan, Iran and China in their attempt to disseminate their patriarchal and repressive ideas. This „supercoalition“ became a melting pot of people and subcultures from all horizons, a dynamic workshop of the future, which, naturally, cannot be said of the official conference. Yet, even this conference was influenced by the Women Caucus. The increased self-awareness

ess since Rio of HIC and of other NGOs, such as the homelessness movements from Brazil, Santo Domingo, Kenya, South Africa, the Philippines etc, mediated by some church groups, combined with the more professional lobbying from such organisations, had a bearing on the UN conference and its documents¹ Their main influence can be seen in particular paragraphs of the Agenda, such as on

- access (ownership, heritage etc.) to real property (§§ 14, 55),
- aspects of the economy and employment related to women (§§ 28, 30-33),
- participation in settlement and environmental matters (§§ 69, 70, 92, 98, 101, 106, 108, 113, 130),
- preventive dealing with violence, disaster and war, rehabilitation of victims of violence (§§ 91, 125)

It appears that UN conferences develop from meetings at which democratic or dictatorial governments, either one on one or combined in alliances (Group 77, OECD countries etc), exchange arguments within forums of discussion directed positively towards the civil society for fear that the intercontinental flow of electronic finance, the global arms trade and the world-wide speculation on vital resources would otherwise be left to transnational trusts, GATT authorities and the like.

It is most important for the achievements in the form of compromises and diplomatic wording in the Istanbul Declaration and the Global Action Plan of the Agenda to be monitored by follow-up actions provided for in the same document. This is particularly important for women under conditions of increasing poverty in towns and urban areas, since they constitute globally up to 70 % of the poor and most impoverished. Women in these areas, however, ask for recognition also as initiators, implementors and managers of self-help, social stability, innovative problem solving and new models of co-operation.

In order to make this better known, the Women Coalition will begin a worldwide publicity campaign. The title „One year after Beijing and three months after Istanbul“ shall remind governments what they have committed themselves to.

Klaus Teschner

NGOs at the Cross-Roads

The praising of Istanbul as the best place in the world for this conference, expressed by the Secretary General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros Ghali, at the opening session, turned out to be somewhat premature. Certain-

ly, the development along the Bosphorus is exemplary and offers scope for hypothesizing on the evolution of human settlement patterns. The repressive political climate in Turkey, however, contributed to the diversion of the conference away from the topics of shelter and urbanization. At a rally to welcome a group of bicyclists from France who had ridden through Europe in support of the Right to Housing, a small Kurdish group joined the authorized march towards the conference area. The police, in full riot gear, stopped the march and forced it to disband. On the following Saturday, the regular weekly two hour meeting of Turkish mothers silently protesting against the disappearance of their detained sons and daughters, was broken up violently by the police, arresting over 400 people. Protest against this, as well as the harsh closing down of an alternative forum of Turkish and Kurdish Human Right groups and also the massive presence of ordinary and plain clothed police at each and every event, spilled over from the NGO Forum to some official delegations, thereby managing to somehow conceal the lack of stimulating and pioneering issues at the conference as a whole.

While the official delegates ticked one by one the paragraphs off the agenda, opening opportunities to revive past discussions, the NGO-Forum unfolded a sometimes colourful self-staging and presentation of ideas, most of which rather weathered since Vancouver. Examples included the promotion of informal and co-operative housing, appropriate technologies, credit lines for women and small scale enterprises, etc. Consequently it was an occasion for presenting and exchanging experiences and for receiving recognition, not for the introduction of fresh ideas. The forum was rather reminiscent of a meeting of survivors of stormy days having to face the winds of neo-liberal adjustment and post-modern fatigue.

The most striking fact was the lack of translation facilities. This did not help to promote contact and communication between the NGOs and less so between true grass root groups from remote continents, and for which the voyage to Istanbul was an adventure anyhow — and an extremely expensive one. The Spanish speaking world tended to form a rather homogenous group anyhow. Representatives of the Mexican „Movimiento Urbano Popular“ even brought their famous mascot, the „Superbarrio“, along. „La Mesa Latinoamericana“, organised by HIC Mexico was one of the biggest and most active discussion forums of the whole event. The Latin American Section HIC instigated an own „Istanbul Declaration“ which stressed topics like the strengthening of the political framework and of political grass root structures, hence the consolidation of an ade-

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Claims for gender democracy were worked out well in advance of Istanbul and introduced into the documents of the Women Caucus (Women and Shelter, FOPA, European Charta for Women in the City). Most of the content was adopted more or less by the UN conference, having been supported by governments such as the European Union (including Germany), Canada, Norway, Newzealand etc. including contested paragraphs on „family rights“ and „reproductive health“. The scope was more general, relating to a gender-conscious approach in research, planning, implementation and the daily use of housing and environmental matters in the North and the South, as well as all forms of violence against women.

1

This is the reason why NGOs and also local governments were given access and voice at the UN government conference and constitutes a significant and much commented upon alteration in the use of the United Nations. It means that donors may address them directly, thereby by-passing the national governments (which are often corrupt). Increasingly, a management approach is taken in the discussion on the urban future. Efficient and sustainable management is required and success is sought in cultural affairs and as a basis for investments.

2

The French organisation „Droit au logement“, which had staged a bicycle ride from Paris to Istanbul, and a Finnish organisation which had convened a workshop on homelessness in the European Union, were exceptions to the rule. No one from the corresponding groups from Berlin were seen, while eco-groups were quite active.

3

A certain prioritizing of environmental concerns is reflected for example in the National Report of the Federal Republic of Germany. According to it, housing shortage seems to be a problem exclusive to the Third World. The preface mentions „important housing shortages in many countries“, but in the chapter on „supply of housing“, housing deficiencies and homelessness do not feature. „Homeless people“ are referred to nearly at the end, casually, in terms of „disfavored groups“.

quate legislative framework. Claimed by some was even a „Derecho a la Belleza del Ambiente“, what was to mean that the „Housing Right“ should not only be seen as a right to shelter, access to land etc., but also to a beautiful urban environment.

Many visitors from Latin America regretted not having saved the travel expenses for the intergalactic meeting which was scheduled for July in Chiapas. Some controversies and helplessness regarding the global situation, which were concealed in Istanbul by the need to form a union against some ultra-conservative tendencies, have been brought to discussion in the five Aguascalientes in the south of Mexico recently.

The changing climate of the last decade pulled the debate on development politics towards the neo-liberal free market euphoria and, hence, towards the position taken by the powerful economic centers of North America, Europe and East Asia. The corresponding loss of influence of Third World states made them susceptible to the demands by donors to streamline their government machineries. Streamlining is also necessary in the North even though it finds itself with a much higher level of funding and budgeting and a more efficient bureaucracy. The growing weakness of the governments calls for increasing involvement by all sorts of NGOs as a replacement for the state in those fields which it has abandoned.¹

In this context, NGOs are more than ever in demand and increasingly integrated into the upper spheres of power as think-tanks, as consultants with grass-root connections, and as institutions which give greater legitimacy to high-level decisions. Without any clear definition, NGO is a rather slippery concept. Their ascent becomes increasingly ambiguous. Their image is of organizations representing philanthropic groups of experts working on poverty, human rights, environmental or housing issues as self-appointed advocates without explicit democratic mandate, albeit in direct contact with local communities. In view of their success, these classical NGOs are more and more exposed to competition on all levels from professional consultancy, from dummies of those already in power, as well as from ultra-conservative interest groups. These introduce themselves as NGOs in order to be eligible for aid funds or to claim representativeness and, thus, guardianship, as was the case in Istanbul. If the invitation to collaborate with the UN is not institutionalized with caution, there is a danger that these new „impure“ pressure-groups will also be allowed to exercise their power at the UN-level. In Istanbul, NGOs of this kind (such as the American Right to Life groups) were very cunning and although only a tiny minority, were in command of important means of propaganda.

At present, the spectrum of NGOs is over-represented by those regions in which NGOs have become renowned and important, especially Latin America and certain Asian countries. East European countries and some Arab-islamic countries were nearly absent at the forum. As to the topics, omissions were also evident. Among others, very few of the numerous European initiatives on homelessness were present.² It appears that the NGOs on the eco ticket are more adroit and have a stronger lobby on the international and national floor than the housing organisations.³ The fact that these and other topics, like the structural adjustment measures, en vogue globally, which have reinforced segregation and social discrepancies particularly in the Third World, were discussed only in passing and by warming up old arguments and myths, was another disappointing feature of a conference which had raised so many hopes.

Rod Burgess

An Adjustable Agenda ?

The Istanbul Conference was certainly a very different affair to the Habitat I Conference, which was held in Vancouver in 1976. The scale and structure of the event was clearly very different. The Istanbul Conference attracted many more participants than Vancouver and, instead of only two, was structured around four main poles of activity in different physical locales (and some additional ones like the Habitat Trade Fair, the Istanbul Dialogues, etc).

The most energetic and diversified pole was undoubtedly the NGO Forum — a vast jamboree of stalls, exhibits, workshops, cultural events and public hearings. A second pole, based at the Istanbul Hilton, consisted of the various committees, working groups and plenary sessions attended by official delegates to consider, revise and ratify the principal product of the Conference — the Global Plan of Action.

A third pole, located in converted warehouses in the docks area, focussed on an exhibition of country „best practices“ and included video forums, CD rom demonstrations and town hall meetings.

A fourth pole was focussed on the Marmara Hotel and consisted of a series of „Dialogues“ on various urban issues such as urban structure, finance, infrastructure, services, transport, employment and energy. These were hosted and sponsored by UN agencies, the World Bank and such development-minded institutions as Mercedes-Benz.

Given the dramatic demographic, environmental, economic, social and political changes

that have occurred over the last twenty years, it is hardly surprising that the final documents issued by the two conferences, Habitat I and Habitat II, were also very different.

The Vancouver Conference was noted for the way in which it accelerated the policy shift from conventional to self-help housing approaches. But, unlike the Istanbul agenda, it lacked an explicit focus and, indeed, consensus on urban issues, environmental quality, women's participation, poverty reduction and macro-economic prerogatives such as urban efficiency. The basic objectives of the Habitat II Global Plan of Action and the new paradigm that underpinned it were endorsed at all four poles of the Conference - adequate shelter for all and the development of sustainable urban settlements could best be achieved by national action plans based on an enablement strategy. This strategy had three main components:

1. Market enablement involving the increased participation of the private (formal and informal) sectors, the creation of private/public partnerships and the dismantling of direct state economic participation;
2. Political enablement involving the empowerment of local governments and local groups through decentralization, democratization and institutional and organisational capacity building, and
3. Community enablement involving local civic and community participation particularly in the planning, finance and management of urban projects and programmes.

NGOs would mediate the various actors and it was argued that locally appropriate solutions that stressed efficiency, sustainability and enablement were the only effective answer to the urban challenge.

The third difference was that Habitat I was remembered for the heated debates and disagreements which occurred amongst participants on the issue of low cost housing, and its generally critical approach to official policies. In contrast to this, the lack of critical appraisal of the new paradigm at Habitat II was worrying. The central issue that was not resolved and which was barely discussed at Istanbul was the conflict between the widely-documented detrimental urban effects of the search for efficiency through structural adjustment (increased poverty, homelessness, unemployment and social disintegration) and the goals of sustainability and enablement.¹

Certainly there was plenty of room for doubt. In the discussions on urban finance, for example, we heard that adequate resources could be raised to meet the urban challenge through the creation of user-friendly housing

finance systems along the lines of the Grameen Bank; through an increased role for the private sector in urban infrastructure and service investments; through higher levels of multilateral and national government commitments and through more borrowing based on municipal bond issues, whose credibility would be enhanced if cities joined the newly-devised „Standard and Poors City Credit Rating System“.

Will these measures be able to meet the challenge even if they are realised? The World Bank itself admits that urban populations in Developing Countries are set to double over the next 25 years; that annual urban investment requirements for infrastructure and services in Latin America alone amount to \$60 billions and in East Asia to \$151 billions, and that they themselves are willing to commit only \$3 billions per annum for urban infrastructure to developing countries over the next five years. Yet there was no attempt at the Conference to create a Special Fund to deal with urban problems and there was no discussion of the debt „haemorrhage“ of capital flows from developing to developed countries and their possible diversion to meet urban requirements. The implications of the introduction of „city credit rating“ in capital markets for those countries whose spatial planning policies incorporate the principle of „spatial justice“ in service delivery, was not considered. The possibility that it could worsen already serious problems of national fragmentation (eg. India) was also not discussed, nor the fact that the most likely recipients of AAA-ratings would be precisely those urban administrations that most readily swallowed adjustment-based public austerity measures — with all their adverse social consequences.

Perhaps the real lesson from the Habitat II Conference then is that without open debate, criticism and the recognition of error, there can be no progress, and that without a serious commitment to implement principles there will be diminishing public interest in conferences of this type.

Peter Marcuse

A view from across the Atlantic

Habitat II, announced with fanfare as „The City Summit,“ was a new low in the international substitution of words for action. Housing and the urban issues in which housing is largely embedded, is not high on the agenda of any industrial nation today.¹

The tenor of the conference is apparent both in what was debated and what wasn't. The single most controversial issue was probably the esoteric one of the „right to housing“² An explicit (re-) affirmation of the right to housing

1

At the NGO Forum the words structural adjustment may have been on everybody's mind but they certainly weren't on their lips, whilst at the official meetings, attention focussed on removing or adding various elements of punctuation to the Global Plan of Action. At the World Bank dialogues a smooth balm of social optimism based on the assertion of the principle „where there's a will there's a way“ was applied in the absence of the adjustment economists who were actually determining the way; whilst down at the Docks the principles and results of „best practices“ (a concept which must have Karl Popper turning in his grave) remained unchallenged.

1

In the headlong retreat from the welfare state, the Clinton administration is not alone seeing forthright and positive urban policy as a political loser. But in Istanbul the United States distinguished itself by being on the conservative side of almost every controversial issue that came up. The specter of Jesse Helms seemed to weigh as heavily on the State Department end of the jointly-run United States delegation as the specter of OMB and Congressional hostility weighed on the Department of Housing and Urban Development at the other end. Perhaps it was the fear of controversy that kept high-level participation from the United States to a minimum: Henry Cisneros, Secretary of H.U.D., was the highest level U.S. participant, and then only for four of the fourteen days of the conference (the rumor that VicePresident Gore might attend proved fallacious).

2

Whatever value international statements may have in the U.S. (while treaties are binding, „Declarations“ and „Statements“ are not) there are by now various U.N. documents which the United States has signed up to that include references to housing as among the human rights. These include: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, Article 25; The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966, Article 11; The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1965, Article 5; The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979, Article 14; The Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, Article 27; even Habitat 1.

Human Settlements, 1976. Section III (B). The United States is a signatory to and has ratified all of these except the Universal Declaration! The recognition in Istanbul of a right to housing would have primarily psychological/political effects, supporting the efforts to protect and shelter the homeless and halt the backward slide of the Federal government on housing subsidies and housing policy.

3

In the legalistic posture of the affair, few statements can be made without qualifications. A country whose own laws permit certain evictions might be charged with violation of international law should it be interpreted broadly and enforced by its local courts — an unlikely situation but nevertheless possible. And homeless advocates were able to obtain inclusion of a statement that homeless people should not be penalized for their status, aimed, as Maria Foscarnin describes it, at countering the U.S. trend towards criminalizing homelessness. In that respect, even the stronger language that representatives from the European Union had proposed was considered by the U.S. to be „simply unacceptable,” because it might, somehow in the future, expand residents' rights in the U.S.

4

Ironically, the U.S. made much of the issue of implementation. Having made certain that no goals were formulated (such as a right to housing) which might expand U.S. programs or even targets, and boasting that what was agreed was all entirely consistent with already existing U.S. law, the U.S. pressed for „specifics.” Those specifics had the word „market” in every second sentence, and „public-private partnership” in every other; the Republican freshmen in Congress would have been proud.

5

For international grass roots organizing to be effective, a bit of word-play should be examined more closely: „Non-Governmental Organization.” Tenants' unions, Committees in Solidarity with disfavored of any kind, human rights groups etc., are all NGO's. But so are private commercial interests such as the National Association of Realtors, the Chamber of Commerce, and Right to Life groups (who, incidentally, had a formal booth at the NGO Forum and were accused of being a direct pipe-line to Jesse Helms on what was happening in Istanbul). Lumping them all together is part of that discourse that conceals reality and inhibits action.

in Istanbul could help significantly in some developing countries (the south was largely unified in favor, the North split against) where states have ridden rough-shod, often with bulldozers and armed force, to displace squatters, evict tenants, clear land.

Word-play was of the essence of the official conference. Examples could be multiplied: the Agenda (the „Global Plan of Action”), the document that was the formal outcome of Habitat II, was pressed by many from the South to contain a provision against forced eviction; in the end, only forced evictions „contrary to law” were spoken against, so no government in control of its own legislative process need worry.³ In some respects, though not always, the United States was on the wrong side; on women's issues, for instance, where in legal terms the U.S. is on the progressive end of the spectrum, the delegation pushed not just for „equity” but for „equality” of rights.

The issues that could have made a greater real difference, never even surfaced to the level of word-play, however. One is redistribution, basically from the North to the South. At earlier social summits, that had been at least acknowledged as appropriate. However, even the idea, let alone real commitments, did not officially come up at Habitat II. Even the World Bank and many individual donor countries (Denmark, Finland, Canada, the Netherlands are honorable examples) recognizes the need for investment in basic investment resources. But no international fund, no commitments by the G7, no coordinated U.N. efforts, were on the table for discussion.

International standards, with international commitments to help meet them, might also have been an appropriate approach to problems of habitation. The U.N. has indeed spon-

sored academically interesting work in developing indicators of housing conditions, permitting cross-national comparisons. To make that work fruitful, however, the next step needs to be an agreement on what constitute minimum conditions for decent housing, with a real international program to help countries achieve it. No such thing emerged. The fact that the market has in fact produced the shortages, the unsanitary and life-threatening conditions, the over-crowding and insecurity, which a large part of the world's population is subject to, and conditions of gross inequality in wealth, did not appear. Proposals of dubious utility in the U.S. (but of high assumed political acceptability) to „harness the initiatives of the private sector” in providing housing, proposals irrelevant in most of the South, were included without debate in the official document.⁴

Even outside the corridors of officialdom in Istanbul, the big issues were rarely brought up. An NGO Forum, a place where Non-Governmental Organizations⁵ could meet and talk to each other, with limited channels to the parallel official deliberations, and a few other Forums (academics, professionals, local authorities, etc.), were established by the UNCHS, which organized the conference. In addition, confrontation on such basic issues as the appropriate role of government and the private market was avoided by a sort of subliminal word-play: whereas the official line took „public-private partnership” to mean government and private enterprise, in NGO discussion the same partnership idea was supported, but was taken to mean community groups and residents as the private component. Thus both controversy and clarity were avoided.

An exhibition of „best practices” illustrates both what was good and what was bad about Habitat II. „Best practices” are case examples of what groups have been able to do to deal



with critical housing policies. There were 12 winners in the competition, and their work was displayed in Istanbul: one group that, with foundation subsidies, bought and distributed land to families, helping them build themselves and giving them pride of ownership; another that rehabilitated derelict buildings, and so on. But these were individual, not governmental, practices. The fact that, for example, rent control, or the break-up of large land holdings, or tenant protection legislation, or anti-usury laws, or mortgage foreclosure protections, might be the best practical approach to housing problems is excluded from consideration by the very terms of the contest and exhibition themselves. There's nothing wrong with a „Best Practices“ competition; but no one proposed a „Best Policies“ parallel.

What's positive in that outcome is evident in three areas. The Agenda for Action itself, and the Declaration of Istanbul (pretentiousness had a field day — the Declaration is the short summary statement issued at the end of the conference), are not bad documents; although far less than could have been the case, they contain formal language that groups some time and somewhere may be able to use as an argument in influencing policy. Networking among grassroots groups, and some efforts at solidifying relations among them and formalizing their influ-

ence on international and intra-national policy, was much more important, however. Global power is generally taken as the power of corporations, of transnational finance and business, but there is a global power of people, of local groups and of social movements, that can also be marshalled; events such as Habitat II provide an arena where that can be advanced.

Jürgen Oesterreich

On the celebrated Fidel Castro-speech and other issues of importance

At the closing session of the conference, Fidel Castro, the President of the Republic of Cuba, held a speech subsequently much commented upon. We quote his main statements, for which he got one of the few standing ovations of the entire conference, in the Box. The enthusiasm came about presumably for a number of reasons: He was, besides the Presidents of Israel and, naturally, of Turkey, the only President to attend the conference (at least during the time-span of the delivery of his own speech). His speech was unusually short, and he frankly expressed what usually remains hidden: the minority complex of the South. Certainly, for professionals and for administrators and politicians dealing with the sub-

Excerpt of the address by His Excellency Dr. Fidel Castro-Ruz, President of the Republic of Cuba to the HABITAT II Conference, 14th June 1996

„The human species has grown six times in this century and in only five years it will reach over six billions. This enormous demographic explosion did not take place in a fair world but it was preceded by centuries of colonialism, slavery and economic exploitation. Some had it all, others had nothing. The so-called consumption societies, which are but an insult to the four-fifths of the hungry and destitute inhabitants that we are, were built with the sweat and blood of the exploited. Medicine could save lives but politics and economics were unable to feed the peoples and offer them a decent life.

(...) There is much talk today about global economy and technological progress. But, what can be the use of all that, if it does not solve man's problems, if the rich countries are richer and the poor are poorer? What resources do we have to provide education, health, food, housing and employment not only for those people living in the world today but for the almost one hundred more million born to humanity every year? If the industrial conversion and the technological revolution in the capitalist developed countries are resulting in even higher unemployment, what's left for us, the earth's forsaken children?

(...) Just in Latin America, it is estimated that in hardly over two decades 85 percent of the population will be concentrated in the cities. How shall we, the Latin American and the Caribbean peoples, cope with the problems involved in that alarming forecast? Where shall we find the necessary water supplies? How shall we secure the indispensable food? What jobs shall we offer those hundreds of millions of capable people? What education shall we offer those multitudes of human beings? What shall the living conditions be of those incalculable masses? What suitable housing shall we secure for them? How shall we prevent the irreversible deterioration of the environment? In those enormous metropolis, how shall the unrestrained growth of crime and drug abuse, the exploitation of children and the moral decay of society be brought under control? How long will it be possible for those unruly clusters to withstand poverty, insalubriousness, death, hunger and exploitation?

(...) It cannot be said that funds are not enough. How is it possible that in the so called post-cold war millions of millions of dollars are spent in weapons and military activities and that the armstrade continues to increase? How can mankind be so deceived?

We should proclaim in full force that we have the right to breathe clean air, drink non-contaminated water, be provided a decent job, be fed on healthy food, be educated, have our health taken care of and be less poor when others are richer.

We should proclaim that we are not like man in the jungle, since jungles hardly exist anymore. It is only fair for every family to have a suitable housing and for that to be considered one of man's universal rights. After all, we are entitled to live and to do so with honour, to be allowed - all of us - to work for our peoples while unjust and criminal economic blockades should not be accepted; we should not be exploited, we should not be plundered, we should not be despised or treated with repulsive xenophobia.

We shall continue holding meetings, we shall continue striving and proclaiming our truths to the world, by and large, we are the world and the world does not yield to masters nor to suicidal policies; the world does not accept that a minority of selfish, insane and irresponsible people lead it to annihilation.

Thank you.“

Whoever looked closer at the conference, could see that the efficiency fraction was not monolithic. The USA, the European Union, Japan and even the World Bank also incorporated — usually through NGOs which were part of the official delegations — schools of thought which argue in favour of more equality. The egalitarian fraction in turn, had to accept, that efficiency is needed, too.

ject, his speech contained nothing new. He claimed fair treatment and a fair share of the resources, in other words, funds. However, bearing in mind the situation in his own country which is similar to so many other exploited nations, one questions the degree to which Cuba would be able to absorb supplementary funds? Cuba enjoys the achievement — an achievement by its own efforts — of having the lowest child morbidity rate. However, because these children are unable to find jobs, they are forced into prostitution. Cuba has realized another achievement through its own efforts, that is, it possesses the lowest rate of illiteracy in the region. However, since very little is printed in Cuba itself, and even less imported, the people have no reading material. Worse still, Cuba's intellectuals are proud of their famous writers, but most have been forced to live and publish abroad. Does Cuba and its Maximo Leader, have an idea of how better to organize the economy, how to make the people read and freely discuss their opinions, how to make them enjoy their literature? And even if he himself had the very best intentions, could he be certain, that his entourage would not spoil the matter? Nobody would have dared ask him. In fact, the audience just seem to have applauded a not quite unknown, but well-played theater scene.

Our commentators on the Habitat conference, Rod Burgess, Peter Marcuse and Klaus Teschner join the majority of observers, who express mild or even bitter deception. This deception was certainly the result of unfulfilled expectations. Deceptions do hurt, they show that the world is different from what we expect or hope it to be. Is it significant that the female commentators in general, like Eva Quistorp and Kerstin Zillmann in this issue of TRIALOG are much more optimistic? Is it that the women have more or less achieved what they wanted? Maybe, the male world is called upon to come to terms better with reality.

1. If among the philanthropic-minded majority of the participants and observers of the conference the „Right to Housing“ issue provoked particular deception, it proved that they had underrated something. In fact, the „Right to Housing“, in itself a rather vague concept, as Peter Marcuse has rightly pointed out, served as a catchword, a symbol for a range of stakes which were and still are contested between two schools of thought: those who put human well-being and equality before the functioning of the economic machinery and those who place the priorities the other way round. The latter argue that, before anything else, people have to be fed and serviced and that, to this end, the economy (and the administration) has to run efficiently. Up to now, the strategy of this fraction had been to keep quiet in glo-

bal discussions but to put into practice their philosophy through the more or less repressive policies of the national elites. Since these elites have succeeded in mobilizing election majorities in their respective countries, especially in the USA and the UK, they have also become aggressive abroad. This was the case in Istanbul at the official conference.¹

The key-word of this fraction is „structural adjustment“. Yet, the discussion on this concept appears rather dishonest. Those governments which have pursued a policy of „adjustment“ have produced before everything else, widening economic gaps and increased social disparities. The privileged, the elites, make sure that they themselves, and especially they themselves, gain. How could a philosophy which justifies these effects or accepts them as unavoidable at the national level, lead to the opposite at the international level? Yet the elites in the poor countries join the game by imitating their Northern precursors, happily supported by the „donor community“. Unfortunately, the competing model, the egalitarian-minded state socialism has proved unfeasible. By not allowing for contradiction and free thought, its regimes have blocked all possibilities of modification and adaption in an unavoidable environment and improvement even towards its own ideal. Both models are obviously bad, but the one which has survived at least offers the chance to be criticized and civilized. Unfortunately, there was little argument on that matter and the professionals in particular kept quiet.

Ambiguities in the North-South Dispute

On the issue of „Northern Funds for Southern Development“, both sides occupied delicate positions. The Northern governments, as the main contributors to the UN-system, repeated their claim for more organisational efficiency. They had come with the intention of beginning the reorganisation right away among others by subordinating UNCHS under UNEP, but quickly gave this up. One reason may have been that they found that UNCHS had prepared the conference fairly well and that any lack of efficiency was due to its being underused and underfinanced. The second was that the Northern governments, not having paid all contributions due to the UN, could not argue too loudly. The third reason was, that UNCHS turned out to be an ardent partisan of the same ideas (decentralisation, environmental protection) which pursued the very governments who were critical. So, the UNCHS survived the threat, remaining entrusted with the entire field of shelter, human settlement and the related environmental matters. It was a shiny but meager victory, since the funds necessary for effective continuation were not pro-

vided for. In fact, the general approach of development assistance is at stake, since the Northern countries who had committed themselves many UN-conferences before, to assign 0,7 % of the BNP for that end, were now unable or, better still, unwilling to honor this commitment. This did not allow them to move offensively outright.

As to the South, its stance was also difficult. Their elites use to cry loud for more funds (see Fidel Castro), but it has been proved again and again, that any kind of assistance has been rather inefficiently, if not ineffectively used and with little benefit for the people in its entirety. Apart from the segregating effects of structural adjustment, there are too many sources of deviation of funds and friction losses in economic, social and ecological terms known or suspected, for which the same elite is responsible. Not having done an up to date appropriate analysis of this and its absence on the agenda of the conference, appears to be a major deficiency of the professionals and the ONGs alike. Under these conditions, the negotiators did all they could to keep the commitments in the forthcoming Habitat Agenda sufficiently vague.²

Sustainability and Municipalization

The issue of „sustainable development“ although a corner stone of the whole event and often quoted, was left nearly untouched. A more thorough discussion which would have been necessary at least at a global and local level, could have created uncontrollable reactions. If the North has to reduce its consumption of wasteful goods and energy substantially, how to sanction the wrongdoing nations? Are the examples of local eco-projects really all „best practices“? Many of the Southern NGOs present in Istanbul, which were naturally more settlement-minded, tended to join up with their own governments in putting development before environmental protection. The Northern NGOs were too polite to provoke their fellow organisations. Moreover, a sharp dispute would have called into doubt the life styles of all members of the existing NGOs who are normally middle or even upper class. It would have meant, for example, to have to had to renounce every plane journey undertaken.³

In another respect, ranking high in the announcements, Istanbul was regarded to be a continuation of Rio: the issues of local responsibility and municipal autonomy. The Rio document, the Agenda 21, with its chapter 28 on local responsibility and competence concerning environmental matters has triggered off and justified many local initiatives. The ideas are alive in many town and city administrations, as well as in UNCHS. Habitat II was even announced as „The City Summit“.⁴ The bazillus

planted in Rio has got roots. The UN itself, by granting access to the representatives of the municipalities, is contagious and four institutions are completely infected: the associations of local governments, the networking project of UNCHS (see the article by Bernd Decker in this volume), the international and bilateral assistance directly addressed to the local authorities and the Habitat Declaration by demanding more transfer of responsibilities to the municipalities.

Wherever this municipalization is under way, conflicts with the central power are unavoidable. It depends on the political culture and style whether or not they are solved easily. The case of China is representative for centralism: Near the centre, as long as it is not really challenged, municipalities get leeway. In the fringe regions, at present for example in Tibet, the central power operates mercilessly. The same holds true for the Kurdish regions in Turkey, the mountain ranges in Burma etc. Most eviction cases, and certainly the extremely brutal ones, are caused by the central authorities. Thanks to the Greens this was also discussed at Habitat II.

Municipalization now seems to be one of the major projects of contemporary mankind. It touches upon general anthropological and organisational characteristics and, consequently, surpasses any single individual institutions. It is the attempt to make the establishment of social units, capable of managing sustainable living on various hierarchical levels. Such a goal which will certainly not be attained without conflict.

Good bye Habitat

The great party of Istanbul is over. Let's forget that some people, who were loud because they thought they were more important than others, or stubborn and obstinate, caused trouble and that the composition of the fare well song nearly failed. Fortunately, responsible people, one of whom was the German Minister of Housing, came to its rescue. They sacrificed the last night and brought to the end a song agreeable to all. Given the circumstances, the content is not bad. Whether the people will like to sing it in the years to come, depends on the course of time beyond our control.

The only thing which stains our memory is that the host — not the friendly turkish people, but the political regime which these people endure and are unable to get rid of — chose to forgoe all hospitality by demonstrating brutal power against their own citizens. On the other hand, perhaps it was a necessary experience to prevent us from dreaming of an all too peaceful cloud-cuckoo-town.

2

It should be emphasized that the final document incorporates all concepts fundamental for an equitable, democratic and sustainable development. The germs are planted, they only need a fertile climate to grow.

3

In this respect, neither we professionals nor we NGOs have accomplished our homework. The task is simple and tricky at the same time. Simple seems to find life styles of sustainable living, which certainly would be regionally and locally differentiated. Tricky is to elaborate ways and means to propagate, to „vulgarize“ (as the French say) them.

4

Significantly, although there was a lot of activity going on at the level of local government, it got little press coverage, probably because the media are biased towards the national level.

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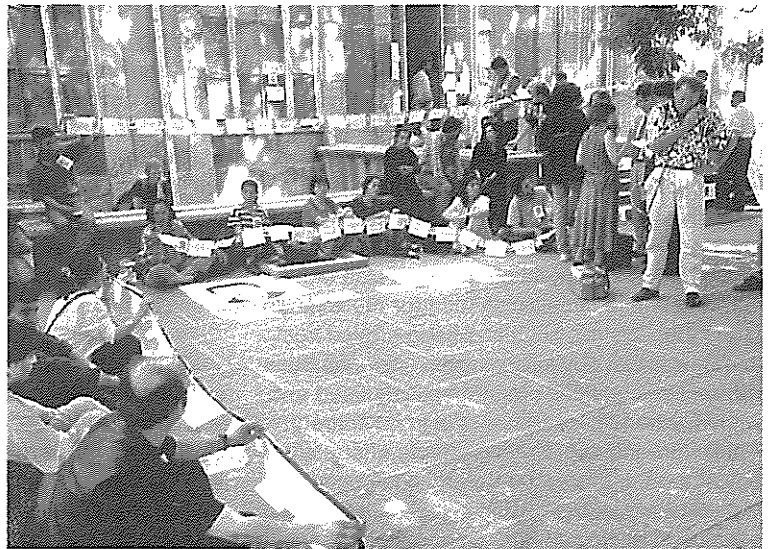
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Networking City Networks: Implementing the Urban Environment Agenda

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Urbanum Humanum Est

20 years after Habitat I and nearly five years after the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, humanity recognizes that cities are the primary habitat of mankind. There is much talk about the „global urban crisis“ of a polluted environment, increasing hazards, lack of basic services, and ineffective management and governance. But there has been far less talk of the vast range of problem-solving initiatives underway in the world's cities, and in national, regional and international programmes.

In all countries, cities play a vital role in social and economic development. Urbanisation promotes diversified and dynamic economies which increase productivity, create jobs and wealth, provide essential services, and absorb population growth. Efficient and productive cities and towns are the key engines of economic and social advancement, essential for national economic growth and welfare. Strong urban economies also generate the resources needed for public and private investments in infrastructure, education, health, poverty alleviation, and improved living conditions.

However, the development potential of cities is increasingly threatened by environmental deterioration. Environmental degradation not only damages human health and well-being, it also damages economic development. Water, air, and soil pollution impose extra costs on business and industry, and on households and public services. Inefficient use and depletion of natural resources raises costs throughout the economy and discourages new investment. Heightened risk from environmental hazards has the same effect. In addition, environmental degradation threatens social equity in the distribution of development benefits and costs — it is usually the poor, and especially women and children, who suffer most cruelly and directly from environmental degradation. Failing to deal with problems today, moreover,



Straßenhändler in Istanbul / Foto: Wamböner

Vernetzung von Städtenetzwerken:

Zu Anfang der Habitat-Konferenz trafen sich Vertreterinnen aus über 75 Städten und von über 20 internationalen Programmen, Netzwerken und Nicht-Regierungsorganisationen in Istanbul, um sich gegenseitig über ihre praktischen Erfahrungen in der Bewältigung von städtischen Umweltproblemen zu berichten. Ziel war es, eine neue Form der Zusammenarbeit zu schaffen, um gemeinsam die Kommunale Umwelt Agenda auszuführen (Urban Environment Agenda). Auf der Grundlage eines soliden, partizipativ angelegten Vorbereitungsprozesses wurden in den vergangenen zwei Jahren praktische Erfahrungen und Strategien aus einer Vielzahl von Städten in einem Handbuch für Kommunale Umweltplanung und -management zusammengefügt und verallgemeinert (Environmental Planning and Management Guidebook). Programme, die vielfältige Unterstützungsmöglichkeiten anbieten, und Städte, die es als ihre prioritäre Aufgabe ansehen, ihre Umweltprobleme nachhaltig anzugehen und bereits in unterschiedlichen internationalen Netzwerken zusammengefaßt waren, bzw. Förderprogrammen teilnahmen, gründeten das Kommunale Umweltforum (Urban Environment Forum) um Erfahrungen und Lösungsstrategien weltweit über ein Netzwerk der Netzwerke 'Supra-Netzwerk' auszutauschen, und ihren Willen Umweltplanung- und management in eigener Verantwortung durchzuführen, Nachdruck zu verleihen.

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For example, Durban (South Africa) successfully preserved its ecologically valuable lands by consolidating publicly held land and acquiring private land in order to link nine parks into an ecologically connected network (D'MOS programme). In Gothenburg (Sweden), the city energy company developed a district heating system that uses energy from sewage water with the help of heat pumps, reuses waste heat from oil refineries, and burns natural gas. By phasing out oil as a fuel, the city reduced carbon dioxide emissions and lowered sulphurous emissions by 94% since 1984.

leads to far greater problems (and costs) in the future.

There are encouraging signs, however, that environmental deterioration is not an inescapable result of urbanisation and economic change. Some cities seem to have been increasingly successful in striking the right balance - in finding development paths which are better attuned to their environmental situations. Unfortunately, other cities have been less successful in coming to grips with the need for sustainability, and are suffering severe environmental and economic damage as a result. However, evidence from cities around the world shows that learning how to better plan and more effectively manage the process of urban development can help to avoid or minimize problems. It can also provide a more equitable distribution

of development costs and benefits, while still realizing the vital economic potentials of city growth and change.¹ The Cities of the world are different, but they have in common strategies to tackle environmental problems.

The most innovative and effective approaches being worked out in the cities today are increasingly concentrated on the process of urban environmental planning and management (EPM). This focus has allowed the knowledge and insights - the „lessons“ - gained through many different city experiences to be brought together in a coherent framework. In this way, principles have been identified which describe the approaches and activities which cities have found to be most useful and effective. These principles provide the basis for the Urban Environment Agenda:

Principles of the Urban Environment Agenda

1. Better Environmental Information and Technical Expertise

Many cities have found it very useful to compile Basic Environmental Management Information. A City Environmental Profile should involve extensive dialogue among the full range of public and private and community groups and organisations, both formal and informal and at all levels from neighbourhood to city-region, to promote a wider mutual understanding among the actors and institutions as well as provide an agreed starting point and common information base. Setting priorities means that attention and action is focused on a limited array of problems and tasks in a strategic sequence. Environmental issues are almost always more complex than at first sight. It has often proved valuable to follow a careful and deliberate process for developing a city-wide understanding. A participatory process allows the clarification of priority issues and the elaboration of environmental issues.

2. Better Environmental Strategies and Decision-Making

Progress seems to be easier when cities focus on issue-specific approaches to the environment. In particular, clarifying issue-specific policy options through a participatory approach generally brings a better awareness of costs and benefits for the different stakeholders, and the trade-offs for the city as a whole. A basic requirement for the EPM approach is a coordination framework which concentrates on the inter-relationships and linkages between different strategies, focusing especially on the needs for inter-agency collaboration and joint action. The concern should be for connectedness rather than comprehensiveness.

3. More Effective Implementation of Environmental Strategies

In order to implement their strategies and plans, cities with a firm foundation of broad-based stakeholder involvement and support, however, find it easier to mobilise the diverse resources and capabilities needed including the elaboration of investment requirements into mutually reinforcing packages of related capital investment and technical assistance projects. A participatory approach which carries the open involvement and public commitment of a wide range of stakeholders, generally stands a better chance of generating and maintaining the necessary political support and mobilization of resources.

4. Enhanced Institutional and Participatory Capacities

By building long-term system-wide capacity, the EPM process becomes firmly incorporated into all of the organisations, institutions and activities of the city, enabling them to carry out their tasks of strategy-formulation, action-planning, and implementation efficiently and consistently. The city's stakeholders not only need to be identified and mobilised, but also empowered with the knowledge, understanding, and capability to effectively participate in an informed and constructive way (broad-based participatory approaches to decision-making). Implementation is more effective if carried out through existing local institutions, than by superimposing new institutional structures. A variety of city experiences have emphasised the importance of systematic monitoring and evaluation as an integral part of strengthening environmental planning and management.

5. More Effective Use of Scarce Resources for Capacity-Building and Change

„Special“ opportunities may be creatively used to push forward particular environmental planning and management initiatives, helping to „kick start“ an EPM process or to give it a new impetus, e.g. the radical changes in institutional and political structures in Central and Eastern Europe and South Africa. The impact of existing resources and capabilities for environmental planning and management, cities have found it helpful to develop and apply specific strategies for „leveraging“ city activities, e.g. a strategy of 'demonstration-replication' which uses limited resources on a small scale for demonstration in order to repeat it with other resources on a bigger scale. Sharing of experiences and know-how among cities (networking) can also expand the city's capabilities, e.g. through the swapping of expertise, through which a city gains expertise in one field while sharing expertise in a different field. External aid and technical know-how may play a valuable supplementing role. A key strategy is to focus limited external resources on strategic issues identified within a coherent over-all framework, so that they are complementary to each other and also complementary to (not substitutes for) local efforts.

A project, called EPM Guidebook, provided a focus for the systematic exchange and analysis of city experiences from around the world, through the preparation of some forty case studies, and through week-long international workshops in Africa (Dakar, June 1995) ² and Asia (February, 1996) ³ into which the experience of additional cities was also brought. Through this process, and through the analysis of related activities, lessons of operational experience from more than fifty cities have been synthesized, common EPM issues and concerns have been identified, and the basic principles of a common agenda have been developed. This agenda for urban environmental management, and for better coordination and use of external resources, also involved a large number of international support programmes which have been collaborating with cities on local environmental problems. In a move marking a new era of networking and exchange the cities, programmes and the United Nations called on the International Meeting „Implementing the Urban Environment Agenda“ to pave the way for the Urban Environment Forum.

City Networks towards the Urban Environment Agenda

The global meeting on 'Implementing the Urban Environment Agenda' took place on 1st of June 1996. Organized jointly by the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements and the United Nations Environment Programme, the meeting was attended by over 250 representatives of more than 75 cities and 20 international support programmes concerned with the urban environment. These cities and international programmes gathered in an unprecedented exercise towards defining a common development and international support agenda for the future. This unique meeting brought together a very wide spectrum of programmes and practitioners, and was remarkable for the spirit of common purpose and cooperation which characterized it. ⁴

An extraordinary range of cities around the world, from Africa, Asia, The Middle East, North America, South America, Western Europe, Central and Eastern Europe, and Australia reported on implementing their Urban Environment Agenda, summarizing and illustrating the main conclusions of the Environmental Planning and Management (EPM) Guidebook on the five principles. Coming from such different backgrounds — economic, physical, demographic, social, and political — these cities face vastly different problems of urban environmental planning and management. Nonetheless, the cities are united, not only by their shared commitment to deal with these problems, but also by the common approaches which they are evolving. Using a common format, prac-

tioners presented evidence of cities throughout the world with technical know-how, resources, and well-considered strategies for urban environmental planning and management, based on many years of practical experience in implementing their urban environment agenda. The findings and recommendations were discussed and articulated by the participants for inclusion in the Istanbul Manifesto.

International programmes and their support modalities The meeting brought also together representatives from a wide range of international support programmes: from United Nations agencies, other multilateral development organisations, bilateral development agencies, international NGOs, and associations of local governments. Although the programmes vary widely, coming from different institutional and political backgrounds, and having different mandates, scope of work, and orientation, all are committed to dealing with the concerns of urban environment. They are linked to each other by the complementarities and mutually supportive roles they are evolving in their work with cities around the world. Twenty international programmes reported on the type of support modalities they are providing, with specific reference to the five elements of the cities' urban environmental agenda.

1. Supporting environmental planning and management demonstrations

Programmes support EPM demonstrations at both the city-wide strategic level, and at the neighbourhood level. Key features of the strategic level are, first, to incorporate EPM into the existing city management systems; second, to actively involve the private sector and public interest groups in the formulation of environmental plans; and third, to establish an ongoing information monitoring system open to the public and useful to project and management objectives. At the neighbourhood level, initiatives should emerge from expressed community needs and leadership of representative community organisations. This two-pronged approach will strengthen municipal capacity to plan and manage, will make effective linkages between community action and local government operations and services, and will demonstrate immediate benefits of the EPM approach to city residents. Four important principles should guide both levels of activity. First, initiatives should be locally defined and cities and local communities should be firmly in control of the direction and content of assistance offered by external agencies.

Secondly, external inputs should be in scale with local capabilities and the activities be used to build local capacities. Thirdly, any demonstration projects should emphasize in-

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The regional workshop on Environmental Strategies for African Cities in Dakar was a major step forward in high level professional and political understanding of EPM. More than a hundred ministers, representatives, and experts from 21 African countries distilled the results of that workshop into the Dakar Declaration. It was recognised that new insights and understandings were emerging, and that ideas, developed from the bottom up, were being worked out in practice.

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The International Conference on Environmental Strategies for Asian Cities in Madras built upon the results of the workshop in Dakar. Over eighty policy makers, city managers, non-governmental organisations and other urban practitioners from 17 countries introduced a new agenda for partnership and cooperation among the cities of Asia and of the whole world. Again, brief presentation of case studies provided a common starting point for the working groups. During the working group sessions, the Conference participants examined the case studies (and their own experiences) and analyzed them in relation to the four basic elements of the EPM process. This was done both horizontally (looking at one element across all case studies) and vertically (looking at group of case studies in relation to all four elements). With that analysis in hand, the working groups then reassessed the case studies, extracting common factors and general lessons, synthesizing suits, and moving toward meaningful conclusions — conclusions which were based on the evidence and argument of the Conference and not on theory or preconception. On this basis, the working groups developed a series of technical recommendations.

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The synthesized and generalized results of both Workshop and Conference are being documented in the EPM Guidebook, Volume I. Volume II will contain summaries of the city case studies. Both volumes will be published by UNCHS in cooperation with the Sustainable Cities Programme (SCP) and the Urban Management Programme/ Environment (UMP/E) later in 1996. The project is supported by the ODA of the United Kingdom and by DGIS and VROM of the Netherlands.

stitutional and financial sustainability. Finally, any initiatives, while creative and innovative, should be easily understood and offer clear benefits.

The joint UNCHS-UNEP facility Sustainable Cities Programme (SCP) was launched in 1990 in follow-up to the UNCHS/UNEP „Environmental Guidelines for Settlements Planning and Management“ of the early 80s. The SCP works with municipalities and other stakeholders in the public, private and community sectors at the local, provincial and national levels. This includes non-governmental and community based organisations, and research institutions. More efficient and equitable use of natural resources and control of environmental hazards is promoted through better urban governance in the broadest sense. The SCP as a facilitator and catalyst provides municipal authorities and their partners with an improved environmental planning and management capacity. The programme operates at four levels, at city level, at country level, at regional level, and at the global level. The SCP supports issue-specific stakeholder working groups and a full-time project team in each partner city.

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) developed in late 1994 a new Sustainable Cities Initiative. Major USAID themes in this initiative are a consultative process among stakeholders, decentralisation of authority, and a consolidation of existing USAID urban programmes. USAID has worked extensively with a wide variety of central and municipal governments and other interest groups to underline the need for more participatory approach in the development of new types of public-private partnerships for long-term solutions to urban environmental problems. One of the goals is to develop better indicators of measurable progress so as to improve the programme's ability to monitor and evaluate the success of these approaches.

The Urban Environmental Training Materials Programme (UEMP) assists the implementation of GTZ funded urban projects around the world. The thematic focus is on capacity building, and training through guidelines on participatory urban environmental management. The programme is supporting city demonstrations in Asia through research and development activities, encouraging city governments to integrate participatory environmental planning and management mechanisms into their urban development decision making process.

The International Centre for Sustainable Cities (ICSC), a non-governmental, non-profit organisation, was launched in 1993 as a part of Canada's follow-up to the Rio Conference.

ICSC's mission is to promote sustainable urban development around the world through demonstration projects using Canadian experience and technologies. The main focus is on implementation of tangible pilot projects on the ground.

The Local Initiative Facility for Urban Environment (LIFE) was launched by UNDP at the Rio Conference to demonstrate local solutions for urban environmental problems. LIFE works at the community, country, regional, and interregional levels to promote local-local dialogue and action by community based and non-governmental organisations, and local authorities to improve the living conditions in low-income urban communities. The programme cooperates with regional networks in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Arab States. The LIFE methodology catalyses national dialogue, sets strategies and mobilizes support.

The World Bank and UNDP established the Metropolitan Environmental Improvement Programme (MEIP) in 1989 to help selected Asian metropolitan regions design and implement practical solutions to rapidly growing environmental problems. The programme promotes the participation of concerned sectors of society in order to improve governance. The support includes six city demonstrations with the preparation of community demonstration projects, action plans, and feasibility studies, supported by capacity building training programmes. The programme also supports city networking to examine relevant international practice.

2. Supporting city networking for the sharing of know-how

Other programmes use major opportunities offered by city networks for promoting urban sustainability and for implementing the urban environment agenda. City networks are effective because cities face common challenges and expectations, especially in the area of environment. They support technical exchanges and transfers of expertise from peer to peer (cities to cities) as they are politically more acceptable, institutionally more viable and economically more efficient. Networking also empowers cities by enhancing institutional and political capacities. Through networking, influence decision-making processes at national and international levels and increase access to various resources which will nurture the autonomy of local governments. Networks at all levels are demand-driven. Irrespective of available funding, networks are sustainable as long as neighbourhoods, cities, programmes, etc, wish to network. As cities recognize the opportunities and benefits of networking at all levels, national

governments should endow cities with the authority to implement local initiatives for networking with other cities. City networking needs facilitation, resources and training.

Launched in 1986, the Urban Management Programme (UMP) is a 10-year technical support programme evolving from a partnership between Habitat, the World Bank and UNDP. The Urban Environment Component (UMP/E) was created in 1990 to help urban development practitioners enhance their ability to manage the environmental problems faced in cities. UMP/E has initiated a number of research activities, case studies, and background papers to clarify a wide range of issues related to urban environmental degradation. It focuses primarily on city, country and regional consultations. The Sustainable Cities Programme (SCP) is serving as the operational partner of the UMP/E, and as a vehicle for delivering research results on the ground. A typical UMP/E activity is the Environmental Planning and Management Guidebook.

The Urban Management Programme regional office for Latin America and the Caribbean (UMP-LAC) began its activities in Quito, Ecuador in 1992. UMP-LAC is part of a long-term global technical cooperation programme designed to strengthen the contribution to the improvement of environmental quality. It supported the creation of a regional electronic mail and information network, RAU (Red de Informacion Ambiental Urbana), which provides local governments and urban practitioners with information and references for improved urban environmental management.

Citynet was established in 1987 to promote exchanges of expertise and experiences amongst various urban actors. The overall aim is to create people friendly cities which are environmentally friendly, socially just, economically productive, participatory managed and culturally vibrant. It includes cooperation and effective linkages between local authorities and non-governmental organisations, city networking, exchanges of knowledge, technology and experiences with the provision of specialized expertise.

The Union of Baltic Cities is an active network of 62 local municipalities to improve the ecological state of the Baltic Sea. It started in 1996 the Baltic Municipal Environmental Audit (MEA-Project). The main target of the project is the development of a comprehensive environmental audit model for Baltic cities which will assist them in prioritizing future environmental actions. The project will utilize the network of the city level municipal specialist and twinning arrangements in implementing environmental audits in Baltic cities.

3. Providing specialized expertise

Some programmes concentrate on enhancing and developing local capacities by providing access to existing specialized expertise within cities, and within international programmes, and by organizing and pooling the resulting knowledge. Such pools of specialized knowledge should be owned by their users, so that they are operationally relevant and can be used efficiently. To this end, build partnerships and consultation processes within the international community and between international programmes and cities for the appropriate use of specialized expertise; identify or develop packages of specialized expertise applicable to common settings and issues; use the best available means to provide local access to expertise, e.g. the Internet; and network at global, regional, national and local levels to share expanding collective know-how as widely as possible.

Awareness and Preparedness for Emergencies at the Local Level (APELL) was launched in late 1988 to work in close cooperation with governments and industry. The programme's goal is to prevent technological accidents and to reduce their impacts by assisting decision makers and technical personnel to increase community awareness of hazardous installations, and to prepare response plans in case of unexpected events at these installations should endanger life, property or the environment.

UNDP and the independent non-profit Swiss association „Sustainable Project Management“ joined forces in 1994 to initiate a global programme to promote public-private partnerships in municipal service delivery. „Private Public Partnerships for the Urban Environment Programme“ (PPPP) became operational in 1995. Focus is on „Mixed capital“ private-public investments in profitable eco-efficient projects that meet the priority needs of city communities. The programme promotes the involvement of international and national/local companies turning urban environmental problems into viable business opportunities and providing sustainable, economically sound, and socially conscious investments.

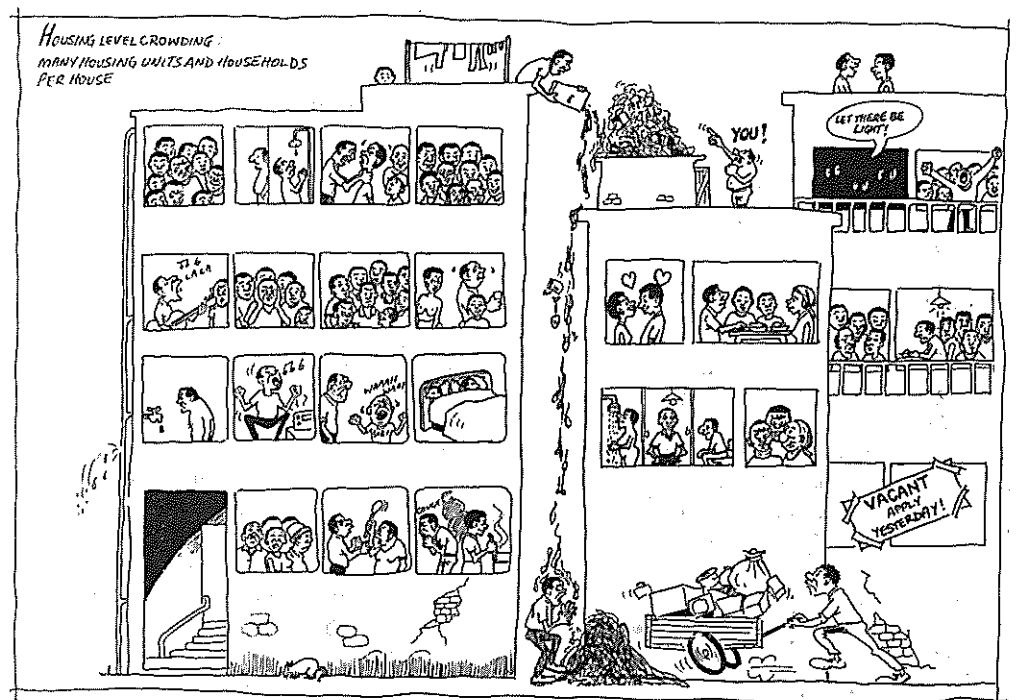
The Healthy Cities Programme was launched in 1985/86 by the WHO European Office to devise ways to apply the principles and strategies of the 1978 „Health for All“ movement through local action activities. The programme develops urban policies and management practices which promote health as a goal for sustainable development at the level of cities and local government. A „Municipal Health Plan“ highlights potential solutions on a community-wide basis, generating awareness and promoting collaboration between municipal authorities, NGOs, and communities.

The International Environmental Technology Centre (IETC) opened in April 1994 to strengthen UNEP's work in managing large cities and their freshwater resources. The Centre responds to the tremendous need of cities in developing and transition economy countries for green technologies. IETC's contribution is in the development of ecological risk assessment criteria, which provide the scientific basis for priorities identified in Local Agenda 21 initiatives. The Centre's main objective is to build partnerships to assist Governments to address environmental problems which threaten the quality of life and freshwater resources for urban development.

4. Supporting cities through applied research and development

(UNEP) and the World Health Organisation (WHO) in order to strengthen air quality monitoring, assessment and management in participating cities. The programme operates a global data base and acts as an information clearing house.

Consideration of peri-urban interface production systems was introduced into the ODA Renewable Natural Resources Research Strategy from April 1995, managed by Natural Resource International (NRI). The programme responds to demands for new policy initiatives to optimize the utilization of peri-urban resources. Research into agricultural and natural resource productivity and overall waste utilization in city demonstrations in Africa, South Asia and Latin America will generate these guidelines. These



There is a need for good quality information and methodologies to support environmental planning and management. A substantial, though under-utilized, body of relevant research exists. Therefore, design and funding of need-based research programmes which are based on partnerships between ongoing global and local efforts are required; policy makers and local communities should be involved in research and should receive access to research results; the scientific community should commit itself to address operational priority needs; and decision-makers should commission scientific research relevant to implementing the urban environment agenda.

The Global Environment Monitoring System Air (GEMS/Air) was initiated in 1975 by the United Nation Environment Programme

will incorporate results of urban growth on land use patterns and natural resource degradation into strategies for peri-urban environmental planning and management, and will increase the efficiency of peri-urban agriculture.

The Local Agenda 21 Initiative was established by ICLEI (International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives) in 1991. The Rio Conference adopted it as a key mechanism for local authority implementation of the Agenda 21. The programme seeks to mobilise local government leaders and staff, citizens and community organisations, business and universities, trade and consumer unions, and women's organisations to help implement the Local Agenda 21 by working together to create a strategic plan for the sustainable development of their own community. Such a plan evolves

through education campaigns and local eco-system audits. Information and research is disseminated through a programme newsletter, case studies, planning guides and the World Wide Web.

Capacity Building for the Urban Environment of the Institute of Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS), a comparative research, training and experience exchange programme was launched in 1994 with the support of the Dutch Government. It provides an inventory and review of the experiences of relevant bilateral and multilateral organisations and Best Practices in urban environmental management. The programme gives support to cities in the form of applied research and development activities in the area of urban environmental management.

The Sustainable Cities Project of the European Union was launched in 1993 by an Expert Group of national representatives and independent experts established from the European Commissions „Green Paper on the Urban Environment“ (1990). The programme aims to incorporate environmental objectives in European urban development strategies, and integrate urban environmental issues with the community environment policy. Principal programme support includes research and development, information exchange and awareness raising and networking (e. 1994 Aalborg Sustainable Cities Conference).

It is clear that international support programmes have been developing - through years of experience - a variety of increasingly effective strategies for cooperating with and supporting cities in implementing their urban environmental agenda. Equally, they have been developing new and better ways to organise cooperation among themselves, each using its own particular strengths and capabilities in collaboration with other programmes, in order to provide the best possible over-all support to the cities. In doing this, the international programmes have become more inter-active partners responding to rather than just preaching to,

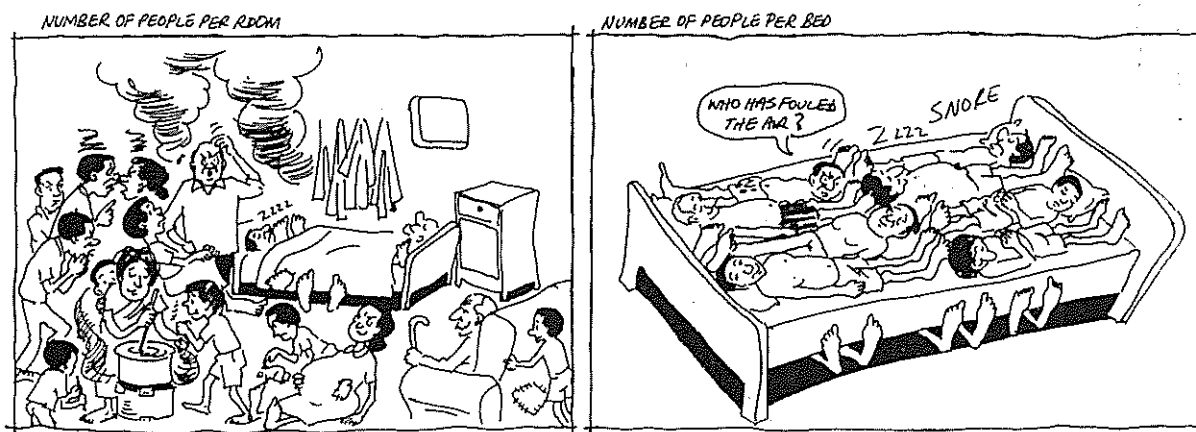
the cities with whom they work. This not only provides better support for the cities, but also produces a stronger learning process, with the „bottom-up“ lessons of experience providing the basis for continuously modifying and improving the support strategies. The international support programmes bear their special expertise and capabilities, but within a coherent framework which relates different support activities to the common agenda of the cities. In this way, the valuable complementarities of the different international programmes can be reinforced, while building upon existing institutional strengths.

The Future Network of Networks: The Urban Environment Forum

The meeting Implementing the Urban Environment Agenda has made it clear that the area of inter-city and inter-programme cooperation offers tremendous under-utilized potential, and that global interest and support for this initiative is immense. The high level of programme complementarities underlined by the meeting, their breadth of geographic scope, and the range of experience garnered over many years of active programme implementation is a powerful resource for the cities of the world. On the part of the cities, their experiences in the field of environmental planning and management are invaluable, providing an enormous wealth of on-the-ground operational expertise which can be applied in partnerships with other cities and programmes around the world. Through the Istanbul Manifesto which resulted from this meeting, cities and programmes supported the inception of an Urban Environment Forum, to facilitate the sharing of expertise and know-how among cities and programmes at the global level. The Manifesto will also be used by the participants in the follow-up and implementation of the Global and National Plans of Action, and is an important step in a process of city-driven global support activities which will define local efforts and international cooperation in the urban environment as we move towards the cities of the next century.

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Creating and Protecting Employment for Sustainable Human Settlements: an ILO perspective on the Habitat Agenda

STEVEN MILLER

Zusammenfassung

Schaffung und Sicherung von Arbeit in zukunftsfähigen Siedlungen

Der Autor legt die Position des Internationalen Arbeitsamtes, besser bekannt unter dem englischen Acronym ILO (International Labour Office) zu den Dokumenten der Habitat II-Konferenz und zu dem Prozess ihrer Ausarbeitung dar, der von ILO veranstaltete "Dialog" brachte weitgehenden Konsens zu den Punkten Schaffung produktiver Arbeitsplätze — auch im informellen Sektor und für Frauen, Sicherung der Rechte der Arbeiter und Achtung von Zwangs- und Kinderarbeit, Schutz vor Umweltgefahren bei der Arbeit, Investitionen in arbeitsintensive Technologien — speziell für Siedlungsinfrastruktur, Förderung des örtlichen privaten Sektors vom Kleingewerbe über den informellen Sektor bis hin zu kollektiver Selbsthilfe. Diese Forderungen würden bereits im Vorfeld von Habitat II in der — hier angefügten — "Charta für Arbeit in der Stadt" festgehalten.

Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements - Habitat II (Istanbul, 3-15 June 1996)

I. Introduction

The ILO participated actively in preparation for Habitat II as well as in the Conference itself. The ILO organized one of the series of ten Dialogues for the 21st Century which took place from 3 to 7 June as an integral part of the Conference and which brought together a diversity of actors to debate and identify future strategies and action for an urbanizing planet. The Dialogue "The Future of Urban Employment", organized by the ILO on 5 June, saw the active participation of over 500 delegates, representing governments, trade unions, employers' organizations, academic institutions, UN agencies, non-governmental organizations and other civil society actors. The debate during the Dialogue focused on two themes: „Globalization and the Future of the Formal and Informal Urban Economy" and „Poverty and Unemployment: From Safety Nets to Social Assets." Despite divergent viewpoints on the impact of globalization on the formal and informal urban economy, and future strategies for combatting urban unemployment and poverty, common ground was reached on the creation and protection of employment as the most direct and effective means available for alleviating the urban crisis. The participants to the Dialogue endorsed the Urban Employment Charter¹ and affirmed the crucial role that the ILO had to play in the implementation of the Habitat Agenda. Based upon this endorsement, the ILO was called upon to report the main results of the Dialogue and its message to Committee II of the Conference.

¹ Urban Employment Charter, International Symposium on the Future of Urban Employment, Turin, 1995. Adopted by the International Symposium on the Future of Urban Employment, International Training Centre of the ILO, Turin, Italy, 5-7 December 1995. Available at the ILO, 4, route des Morillons, CH 1211 Genève 22.

ILO presented the outline and key elements of an urban employment programme, based on the Urban Employment Charter which had been adopted at the ILO's preparatory activity for Habitat II.¹ The ILO stressed the importance of devising new and innovative macro-economic policies with employment creation as an explicit goal, the need to redistribute the gains from growth, the resources that are available at the local level and the potential of local alliances, the opportunities offered by local-level employment-intensive investments, including community-based informal settlement upgrading schemes, the need to re-examine existing anti-poverty strategies and the role of international development assistance.

2. Outcome of the Conference and its Relevance to the International Labour Organization

As a result of the active participation of the ILO and of its constituents in the preparatory process for Habitat II, including its three preparatory committees and one intercessional drafting group, ILO concerns are well reflected in the final document. The document in particular makes recommendations and proposes action with regard to the following specific areas on ILO interest: international labour standards, creation and protection of employment, poverty alleviation, economic development, role of private sector, tripartite participation, gender equality, small and micro-enterprise development, labour-intensive approaches for delivery of infrastructure, impact of the construction industry on employment, urban informal sector, vocational training and rehabilitation, indigenous and tribal peoples, cooperatives, occupational safety and health, environment and the world of work and migration and employment.

Section C. of the Global Plan of Action addresses the second objective of Habitat II, Sustainable Human Settlements in an Urbani-

zing World. From the ILO's point of view, two sections are of particular importance to our constituents, that on „Social development: eradication of poverty, creation of productive employment and social integration,“ and that on „Improving urban economies.“ This section also stresses the importance of participation by business and labour organizations, and calls for the promotion of „safe and healthy workplace conditions for men and women.“

The section on Social development: eradication of poverty, creation of productive employment and social integration, states that „the eradication of poverty requires, *inter alia*, sound macroeconomic policies aimed at creating employment opportunities, equal and universal access to economic opportunities (and special efforts to facilitate such access for the disadvantaged); education and training that will promote sustainable livelihoods through freely chosen productive employment and work, and basic social services, including health facilities. However, there are no universal solutions that can be fairly applied. People living in poverty must be empowered through freely chosen participation in all aspects of political, economic and social life. Other key elements of a poverty eradication strategy include policies geared to reducing inequalities, increasing opportunities, improving and providing, as appropriate, access to resources, employment and income; promoting rural development and measures to improve economic, social and environmental conditions in rural areas; providing social protection for those who cannot support themselves; recognizing the needs and skills of women; developing human resources; improving infrastructure, including communication facilities, and making it more accessible; and promoting domestic policies for meeting the basic needs of all.“

Following sections of the Habitat Agenda are of direct relevance to the ILO and make explicit reference to basic ILO human rights conventions.

Urban and rural poverty and unemployment represent severe constraints for human settlements development. In order to combat poverty, including local authorities, in partnership with all relevant interested parties, including workers' and employers' organizations, should:

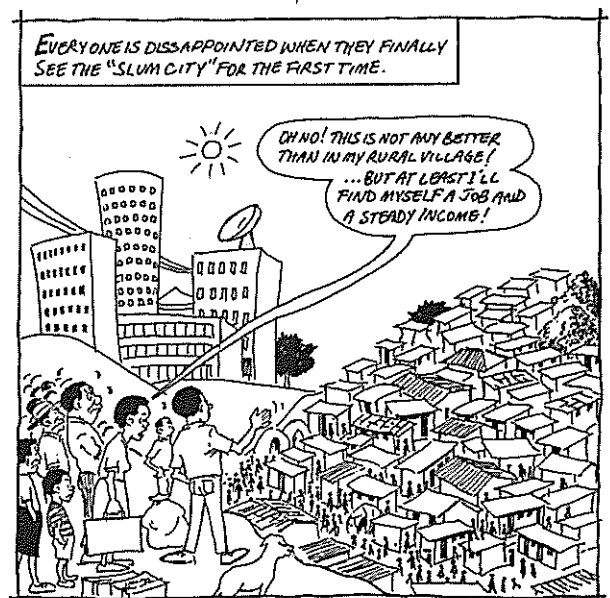
- (a) Stimulate productive employment opportunities that generate income sufficient to achieve an adequate standard of living for all people.
- (b) Pursue the goal of ensuring quality jobs, and safeguard the basic rights and interests of workers and to this end, freely promote respect for relevant International Labour Organization conventions, including those on the prohibition of forced and child labour.

- (c) Improve policies that reduce environmental health hazards and provide the informal sector and all workers with information on how to reduce health risks;
- (d) Promote, where appropriate, cost-effective and labour-intensive investments and methods to provide, rehabilitate and maintain settlement infrastructure and services;
- (e) Promote contracting and procurement that, as appropriate, facilitate the involvement of the local private sector, including small businesses and contractors, and, when appropriate, the informal sector and the community sector.

The Habitat Agenda also proposes host of actions to „assist informal sector enterprises to become more productive and progressively integrated into the formal economy,“ including the „extension to the informal sector of the protection of human rights in the field of labour, and promote respect for the relevant conventions of the International Labour Organization, including those on the prohibition of forced and child labour, freedom of association, the right to organize and bargain collectively, and the principle of non-discrimination.“ The section develops recommendations regarding access to education and training, credit and finance for small and medium-sized enterprises, opportunities for cooperatives and micro-enterprises and fair treatment for women's economic activities, including those in the informal sector.

III. Follow-up on Habitat II

The Habitat Agenda also addresses policies and programmes for local and regional employment, and the centrality of job creation to both of the goals of Habitat II, namely, adequate shelter for all and sustainable human settlements in an urbanizing world. This satisfactory outcome is due in no small measure to the fact that ILO constituents, from all three groups, played a very active role throughout the preparatory process and at the Conference itself. Habitat II brings the goals and commitments of the World Summit for Social Development to the local level, integrating therefore the issues of poverty eradication, employment creation and the fight against social exclusion as they are played out in our interrelated homes and places of work.



2
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Urban Health: Risk Factors in crowded Households

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Zusammenfassung

Gesundheit in der Stadt: Risikofaktoren der Überbelegung

Die Autoren referieren die Ergebnisse einer vergleichenden Studie über hohe Wohnungsbelegungen in Jakarta und Bissau. Diese haben Einfluß auf Sterblichkeitsrate etwa über Untergewicht bei Neugeborenen oder milieubedingte Krankheiten. Faktoren, die ihrerseits durch Variable wie Bettenbelegungsdichte, Kinder pro Haushalt, Haltung von Schweinen u.a. beeinflußt wird. In Jakarta wurden bei der Sterblichkeitsrate die Gründe Diarrhöe bzw. Atemwegserkrankungen unterschieden. Hier waren die Hauptrisikofaktoren unter anderem Belegungsdichte und Kinderzahl pro Raum, soziale Status, schlechte Küchenhygiene, fehlende Moskitonetze usw.

Diese Vielfalt der Faktoren zeigt, daß nicht einzelne Variablen wie Belegungsdichte oder Gebäudezustand sondern eine jeweils spezifische Mischung den Grad der Gesundheitsgefährdung bestimmt. Dementsprechend müssen die Gegenstrategien differenziert und spezifisch kulturbezogen sein.



This article is based on material which has been developed further from UNCHS (Habitat)'s project on crowding and health. The views expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the UNCHS (Habitat).

Introduction

The extent to which housing and human settlement conditions affect the health of developing countries residents is, today, still not well established. Only recently has a body of research commenced to address these issues in developing countries. Consequently few planners, architects and engineers are aware of the health consequences of their technical activities. They often intuitively believe that their interventions also improve the health of inhabitants of low-income settlements. In a bid

to address this issue UNCHS (Habitat) launched an applied research project on crowding and health. It was the objective of the project to provide reliable information on the health effects of crowding and based on the health related findings provide urban planners with suggestions for human settlement interventions addressing crowding. The project was executed in low-income settlements of Accra (Ghana), Bissau (Guinea Bissau) and Jakarta (Indonesia) over a four year period by an interdisciplinary team of experts covering engineering, urban planning, medical sciences, epidemiology, anthropology, sociology and statistics.

This paper provides architects, engineers and urban planners with a summary of some of the findings on the health effects of crowding. More detailed information on the health effects of crowding are documented in Clau-

son-Kaas et al 1996 and UNCHS (a), 1995. This article does not provide suggestions on human settlement interventions which are based on the research findings of the study on the interrelationship between crowding and health. These can be found in UNCHS (b), 1995.

This article only focuses on the results of field-studies conducted in Bissau (Guinea Bissau) and Jakarta (Indonesia) and closes with conclusions on the crowding and health complex, which provides the framework for human settlement improvements.

The study area in Bissau was selected because studies of measles and diarrhoeal diseases have been carried out under a DANIDA-financed public health project for the last 15 years. Therefore, there is a relatively good control of the migration pattern of the area, which is important to establish valid crowding parameters.

The data collection period ran from May 1993 until June 1994. The general area characteristics and average crowding indicators are given in table 1. In Bissau a household (HH) is identical to the group of residents in a housing unit (HU).

Table 1

	CHARACTERISTICS	CROWDING INDICATORS
Total area of Bandim and Belem	185.3 ha	—
Number of persons	40,284	217 persons/ha
Number of households (HH)	7,743	42 GHH/ha
Number of houses	2,097	3,7 HH/house
Total built-up area	70,000 m ²	14,5 %
Total room area	70,000 m ²	35 m ²

Area characteristics, Bandim and Belem

A common research methodology was developed for the two sites with a similarly structured epidemiological set of questionnaires. However, the actual detailed field methodologies were adapted to the two very different sites. Both study areas are located in capitals. Bissau has less than 0.5 million inhabitants, and greater Jakarta has close to 10 million inhabitants.

The study areas Bandim and Belem (approximately 40,000 people) in Bissau were selected because community based studies on the transmission of measles and diarrhoea had been carried out in the area over the last 15 years. Also repeated censuses affirmed the migration pattern for the area.

The study area Kali Anyar (approximately 25,000 people) in Jakarta was selected based on the principles for selecting areas for the Kampung Improvement Programme (KIP) and with the assistance, among others, from the provincial Ministry of Housing.

Field Studies of Crowding, Bissau

Bandim and Belem

Bandim and Belem are typical residential areas, surrounding the old colonial centre of Bissau. The building structures are similar to rural houses and the immediate impression is one of a densifying village. The area is dominated by one-storey buildings where the roof forms an open terrace encircling the house. There are no distinct commercial activities in this area.

1/ Bed crowding in Bissau

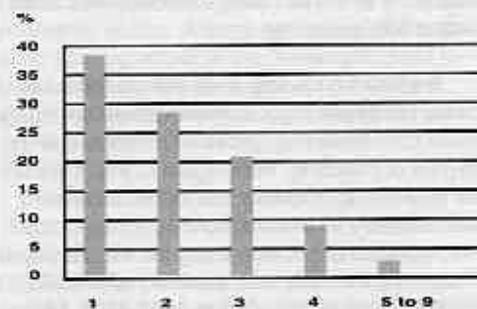


Figure 1: Distribution of persons per bed, Bissau

Crowding as a Risk Factor

Crowding was investigated as a risk factor for low birth weight, diarrhoeal morbidity and childhood mortality. Low birth weight is commonly used as an indication of women's health during pregnancy. The impact of crowding on birth weight appears to be limited. Only the number of children per bed is a risk factor to some degree.

It has previously been shown that morbidity from measles is directly related to in-house crowding, measured as number of children in a building. In this context it must be noted that the majority of houses in Bandim and Belem have no ceiling and transmission over inner walls has been suggested.

The influence of the various crowding factors on diarrhoea morbidity was confused most

probably as a consequence of cultural differences in diarrhoea perception. In this study, having an inside kitchen, bathroom, not using an open well and higher maternal education were associated with higher incidences of diarrhoea. Thus, it is most likely that persons with a more 'westernised' culture living under less crowded conditions are more conscious and concerned about 'loose' stools, and thus liable to report more child diarrhoea.

The risk factor for child mortality concentrated on children between the age of 1 - 35 months. **Persons or children under 5 per bed** were a significant factor as well as **number of persons or children under 5 per household**. It appears that more than 10 persons per household and more than 2 children under 5 years of age per household were risk factors. For persons per bed, the risk increased with more than 3 persons per bed and with more than 2 children under 5 years of age per bed.

There has been a tradition to measure crowding in terms of the number of persons per room. The study in Bissau suggests that it might be better to measure crowding as 'bed crowding' and 'crowding of small children' as these results appear to give a more sensitive indication of the increased mortality risk associated with crowding.

Reduced crowding is an indirect effect of better family planning. However, there are many more countervailing forces which increase the degree of crowding. With regard to this, it should be noted that crowding has in fact increased considerably in Bandim from 10.9 persons to 16.9 persons per house during the last 15 years. Childhood mortality has declined from 450/1000 in 1979 to 230/1000 in 1987-1990. Mortality is lower in Belem than Bandim even though Belem has a significantly larger number of persons per house. Hence, direct intervention against crowding through improving the size or construction of the house may not be very effective or desirable. A possible and more feasible intervention would be to change sleeping patterns by reducing the number of persons per bed. However, before such interventions are undertaken it would be necessary to study further the association between bed crowding and mortality and the cultural determinants for why many people sleep in the same bed.

Other Risk Factors

A number of other factors were also important for child mortality and are briefly discussed.

Districts. There were major differences between the districts. Bandim 1 had 1.61 times the mortality of Belem and Bandim 2 had 1.37 times the mortality of Belem. These differences remained largely unexplained.

Sex. Girls had 20% lower mortality rates than boys. Though they have also tended to have lower mortality in previous analyses, the difference is apparently increasing for reasons which are not fully understood. Previous studies from West Africa have suggested that increasing immunisation coverage is associated with lower mortality, particularly for girls.

Maternal schooling. As found in many previous studies from Bissau, maternal schooling is an important predictor of mortality. Since the difference in mortality was reduced when adjustment was made for immunisations, the present analysis suggests that part of the reason for the association between schooling of mother and better survival is a better immunisation coverage among the children of mothers with schooling. It is quite possible that the maternal schooling variable also covers some socio-economic confounding not adequately reflected by the bathroom-inside variable. However, it is also probable that schooling facilitates the acceptance of relevant health messages as well as strengthens the social autonomy of the mother and thereby increases her capacity to take immediate action when needed for the health of her child.

Socio-economic status and hygienic standards. Lower mortality was strongly associated with having a bathroom inside the house. Most houses having bathroom inside also had radios, fans, medicine at home, electricity, kitchen inside, and tap water. It would be the same houses where most owners of cars and televisions would be found. Hence, it is likely that bathroom inside is more an indicator of socio-economic status than a marker of a relevant difference in hygienic standard in the houses. It would seem important in future studies to try to unravel the relative contribution of a) differences in hygienic practices, b) differences in health knowledge and c) access to health care, among families with and without bathroom inside the house.

Ownership of pigs. Ownership of pigs was a strong predictor of childhood mortality. It should be noted that this tendency increased for the age group 9 to 35 months, when the children start to be mobile and to be exposed much more to environmental contamination, than during the first months of life, when they spend most of their time on the back of their mothers. Ownership of pigs is not a negative marker of socio-economic status, rather the contrary. It is, therefore, also likely that pigs are in fact a real health risk which needs to be addressed directly. We have previously shown that ownership of pigs is associated with a higher incidence of cryptosporidium infection. But further studies of the possible pathways which connect pig-ownership with childhood mortality are clearly warranted.

Immunisations. In 1978-79, when there was no functioning immunisation programme in Bissau, infant mortality was 197/1000, under three mortality was 383/1000, and under five mortality was 454/1000. Previous studies from Bissau have indicated that the case-fatality ratio from measles is influenced by overcrowding and that immunisation programmes have played a major role in the decline of infant mortality which has occurred in the last 15 years.

Ethnic groups. Previous studies from Bandim and rural areas of Guinea-Bissau have found that the Pepel tended to have higher post-neonatal mortality than the other ethnic groups. It was surprising to find that ethnic group remained a strong determinant of childhood mortality even when significant background factors had been controlled for. These differences are not a simple reflection of the Pepel ethnic group being weaker. In other studies, we have found that in the rural areas the Pepel have lower peri/neonatal mortality than the other ethnic groups, and among adult women, the Pepel also have lower mortality than the Muslim groups. Hence, it seems clear that there is a need to pursue studies to understand the behavioural differences which are involved in explaining the ethnic differences in childhood mortality.

Table 2: Summarises the influence of crowding and other risk factors on childhood mortality.

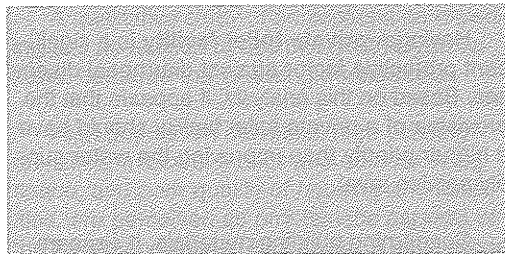


Table 2/

VARIABLE	INFLUENCE ON MORTALITY
Many persons/bed	Risk
Many < 5 years children/family	Risk
Ethnicity (Pepel)	Risk
Female	Protective
No schooling of mother	Risk
Measles and BCG vaccination	Protective
Pigs in the family	Risk
Indoor bathroom	Protective
Location of urban area (Bandim)	Risk
Season (May-July, beginning of rainy season)	Risk

Table 2: Influence of crowding and other risk factors on childhood (age 1-36 months) mortality, Bissau 1993-1994

Field Studies of Crowding, Jakarta

Kali Anyar

Table 3 /

Characteristics crowding indicators		
Total area of Kali Anyar	31.8 ha	—
Number of persons	25,000	785 persons/ha
Number of housing units (HU)	3,924	123 HU/ha
Total built-up area	117,600 m ²	37 %
Total room area	154,082 m ²	4,845 m ²
		39 m ² /HU
		6 m ² /person

Area characteristics for Kali Anyar.

Kali Anyar is a typical kampung (urban village) in Jakarta with respect to the physical standard of housing and the service level of water, sanitation and waste collection. The population density is comparatively high which is probably due to the central location in the city.

The area is occupied by a relatively stable low income community with an active informal economic sector. A large proportion of the second floor apartments are housing migrant labourers. Under the Kampung Improvement Programme, especially access roads in Kali Anyar, have been upgraded.

The data collection period ran from May 1993 until June 1994. The following table shows the characteristics and average crowding indicators for Kali Anyar. A housing unit (HU) can contain more than one household (HH). For example, a single tenant in a separate room is here defined as an independent household.

2/ Room crowding in Jakarta

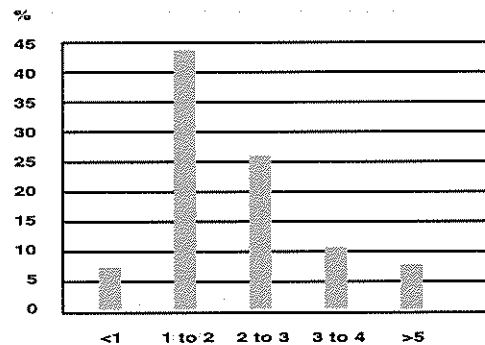


Figure 2 / Distribution of persons per room, Jakarta

Crowding as a Risk Factor

The statistical analysis concentrated on identifying which indicators of crowding were significant for poor health outcome measured as diarrhoea, cough/fever (respiratory diseases) and birth weight (health of mother).

For birth weight, none of the crowding indicators appeared as a significant risk factor. It must be concluded, based on the Jakarta study, that birth weight can only be applied for measuring health when traditions around child deliveries are better understood, especially when the first child is delivered.

The crowding parameters, **persons per room** and **number of children under 5 per room**, are significant risk factors for diarrhoea and respiratory diseases. Persons per room is especially a significant risk factor in a multivariate analysis, where the most dominating risk factors are sought.

Also the crowding indicator for **house area (in m²) per person or per child under 5** is a significant risk factor. It appeared that an in-house area of less than 10m² per person is a significant risk factor for both diarrhoea and cough/fever.

The other crowding indicators were persons or number of children under 5 years per household and bedroom space or bedroom crowding. None of these crowding indicators are significant risk factors.

Other Risk Factors

A range of risk factors was investigated both independently and in combination with other risk factors.

About 20% of the households investigated resided in a housing unit with a commercial activity. The preparation of food for small restaurants and printing of T-shirts could be risk factors. However, these activities did not appear as risk factors for diarrhoea or respiratory diseases.

Kitchen conditions appeared as a risk factor. Especially a damp and humid kitchen is a risk factor for respiratory diseases. Having a private or a clean kitchen appeared to be a preventive factor for both diarrhoea and respiratory diseases.

The type of **cooking fuel** used is also a significant risk factor in that the use of gas is protective against respiratory diseases compared to the use of wood, charcoal or petroleum.

In-house flooding, flooding in front of the house, or burning of waste near the house did not appear as risk factors for any of the measured diseases.

Concerning **water supply**, having an in-house tap seems to be significant in protecting against diarrhoeal diseases. There are, however, strong indications that having an in-house tap is an indicator of high socio-economic status. On the other hand, collecting water from a stand pipe or having vendor-supplied water did not appear to be a risk factor.

Having a **private toilet facility** is a significant protective factor against diarrhoeal diseases. Based on this analysis, it appears that the provision of a private toilet facility should have a higher priority than improving the water supply service level.

Concerning building materials, it appears that having no ceiling is a risk factor for respiratory diseases and having a cement floor, instead of a tiled floor, is a risk factor for diarrhoeal diseases. The **floor type** appeared important, possibly because a smooth surface (e.g. tiles, linoleum) is easier to keep clean than a rough cement floor, and a tiled floor offers better protection against humidity from the underlying soil.

Finally, risk factors such as persons **smoking inside the house** and the **use of mosquito coils** were analysed, and both are significant risk factors for respiratory diseases.

None of the above mentioned risk factors appeared as a determining factor for birth weight.

The following tables 4 and 5 summarise the influence of crowding and other risk factors on morbidity.

Table 4 /

VARIABLE	INFLUENCE ON COUGH/FEVER MORBIDITY	
	INCIDENCE	PREVALENCE
Many persons/room	Risk	Risk
Many <5 children/room	Risk	Risk
Few m ² /person	Risk	Risk
Few m ² / < 5 children	Risk	Risk
Ethnicity (Chinese)	Protective	Protective
Child young	Risk	Risk
Mother young	Neutral	Risk
Low socio-economic status	Risk	Risk
Commercial activity in house	Protective	Protective
Private Kitchen facility	Protective	Protective
Good kitchen hygiene	Protective	Protective
Damp/ humid kitchen	Risk	Risk
Indoor tap-water	Protective	Protective
Private toilet	Protective	Protective
Good quality bedroom floor	Protective	Protective

Table 5 /

VARIABLE	INCIDENCE	PREVALENCE
Many persons/room	Risk	Risk
Many <5 children/room	Risk	Risk
Few m ² /person	Risk	Risk
Few m ² < 5 children	Risk	Risk
Ethnicity (Chinese)	Protective	Protective
Child young	Risk	Risk
Mother young	Neutral	Risk
Low socio-economic status	Risk	Risk
Commercial activity in house	Protective	Protective
Smokers in household	Risk	Risk
Private kitchen	Protective	Protective
Kitchen clean	Protective	Protective
Kitchen humid	Risk	Risk
Kitchen smoke filled	Risk	Risk
Gas as cooking fuel	Protective	Protective
Good bedroom ceiling type	Protective	Protective
Good bedroom ceiling quality	Protective	Protective
Good bedroom floor type	Neutral	Protective
Good bedroom floor quality	Neutral	Protective
Using mosquito coil	Risk	Risk

Influence of crowding and other risk factors on cough/fever morbidity, Jakarta 1993-94

Community Perceptions and Adult Health, Jakarta

A qualitative study of perceptions on crowding and its relation to health in Kali Anyar, Jakarta, captured the following perceptions:

High population densities, high building densities, a lack of indoor and outdoor living space, and poor quality of housing and facilities, are perceived as problematic aspects of the living conditions in Kali Anyar. A wide range of expressions reveals a nuanced and multi-dimensional perception of crowding.

In-house crowding is seen as a function of the available space and the number of people that use the space. Poor quality of housing, especially the lack of ventilation, is highlighted as a cause for a damp and hot indoor ambience. This, in turn, is perceived as a crowding related health hazard and the cause of respiratory afflictions.

Area crowding is mainly perceived as high building densities with little or no space between buildings. High building densities also contribute to a poor in-house environment as daylight can not enter houses and proper ventilation is hampered. Apparently, people perceive a connection between poor sanitation and area crowding. Poor sanitation is perceived to be directly and indirectly related to disease. Especially children are perceived to be at risk. Due to the lack of safe playgrounds and in-house space,

children play in small corridors lined with open drains. Indirectly, through water bred vectors, stench and floods, poor sanitation is seen as a health hazard. Problems such as flooding, air pollution, the burning of garbage are seen in a broader environmental perspective rather than specifically related to area crowding.

The respondents perceive crowding to have distinct social and psychological dimensions. Negative aspects in the category 'other people' are noise, perceived anti-social behaviour, unwanted interference and gossip that can not be 'shut out' or avoided because of housing conditions. This social dimension of crowding is perceived to constitute a health risk as it is seen to cause psychological stress that may cause somatic afflictions. Within one structure social stress is considered to increase as a function of the proximity of — often unrelated — people.

The data lead to the conclusion that in the minds of inhabitants of Kali Anyar, crowding and health are related. The perceived causal links between crowding and health are, however, quite intricate and should not be oversimplified. Besides crowding, other health hazards are mentioned and the data does not support a conclusion that crowding is perceived as the main health risk in low-income settlements.

Concerning adult health, the study reveals that it is aspects of the outdoor environment that are perceived to be expressions of crowding,

e.g., high densities of haphazardly built buildings and high population densities, and these are not seen to cause severe morbidity. The illness behaviour reported by the respondents suggests that, in real terms, little income is lost because of morbidity. Only mild morbidity was reported and people have adaptive strategies that to a large extent limit the loss of income caused by the reported morbidity. Rather than losing income, it does appear that the coping strategy of people includes reducing productivity at work and temporarily seeking less strenuous assignments.

The most negative aspect of crowding, as reported by the community, is in-house living conditions, that prevent people from resting and sleeping properly in their own homes. In-house crowding, specifically where it leads to inadequate opportunities to sleep properly and recuperate could be recognised as an important crowding related factor, increasing vulnerability to negative health effects of the environment in general and of the occupational situation specifically.

The Crowding and Health Complex

Before initiating interventions in human settlements to reduce the negative health impact from crowding, it is important to have thorough understanding of the crowding and health complex. Based on the Crowding and Health Study, which also included consultations with local communities and local authorities in public management, the crowding and health complex can be overviewed as shown in

Figure 3: The Crowding and Health Complex.

The causes of crowding should be properly understood. Next the relevant ways of measuring crowding, should be decided upon. The health impact, that could be related to crowding, should then be identified. This could lead to interventions that improve the ability to cope with living in crowded conditions. The next step will be to investigate possibilities of reducing in-house crowding by approaching the causes of crowding.

Causes of Crowding

In-house crowding in Bissau increased as a result of family expansion. Homes that were originally occupied by one generation are now occupied by three generations. Also the better survival of children combined with the lack of family planning increased in-house crowding.

In Jakarta it is common to rent out rooms to generate income. The second floor of many buildings is occupied by single persons staying in one small room. If a family needs extra income, it is common practice to rent out one bedroom and the family crowd into the remaining room.

Causes of crowding

- Family expansion
- Renting out rooms to generate income
- Little land available
- Poor availability of building materials
- Desire to maximize proximity to work
- Need to minimize accommodation cost (migrant labourers)

Crowding

- Many persons/room
- Few m²/person
- Many persons/bed
- Many < 5 years old/household
- Community perceived crowding

Health impact

- Respiratory diseases
- Intestinal diseases
- Stress
- Other

Coping

- Vaccination (measles, BCG, etc.)
- Health education
- Better home hygiene like ventilation and cleanliness
- Improve quality of building materials
- Provide water and sanitation services for each house

Figure 3 shows the steps that should be taken when investigating and identifying intervention options in crowded areas.

In Jakarta lack of available land to make new shelters is also recognised as a typical problem. The area studied is now 40% covered by buildings and the remaining space is occupied by streets and squares. If people want to stay close to their work to avoid transportation costs and to save time, the only possibility to provide extra rooms is to build on top of existing buildings.

In Bissau the availability of building materials is a problem for expanding families because it is scarce. In Bissau there is still sufficient land, but the lack of building materials is one important reason for poor shelter conditions.

Finally, migrant labourers in Jakarta want to minimise their accommodation costs as

much as possible. Boarding houses were seen where 10-20 people share a room at a time. Each space for a mattress was rented for 8 hours a day and thus occupied by two other people within the day. These migrant labourers have a very low income and want to bring home as much of their income as possible. Therefore, they are not motivated to spend resources on better quality (and more healthy) accommodation.

Assessing Crowding

Crowding has usually been measured by the number of individuals of all ages per room. This is not necessarily the most adequate way of measuring potentially negative crowding. For certain infections, it may be the number of individuals in susceptible age groups which is important rather than the total number of individuals in the household. It would therefore be relevant to consider crowding for certain specific age groups. Space per person and the number of persons per bed may also be important ways of measuring crowding since they are connected with proximity and the risk of transmitting infections.

Social crowding as opposed to spatial crowding should also be included, expressing the number of people in a household. Special focus should be made on the number of young children in a household as these have effects for both child care and the family interactions.

There are often major differences in how planners and agencies perceive environmental risks like crowding in urban areas and the perceptions of those actually exposed to these health risks. A failure to understand the rationality of urban dwellers, their needs and priorities has often led to well intended but unsuccessful interventions. Of central importance to any kind of intervention is a thorough understanding of the social and cultural dimensions of risk perceptions and the way these feed into people's behaviour, motives, their priorities and their willingness to address environmental risks. Community perceptions of crowding can be investigated with a range of consultation methods and is a highly recommendable supplement to the more physical measurement of crowding.

Before attempting to measure crowding, a clear definition must be spelled out for what constitutes a household, a housing unit and a room. Definitions of households vary between cultures and ethnic groups. The definition of a household and especially the occupants of a housing unit can be confused by family mem-

bers in constant movement. A household may temporarily consist of more members because of the occupancy of seasonal and migrant workers. This could confuse the calculation of persons/room.

The definition of what constitutes a room will also have to be made clear. UNDP provides a definition in the Human Development Report 1994: A habitable room is a room with walls to the ceiling level and where there is space for at least a bed. This definition will have to be refined depending on location.

Health Impact

The health impact of crowding should be evaluated by differentiating age groups and by the seriousness of the health impact. The evaluation of the impact of crowding on health is one important factor in prioritising interventions.

The case studies of the Crowding and Health Project clearly demonstrated that there is a health impact from crowding but that it is difficult to draw universal conclusions. The mechanism will differ between locations. However, there is no doubt that crowding leads to people being closer to one another which again leads to transmission of airborne diseases.

Coping in Crowded Households

It can generally be claimed that people can live under relatively high crowded in-house conditions, if certain diseases are controlled. Measles and some respiratory diseases can be controlled through immunisation. Prolonged breastfeeding improves resistance to many diseases. Hygiene education is also vital for crowded homes to improve cleanliness and ventilation, and to reduce in-house smoking and fumes from cooking fuels.

The Crowding and Health Study identified that quality of building materials also has an important role in the in-house environment. Building materials have an influence on the humidity in the house; floors, walls and ceilings can emit toxic fumes; poor quality houses carry disease vectors; and, rough-surface floors have a negative impact on hygiene.

The role of water supply and provision of toilets must be thoroughly considered. It is assumed that it will vary from location to location whether it is improving the water supply system or the provision of private toilets that must have priority as part of coping in crowded households.

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Uneasy Flexibility in Legislation: Their effects on crowding, density and health in Brazil

Zusammenfassung

Unschärfer Gesetzesrahmen: Auswirkung auf Überbelegung und Gesundheit in Brasilien

Die Arbeit befaßt sich mit einem Element der brasilianischen Gesetzgebung, das es Investoren erlaubt, planerisch geforderte Grenzwerte etwa der Siedlungsdichte oder der Umweltbelastung bei Zahlung einer bestimmten Ausgleichssumme an die jeweilige Gemeinde zu überschreiten. Vorteile für die Gemeindekasse werden so mit Nachteilen für die betroffene Bevölkerung erkauft. Die Anwendung dieser Vorschrift wird an Fällen in Salvador und Sao Paulo illustriert. Wegen der Auswirkungen auf die Wohndichte und die sonstigen Umweltrisiken kommen die Autoren zu dem Schluß, daß unter Beibehaltung einer gewissen Flexibilität das Konzept von Grenzwerten nicht völlig aufgegeben wird.

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Introduction

Uncontrolled growth has often been pointed out as an important cause of the multitude of health problems which plague cities and towns throughout the developing world. Excessive crowding and density constitute a pivotal part of this picture — it has been associated with the spread of communicable diseases, psychosocial problems, accidents, difficult access to fresh air and natural light, among other problems (e.g. Harpham and Blue, 1995; Harpham et al. 1988; Werna, forthcoming). In such circumstances, urban planning — regarded as a tool capable of guiding the development of those cities and towns — acquires an important role.

During the past few decades, urban planning and legislation incorporated flexible elements, therefore breaking away from the rigidity of the aforementioned approach. The newer, flexible approaches have been praised in many ways. However, little attention has been given to their effects regarding crowding, density and health. This paper aims at analysing such an issue, with specific reference to Brazilian cases.

The paper highlights a paradox and potential problems in the use of flexible planning and legislation arrangements in Brazilian cities. Such a flexibility allows private developers to 'buy their right to break the law' - i.e. to build on a given plot of land above what the law permits or/and to build a non-authorized type of building, and then pay for doing this. Although this may bring a number of advantages (e.g. more resources to the local authorities), it may also bring hazardous effects to the well-being of the population. Considering that the traditional legislation incorporated concern/guidelines related to health issues (e.g. to prevent overcrowding and asphyxiating density), its transgression will obviously be detrimental to health. Therefore, there is a strong case for concern regarding the widespread use of such flexibility without proper guidelines.

Planning vis-à-vis Crowding, Density and Health

At the outset, planning did have a major concern with health. For instance, present-day British town planning originated from a concern with the living conditions of the working classes during the mid-nineteenth century. Victorian reformers were concerned with avoiding disease propagation throughout the cities, and maintaining a healthy and productive workforce (e.g. Devas, 1993). In developing countries, the introduction of (Western) urban planning, during colonial times, was also connected to public health concerns (although the primary focus was restricted to the zones inhabited by the Europeans) (Devas, 1993).

Urban planning evolved throughout the twentieth century with a major focus on making comprehensive and long-term plans for entire cities or metropolitan areas. The urban planning approach internationally known as 'master planning' has been widely used. Although many times the initial attention to health was subsumed to other concerns (e.g. appropriate zoning to support economic activities), urban planning still maintained strict legislation which contemplated the health of the population — and with a strong emphasis on crowding and density issues. Selected examples from around the world include:

- 1) Legislation on the maximum amount of housing units per plot of land, in order to avoid overcrowding. This also reflects a concern with the neighbourhood as a whole — i.e. overcrowded plots of land will obviously generate overcrowded neighbourhoods, with consequences for traffic, provision of urban services, among others.
- 2) Legislation on minimum size of housing units and of rooms (also related to overcrowding).
- 3) Legislation on buildings of non-residential use (e.g. offices, services, etc.) — in re-

ference to units or area per plot of land as well as in reference to their internal space (again related to overcrowding).

- 4) Legislation protecting low-density zones of the city (in which one cannot build high-density buildings; a fact which reflects a concern with the density/level of crowding of the city as a whole).
- 5) Legislation on the maximum size of the building in each plot of land - in order, for instance, to allow neighbouring buildings to have access to fresh air and natural light, and to allow 'visual breathing space' (associated with psychosocial conditions).

Therefore, assuming that the aforementioned pieces of legislation do have a rationale regarding the health of the population, their transgression would consequently have negative health impacts. However, during the past few decades, urban planning and legislation incorporated flexible arrangements, with consequences for crowding and density (and thus health) in cities. Little attention has been given to these consequences. In order to understand this issue thoroughly, the evolution of the urban legislation will first be explained, with specific attention to the situation in Brazil.

Urban Planning and Legislation in Brazil

During the 1940s, the first master planning offices were created in Brazil (i.e. public agencies or departments responsible for planning major cities). Concern with the urban problems evolved, giving rise to three types of legal instruments related to planning, which became consolidated during the 1970s: **1)** the master plan law (giving legal status/power to the guidelines put forward by the plans - e.g. zoning and density guidelines, urban growth vectors), **2)** the land use law (elaborating what has been established by the master plan law), and **3)** the building code (regulating the buildings themselves).

These legal instruments contemplate health issues clearly - including the aspects related to crowding and density. For instance, the building code regulates (among other things) the minimum area for each type of room in a given building. The land use law, in its turn, regulates the relations between each building and the plot of land in which it is constructed - via the control of the ratio between the projection of the building in the plot and the size of the plot, the control of the ratio between the total area of the building and the area of the plot, and also via the control of the distances between the boundaries of each building and the boundary of the plot. The land use law also regulates the type of buildings and activities in

each area of the city — e.g. whether it will be a residential area, industrial district, commercial zone, etc. — a fact which prevents unhealthy mixes (e.g. polluting industries close to residential areas).

However, despite its evident benefits, this regulation system — built over a fifty year process — has been counteracted by a new form of legislation, here termed the „Trade-off Laws“.

Flexible Arrangements: The Trade-off Laws

This set of laws constitutes a legal instrument, now widespread in major Brazilian cities, which allows one to „buy its right to break the law“. The roots of the Brazilian trade-off laws can be traced to technical and legal instruments both from North America and Europe. The first one is an American legal approach that was introduced in one of Chicago's master plans to protect landmark buildings. The legal strategy aimed to allow the owners of historical buildings (or buildings surrounding them) to transfer the potential area that could be built in the site to a different site, if the owner agrees to preserve the original building(s). The second one, in turn, allows one to build more than what the legislation establishes, as long as such a person agrees to pay for this transgression.

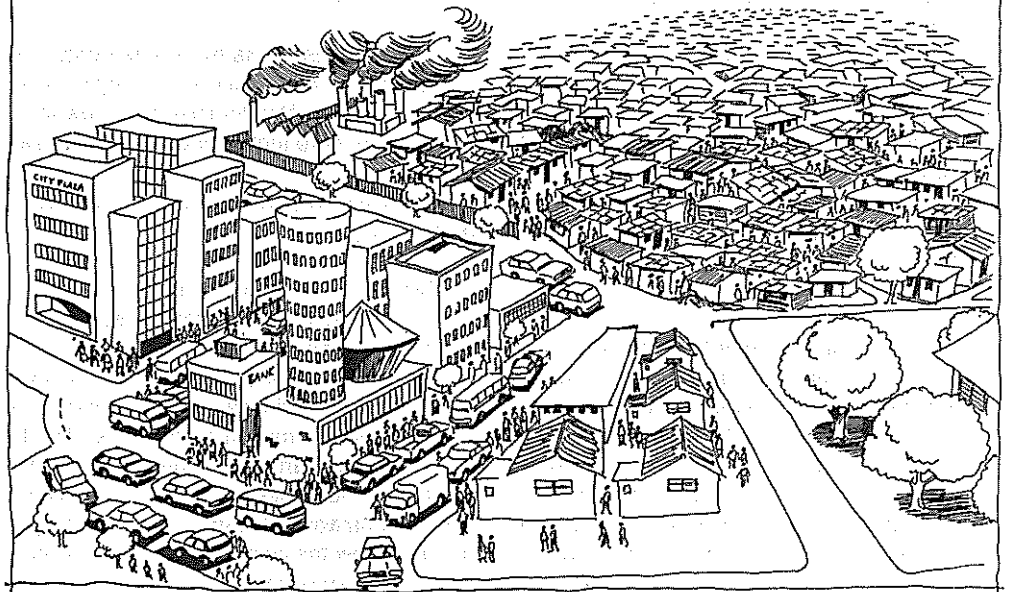
In order to better understand the Brazilian trade-off laws, four cases will be presented, two from the city of Salvador, and two from the city of Sao Paulo.

Salvador: Case I

This case refers to the municipal law number 3,805, passed in 1987 and entitled „Transference of the Right to Build“ (Transferencia do Direito de Construir). It took its inspiration from its American counterpart formerly mentioned, as well as from the Sao Paulo municipal law called „Urban Operations“ (to be analysed later). Initially this law allowed owners of land within protected zones (such as newly created ecological parks) to transfer the „potential right to build on the plot“ — i.e. the landowner would donate his/her plot to the municipal government, and, in exchange, would receive the permission to overbuild on another plot elsewhere (i.e. to build more than what the law permits). The additional building area (which breaks the law) corresponds to the area that the landowner would potentially be able to build in his/her original plot, now donated to the government.

This law was subject to several changes, including the extension of its target areas well beyond the initial few protected zones. Thus, the criterion for applying the law to a given area

CITIES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ARE EXTREMELY CROWDED.
 SLUMS OCCUPY AT LEAST 60% OF SUCH CITIES



became more and more subjective. At this point, two problems should be highlighted.

Firstly, the pricing criterion — i.e. how to establish the price of the two plots (the one that the landowner will donate and the other that will be overbuilt), in order to make a fair deal. Data from Salvador reveals that there has been a controversial discussion on this issue. As a consequence, the municipal government has suffered enormous pressure from landowners, who used debatable criteria to maximise their gains (obviously at the expense of the public budget).

The second problem, closer to the specific focus of this issue of TRIALOG, regards the choice of the geographical location of the plot to be overbuilt. The Land Use Law of Salvador established a „maximum density level“ for each zone of the city, expressed by the ratio between the total area of the building and the area of its plot of land. However, such levels were turned flexible in order to increase the range of (attractive) options for negotiation (i.e. options regarding what the municipal government could offer the landowners). It is important, however, to note the following: 1) assuming that there is a rationale for establishing maximum limits on density (e.g. due to effects on health), *ceteris paribus* such limits should not be flexible; 2) the landowners often preferred plots in high-density neighbourhoods (thus maximising the impact on health) for speculative reasons; and 3) although the decision about the donation and place to overbuild went

first through technical analyses of urban planners from the municipal government — who are in principle able to decide on health matters — the final approval results from a complex political process involving the mayor, an advisor and a public committee chosen by the executive power of the municipal government. Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to elaborate on the details of such a process, it is important to note that, while not having the technical knowledge to decide upon health matters, its members had the power to - and many times did - revoke the recommendations of the planners.

Salvador: Case II

The second Salvador case refers to the municipal law number 3,993, passed in 1989 and called „Counterpayment Law“ (Lei de Contrapartida). It is based on the European laws noted before: it allows a land developer to build more than what the legislation permits, as long as he/she agrees to pay for the transgression. According to the Counterpayment Law, such payments would be invested in the conservation of the historic centre of Salvador.

However, this law falls into a contradiction, similar to the one noted in reference to the previous case-study. In other words: assuming that there is a rationale for establishing limits on what to build in each plot (due to concerns with density, crowding and health), such limits should not be broken — or else, the law which establishes the limits is useless. The decisions

on each case related to the Counterpayment Law (i.e. how much one should be allowed to transgress and how much he/she should pay for it) also followed a similar route to the previous case's, thus embodying the problems already noted.

The Counterpayment Law was heavily criticised in Salvador, and it was eventually abolished. However, it is interesting to note that a newer law, the „Municipal Organic Law“ (Lei Organica Municipal) now incorporates the main thrust of the Counterpayment Law (i.e. the flexible arrangements). Therefore, its related problems remain unresolved.

Sao Paulo: Case I

The first case of Sao Paulo refers to the municipal law number 10,209, passed in 1986 under the title „Law of the Interlinked Operations“ (Lei das Operaçoes Interligadas). While the Counterpayment Law in Salvador permitted one type of transgression (i.e. through overbuilding), the Law of the Interlinked Operations permits two types: 1) overbuilding and 2) changing the land use pattern (e.g. from residential to industrial use, etc.). Initially, this law established that the land developer willing to transgress should pay in kind to the municipal government, through building low-cost housing or/and infrastructure elsewhere. Nowadays, the developer may pay in kind or in cash (still to be used for the same end).

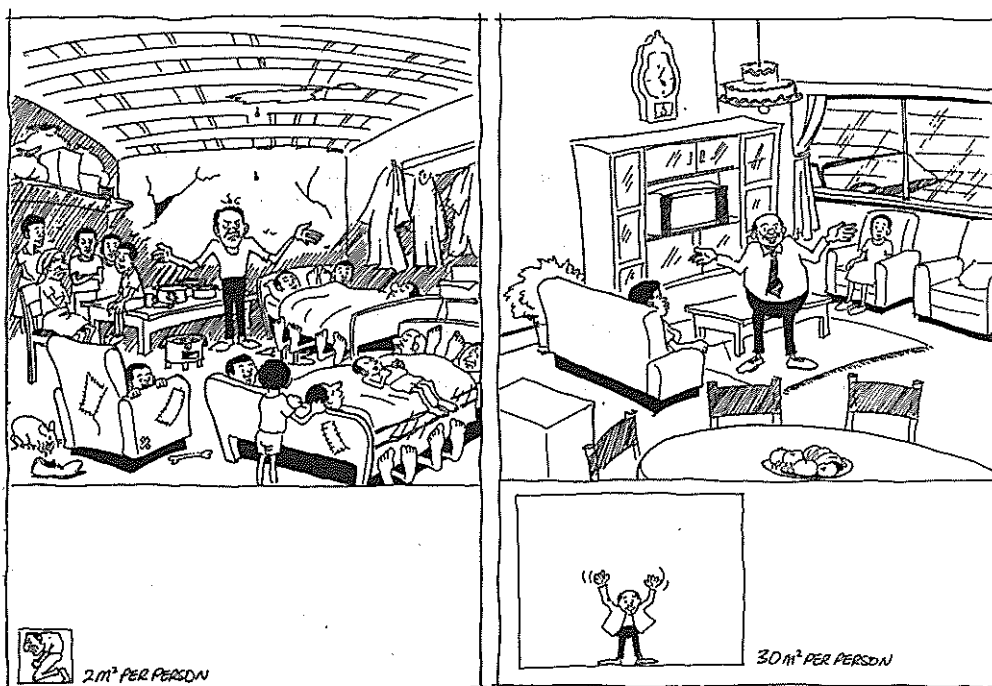
The problems related to transgression through overbuilding have already been analysed.

Transgression through changing the land use pattern also presents problems, which are likely to increase exponentially the risks of crowded and high density areas. For example, the establishment of a polluting industry in an overcrowded residential area. Another illustration would be the establishment of an industry which generates air pollution in a zone with high building density, which blocks the ventilation necessary to dissipate the gases. Other examples abound. Again, there is a contradiction in this type of transgression: if there is a (health) rationale for forbidding certain types of land use mix, their transgression will obviously bring negative consequences, *ceteris paribus*.

Similar to the laws of Salvador already analysed, the final approval of each case related to the Law of the Interlinked Operations also comes from a complex political process. One could argue that the process in Sao Paulo is more democratic than in Salvador, because now the approval goes through members of the local parliament (i.e. democratically elected). However, such an approval process can still be challenged in technical terms, and the contradictions highlighted in this paper remain untackled.

Sao Paulo: Case II

This case refers to a set of legal arrangements termed „Urban Operations“ (Operaçoes Urbanas). The initial concept appeared in Sao Paulo for the first time in 1985 in a master plan which was not approved. In 1988, however, a new — approved — master plan included the



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concept. The „Municipal Organic Law“ (Lei Municipal Organica) passed in the following year, also included the concept.

A general law to regulate Urban Operations was never sorted out, therefore it is worth analysing the specific law related to a single but comprehensive operation called the „Operation Anhangabaú“ (Operação Anhangabaú). This law is an instrument with generic regulations that allows a broad range of modifications, from land divisions to building regulations, in a whole zone of the city — the Anhangabaú Valley, in this particular case.

The Urban Operations gather elements from laws previously analysed. Firstly, it includes the concept of the „Transference of the Right to Build“, aiming at protecting historic buildings within the Anhangabaú zone (similarly to the first case of Salvador). Secondly, land developers are allowed to overbuild as long as they pay for the transgressions (similar to the second case of Salvador and the first of Sao Paulo). Therefore, the Urban Operations embody problems and contradictions analysed in the three previous cases.

New Liberalism and the Quest for Flexibility

The previous section has shown examples of how the flexible arrangements introduced in the Brazilian urban legislation may be detrimental to the health of the population, with specific attention to the issues of crowding and density. This meets the aim of the paper. As a complementary remark, the present section will make some inferences to the broader context in which the specific problem under scrutiny is placed (with the disclaimer that a full analysis of such a context is beyond the scope of the paper).

Firstly, it is worth noting that flexibility is nowadays a central issue in several fields, ranging from 1) processes of production (see, for instance, the ample literature on „flexible specialisation“ — e.g. Rasmussen et al., 1992), to 2) structures of governance („flexible state“ — e.g. Murray, 1992), to 3) regimes of capital accumulation („flexible accumulation“ — e.g. Harvey, 1989), and beyond. Therefore, one could say that urban planning also jumped into this „flexible wagon“.

There are strong links between these fields (production, governance, capital accumulation, planning). Therefore, it is not surprising that all of them have been pervaded by the same concept. There is no space here to focus on the „nitty-gritty“ of the present state of (flexible)-affairs, an issue which is well explained by the authors mentioned in the pre-

vious paragraph (see also Werna, 1994a, 1995). At any rate, it is worth mentioning the role played by Neo-Liberal thinking, which now prevails throughout the world. Neo-liberalism is centrally based on the idea of *laissez-faire* — which entails lack of control and regulation. Such an idea fits nicely with flexibility, which allows much more room for manoeuvre than the rigid schemes of Fordist times.

With flexibility, capital has much more alternatives to maintain the process of accumulation (hence the „flexible regime of accumulation“). On the other side of the coin, government structures also have to be quite flexible, in order to survive under the current strong anti-state ethos. Under such circumstances, flexible urban planning arrangements fit both the needs of capital (more options of accumulation) and of the state apparatus (more options to meet the financial crisis).

However, it is important to assess the consequences of such a situation for the urban populations as a whole. On the one side, many times gains in capital have not been translated into overall development benefits, thus excluding large parts of society, especially the poor (e.g. Devas and Rakodi, 1993). On the other side, the short-term financial benefits accruing to municipal governments, due to the flexible planning arrangements, may be offset by long-term problems generated by overcrowding and overdensification (e.g. larger expenditure in public health and in infrastructure).

It is also worth noting the fact that the new flexible planning arrangements have been supported by some (technically competent and respected) urban planners, a fact which contributed to the implementation of such arrangements. These professionals have heavy objections to master planning and its associated legislation. The problems of such type of planning and legislation have already been strongly emphasised in the literature, and will not be repeated here (e.g. Agullar, 1987; Devas, 1993; Werna, 1994b). However, the problems of master planning should not lead planners to adopt the new arrangements as a panacea. Such arrangements may have attributes, such as the agility of responding quickly to changes in the urban development scene. However, they also have problems, as this paper demonstrates.

Conclusion: bounded flexibility?

Crowding and density constitute a controversial issue, and of course one should be very cautious about imposing heavy legislation specially in regard to low-income neighbourhoods; where the dwellers, although often living in unhealthy conditions, can hardly afford anything

else. Under such circumstances, policy- and decision-makers have to be at least flexible.

However, the primary targets of the flexible arrangements analysed in this paper are not the low-income settlements, but the richer parts of the cities — in other words, those which can perfectly comply with/afford tougher legislation aiming at improving the urban health conditions. The situation of a low-income dweller — who has to pack a large family into a very small shack for the sake of surviving in the city — and that of a private developer — who wants to overbuild in the richer areas for the sake of increasing profits — are very different from each other (and it should also be noted that the actions of the latter may well affect the former — i.e. may affect the city as a whole).

The problems and contradictions analysed

in this paper should not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the new/flexible arrangements should be scrapped (i.e. „getting rid of the disease by killing the patient“). However, they need indeed to be addressed, therefore the paper puts forward a warning for policy- and decision-makers. The research which provided the basis for this paper did not include the analysis of other countries which have also used flexible planning arrangements. Such an analysis is a good theme for a follow-up paper. If these countries did tackle the crowding, density and health aspects of the arrangements successfully, the pertinence and adaptation of their policies to the Brazilian situation (as well as to the new-comers) should be studied. However, if such countries also have problems, the present paper may constitute a valuable warning to them as well.

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ANZEIGE

Projekt Nr. 07116/Brasilien

Wenn der letzte Baum fällt...



Durch die Zerstörung des Regenwaldes und die Ausbreitung von Rinderfarmen, Zuckerrohrplantagen und industriellen Großprojekten verlieren viele Menschen im Amazonasgebiet ihre Lebensgrundlage. Engagierte Christen der verschiedenen Kirchen und Konfessionen haben gemeinsam Projekte und Programme entwickelt, um Selbsthilfe-Initiativen von Landlosen, Kleinbauern, Straßenkindern bei der Durchführung von Nothilfemaßnahmen zu unterstützen, zu beraten und zu begleiten. In den letzten Jahren wurden verstärkt auch Gruppierungen wie die Wildkautschuk- und Paranußsammler gefördert, die sich für eine umweltverträgliche Nutzung des Regenwaldes einsetzen.

BROT FÜR DIE WELT ruft dazu auf, nicht länger zu schweigen. Der Schutz unserer Umwelt steht in engem Zusammenhang mit einem menschenwürdigen Leben und sozialer Gerechtigkeit. Sie gehört in unser aller Verantwortungsbereich.

Danke für das Stück Hoffnung!

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Overcrowding and Environmental Health Policies in Johannesburg

Y. E. R. VON SCHIRNDING / N. BALOYI / A. MATHEE / B. MAPHAKA

Zusammenfassung

Wohndichte und umweltbezogene Gesundheitspolitik in Johannesburg

Die Autoren untersuchen die Gründe und Auswirkungen der Wohnungsüberbelegung in Johannesburg. Sie ordnen die Gründe drei Ebenen zu: der Nationalen, der Stadt- und der Nachbarschaftsebene. Besondere Gesundheitsrisiken entstehen, wenn eine hohe Wohndichte von sanitären Problemen überlagert wird. Befragung in einem Stadtteil von Johannesburg ergaben, daß die Belegungsdichte in dem Untersuchungszeitraum nicht gestiegen war, die Probleme Kriminalität, Drogen, Lärm, fehlende Müllentsorgung usw. aber zugenommen hatten, sich vor allem aber der Erhaltungszustand von Wohnung und Wohnumfeld verschlechtert hatte.

Als Gegenstrategie wurde in einem Pilotprojekt ein partizipativer Ansatz verfolgt. Entsprechend den Vorschlägen des in diesem Zusammenhang gebildeten Mieterkomitees wurden die Gebäude und Versorgungseinrichtungen von den Eigentümern ...

1. Introduction

Population density in Greater Johannesburg is changing at a rate unprecedented in the history of the metropolis. Socio-economic and demographic factors have given rise to a sustained influx of people to Johannesburg in search of a livelihood and employment opportunities. The demand for housing is far in excess of the limited capacity of the local authority in this respect, and consequently out of dire necessity and expediency people live in overcrowded conditions in establishments in the city and the suburbs.

Greater Johannesburg is one of the fastest growing cities on the African continent. Population estimates for the newly formed Greater Johannesburg metropolitan area vary, but the current population is thought to be in the region of around 4 million people. By the year 2010 the projected metropolitan area population is expected to be in the region of 6 500 000 people (Malan, 1994). Precise estimates of the percentage of the population housed informally are difficult to come by (and depend on the definition of „informal“ used), however in 1995 there were 86 informal settlements, with about 60 000 structures, in which some quarter of a million people were housed (Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council, 1996). Population growth rates are highest in the informal settlement areas, which are mostly situated on the periphery of the city, in and around low income areas.

In the inner city it is estimated that there are approximately 3 000 informal structures, and around 6 000 to 8 000 homeless people in the city (Greater Johannesburg, 1996). Accommodation is often severely overcrowded, with people living in insanitary conditions, sometimes in commercial buildings and on the roofs of office blocks, with an increasing percentage of the population of homeless sleeping in parks and alleys. Due to the housing shortage, con-

struction of shacks in the backyards of existing houses is common and places pressure on already overstretched services, particularly sanitation.

2. Causes of Overcrowding

„Overcrowding“ is a relative concept and can be defined in many ways. For example, according to the Municipality of Johannesburg Slums Regulations promulgated in terms of the Development and Housing Act 103 of 1985, overcrowding is defined in relation to the number of people relative to available unit space utilised for sleeping purposes. Population density in occupied premises which impacts adversely on the maintenance of essential resources and services is a classical example of overcrowding.

Irrespective of exactly how one chooses to define the phenomenon however, it is clear that gross overcrowding coupled with insanitary living conditions in urban areas has severe negative impacts on a variety of factors. For example overcrowding may lead to the development of slum conditions as a result of a change in the occupancy of buildings and in the essential character of their use. This development follows instances where a landlord lets a building or dwelling with inadequate facilities to cater for a maximum number of tenants, charging excessive rentals. To cope with exorbitant rentals some tenants sublet their living space or allow backyard shacks which results in overcrowding and undue pressure on existing facilities and a breakdown of sanitary services. The phenomenon develops in the area leading eventually to a transformation in its character from a neighbourhood residence to a place of refuge for a transient population (Johannesburg n.d.). Even isolated cases of overcrowding can prejudice the whole area, both in terms of quality of life and maintenance of standards. Perceptions of overcrowding also impact negatively on the investment potential for the area.

These factors thus create the conditions conducive to the emergence of a slum (Johannesburg n.d.).

Three levels have been identified into which the casual factors of overcrowding can be subdivided, namely: at the Macro, City and Individual levels (Johannesburg n.d.). The causes at the **Macro level** are rural-urban migration due to the absence of an appropriate rural development policy, and more recently, to the drought; the continued recession; the perception that Johannesburg offers better access to job opportunities, education, housing, social facilities and support services; the lack of a comprehensive national housing policy which might include an appropriate subsidisation policy; and various legislation such as Influx Control and the Land and Group Areas Act, which prevented in the past what would have been considered a "normal" rate of urbanisation.

The causes of overcrowding at the **City level** are shortage of affordable and suitably located dwelling units in the urban area, especially close to areas of employment; locational advantages, such that people are closer to employment and perceive themselves to have better access to education, health and social facilities compared with their previous places of residence, and lack of end-user finance for low cost housing. Other factors include violence and over-population in the surrounding townships, deregulation in the city such that informal trading is encouraged, convenient location in terms of public transport, and the limited housing choice that the city offers such that to „overcrowd“ is the best alternative of a poor range of choices.

The causes of overcrowding at the **Individual level** are affordability problems which lead to sub-letting so that rent and service charges become more affordable, unemployment and poverty, absent/negligent landlords, and the desire to unify the family structure, for example a "migrant" worker brings his wife/ her husband and family to the city.

3. Overcrowding Survey

Overcrowding may have a deleterious effect on the health and social well-being of affected people and has adverse environmental implications. Overcrowded and slum conditions coupled with poor environmental sanitation are predisposing factors and/or agents of a variety of diseases. In situations where overcrowding poses less of a potential health problem, nevertheless problems related to stress, psychological problems, social problems related to crime, violence and abuse, drugs and alcohol, safety hazards and environmental problems such as noise may be severe.

There are also other serious consequences of overcrowding, such as the physical decay of buildings and the surrounding environment. This in turn has a negative effect on investor confidence which might lead to building societies and banks refusing to grant loans to aspiring home owners in areas perceived as being „degraded“.

In Johannesburg, in 1992, a survey was conducted in a suburb adjacent to the inner city known as Bertrams, to determine the extent of overcrowding, as well as of associated environmental health problems, in order to form the basis for the development of future comprehensive policies to address these problems (Johannesburg, 1992).

Information on living conditions was obtained from residents by way of a standardised questionnaire. People were asked about the number of individuals on the premises, their ages, the problems they were experiencing in Bertrams, environmental health conditions, and residents' perceptions with regard to housing and associated environmental conditions in Bertrams. Information was also obtained on the number of people sleeping in each room. An assessment was made by environmental health officers of the size of various rooms in each dwelling, as well as of environmental conditions.

Results revealed that the number of people per dwelling unit ranged from 1 to 56, with 64% of dwelling units housing between 1 to 4 people and 26% of dwelling units between 5 to 9 people. Ten per cent of dwelling units housed more than 9 people. Five per cent of dwelling units were found to be „overcrowded“, in terms of the provisions of the Municipality of Johannesburg Slums Regulations (promulgated under section 11B of the Development and Housing Act 103 of 1985) relating to minimum allowable sleeping space.

Thirty six per cent of dwelling units were assessed by environmental health officers to be in an environmentally unsatisfactory condition. When asked about the problems they were experiencing in Bertrams, of those with problems, there was no single problem which was of overriding concern to the majority. Factors such as noise, crime, overcrowding (mentioned by 11% of people) and substance abuse were of concern to a significant percentage of the population however. When asked how living conditions could be improved, of those (67%) who had suggestions, 27% mentioned the need to limit overcrowding, provide more accommodation and upgrade the area, 17% mentioned factors such as the need for better security and policing measures, 16% mentioned the need to address problems such as

erneuert. Auf diesen Erfahrungen aufbauend, empfehlen die Autoren Maßnahmen wie die Einrichtung eines Task-force, die Überarbeitung der entsprechenden administrativen Regelungen einschließlich Sanktionen gegen Säumige, dazu bewußtebildende Maßnahmen und eine Vernetzung der Initiativen — auch über kommunale und nationale Grenzen hinweg, z. B. im Rahmen des "Healthy Cities Network".

vagrancy and substance abuse, whilst 9% of responses related to aspects such as better noise and traffic control.

The survey was repeated two years later (Johannesburg, 1994), and revealed that while overcrowding had not increased, the general state of living conditions had deteriorated since the previous observations, as indicated by the frequency of inadequate refuse removal, the prevalence of vermin and the absence of electricity in some homes. Notwithstanding these factors, the residents were concerned about the worsening level of crime, drugs, noise and associated poor living conditions.

Only 49% of premises were in a satisfactory condition in 1994 as against 64% in 1992, and 45% of the respondents felt that their living conditions had worsened since the previous study done in 1992.

Nuisances observed by the environmental health officers had also increased since 1992, as shown by the frequency of inadequate refuse disposal (5% in 1992 and 17% in 1994) and the presence of pests (2% in 1992 and 17% in 1994). The percentage of houses without electricity also increased from 3% in 1992 to 22% in 1994. Interestingly, regarding residents' perceptions of problems, overcrowding seemed to have decreased in importance (from 11% to 4%) (Johannesburg City Council, 1994).

Another survey conducted in various suburbs of Johannesburg, found that tenants of slum buildings blamed the breakdown of basic services on the failure of landlords to maintain their properties and to pay their water and light accounts. Landlords, on the contrary, argued that tenants refused to pay economic rentals, vandalised and overcrowded their buildings. The tenants' counter-argument in this regard, was that the exorbitant rentals demanded by landlords left them no option but to sub-divide and overcrowd their apartments in order to afford the rent. Subdivision of apartments was a factor practised and accepted by some unscrupulous landlords (Johannesburg, n.d.).

4. Dimension of the Problems

A number of reports to the former Johannesburg City Council Management Committee have addressed factors such as the extent of the problem in Johannesburg, and highlighted problems experienced in dealing with the phenomenon (Greater Johannesburg, 1995). These include for example inadequate legislation (lengthy prosecution procedures, low fines, cumbersome legislation, difficulty in proving a health risk, and difficulty in locating an owner) and uncooperative landlords.

An inventory of high-risk buildings has now

been compiled, which identifies and prioritises buildings for regular inspection in terms of applicable legislation in an effort to keep overcrowding and associated slum conditions in check. As alluded to earlier, several intensive surveys on the extent of overcrowding in certain areas have also been conducted. A task-group on overcrowding has been set up to coordinate application of relevant legislation and monitoring of buildings. A public awareness exercise coupled with health education on an on-going basis is undertaken with a measure of success now being experienced in certain instances. For example, under the umbrella of the Johannesburg „Healthy City“ project, a „Healthy Homes“ project has been initiated.

5. Healthy Homes Projects

The main focus of the Healthy Homes Project is the plight of residents in blocks of flats in the area. The programme aims to improve the living conditions of residents by providing assistance in renovations to buildings and helping to promote employment opportunities through skills training programmes (Dada, 1995). Problems identified are addressed by participants including environmental health officers, residents and landlords.

A new approach (Dada, 1995) to solving problems in respect of environmental health hazards associated with overcrowding in the inner city, has been developed on a pilot project basis in a building in the inner city occupied currently for residential purposes, which was however originally designed as an office block. Numerous problems over a long period of time have been experienced in this building with respect to general environmental hygiene, sanitation, waste and other social and security problems. As part of the new approach developed, and following on from various meetings held with residents, a survey was conducted in order to determine the socio-demographic profile of the occupants of the building, to ascertain the major health and other problems in the building, and also to determine what type of skills were present among residents that might be utilised productively in upgrading projects and maintenance projects in the building. The role of the environmental health officer working in this building has been that of a facilitator, and was partly responsible for the setting up of a tenants committee in the building and for ensuring that environmental health problems were adequately addressed, through strategies such as improved health education. In addition to providing some paid employment to unemployed persons in the building to ensure the removal of waste, responsibilities of tenants were also elucidated, which included a strategy to ensure that public areas of the building were kept clean on a regular basis.

Following on a decision of the tenants committee and the owner of the building to upgrade and redesign the building according to the necessary standards for residential accommodation, the university agreed to provide students to assist with this aspect. The Housing Department of the Council agreed to assist with the training of artisans in the building, in order to more effectively address the various sanitation-related problems, and the Parks and Recreation Department volunteered to initiate an urban gardening project in the building, which would have the benefit of improving food security for low income families living in the building. The project was launched on World Environment Day in 1995. Due to the enthusiasm generated in this project, certain spillover activities have occurred, such as a voluntary clean-up initiative in an adjacent park and other parts of the inner city block (Dada, 1995).

Security problems have also been addressed as part of the project. Some of the associated problems experienced have derived from the fact that certain small businesses run „she-beens“, which involve the selling of alcohol and hosting of parties by residents in the building. One of the strategies which was proposed was for a co-operative business to be formed, which could involve the hiring of vacant space on the ground floor of the building, which would alleviate the problem of using residential accommodation for this purpose and the subsequent influx of strangers into the building, leading to a security risk. Other projects which have involved the need for income generation, have been the recommendation to residents of literacy and skills training courses (Dada, 1995).

6. Recommendations for future actions

From the foregoing observations it is increasingly imperative for the newly formed Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council to initiate substantive measures to alleviate the problem of overcrowding. This could be done in conformity with guidelines and principles set out in the Reconstruction and Development Programme, which, in respect of Housing Standards specifies that „*all housing must provide protection from weather, a durable structure and reasonable living space and privacy*“.

To this end, under the auspices of the Transitional Metropolitan Council (TMC) and substructures, proposals or measures listed hereunder could be utilised as part of further policy development in the way forward, both in the long and short term, and in a transparent and sustainable manner encompassing the following remedial measures:

1. Establishment of a metro-wide task team under the TMC to address the environmental and health aspects of overcrowding and associated slum conditions in the inner city and affected suburbs, working in co-operation with tenants and local residents with a view to find possible solutions to the problem.
2. Review of applicable legislation and enforcement strategies in the Metropolitan Council with a view to develop uniform standards and make provision for punitive fines to serve as a deterrent to unco-operative landlords. This could include a proviso to ensure regular returns on the occupancy of overcrowded and suspect buildings from the respective landlords to be submitted to the local authority for appraisal.
3. Public awareness campaign of rights/duties of Council, landlords and tenants, promotion of a culture of civic responsibility in the community and highlighting the obligation of tenants to pay rentals.
4. Residents in accommodation establishments should be educated and encouraged to keep their sanitary facilities clean and free from blockages, informed about the importance of maintaining a clean and sanitary environment, free from all refuse and advised of measures to control vermin infestation and, in case of informal dwellings, provide for natural light and ventilation, and for safer fuels.
5. Promoting „resident“ management associations and formation of co-operative associations in buildings to engage in sustainable problem solving exercises.
6. Establishment of a metro-wide inventory on high-risk buildings.
7. Epidemiological surveys of the health status of occupants of high-risk buildings.
8. Development of an efficient information system (database) and dissemination of information regarding strategies based on national and international norms and experiences.
9. Encourage the formation of alliances involving the Healthy Cities Project, with relevant stakeholders to develop progressive solutions to the environmental and health aspects of overcrowding and associated slum conditions.
10. Self-help projects such as neighbourhood clean-up campaigns to be supported and given all possible assistance.

It should be stressed that the phenomenon of „overcrowding“ with associated slum conditions is a world-wide problem due to rapid urbanisation, and no simplistic solution in this regard exists. Overcrowding has to be seen in the broader context of increasing urbanisation in the absence of affordable housing in the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Area..

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Zusammenfassung

Verbesserungen im Wohnungs- und Gesundheitswesen unter finanziellen Einschränkungen

Der Autor konfrontiert die Gesundheitsrisiken in hochverdichteten Slumsiedlungen mit Gegenmaßnahmen auf den vier Ebenen Haushalt, Nachbarschaft, Stadt / Distrikt und Regierung und faßt dies in einer Tabelle zusammen. Besonders zu beachten sind dabei wie die mangelnde Qualität von Wohngebäuden in Slumgebieten, die Prioritäten der Betroffenen hinsichtlich der Wohnumfeldverbesserung, die besonderen Bedürfnisse benachteiligter Gruppen (alleinerziehende Mütter, alte Menschen) und die oft unterschätzten Diskrepanzen bei der bestehenden Infrastrukturversorgung. Unter der gegenwärtigen Knappheit der öffentlichen Gelder sind differenzierte Strategien notwendig. Viele Regularien, vor allem die der internationalen Entwicklungsbanken müßten diesen enger werdenden Spielraum angepaßt werden.

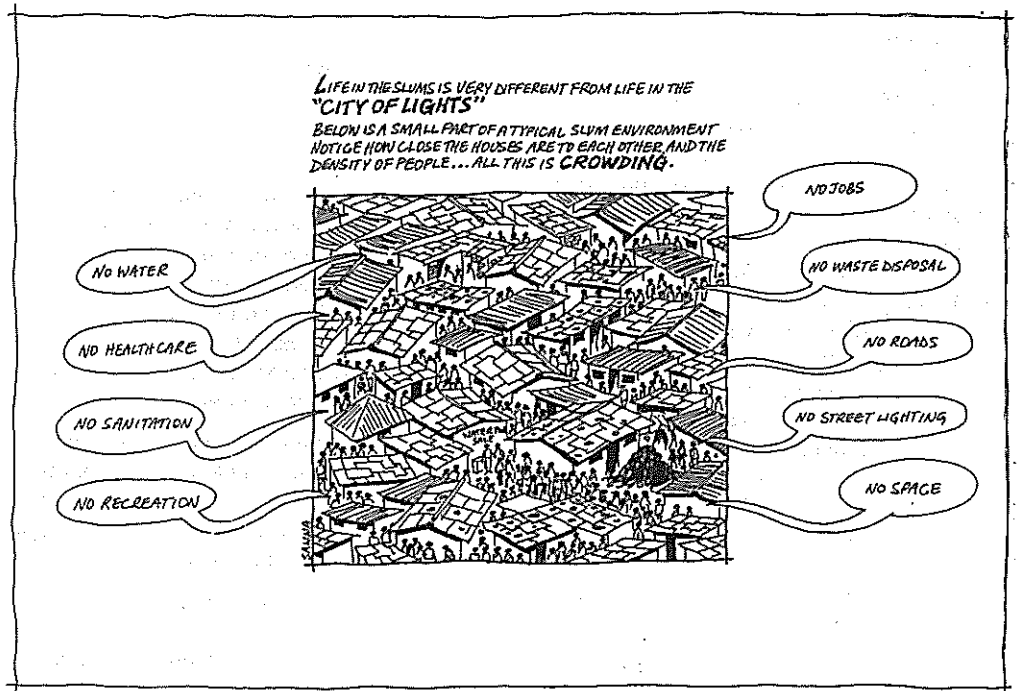


Table 1 provides an outline of the kinds of actions needed to tackle the most pressing environmental health problems within the residential areas of cities in the South, where funds are limited. The first column (on the left hand side) lists the most pressing health risks associated with poor quality housing and a lack of basic infrastructure and services. The other four columns present examples of the kinds of actions needed to diminish or remove these health risks. The actions are grouped under different scales: individual and household action; neighbourhood or community action; and district and city-level action. The final column on the far right hand side of the table outlines the actions needed at national level. Most of these are to support or empower action at household, neighbourhood level or district level.

This Table is not a comprehensive guide to addressing the health problems associated with poor quality housing. Nor should it be seen as a blueprint, since the nature of the health risks linked to poor quality housing and their relative importance will differ greatly from place to place. So too will the most effective means for addressing them. The aim of this Table is

to emphasize certain points. The first is that all professionals concerned with improving housing and living conditions have to be more aware of the health risks associated with poor quality housing. They must become more skilled in working with the inhabitants and with the staff at the local hospital, health care centre and schools (where these exist) in identifying the most serious health risks associated with poor quality housing and developing responses to them. These health risks are very large in most housing units in illegal or informal settlements and in most tenements, cheap boarding houses or other housing types used by low income groups. Housing professionals often ignore the health problems, thinking of them as someone else's responsibility. Or they assume that they will automatically disappear if housing is upgraded. Or they misunderstand them and as a result promote inappropriate responses.

A second point that needs emphasis is that to understand and address these health risks in ways which respond to the needs and priorities of the inhabitants usually involves actions within many different sectors by many

This draws on the author's work with George E. Harkoy on housing and health — also on work undertaken with Sandy Cairncross and Carolyn Stephens at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, Greg Goldstein at the World Health Organization and André Dzikus at UNCHS (Habitat). Table 1 is the latest version of a table that has been developed over a number of years — and earlier versions were published in Harkoy, Jorge E., Diana Mitlin and David Satterthwaite, *Environmental Problems in Third World Cities*, Earthscan Publications, London (1992) and in earlier works of Jorge Harkoy and David Satterthwaite.

different institutions. Table 1 includes a great range of actions. Some deal with the immediate cause of the health risk (for instance install a piped water supply to replace contaminated water supplies and get rid of disease vectors). Some are to help people avoid the health risk (e.g. immunization, less crowded and safer houses which cut down the risk of accidents). Others are to help to minimize the health impact of a disease or injury, when it occurs — for instance through emergency services and a good primary health care system. Some are to allow low income households to move to safer, more healthy housing. The actions include improved health care services, improved infrastructure (e.g. piped water and drains), technical and financial support for house improvement, health education, legal advice (for instance to allow those living in illegal settlements to acquire legal tenure), support for income-generation and provision for children's play. Such actions often means cross-sectoral collaboration between different external agencies who find it difficult to work together — and often to work with community organizations.

A third point is that the priorities for action to reduce health risks will almost always differ by age group, by sex and by gender — and care must be taken to ensure that all groups' priorities are addressed. The health and housing needs and priorities of those within households who take responsibility for managing and maintaining the household and looking after children have long been ignored or given too little attention — largely because it is generally women that take on most such responsibilities and they have less influence than men in defining actions and determining how resources are used. The health risks associated with poor quality housing that are particularly serious for older children, adolescents and elderly people are also, often, not given enough attention.

A final point is the inherent unfairness of much of what is suggested or implied in Table 1. Here, relatively low income groups living in housing which poses continuous threats to their health (and, for many, to their lives) are asked to take far more responsibility for addressing these problems than middle or upper income groups. The Table implies that a lot of the tasks for improving conditions and addressing health problems are undertaken by individuals, households and communities. Most middle and upper income households do not have to do so. They have the tremendous convenience of water piped into their homes and sewers and drains that remove all human wastes and waste waters within systems that they do not have to operate or maintain. They do not have to help run emergency services or maintain community facilities for laundry, cheap

meals and primary health care. They do not have to build or rebuild their own housing. Table 1 is simply a pragmatic approach to addressing serious problems faced by most low income groups. It recognizes that their incomes are too limited to allow them to afford more convenient solutions and that governments and international agencies will not fund more convenient and comprehensive solutions. (Or, if these agencies do, they often fund them for only a very small proportion of those in need and do so in ways that ill-match low income groups' needs). Table 1 does little to address the more fundamental inequalities that underpin the existence of poor quality, dangerous housing. But it can greatly reduce the burden of disease and injury that such housing usually imposes on low income groups.

The cost to governments of supporting the actions summarized in this Table are not beyond their means in most countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. There are also a growing number of examples of innovative partnerships between community organizations and municipal, state and national authorities which shows that this approach can work. But this kind of approach does imply institutional changes for both governments and international agencies. It implies the full involvement of individuals and communities in decision making in the use and management of resources. It implies that both governments and international agencies are able provide a continuous process of support for community action and organization — including the capacity to respond rapidly to funding requests, including very small funding requests. But many governments remain very centralized, so the municipal authorities which have such an important role in supporting the actions outlined in Table 1 are the level of government that is least able to do so. Many governments are also working actively to deny the legitimacy of political associations emerging from civil society — and as such are actively disempowering the kinds of actions summarized in Table 1. Most official development assistance agencies such as the multilateral banks and the bilateral aid agencies are also structurally incapable of responding quickly to a lot of small and diverse requests for support from community organizations working in different locations in different cities. These agencies may recognize the importance of doing so but their whole structure and funding system was set up to fund large capital projects implemented by recipient governments. If international agencies wish to support the approach outlined in Table 1, most will need new institutional arrangements — for instance decisions as to what is funded being made by these agencies' local offices or by local funds into which they put money.

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Government-community partnerships in addressing health risks

Health Risks	Action at Individual and Household Level	Public Action at Neighbourhood or Community Level	Action at District or City Level	Action at National Level
Contaminated water - typhus, hepatitis, dysenteries, diarrhoea, cholera etc.	Protected water supply to house; promote knowledge of hygienic water storage	Provision of water supply infrastructure; knowledge and motivation in the community	Plans and resources to undertake or support action at lower levels	Ensure that local and city governments have the power, funding base and trained personnel to implement actions at the household, neighbourhood, district and city levels. Review and where appropriate change legislative framework and norms and codes to allow and encourage actions at lower levels and ensure that infrastructure standards are appropriate to the needs and the resources available. Support for training courses and seminars for architects, planners, engineers etc on the health aspects of their work
Inadequate disposal of human wastes - pathogens from excreta contaminating food, water or fingers leading to faecal-oral diseases or intestinal worms (eg hookworm, roundworm, tapeworm, schistosomiasis)	Support for construction of easily maintained WC or latrine which matches physical conditions, social preferences and economic resources. Washing facilities to promote hand washing	Mix of technical advice, equipment installation and its servicing and maintenance (the mix is dependent on the technology used).	Plans and resources to undertake or support action at lower levels. Trained personnel and finances to services and maintain them	Technical and financial support for educational campaigns. Coordination of housing, health and education ministries
Waste water and garbage - waterlogged soil ideal to transmit diseases like hookworm; pools of contaminated standing water, conveying enteric diseases and providing breeding ground for mosquitoes spreading filariasis, malaria and other diseases. Garbage attracting disease vectors.	Provision of storm and surface water drains on house plot and spaces for storing garbage that are rat, cat, dog and child proof	Design and provision of storm and surface water drains. Advice to households on materials and construction techniques to make houses less damp. Consider feasibility of community-level garbage recycling/reclamation	Regular removal or provision for safe disposal of household wastes (including support for community schemes) and plan framework and resources for improving drainage.	Ensure building codes and official procedures to approve house construction or improvement are not inhibiting individual, household and local government actions. Support for nationwide availability of building loans, cheap materials (where possible based on local resources) and building advice centres. Produce technical and educational material to support this.
Insufficient water for domestic hygiene - diarrhoeal diseases, eye infections (including trachoma), skin diseases, scabies, lice, fleas	Adequate water supply for washing and bathing. Provision for doing laundry at household or community level	Health and personal hygiene education for children and adults. Facilities for laundry at this level, if not within individual houses	Support for health education and public facilities for laundry	Support for city/local governments with information and advice on recreation and play provision for child development
Disease vectors or parasites in house structure with access to occupants, food or water eg rats, cockroaches, mosquitoes or other insects (including Chagas disease vector)	Support for improved house structure - eg tiled floors, protected food storage areas, roofs, walls and floors protected from disease vectors	Technical advice and information - part of adult and child education programme	Loans for households to upgrading shelters. Guarantee supply of cheap and easily available building materials, fixtures and fittings	National legislation and financial and technical support for interventions by local and city governments in land markets to support action at lower level. Training institutions to provide needed personnel at each level
Inadequate size house & poor ventilation - helps transmission of diseases such as TB, influenza and meningitis (aerosol drops) especially when many households share premises. Risks of household accidents increased with overcrowding; impossible to safeguard children from poisons, open fires & stoves	Technical & financial support for house improvement or extension & provision of cheap sites with basic services in different parts of city to offer poorer groups alternatives to their current shelters	Technical advice on improving ventilation and lessening indoor fumes and smoke. Education on overcrowding related diseases and accidents	Loans for upgrading (including small ones with flexible repayment terms); support for building advice centres in each neighbourhood	Structural reforms, funds for nutrition programmes and other measures to improve poorer groups' real incomes
Children playing in and around house site constantly exposed to hazards from traffic, unsafe sites (eg on slopes or with open drains) or sites contaminated with pollutants or faeces	Child care services to allow care and supervision for children in households where all adults work	Provision within each neighbourhood of well drained site, separated from traffic, kept clean and free from garbage and easily supervised for children's play. Ensure first aid services are to hand	Support given to neighbourhood level play, sport and recreation facilities	Technical and financial support for nationwide system of hospitals and health care centres. Preventive health campaigns (eg immunization) and nationwide availability of drugs and equipment. Set up training system for paramedics and community health workers. Provide guidelines for setting up emergency services and planning and risk minimization in risk prone areas to minimize injuries and damage if disaster occurs
Indoor air pollution because of open fires or poorly designed stoves - exacerbate respiratory illness, especially in women and children	Posters/booklets on improved stove design and improving ventilation	Ensure availability of designs and materials to build improved designs	Consider extent to which promotion of alternative fuels would lessen problem	Discussions with individuals and community organizations about some minimum changes to site layouts to improve emergency vehicle access and create fire breaks
House sites subject to landslides or floods as a result of no other land being affordable to lower income groups	Regularize each household's tenure if danger can be lessened; relocation through offer of alternative sites as last resort	Action to reduce risks of floods/landslides or to reduce potential impact; community based contingency plan for emergency. Encourage upgrading or offer alternative sites	Ensure availability of safe housing sites that lower income groups can afford in locations accessible to work	SOURCE: Hardoy, Jorge E., Diana Mitlin and David Satterthwaite, Environmental Problems in Third World Cities, Earthscan Publications, London, 1992.
Illegal occupation of house site or illegal subdivision with disincentive to upgrade, lack of services and mental stress from fear of eviction	Regularization of each household's tenure and provision for piped water, sanitation and storm & surface drains	Local government working with community to provide basic infrastructure and services and incorporation into „official city“	Support for incorporating illegal subdivisions and for providing tenure to squatter households	Discussions with individuals and community organizations about some minimum changes to site layouts to improve emergency vehicle access and create fire breaks
Nutritional deficiencies and low income	Reduce intestinal worm burden and worm transmission. Support for income generating work within the house	Food supplements/meals or community kitchens. If land is available, support food production	Support for local enterprises and appropriate nutrition programmes	
No or inadequate access to curative/preventive health care and advice	Widespread availability of simple primer on first aid and health in the home plus home visits to promote its use	Primary health care centre; emphasis on child and maternal health, preventive health and support for community action and for community volunteers	Small hospital (first referral level) and resources and training to support lower level services and volunteers	
No provision for emergency life saving services in event of injury or serious illness	As above, backed by educational programmes on minimizing risks	Basic equipment (eg stretchers, first aid) available at all times. Community volunteers with basic training on call & arrangements for rapid transfer of sick/injured person to hospital. Equipment to rescue/treat those saved from burning houses	Support for neighbourhood equipment plus organization of training programs for community volunteers. Fire fighting equipment. Contingency plans for emergencies	

Stadt und Wertewandel:

Ein Versuch über die Probleme der Altstadt von Aleppo

SACHER GLABI

Der Beitrag möchte einen Überblick über die spezifischen Probleme der Altstadt von Aleppo im Norden Syriens vermitteln. Obwohl viele der angesprochenen Fragen sich auch auf andere orientalische Altstädte übertragen lassen, wird hier bewußt kein Anspruch auf Verallgemeinerung erhoben, sondern die Studie konzentriert sich auf die besondere Situation in Aleppo.

Mit dem Begriff der 'Altstadt' sind diejenigen Stadtviertel gemeint, die innerhalb oder außerhalb der Stadtmauer liegen und traditionelle Strukturen und Gestalt aufweisen. Andere heute ebenfalls schon alte Stadtviertel, wie sie in der zweiten Hälfte des vergangenen Jahrhunderts nach westlichem Muster aufgebaut wurden, sind hier nicht gemeint. Sie unterscheiden sich grundsätzlich von der 'Altstadt' und werfen andere Probleme auf.

Die Altstadt von Aleppo ist sehr groß. Anfang des Jahrhunderts wohnten dort schon über 100.000 Einwohner.¹ Sie ist also selber eine 'Großstadt' und setzt sich ihrerseits aus vielen 'Stadtvierteln' zusammen, die hinsichtlich Größe, Einwohnerzahl und Einwohnerdichte, aber auch hinsichtlich Gestaltung und Sozialstrukturen erhebliche Unterschiede und zum Teil wiederum spezifische Probleme aufweisen.² An dieser Stelle geht es allerdings nicht um die besonderen Aspekte eines besonderen Stadtviertels (wie ihnen Annette Gangler in ihrer Arbeit beispielhaft nachgegangen ist)³, sondern um Fragen, die die Altstadt als Ganzes betreffen.

¹ Siehe Heinz Gaube und Eugen Wirth, Aleppo. Historische und geographische Beiträge zur baulichen Gestaltung, zur sozialen Organisation und zur wirtschaftlichen Dynamik einer vorderasiatischen Fernhandelsmetropole, Wiesbaden 1984, Tab. 16-18

² Siehe Gaube und Wirth, 1984, Abb. 13

³ Annette Gangler, Ein traditionelles Wohnviertel im Nordosten der Altstadt von Aleppo/Nordsyrien, Tübingen 1994

1. Überalterung der Bausubstanz

Die Bausubstanz ist sehr alt. Dies betrifft insbesondere die Wohnviertel, die innerhalb der Stadtmauer liegen und deren Häuser mehrere hundert Jahre alt sind. Darüber hinaus stehen diese Quartiere vielfach leer und zwar seit dem Beginn des Auszugs der reichen Familien, Ende des vergangenen Jahrhunderts, aus der Altstadt in die damalige Neustadt, ein Auszug, der sich noch bis heute im Umzug in moderne Wohnquartiere fortsetzt.

Im städtischen Budget stehen keine Mittel für Instandhaltung und Sanierung der Altstadt zur Verfügung. Für viele Bewohner sind diese Quartiere nicht mehr attraktiv. Ein altes Wohnhaus ist wie ein altes Auto, das immer mehr Geld für Reparaturen und Zeit und Nerven kostet. Wenn in einem Haus einmal kein Regenwasser durch das Dach tropft oder Sand rieselt, dann hat es bestimmt Risse in den Wänden oder im Fußboden oder verfallene Holzrahmen, Fenster und Türen; und wenn es keine Probleme mit den elektrischen Leitungen oder den Sanitärinstallationen gibt, dann sind die Abwasserkanäle verstopft oder die Wohnräume feucht. Noch kritischer wird es, wenn die benachbarten Häuser leerstehen.

2. Verfall der technischen Infrastruktur

Nicht nur die Bausubstanz ist alt und braucht dringend Instandsetzung, sondern auch die technische Infrastruktur, d.h. vor allem die Trinkwasserversorgung und die Entsorgungssysteme. Ihr Zustand ist vielfach noch kritischer als der der Bausubstanz. Das historische Versorgungsnetz, das das Wasser jahrhundertlang in alle Quartiere der Altstadt brachte, funktioniert schon lange nicht mehr, und aus hygienischen Gründen muß auch leider auf seine Instandsetzung verzichtet werden. Das heutige Versorgungsnetz ist kaum 100 Jahre alt, also nicht sehr alt; man hat es

Summary

The old city of Aleppo in Syria, one of the most ancient and most important historical centres of the Arabic world, is endangered by a continuous process of decline. The author describes and analyses in detail its visible and invisible problems. Among the visible are the dilapidation and decay of the building structure and the deterioration of the technical infrastructure, the change towards an inadequate use of historical building types, the destruction of the traditional urban fabric by newly planned wide streets and high rise developments, the disruption of the social coherence of the former neighbourhoods by an exodus of parts of the wealthier population and the immigration of poorer people. The invisible problems include the growing influence of the aspirations of modernism and a western way of life by parts of the younger generation, the change of social and cultural attitudes, the change of family structures and the role of women all leading to an increasing rejection of the traditional habitat in the courtyard houses and the neighbourhood dominated life the old city.

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Wie lange dies noch so sein wird, weiß niemand. Die Flächen gehören dem Staat, doch dieser hat weder Geld noch Ideen für einen Wiederaufbau. Der Verfasser, der in einem der betroffenen Gebiete aufgewachsen ist, beschäftigt sich seit Jahren mit der Frage des Wiederaufbaus solcher Bereiche. Eine gesonderte Studie darüber ist in Vorbereitung; sie stützt sich vorrangig auf die Ergebnisse von Studien- und Diplomarbeiten, die der Verfasser seinen Studenten immer wieder angeboten hat, so auch die Aufgabenstellung eines Workshops, an dem im September 1993 in Aleppo Studenten der Universitäten Karlsruhe und Aleppo gemeinsam teilnahmen. (Zu den Ergebnissen dieses Workshops siehe Kosta Mathéy und Michael Peterek, Stadt und Land in Syrien. Ein Exkursionsbericht, Karlsruhe 1995)

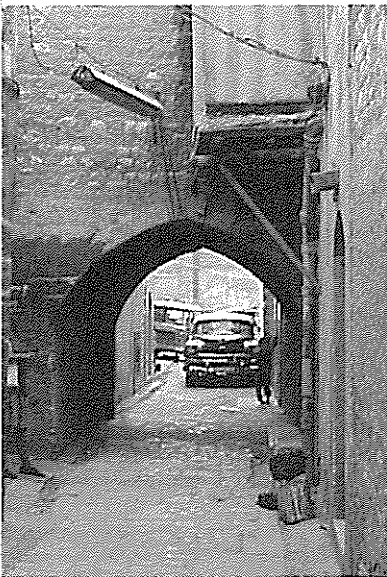


Abb. 6 / Der Vormarsch des Automobils in der Altstadt / Foto: Peterek

aber niemals instandgehalten, deshalb funktioniert es nicht richtig. Die Leitungen sind verrostet, defekt, gebrochen und bringen auf diese Weise das Wasser nicht regelmäßig in die Häuser. Man nimmt an, daß in Aleppo mindestens 50% des Wasservolumens aus den Leitungen ins Erdreich austritt, bevor es in die Häuser gelangt. Dies beeinträchtigt nicht nur die Wasserversorgung, sondern auch den Zustand der Fundamente und der Wände. Der Verfasser kennt viele Orte in der Altstadt von Aleppo, die nur ab und zu Wasser bekommen; in dem Wohnquartier, in dem er aufgewachsen ist, kommt das Wasser täglich, aber höchstens drei Stunden lang. Er kennt auch einen Architekten, der mit viel Eifer in die Altstadt umziehen wollte, ein Haus gekauft hatte, viel Geld für den Ankauf und für die Renovierung ausgab (dafür hätte er sich längst eine gute, 'moderne' Wohnung leisten können), schließlich aber nicht umziehen konnte, weil er dort ungelöste Probleme mit der Abwasserentsorgung hatte.

3. Verschärfung der Erschließungsprobleme

Das Straßennetz der Altstadt ist das in allen islamisch-orientalischen Städten anzutreffende feinmaschige Netz, das für Menschen und Lasttiere, aber nicht für Autos und Lastwagen gedacht und geeignet ist. Einige Bereiche sind mit dem Auto nicht erreichbar. Vor allem dort, wo Höhenunterschiede oder lange Sackgassen oder mehrfach geknickte Gassen und Wege bestehen, ist eine Zufahrt nicht möglich, nicht einmal für Krankenwagen und Feuerwehr. Dies schafft Probleme in mehrerer Hinsicht.

Zum einen ist es ein Problem für Autobesitzer, die mit ihrem Auto weder vor ihr Haus fahren können, noch Abstellmöglichkeiten auf öffentlichen Parkplätzen finden. Das Versicherungssystem ist unzureichend, und deshalb wollen sie ihr teures Auto möglichst in Sichtnähe unterbringen.

Zum anderen ist es auch ein Problem für Nichtautobesitzer, die täglich, zum Teil sogar mehrfach, lange Strecken zu Fuß bis zur nächsten Haltestelle der öffentlichen Verkehrsmittel zurücklegen müssen, wenn sie in die heutigen Zentren der Stadt gelangen wollen; denn die alten Wohnquartiere sind großflächig in ihrer Ausdehnung und nicht gleichmäßig und gleichberechtigt zu erschließen, vor allem im Vergleich mit modernen Quartieren.

4. Zerstörung des Stadtgefüges durch Straßendurchbrüche und Flächensanierung

Rücksichtslose Straßendurchbrüche und großräumige Sanierungsmaßnahmen haben sich nicht als Lösung für Verkehrs- wie auch

andere Probleme erwiesen. Ganze Quartiere sind ihnen zum Opfer gefallen. Sie haben nicht nur das traditionelle Stadtgefüge, sondern auch viele Sozialräume zerstört und damit ihrerseits neue Probleme geschaffen. Die Geschichte der Straßendurchbrüche und Flächensanierung geht bis in die zweite Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts zurück. Bis in die 80er Jahre unseres Jahrhunderts sind viele derartige Maßnahmen, meist von auswärtigen Planern, konzipiert und durchgeführt worden. Erst nachdem sich die UNESCO eingeschaltet hatte, wurden diese Projekte gestoppt. Es war allerdings schon zu spät. Seither liegen die Flächen als Trümmer- und Ruinengrundstücke brach, es sind bevorzugte Orte der Abfallagerung und beliebte Aufenthaltsbereiche für Insekten, Termiten und sonstige Tiere.⁴

5. Zerstörung der Privatsphäre der Hofhäuser

Entlang der Straßendurchbrüche und an den Rändern der Sanierungsflächen wurden mehrgeschossige Gebäude und sogar Hochhäuser geplant, deren Erdgeschosse für Läden und deren Obergeschosse für Dienstleistungen und Büros, vor allem aber auch für Wohnungen vorgesehen sind. Manche der Gebäude sind seit längerem fertiggestellt, andere befinden sich im Bau und bei wiederum anderen mangelt es derzeit an der notwendigen Finanzierung.

Die Gebäude entstanden bzw. entstehen in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft traditioneller Hofhäuser, sind selbst aber nach westlichem Muster strukturiert. Ihre Rückfronten haben Fenster, von denen man nicht nur in die offenen Höfe, sondern auch in die Tiefe vieler Räume der umliegenden introvertierten Häuser Einblick gewinnt. Die Bewohner der umliegenden Häuser, die in den meisten Fällen noch nach traditionellem Muster leben und es jahrzehntelang gewohnt waren, ihr Privatleben ungestört in den Innenhöfen gestalten und sich ohne Schleier fernab von fremden Augen bewegen zu können, fühlen sich nun in ihren eigenen Häusern nicht mehr frei, sondern beobachtet und beeinträchtigt.

Das ist aber nicht nur beiderseits der Straßendurchbrüche und an den Rändern der Sanierungsflächen der Fall (wo es am schlimmsten ist), sondern sogar inmitten vieler Wohnquartiere. Fast überall entstanden im Laufe der letzten Jahrzehnte, legal wie illegal, mehrgeschossige Wohnhäuser an schmalen Wohn- und Sackgassen auf den Grundstücken verfallener Hofhäuser. Auch wenn sie niedriger sind als die erwähnten Hochhäuser, beeinträchtigen sie ebenso die Privatsphäre der benachbarten Häuser. Die Bewohner, die sich ständig beobachtet fühlen, verlassen ihre Häuser und

suchen sich anderenorts etwas Passenderes. Merkwürdigerweise ziehen sie ihrerseits manchmal in die neuen Wohnungen der neu gebauten benachbarten Häuser um, obwohl diese überhaupt nicht ihrer angestammten Lebensweise entsprechen, aber sie wollen einfach 'im Quartier' bleiben.

6. Zunehmende Nachfrage nach neuen Dienstleistungen

Alle historischen Quartiere sind nach islamischem Muster geplant und gebaut worden, wobei die Moschee nicht nur ihren Mittelpunkt bildete, sondern noch vieles mehr bedeutete. Sie war Sakralbau, aber gleichzeitig auch Gebets-, Schul-, Kommunikations-, Kultur- und Sozialzentrum und hat somit vielfältige Bedürfnisse erfüllt. Seit einiger Zeit befindet sich die arabisch-islamische Welt in einem gewaltigen Umbruch.⁵ In diesem Zusammenhang hat die Moschee fast alle Funktionen verloren; sie erfüllt nur noch eine religiöse Rolle, aber auch diese nicht mehr wie früher.

Die Moschee war die wichtigste, aber nicht die einzige Einrichtung, die mehrere Funktionen erfüllte. Der Haarschneider war gleichzeitig auch Zahnarzt und Krankenpfleger; und in den Läden für den täglichen Bedarf, die verstreut in den Quartieren lagen, fand man neben Reis und Zucker auch Schulhefte, Zigaretten und sogar Arzneimittel. Wer krank war, wandte sich an traditionelle Heiler, und was die Mädchen und Frauen zur Ausbildung, fürs Nähen, Haarschneiden und für die Schönheitspflege benötigten, erfuhren sie in den Häusern. Heute hat sich fast alles verändert, nur das Gesicht der Wohnquartiere nicht. Außer den Wohnhäusern und den Läden für den täglichen Bedarf gibt es in den meisten Fällen nichts mehr; es mangelt an Dienstleistungen unterschiedlichster Art.

7. Bedeutungs- und Funktionsverlust vieler Einrichtungen

Mit dem Auftauchen neuer Bedürfnisse und der Nachfrage nach entsprechenden Einrichtungen sind viele andere Bedürfnisse verschwunden. Demzufolge haben auch zahlreiche Gebäude ihre Funktion verloren. Sie stehen leer, werden auf ungeeignete Weise umfunktioniert oder dienen als Lager für Handel und Gewerbe. Dazu zählen die öffentlichen Bäder, die traditionellen Gewerbehöfe, die historischen Krankenhäuser, die Karawansereien und vor allem die zahlreichen Sakralbauten.

Fast jedes Wohnquartier besitzt, je nach Größe, ein oder mehrere Bäder. Bis in die 50er Jahre gingen alle Aleppiner in die Bäder, nicht nur um sich zu pflegen, sondern auch zum Vergnügen und zur Entspannung und um sich mit anderen zu treffen, Beziehungen zu

knüpfen. Viele Familien- und Heiratsgeschichten hatten hier ihren Anfang.⁶ Als J.K. David Ende der 70er Jahre darüber eine Studie verfaßte, fand er nur noch ungefähr 30 von den 200 Bädern, die man Anfang des Jahrhunderts zählte, in Betrieb. Heute läßt sich ihre Zahl an den Fingern einer Hand abzählen. Die Menschen in der Altstadt haben sich im Laufe der Zeit in ihren Wohnhäusern eigene Badezimmer eingebaut, vielfach in der Küche, im Keller oder im Innenhof.

Ähnliches gilt auch für die traditionellen Gewerbehöfe, in denen Handwerker verschiedener Gewerke, vor allem aus dem Textilbereich, arbeiteten. Da viele Handwerker infolge von Industrialisierung, Automatisierung und Einführung moderner Techniken aufgeben mußten, verfallen diese Gebäude heute ebenso wie die öffentlichen Bäder.

Die historischen Krankenhäuser stellen, quantitativ, kein so großes Problem dar. Die meisten sind längst verschwunden, eines ist seit Anfang des Jahrhunderts nur noch Ruine, und das letzte erhaltene steht heute als Denkmal leer.

Anders ist es mit den Karawansereien, vor allem mit denen, die sich im zentralen Bazar befinden. Sie haben bis vor kurzem eine große Rolle im wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Leben der Stadt gespielt. Hier waren die Besucher der Stadt bzw. die auswärtigen Händler untergebracht; im Erdgeschoß wurden die Waren getauscht, in den Obergeschossen lagen die Unterkünfte. Auch viele europäische Konsulate, Firmen und Banken waren hier beheimatet. Heute funktionieren nur noch wenige dieser Karawansereien einigermaßen gut, wenn auch nicht mehr so wie ursprünglich. Die Mehrzahl ist durch eher sekundäre Nutzungen belegt, manche stehen ganz leer. Es mangelt an Konzepten, Ideen und Projekten für ihre Umnutzung, Erneuerung und Einbindung in das heutige Leben der Stadt.

Bei den Sakralbauten muß man zwischen den muslimischen und den christlichen unterscheiden. Zunächst zu den islamischen Bauten: Die Stadt Aleppo kannte, wie alle islamischen Städte, neben den großen und kleinen Moscheen noch zahlreiche andere religiöse Einrichtungen (wie Koranschulen, Stiftungen, soziale Einrichtungen u.a.m.), die über das ganze Stadtgebiet zerstreut lagen. Die meisten stehen zwar noch da, sind aber leer und verschlossen und dem allmählichen Verfall preisgegeben. Es besteht kein Bedarf mehr an solchen Einrichtungen.

Bei den christlichen Bauten, vor allem den Kirchen, die sich in der Altstadt befinden, ist zu unterscheiden zwischen denen, die heute in

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Siehe dazu Stefano Bianca, Hofhaus und Paradiesgarten. Architektur und Lebensformen in der islamischen Welt, München 1991

6

Ausführlich berichtet darüber Annegret Nippa, Haus und Familie in arabischen Ländern, München 1991

muslimischen Quartieren liegen, und denen in christlichen Wohngebieten. Bis in die ersten Jahrzehnte unseres Jahrhunderts hinein lebten Christen und Mohammedaner eigentlich nebeneinander und miteinander, manchmal im gleichen und manchmal in benachbarten Quartieren⁷, und zwar nicht nur in den nördlichen Vorstädten, sondern auch innerhalb der Mauer in der 'Urstadt', d.h. dem ältesten Viertel der Stadt. Mit dem Auszug der Christen aus der Altstadt, der im letzten Viertel des vergangenen Jahrhunderts begann und seinen Höhepunkt in der Mandatszeit fand (heute wohnt in der Altstadt, außerhalb des Christenviertels,

um dort ihren Lebensabend zu verbringen, was zu einer zunehmenden Überalterung führt. Oft zieht aber auch die gesamte Familie fort. Die Häuser stehen dann leer oder werden verkauft, aufgrund der geltenden Mietgesetze aber nicht vermietet. Sind die Besitzer so reich, daß sie vorläufig auf den Verkauf verzichten können, dann behalten sie die Gebäude als Lebensversicherung für sich und ihre Kinder. Solche Leute sind meist hohe Beamte, Staatsfunktionäre, Ärzte, Rechtsanwälte, Intellektuelle, zum Teil auch Leute, die im Ausland leben, und vor allem Christen, die noch Wohnhäuser in der Altstadt besitzen. Ist der Besitzer ein Händler



keiner mehr), haben diese Sakralbauten ihre Funktion verloren. Sie sind an die muslimischen Gemeinden bzw. die Stadtverwaltung vermietet oder verkauft worden, werden aber im allgemeinen in ungeeigneter Weise genutzt oder stehen leer.

Die Bauten des Christenviertels (in der Altstadt) bergen ein anderes Problem in sich. Sie haben zwar niemals, wie die anderen, ihre Funktion verloren, da dort immer noch Christen leben und an das Christenviertel in der Altstadt neue Christenviertel unmittelbar außerhalb der Altstadt anschließen, dennoch ist die Mehrzahl der Gebäude ungenutzt, weil die Gemeinden mit Hilfe westlicher Gemeinden und Staaten neue Kirchenbauten in den neuen christlichen Vierteln errichten konnten.

8. Leerstand und Verfall der Häuser bzw. ungeeignete Funktionsveränderungen

Aus den zum Teil schon erwähnten Gründen verlassen immer mehr Bewohner die Altstadt. Manchmal zieht nur die junge Kernfamilie weg, und es bleiben die dem Ort besonders verbundenen Personen, z.B. die Großeltern,

im Bazar, dann verkauft er das Haus ebenfalls nicht, sondern nutzt es als Lager; und falls er ein solches gerade nicht braucht, dann hält er es sich für die Zukunft vor, für den Fall einer Vergrößerung seines Geschäfts.

Händler, die selbst nicht aus der Altstadt stammen, besorgen sich solche Häuser über Makler, da diese Häuser zum einen viel Platz bieten und zum anderen mehr oder weniger in der Nähe ihrer Geschäfte liegen. Wenn man heute zu Fuß um den Alten Bazar geht, kann man diese Entwicklung deutlich erkennen: Immer mehr ehemalige Wohnhäuser werden als Lager umgenutzt, manchmal sind es ganze Gassen, vor allem in der unmittelbaren Umgebung, aber auch in den entfernter vom Bazar liegenden Quartieren.

Wiederum andere Händler richten in solchen Häusern kleine, manchmal auch größere handwerkliche Produktionsstätten ein. Die Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Großhändlern und Handwerkern in Aleppo ist sehr alt.⁸ Die Händler haben sich Handwerker gesucht, diese mit Rohmaterial versorgt, den Ablauf der Produktion finanziert und den Verkauf besorgt. Ähnliches ist bis heute der Fall. In der nördli-

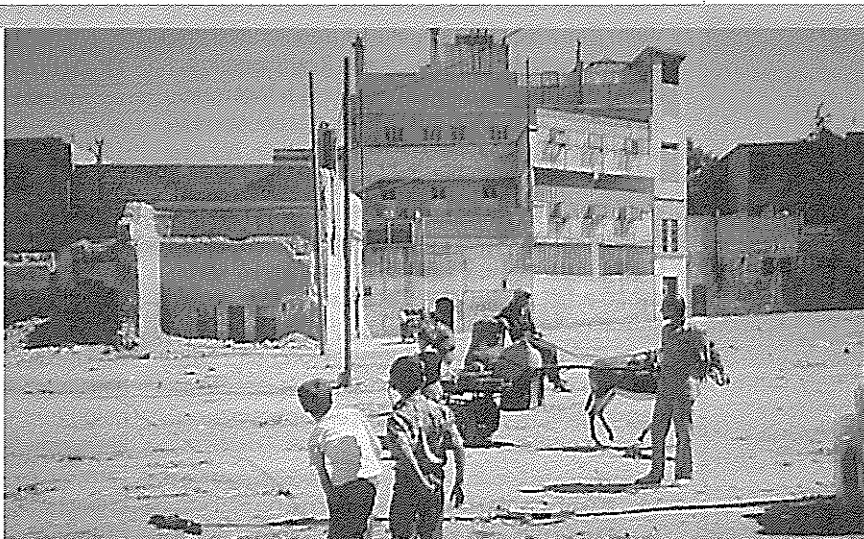
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Siehe dazu Gaube und Wirth, 1984

chen Vorstadt, vor allem im ehemaligen Christenviertel, sind in der Nähe des heutigen Geschäftszentrums viele Wohnhäuser zu Lederverarbeitungswerkstätten umfunktioniert worden, um die zahlreichen Schuhgeschäfte für Frauen und Männer, die sich in den neuen Einkaufsstraßen konzentrieren, mit Ware zu beliefern. Diese Produktionsstätten werden meist von den Schuhhändlern bewirtschaftet.

Doch auch im alten Bazarviertel haben Händler Wohnhäuser zu Werkstätten umfunktioniert, vor allem für die Textilindustrie. Sie importieren westliche Garne auf großen Rollen

ten Räume im Erdgeschoß, um sich vor der Sonne zu schützen, während man im Winter vorrangig die nach Süden orientierten Räumen im Obergeschoß bewohnte, um die Wärme der Sonne zu genießen. An einem heißen Sommertag z.B. bewegte man sich auf unterschiedlichen Ebenen und nutzte unterschiedliche Räume: Vormittags war man im Innenhof, mittags hielt man sich in den unteren Wohngeschossen auf, am Nachmittag war man im *Iwan*, einem Raum, der sich ohne Wandabschuß unmittelbar zum Innenhof öffnet, und die heißen Abende und Nächte verbrachte man auf der Dachterrasse, wo man zeitweise auch schlief.



Platzenszene in der Altstadt von Aleppo / Foto: Länderdörfer

und lassen sie dort für den Einzelhandel umspulen. Man kümmert sich allerdings nicht um die Bausubstanz der Häuser. Diese verfallen mehr und mehr. Wenn sie schließlich nicht mehr nutzbar sind, werden sie verlassen. Auf Dauer wird dadurch nicht nur die Bausubstanz geschädigt, sondern auch das Wohnmilieu in den Gassen, was die Bewohner benachbarter Häuser ihrerseits veranlaßt, ihr Quartier zu verlassen.

9. Mangelnde Anpassung an die natürlichen klimatischen Bedingungen

Frühere Generationen, die in den traditionellen Hofhäusern gewohnt haben, haben sich dort wohl gefühlt, weil nicht nur die Bauten in ihrer Struktur und Raumdisposition den natürlichen klimatischen Verhältnissen angepaßt, sondern auch die Menschen flexibler waren und sich ihrerseits den klimatischen Verhältnissen anzupassen versuchten. D.h., die Wohnhäuser und -räume wurden in Abhängigkeit von der Jahres- bzw. Tageszeit und nicht funktionsspezifisch genutzt. Alle Räume waren multifunktional; es gab keine spezifischen Schlaf-, Wohn-, EB- oder Kinderzimmer. Im Sommer nutzte man die nach Norden geöffneten

Diese Verhaltensweisen waren noch vor gar nicht allzulanger Zeit anzutreffen. Der Verfasser hat sie selber in den 60er Jahren noch erlebt und damals als ganz normal empfunden. Entscheidend bei der Anpassung an die örtlichen Klimaverhältnisse waren die einfachen, flexiblen, mobilen Einrichtungsgegenstände, die aus nicht viel mehr als Matratzen, Kissen, Decken, Teppichen bestanden. Heute hat sich vieles verändert. Nicht nur das Klima, sondern vor allem auch der Mensch. Er versucht nicht mehr, sich anzupassen, sondern kauft die Erzeugnisse einer modernen Technik, wie elektrische Lüfter, Klimaanlage u.a., um das 'moderne' Leben zu genießen. Die Einrichtungsgegenstände, die heute auf dem Markt angeboten werden, sind nichts anderes als Abbilder der europäischen Produkte. In den traditionellen Wohnhäusern sind heute überall schwere Holzmöbel, unbewegliche Polstergarnituren u.a.m. anzutreffen, und somit funktionieren die Räume längst nicht mehr wie früher.

10. Verlust von Bautraditionen, Techniken und handwerklichen Fertigkeiten

Auch die Elemente einer natürlichen

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Darüber berichten ausführlich Gaube und Wirth, 1984

Klimatisierung - wie Luftschächte und -türme, Brunnen und Wasserbecken, Regenwassersammelbecken u.a. - funktionieren heute nicht mehr, da sie im Laufe der Jahre nicht unterhalten und, wenn sie teilweise oder ganz defekt waren, nicht instandgesetzt wurden, u.a. auch deshalb, weil es keine Handwerker mehr gibt, die die dazu notwendigen Kenntnisse besitzen. Manche Berufe sind inzwischen völlig verschwunden, was selbstverständlich nicht nur die Elemente einer natürlichen Klimatisierung, sondern die gesamte traditionelle Bautechnik betrifft. Es betrifft aber auch viele andere traditionelle Gewerbesparten. Die meisten jungen Leute wollen diese Berufe nicht mehr erlernen; manchmal raten selbst die Väter ihren Kindern ab, einem traditionellem Gewerbe nachzugehen. Etwas Traditionelles zu erzeugen, braucht viel Zeit und bringt kein schnelles Geld. Wenn durch ein Dach Wasser tropft oder Sand rieselt, dann gibt es in Aleppo heute niemanden mehr, der die Dachdecke instandsetzen kann. Was dann im Normalfall bedauerlicherweise passiert, ist, daß die alte Dachdecke abgerissen und durch eine Betondecke ersetzt wird. Die Betondecke schützt aber nicht mehr, wie vormals die dicke traditionelle Decke, vor Sonneneinstrahlung und heißem Außenklima. Damit schadet sie der Behaglichkeit, was schließlich zur Wohnunzufriedenheit führt.

und wieder ins Trockene und dies sogar in Hauskleidung und Hausschuhen. Infolgedessen ist auch der Wärmehaushalt der Räume kaum zu regulieren. Dieses Problem, das für viele Menschen von größter Bedeutung ist, stellt sich nicht mehr für die Bewohner der modernen Häuser. Darüber hinaus sind hier auch die sanitären Einrichtungen nicht mehr mit denen der Altstadt Häuser zu vergleichen: Dort befinden sich Küche, Bad und WC vielfach im gleichen Raum, das Wasser tröpfelt nur schwach aus verrosteten Leitungen, und die Wände sind feucht; in den modernen Häusern hingegen sind die Einrichtungen getrennt, das Wasser fließt kräftig und die Wände sind meist bis zur Decke verfließt.

12. Veränderungen in der Denkweise und den Lebensvorstellungen

In den Quartieren der Altstadt lebten jahrhundertlang nicht nur Moslems, sondern auch Angehörige anderer Glaubensrichtungen. Alle Wohnviertel wiesen jedoch die gleichen städtebaulichen und architektonischen Strukturelemente auf. Der Gebäudeplanung lag eigentlich nur ein einziger Bautyp, das Hofhaus, zugrunde, und zwar nicht nur den Wohnhäusern, sondern auch fast allen anderen öffentlichen und halböffentlichen Bauten, selbst den nicht-muslimischen Sakralbauten, die — vor allem aus klimatischen Gründen — ebenfalls binnenorientiert waren.

Das Hofhaus ist also nicht ausschließlich mit der islamischen Kultur verbunden, wie oft in der Literatur, vor allem der islamischen, angeführt wird, obwohl es natürlich eine große Bedeutung im Laufe der Geschichte des Islam hatte. Es ist auch keineswegs ein Produkt der islamischen Zivilisation, sondern eher das Umgekehrte ist der Fall; es reicht viel weiter in die menschliche Geschichte zurück als der Islam. Es war die Antwort auf die vorherrschenden Klimaverhältnisse und die seinerzeitigen kulturellen Bedürfnisse, welche die Religion mehr oder weniger - abhängig von Raum, Zeit und Entwicklungsstand - beeinflußt, aber nicht allein bestimmt, sondern zusammen mit vielen anderen Faktoren (wie Denk-, Arbeits- und Lebensweisen, kulturellem Erbe, sozialen Verhältnissen, politischer Lage, Austausch mit anderen Kulturen u.a.) mitgestaltet hat.

11. Konkurrenz der modernen Architektur

Obwohl die neuen Wohnbauten sich von den traditionellen, nach innen orientierten Häusern grundsätzlich unterscheiden und nach westlicher Manier mit nach außen hin geöffneten Fassaden und Balkonen konzipiert sind, bieten sie im allgemeinen nicht die von ihren Bewohnern erwarteten Raumqualitäten und befriedigen nicht deren kulturspezifische Bedürfnisse. Am deutlichsten läßt sich diese Tatsache an den fortwährend geschlossenen Fenstern und den meist mit Planen, Blech oder Stoff verkleideten oder verglasten oder ganz einfach nicht genutzten Balkonen in den neuen Wohngebieten ablesen. Wenn man die Leute fragen würde, was sie am meisten an den modernen Häusern anzieht, dann sollte man auf höchst unterschiedliche, widersprüchliche Antworten gefaßt sein.

In erster Linie geht es um Aspekte der Grundrißplanung und der technischen Ausstattung. Für viele, die einmal in der Altstadt gelebt haben, ist der Innenhof heute nicht mehr akzeptabel und besonders im Winter äußerst problematisch. Er dient als Erschließungsbereich der verschiedenen Räume des Hauses, und das bedeutet, im Winter vom Warmen ins Kalte und wieder ins Warme zu gehen und, wenn es regnet, vom Trockenen ins Nasse

Als Menschen des Orients waren alle der Religion eng verbunden, glaubten, obwohl sie verschiedenen Religionen angehörten, an den gleichen Gott und hatten ähnliche Vorstellungen von Gott, dem Sinn des Lebens, dem Tod, der Entstehung der Welt, der Wiederauferstehung, dem Bösen und Guten, der Hölle und dem Paradies. Als Menschen des Orients hatten alle auch gemeinsame Traditionen: Autorität des Hausherrn, Unterordnung der Frau,



Abb. 4 / Verfallende Bausubstanz / Foto: Langendörfer



Abb. 5 / Ein Gasse als (noch) funktionierender Sozialraum / Foto: Peterek

wirtschaftliche Abhängigkeit vom Vater, strenge Trennung nach Geschlechtern, enge familiäre Bindungen. Die Verwandtschaft ordnete die Zeit: die 'individuell' durchlebte, in der jeder Mensch in seinem Leben immer wieder neue, verwandtschaftlich zu benennende Statuspositionen einnimmt, wie auch die 'kollektive, die geschichtliche Zeit, in der die Abfolge der Vorfahren die Vergangenheit in Abschnitte teilt, die den einzelnen Generationen zuzuordnen sind.⁹

Als Menschen waren sie einfache, offene, im allgemeinen wenig gebildete Leute, heißblütig wie die heißen Sommertage, trocken wie das Klima und geschlossen wie ihre Bauten. Von außen ganz anders wie von innen (ähnlich wie ihre Hofhäuser), haben sie sich deshalb in ihren Häusern wohl gefühlt.

Heute sieht es in der Altstadt kaum anders aus, da dort eigentlich nur die 'Konservativen' geblieben sind. Der Auszug aus der Altstadt in die nach westlichen Mustern gebauten neuen Wohnviertel begann Ende des vergangenen Jahrhunderts, nahm in der Mandatszeit, d.h. in den 20er und 30er Jahren, weiter zu und stieg in den 60er Jahren mit der Einführung des Fernsehens, der Verstaatlichung der Schulen und der Gründung der Universitäten noch einmal kräftig an. Anfänglich waren es die reichen Leute unterschiedlicher Glaubenszugehörigkeit, vor allem aber die Christen. Inzwischen haben nicht nur reiche, sondern auch mittlere und schwächere Schichten den gleichen Weg eingeschlagen. Mit ihrem Auszug aus der Altstadt lösen sie sich gleichzeitig von der Tradition, wollen sie sich von überlieferten Zwängen freimachen.

13. Veränderungen der Familiengröße und Familienstruktur

Im Zusammenhang mit den soeben erwähnten, aber auch anderen, insbesondere wirtschaftlichen und sozio-ökonomischen, Veränderungen haben sich im Laufe der Zeit auch die Größe und die Struktur der Familien verändert. Kinderreiche Familien, mit 8 bis 10 Personen, wie sie einst die großen Hofhäuser bewohnten, gibt es heute, nicht allein in der Altstadt, nur noch selten. Für kleinere und heute 'normale' Familien, d.h. 6 bis 7 Personen, sind die traditionellen Häuser viel zu groß und auch zu teuer. Und für eine Nutzung durch mehrere, nicht miteinander verwandte Familien sind sie ebenfalls nicht geeignet, da der Innenhof den Mittelpunkt des Privatlebens ausmacht und sich konservative Familien, bei einer Belegung durch mehrere Parteien, nicht frei bewegen können. Alle Versuche, derartige Häuser in einzelne Einheiten aufzuspalten und die Höfe zu teilen, haben die Häuser nur stark beschädigt, aber keine Privatsphäre für die dort

zusammenlebenden Familien schaffen können.

Darüber hinaus sind im Laufe der Zeit viele Menschen aus der Altstadt ausgezogen, weil sie - aufgrund veränderter Lebensumstände - ihr Leben selbst in die Hand nehmen und nicht länger, wie traditionell üblich, nur im Elternhaus bzw. der Großfamilie leben wollen. Anfänglich sind dies meist Akademiker, wie Beamte, Bankiers, Ärzte, Rechtsanwälte, Ingenieure u.a., gewesen, die wirtschaftlich unabhängig waren oder sich selbständig gemacht hatten. Oft waren sie im Ausland gewesen oder hatten Kontakte zu ausländischen Medien bzw. eine Ahnung von der 'Außenwelt' und entwickelten damit auch andere Bedürfnisse. Aus den gleichen Gründen ziehen heute noch, Tag für Tag, viele Leute, insbesondere neu gegründete Familien und junge Leute im Heiratsalter, aus der Altstadt aus. Bald werden die Eltern sterben und die Großfamilien zerfallen; die Brüder, die vielleicht im Elternhaus geblieben sind, können das große Haus dann nicht mehr allein bewirtschaften und müssen den ausgezogenen Geschwistern ihr Erbteil ausbezahlen. Dann wird das Haus in vielen Fällen an Händler verkauft, als Lager bzw. für Gewerbezwecke umgenutzt und schließlich nach und nach verfallen, später verlassen werden und leerstehen oder dem Abbruch zum Opfer fallen.

14. Veränderungen der Sozialstruktur

Nicht nur die Größe und Struktur der Familien, sondern auch die Sozialstrukturen haben sich verändert. Bis in die zweite Hälfte des vergangenen Jahrhunderts hinein haben die Aleppiner verschiedener Glaubensrichtung und mit unterschiedlichem wirtschaftlichen Status vieles gemeinsam gehabt. Sie haben nicht nur den gleichen Haustyp bewohnt und im gleichen Quartier gelebt, sondern auch dieselben Lebensweisen, Eß- und Bekleidungsgegewohnheiten geteilt. Im Laufe der Zeit haben sich Unterschiede herausgebildet. Heute sind diese Unterschiede sehr groß geworden und das Spektrum der sozialen Schichtungen sehr vielfältig. Zwischen den orthodoxen, der Tradition streng verbundenen Gruppen und den am weitesten emanzipierten gibt es vielfältige Übergangsformen.

Die 'Fortschrittlichen' lehnen das traditionelle Leben und damit auch das traditionelle Quartier bzw. Wohnhaus grundsätzlich ab. Christen und Juden waren die ersten, die sich von der traditionellen Lebensweise gelöst haben. Heute leben in der Altstadt keine Juden mehr und nur noch wenige arme Christen. Geblieben sind konservative islamische Schichten, für die verwandtschaftliche und nachbarschaftliche Beziehungen noch immer von großer Bedeutung sind.

9

Annegret Nippa, 1991

Als Beleg dafür möge ein Phänomen dienen, das seit einigen Jahren nachweisbar ist, für das sich bislang aber kaum jemand interessiert hat, nämlich die Rückwanderung konservativer Familien und Gruppen in die Altstadt. Diese hatten vormalig, im Rahmen der schon erwähnten Sanierungsmaßnahmen und Straßendurchbrüche, die Altstadt verlassen müssen und Ersatzwohnungen in vom Staat errichteten Sozialbaugebieten erhalten, dort ein paar Jahre gewohnt, sich aber niemals eingelebt. Heute finden sie ihren Weg in die Altstadt zurück und kaufen in bestimmten Gassen sämtliche Wohnhäuser auf, um wieder zusammensein und traditionell leben zu können.

15. Zunehmende Heterogenität in Familie und Gesellschaft

Früher haben alle Mitglieder einer Familie den gleichen Beruf ausgeübt, da es für sie im allgemeinen nur möglich war, der Tätigkeit des Vaters bzw. (bei Mädchen) der Mutter (falls diese überhaupt berufstätig war) nachzugehen. Im Laufe der Zeit sind manche Berufszweige, vor allem handwerkliche und traditionelle Gewerbe verschwunden und andere aber neu entstanden. Manche der Jüngeren haben studiert, und viele haben sich dem Verwaltungs- und Dienstleistungssektor zugewandt. Es gibt heute zwar noch Familien, deren Mitglieder einheitlich bestimmten Berufen nachgehen (vor allem Händler, Goldschmiede u.a.), aber in den meisten Familien sind die beruflichen Betätigungen sehr unterschiedlich. So findet man heute in einer Familie den Arzt neben dem Schneider, den Hochschullehrer neben dem Autoschlosser, den Maler neben dem Taxifahrer.

Früher haben die Mitglieder einer Familie nicht nur den gleichen Beruf erlernt, sondern auch am gleichen Ort gearbeitet und die Zeit miteinander verbracht. Sie hatten nicht nur die gleiche Ausbildung und die gleichen Lebensumstände, sondern auch die gleichen Bedürfnisse und Interessen. Sie konnten sich deshalb miteinander verständigen und zusammengehörig fühlen, ihr Leben gemeinsam gestalten und gemeinsam in einem Haus wohnen. Mit den schon angedeuteten Veränderungen hat das gemeinsame Leben an Bedeutung und damit auch das traditionelle Wohnhaus an Anziehungskraft verloren.

Das gemeinsame Leben im traditionellen Hofhaus war bzw. ist eng mit dem gemeinsamen Leben in der traditionellen Gasse bzw. im Quartier verbunden. Die Gassen der Altstadt waren im allgemeinen — und manche sind es immer noch — von Familien bewohnt, die irgendwie miteinander verwandt waren oder lange miteinander gelebt haben. Die Gassen waren nicht nur Verkehrsräume, sondern So-

zialräume. Hier haben die Kinder zusammen gespielt und sich später ineinander verliebt. Wenn die Männer tagsüber nicht anwesend waren, saßen die Frauen vor der Haustür und erledigten vieles von ihrem Haushalt, haben Witze und Stadtgerüchte ausgetauscht, aber auch gemeinsam die Wohngasse sauber gehalten. In den Hauptgassen kamen tagsüber die Verkäufer von Obst und Gemüse, von Heizöl, Drogerieartikeln, Schuhen und Hausschuhen, Teppichsaugern und Rohrstühlen, die Schaf- und Ziegenzüchter mit ihrer Milch, die Altkleiderhändler, die Müll- und Lumpensammler und viele andere mehr vorbei. Alle waren den Quartiersbewohnern bekannt und wurden von diesen erwartet. An den Kreuzungen der Gassen trafen sich abends und am Freitag die Männer und Jugendlichen, haben sich unterhalten, Informationen ausgetauscht, Geschäfte angebahnt, gefeiert, aber auch gestritten. Die Frauen haben sich von Haus zu Haus bewegt, einander nicht nur im Haushalt, sondern auch bei der Schönheitspflege geholfen, sich umeinander gekümmert, sich gemeinsam mit Pflanzen und Garten beschäftigt, aber auch gefeiert und getanzt.

Als einzelne Familien anfangen, aus den traditionellen Wohngassen wegzuziehen, hat dort auch das soziale Leben nachgelassen. Als dann fremde Familien nachrückten, hat sich die Lage verschärft und die traditionellen Lebensformen mehr und mehr beeinträchtigt. Inzwischen sind die Wohngassen weitgehend zu lebensarmen Verkehrsräumen verkommen.

16. Trends zum Neuen, zum Bequemeren und zur 'Verwestlichung'

Aus der Altstadt ziehen jedoch nicht nur diejenigen weg, die mit der überlieferten Lebensweise und den Hofhäusern nicht mehr zurechtkommen, sondern durchaus auch konservative Familien, die nicht unbedingt reich sind und keine Probleme mit der Bausubstanz haben. Ihre Häuser sind gut erhalten. Sie ziehen nur deshalb weg, weil sie in neuen Räumen wohnen, ihr Leben verändern und vor allem bequemer leben wollen. Sie sind genau wie diejenigen, die ein altes Auto besitzen, aber damit nicht mehr zufrieden sind. Sie wollen es abgeben und ein neues kaufen, weil sie das alte einfach satt haben, weil das neue besser aussieht, *air-conditioning* und Stereoanlage besitzt, ein anderes Innenleben aufweist, bequemere Sessel bietet.

Wiederum andere Leute, insbesondere Jugendliche, wollen aus der Altstadt in neue Wohnungen umziehen, weil diese 'modern', d.h. europäisch, also wie im Fernsehen, in Videofilmen, im Kino, aussehen. Sie wollen die Europäer ganz einfach nicht nur in Kleidung und Haarschnitt, sondern auch in der Wohn-

kultur nachahmen. Ob das zu ihnen paßt oder nicht, ob sie sich darin wohl fühlen oder es einfach aus einem grundsätzlichen Bedürfnis nach Widerspruchs tun, interessiert wenig. Sie ziehen Jeanshosen und Lederjakken nicht deshalb an, weil diese praktisch sind, sondern weil man darin als 'modern' gilt.

Die Mehrheit interessiert sich heute eher für den äußeren Glanz der Dinge als für deren inneres Wesen, was im Gegensatz zur Haltung früherer Generationen steht, die sich kaum um die Gestaltung der Außenhaut ihrer Häuser, sondern um den Reichtum der Innenhöfe kümmerten. Deshalb sind auch die traditionellen Hofhäuser, die üblicherweise eher zurückhaltend, solide und gestaltungsarm waren, heute für viele nicht mehr attraktiv.

17. Veränderungen der Freizeitbedürfnisse, -interessen und -angebote

Auch die Freizeitbedürfnisse und der Freizeitbegriff haben sich, nicht nur im Orient, entscheidend verändert. Früher kannte man die heute übliche Differenzierung zwischen Arbeitszeit, Nicht-Freizeit und Freizeit nicht, sondern stattdessen vielfältige Übergangsformen zwischen der Arbeits- und der freien Zeit. Außerdem war die Arbeitszeit für alle lang und die freie Zeit kurz.¹⁰ Die Männer waren normalerweise den ganzen Tag bei der Arbeit, gestalteten ihre Arbeitszeit aber weitgehend selbständig und erledigten während dieser Zeit vieles andere mehr. Sie gingen in die Moschee, empfingen Gäste am Arbeitsplatz oder luden sich bei anderen ein, machten Einkäufe oder verbrachten ihre Mittagspause auf einer Bank nahe der Arbeitsstelle oder in der nächstgelegenen Moschee. Bei den Frauen war es nicht anders. Sie hatten kinderreiche Familien, verfügten über primitive Haushaltsgeräte und mußten vieles manuell erledigen. Auch sie haben den ganzen Tag gearbeitet, dabei aber auch vieles andere erledigt, sich gegenseitig besucht, geholfen und gepflegt, sind gemeinsam ins Badhaus gegangen, haben Einkäufe getätigt. Die Kinder verbrachten den Tag, nach Geschlechtern getrennt, bei ihren Lehrern und Lehrerinnen bzw., wenn sie älter waren, bei den Vätern am Arbeitsplatz oder den Müttern im Haus.

Tagsüber haben also alle Familienmitglieder, die gemeinsam in einem Großhaushalt lebten, ihre Zeit unabhängig voneinander verbracht. Am Abend traf man sich dann zur gemeinsamen Hauptmahlzeit. Man hatte Zeit für einander, um einen kurzen Abend zusammen zu verbringen. Anschließend gingen alle zeitig zu Bett, denn es gab weder Strom noch Freizeiteinrichtungen oder -angebote. Falls man den Abend nicht im engen Familienkreis verbrachte, hatte man entweder Gäste oder war

selber zu Gast bei anderen Familien. Die Gäste waren normalerweise Verwandte der Männer oder Frauen und gleichzeitig auch Nachbarn in der gleichen oder der nächsten Wohngasse bzw. Arbeitskollegen oder Geschäftspartner. Man hatte gleiche Arbeitsverhältnisse, Lebenseinstellungen, Freizeitbedürfnisse und -interessen, hat vieles gemeinsam unternommen und fühlte sich wohl in den traditionellen Häusern und Quartieren, die für eine solche gemeinschafts-bezogene Lebensweise geeignet waren.

Im Laufe der Zeit, besonders in den letzten Jahrzehnten, hat sich vieles, aus unterschiedlichen Gründen, rapide und grundlegend verändert. Infolgedessen ist auch die 'gemeinschafts-bezogene' Gesellschaft in differenzierte soziale Gruppen auseinandergebrochen. Heute gibt es zwischen den traditionellen Schichten, die immer noch (fast) wie früher leben, und den modernen Schichten, die ihr Leben wie Mitteleuropäer gestalten, eine Vielzahl von differenzierten gesellschaftlichen Gruppen, die ihre Freizeit unterschiedlich und individuell, mit modernen Angeboten (wie zahllosen Fernsehprogrammen, Videofilmen, Computerspielen u.a.), gestalten.

18. Veränderungen der gesellschaftlichen Rolle der Frau

Im Zusammenhang mit diesen Veränderungen hat sich zwangsläufig auch die Rolle der Frau (vor allem im gesellschaftlichen, weniger im familiären Rahmen) verändert. Bis in die 40er Jahre unseres Jahrhunderts wurde eine Berufstätigkeit der Frau nur dann akzeptiert, wenn sie zu Hause erledigt werden konnte (als Schneiderin, Friseurin u.a.). In den 50er Jahren durften Frauen aus einigermaßen emanzipierten oder unter ökonomischem Druck stehenden Familien nur bestimmte Berufe, wie Lehrerin, Krankenschwester u.a., ausüben. Später begannen manche Frauen, ihren Weg auch in den Verwaltungssektor zu finden. Die Zahl der ausgebildeten Frauen, von Akademikerinnen ganz zu schweigen, ist bis in die 60er Jahre jedoch äußerst gering und auf bestimmte Schichten beschränkt geblieben. Von Frauen im öffentlichen Leben war bis dahin überhaupt keine Rede.

Inzwischen haben viele Frauen Berufe erlernt, studiert, sich qualifiziert und sind in fast alle Arbeitsbereiche eingedrungen. Sie lehnen mehr und mehr sowohl das traditionelle Hofhaus wie auch das gemeinschafts-bezogene Leben ab. Sie wollen nicht mehr in traditionellen Häusern wohnen, da diese, aus verschiedenen Gründen, mehr Zeit als moderne Wohnungen kosten. Sie wollen auch nicht mehr mit den normalerweise nicht berufstätigen Schwiegermüttern und Schwägerinnen zusammenwohnen, da diese ganz andere Bedürfnis-

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Vgl. Sacher Olabi, Ein Freizeitmodell für neue Nutzungsqualitäten, Diss. TU Dresden 1989

se, Interessen, Sorgen, Lebens- und Zeitrhythmen haben. Darüber hinaus spielt für sie die Wegezeit zur Arbeitsstätte und zurück eine entscheidende Rolle, da diese größer ist, wenn sie in der Altstadt wohnen: In der Altstadt gibt es kaum Arbeitsmöglichkeiten für Frauen, und die Erreichbarkeit der öffentlichen Verkehrsmittel ist längst nicht so gut wie in den neuen Wohngebieten; außerdem müssen sie, wenn sie dort wohnen, die langen, ungepflegten Pflasterwege mehrmals täglich mit ihren eleganten Schuhen passieren. Diese, für einen Außenstehenden banal erscheinenden, Gründe waren und sind noch immer der Anlaß für viele Familien, die Altstadt zu verlassen.

19. Veränderungen der Heirats-, Arbeits- und Lebenseinstellung

Als eine frühe Heirat die Regel war, war es für die jungverheirateten Paare leicht, sich in die Großfamilie und ihre gemeinschaftsbezogene Lebensweise einzufinden, den traditionellen Gepflogenheiten nachzugehen und im elterlichen Haus mitzuwohnen. Sobald die Kinder erwachsen waren, manchmal auch früher, haben die Eltern entschieden, wer zu wem paßt. Kurze Zeit später war alles vereinbart und der Heiratsvertrag unterschrieben; dann wurde - nach Geschlechtern getrennt - gefeiert und zum Schluß zog die Braut ins Elternhaus des Bräutigams um. Dort trafen die beiden, wenn sie nicht verwandt waren, das erste Mal richtig zusammen. Sie waren gehorsame Kinder, die von ihren Eltern nicht nur wirtschaftlich, sondern auch gesellschaftlich abhängig waren und die nicht nur keine sexuelle Erfahrung, sondern überhaupt keine Lebenserfahrung besaßen.

Entscheidend waren früher verwandtschaftliche Verbindungen, bekanntschaftliche Beziehungen und der Ruf der Familie. Heute sind neue Entscheidungskategorien, in Verbindung mit den veränderten sozio-ökonomischen Verhältnissen, hinzugekommen: u.a. Geld, Schönheit, Ausbildung. Dadurch kommen mittlerweile Partner aus unterschiedlichen sozialen Schichten, von unterschiedlichem Ausbildungsniveau und aus verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Milieus zusammen, die sich nicht mehr

in die Großfamilie integrieren können und nach anderen Lebensweisen streben, als sie sich in den traditionellen Häusern und Quartieren realisieren lassen.

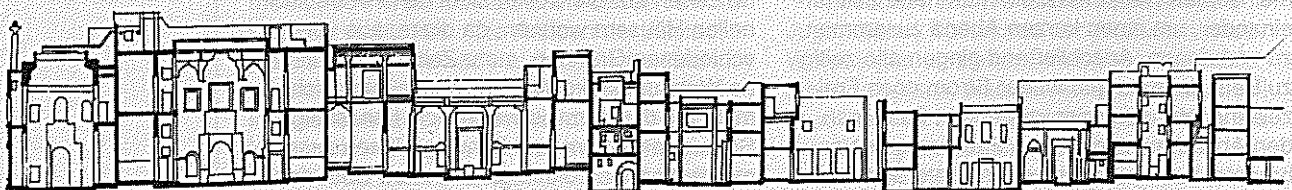
Früher haben die Eltern nicht nur über die Heirat ihrer Kinder bestimmt, sondern auch deren Lebensgestaltung und Wohnungswahl entscheidend beeinflußt, da die Männer nicht nur in ihrer Jugend, sondern oft lebenslang von ihren Vätern wirtschaftlich abhängig waren. Normalerweise arbeiteten sie beim Vater, wohnten und lebten bei ihm und erhielten von ihm Geld für sich und ihre Familien, egal wie alt sie waren. Noch heute leben zahlreiche Familien, vor allem Händler, nach diesem Muster. Es ist jedoch nicht mehr die Regel, da viele junge Menschen nicht mehr der Tätigkeit ihrer Eltern nachgehen, sondern andere Berufe erlernt oder studiert und sich selbständig gemacht haben. Wirtschaftlich nicht mehr abhängig, können sie sich leichter von der traditionellen Lebensweise lösen, ihr Leben selber in die Hand nehmen und sich Wohnungen nach eigenem Wunsch gestalten.

Darüber hinaus gibt es mehr und mehr Leute, die einfach anders als ihre Eltern leben und ihre Kinder anders erziehen wollen, als sie selber aufgewachsen sind. Sie wollen unverschleierte Frauen heiraten, mit diesen am Abend ein Glas Wein trinken oder am Wochenende ausgehen oder Freunde mit deren Frauen zuhause empfangen. Sie respektieren ihre Eltern und deren Lebensweise; umgekehrt können ihre Eltern dies aber nicht akzeptieren. Deshalb ist es für sie besser, fernab von Eltern und Geschwistern zu wohnen, also in die neuen Wohngebiete umzuziehen, wo sie ihr Leben selbständig und ungestört gestalten können.

20. Konzentration von konservativen und armen Bevölkerungsgruppen in der Altstadt

Aus den erwähnten Gründen ziehen viele Bewohner aus der Altstadt aus. Dazu zählen vor allem die aufgeklärten, ausgebildeten und 'emanzipierten' Gruppen und Schichten, aber auch reiche konservative Familien. Zurück bleiben einerseits die ältere Generation der reichen Familien und andererseits die traditionsverbun-

Abb. 1 / Ein Vergleich zwischen gestern (links) und heute (rechts): Zerstörung nicht nur des Stadtgefüges, sondern auch von Sozialräumen und Privatsphäre



denen mittleren und ärmeren Schichten, was zu einer weiteren Vernachlässigung der Bau- substanz führt, da es den älteren Bewohnern an der nötigen Kraft und den mittelständigen und armen Familien am Geld für die notwendige Instandhaltung fehlt.

Die Konzentration konservativer Schichten in den Quartieren der Altstadt bildet ihrerseits wiederum den Anlaß für weitere Emigration und erschwert die Rückkehr von 'emanzipierten' Familien. Frauen, die ohne Schleier und in Jeans oder Minirock auf die Straße gehen (die einem Außenstehenden als emanzipiert erscheinen, obwohl sie zu Hause meist ebenso traditionell wie ihre Mütter und Großmütter leben), können und wollen nicht in der Altstadt wohnen. Wenn ein Mann eine solche Frau heiraten oder sich mit ihr anfreunden will, muß er sich zunächst eine Wohnung außerhalb der Altstadt suchen.

Mit dem Auszug der reichen Familien aus den Vorstädten, die zur Altstadt gehören, fanden Zuwanderer vom Land ihren Weg dorthin. Viele Minderheiten, die im Dienstleistungsbereich (als Putzfrauen, Schuhputzer, Kellner, Müllsammler u.a.) tätig sind, haben sich im Laufe der Zeit in der Altstadt niedergelassen und dort ihre spezifische Lebensweise eingeführt. Sie kommen mit den Häusern, die sie auf unangepaßte Weise umbauen, und erst recht mit den eingewohnten Bewohnern nicht zurecht und bieten diesen wiederum Anlaß, das Quartier zu verlassen.

21. Fehlende Instandhaltung als Folge der Mietgesetzgebung

Infolge einer unzeitgemäßen und ungerechten Mietgesetzgebung gehen viele Häuser zugrunde. Nach diesem Gesetz, das seit den 30er Jahren Gültigkeit besitzt, kann der Eigentümer nach Unterschrift unter den Mietvertrag weder die Miete erhöhen noch die Wohnung bzw. das Haus zurückerlangen, solange der Mieter keine andere Unterkunft findet. Nach dem Tod des Erstmieters haben nicht nur seine Kinder, sondern auch seine Enkel das Recht, im Haus zu bleiben, solange sie nachweisen, daß sie über keinen anderen

Wohnraum verfügen. Alle Häuser, die vermietet sind, werden weder instandgehalten noch renoviert, da die Miete, die vor dreißig Jahren vereinbart wurde und damals für den Besitzer akzeptabel und den Mieter tragbar war, heute nichts mehr wert ist und in vielen Fällen nicht einmal für die Reparatur eines Wasserhahns reicht.

Deshalb werden auch zwischenzeitlich verlassene Wohnhäuser nicht mehr neu vermietet, ganz einfach, weil ihre Eigentümer sie nicht verlieren wollen. Sie lassen sie leerstehen, nutzen sie als Lager oder Werkstätte für eigene Geschäfte, vermieten sie illegal oder gehen, legal wie illegal, unterschiedlichen Wegen nach, um sie abzureißen und an ihrer Stelle neue Häuser zu errichten.

Schlußbemerkung

Die erwähnten Gründe, Faktoren und Einflüsse, die einzeln und in ihrem Zusammenwirken das Wohnumfeld der Altstadtquartiere mehr oder weniger stark beeinträchtigen, führen und führen noch immer zu einer Emigration der ansässigen Bevölkerung aus der Altstadt. Dies bringt eine Umwandlung nicht nur einzelner Häuser, sondern manchmal auch ganzer Quartiere in Lagerhäuser mit sich, führt zum Leerstand vieler Gebäude bzw. zu einer ungeeigneten Transformation zu neuen gewerblichen oder kleinindustriellen Nutzungen, was in allen Fällen den allmählichen Verfall der gewachsenen Strukturen bedeutet.

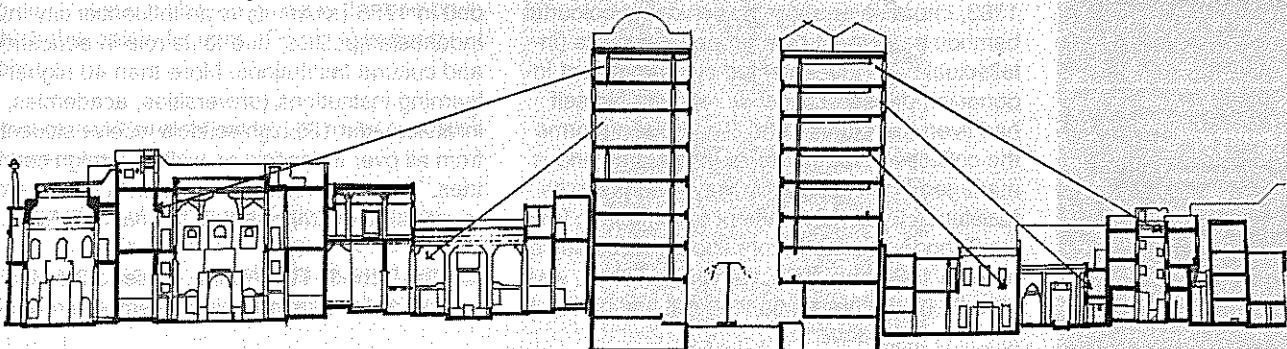
Der Verfasser möchte dabei keineswegs ein einseitig pessimistisches Bild der Altstadt von Aleppo, in der er aufgewachsen ist und der er sich noch immer eng verbunden fühlt, zeichnen, sondern stattdessen die vielfältigen Fragen aufzeigen, die ihn, seine Familie und seinen Freundeskreis fortlaufend bewegen, um darauf aufbauend, in Zukunft, in einer weiteren Studie vielleicht alternative Wege der Stadterneuerung andenken zu können.

BACHER OLABI

Dr./ ist Architekt und Hochschullehrer an der Architektur fakultät der Universität Aleppo. Die Studie entstand während eines DAAD-geförderten zweimonatigen Forschungsaufenthaltes im Jahr 1994 am Lehrstuhl für Städtebau und Entwerfen (Prof. Martin Einsle) der Universität Karlsruhe.

Das Manuskript wurde von Michael Peterek redaktionell überarbeitet.

den Bau von Hochhäusern entlang der Durchbruchstraßen



The Hidden Meaning of Kampung Tschodé: Non-Housing in Yogyakarta, Indonesia

DARWIS KHUDORI

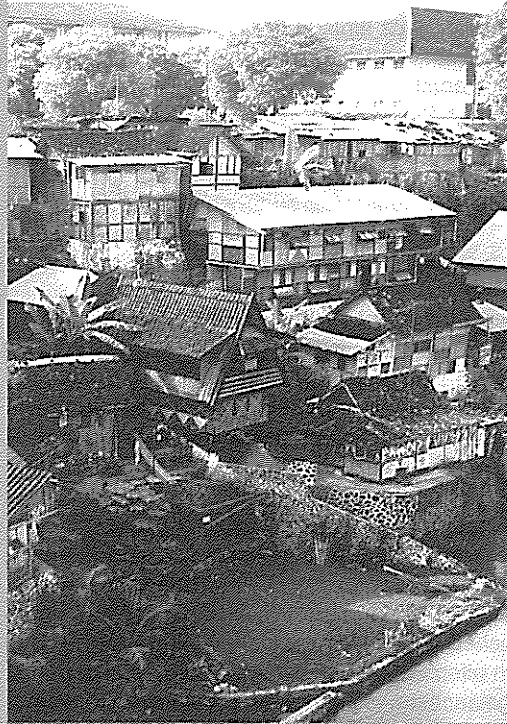
Zusammenfassung

Die tiefere Bedeutung des Kampung Tschodé-Projektes: Wohnen ohne Bauen in Yogyakarta

Der Autor, Schüler des Initiators dieses international anerkannten Projektes, eines ehemaligen Architekturprofessors und Priesters, stellt heraus, daß die außerordentliche Bedeutung des Vorhabens der Slum-sanierung nicht in seiner Größe liegt, sondern in dessen Charakter als Gegenmodell zu dem landesüblichen, elite-orientiert herrschafts- bzw. konsumbestimmten Planungsvorgehen. Diesem setzt es humanistische Werte entgegen. Seinen Erfolg verdankt es der auf dem geweckten Selbstbewußtsein der Bewohner beruhenden Selbstbestimmung der Bewohner bei einer Mobilisierung unterschiedlicher Finanzquellen unter Einbeziehung der technischen Vorgaben des landesweiten "Kampung Improvement Programme".

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"Kampung Tschodé" / Foto: Darwis Khudori / 1986



"Kampung Tschodé" / Foto: Darwis Khudori / 1986

Introduction

This paper attempts to show that the tiny and seemingly simple Kampung Tschodé represents, in fact, the complex reality of Indonesian society. The importance of Kampung Tschodé lies in its symbolic manifestation of a new moral consciousness in the evolution of Indonesian society in general.

The spontaneous cardboard housing on a very narrow piece of sloping land along the Tschodé River in the city centre of Yogyakarta, Kampung Tschodé, comprises a neighbourhood of about 40 households. It was transformed in 1983, into a safer, more hygienic and colourful bamboo settlement by a group of activists (intellectuals and students) led by a prominent Indonesian priest-architect-writer, who himself had lived there until 1986. The housing forms the collective property of its inhabitants and is managed in a cooperative way. Thanks to its resistance to the government's attempts to free the Tschodé riverbank from spontaneous settlement in 1986 and 1988, Kampung Tschodé, was brought by the press into the local and national

limelight. The well-maintained settlement continues to stand, neither growing nor declining, up until the present. In 1986 it received the Human Rights Award from the Legal Aid Institute, a prominent organisation of Human Rights movements in Indonesia. In 1992, the jury of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture selected Kampung Tschodé and its architect as laureates. What, actually, does Kampung Tschodé mean to Indonesian development?

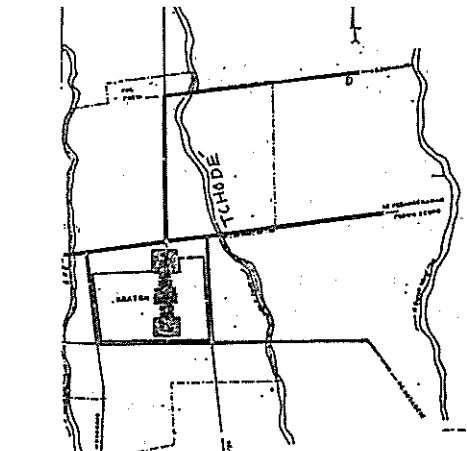
Kampung Tschodé; a Brief Historical Overview (1)

Yogyakarta, a royal Javanese town founded in 1756 (MAP 1) is an influential city in Indonesian politics, due to its role in education and cultural Institutions. More than 40 higher learning institutions (universities, academies, institutes) and 125 high schools receive students from all over Indonesia as well as foreign countries. The local voice of Yogyakarta is, therefore, considered important at the national level.

The Tschodé River-bank, close to the city centre, offers a favourable settlement area for

migrants. The west-bank of the river at the northern part of the city has been occupied by a group of settlements since 1765. In 1790 (MAP 2), another group settled on the west-bank near the main street of the city; and by 1824 the riverbank settlements had grown to such an extent that those of the lower part of the river were approaching those of the upper part (MAP 3).

A fast period of growth occurred during and shortly after the war of independence (1945-1950) when displaced people settled on the riverbanks. Most of these settlements were legalized during the 1950s. The second period of growth intensified during the 1970s. At the



MAP 1 / Yogyakarta 1756 (Mangunwijaya Y. B. (ed.); Preliminary Research of Yogyakarta City, Yogyakarta: Department of Architecture, Gadjah Mada University, 1971)

upper end of the river, the Chinese graveyard became a favourable site to live. Most of these settlements are illegal.

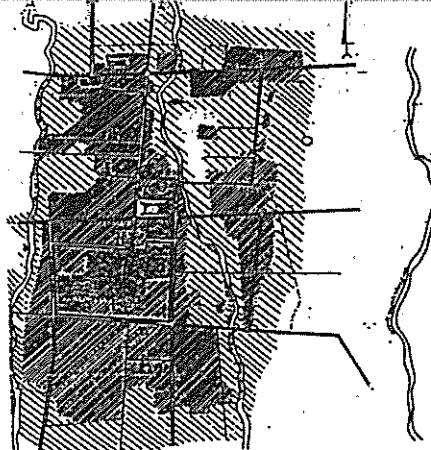
Nowadays, both sides of the river are almost completely full of „legal“ and „illegal“ settlements form a ribbon of kampungs.

The newest kampung is the settlement under the Gondolayu bridge of one of the main streets of Yogyakarta (MAP 4 and 5). Their dwellings were built from second-hand goods such as cardboard, plastic and corrugated iron. Since the beginning of their stay, the settlers have been frequently evicted by the city authorities, with the help of the army. Despite such disruptions the settlers have returned again and again. This particular kampung is the one on which this article focuses. This is Kampung Tchodé.

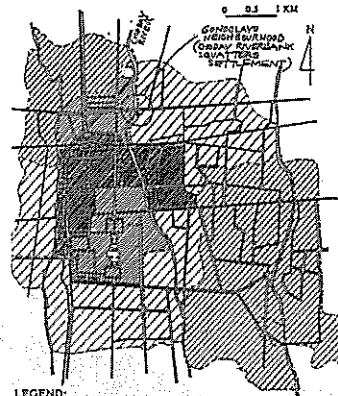
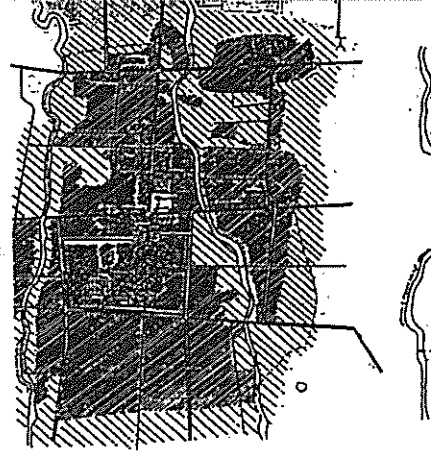
Kampung Tchodé as a „Non-housing“ Movement

The story of Kampung Tchodé is not primarily about housing. Housing is treated more as a means, as a manifestation of non-housing values, as a symbol to represent a certain con-

MAP 2 / Yogyakarta 1790 (Mangunwijaya Y. B. (ed.); Preliminary Research of Yogyakarta City, Yogyakarta: Dept. of Architecture, Gadjah Mada University, 1971)



MAP 3 / Yogyakarta 1824 (Mangunwijaya Y. B. (ed.); Preliminary Research of Yogyakarta City, Yogyakarta: Dept. of Architecture, Gadjah Mada University, 1971)



LEGEND:
 201 - 253 people/ha
 151 - 200 people/ha
 101 - 150 people/ha
 0 - 100 people/ha

MAP 4 / Kampung Tchodé in Yogyakarta (the Basic Map is photocopied from Kartodirdjo Sartono: Pedicab in Yogyakarta, Gadjah Mada University Press, 1983)



MAP 5 / Kampung Tchodé in the Neighbourhood (Setyo Budi Tulus (ed.); Cooperative Housing for Slum Dwellers, Tchodé Kampung Yogyakarta, Indonesia, Project Doc. submitted to the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1991)

1 A significant part of the material on Kampung Tchodé in this paper is taken from:

- Khudori, Darwis / Toward a Community of Liberation. A Report from a Battlefield of Social Conflict in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Project Report presented at the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies, Rotterdam, 1987.
- Khudori, Darwis / Housing Action as a Means for Popular Development. Empirical Reflection from and Future Possibility in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Project Report presented at the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies, Rotterdam, 1989.
- Khudori, Darwis / "Kampung Tchode" of Yogyakarta 1983-1993. A Testimony to an Urban Popular Housing and Community Development in Indonesia. Paper presented at the International Conference on "Inside and Outside Aspects of Housing in Urbanizing Areas of Developing Countries", Institute of Urban and Regional Planning, Technical University of Aachen, May 5-7, 1994.

2 The presentation of certain fragments of the biography, the thoughts and the work of Y.B. Mangunwijaya in this paper is partly based on the author's personal knowledge as his student, his collaborator and his friend, especially since 1976. Other sources consist of the written work of Y.B. Mangunwijaya. Articles on his work have also been written in various books and journals. Most of them are in the Indonesian language. Some of the biographical aspects of Y.B. Mangunwijaya are to be found, for example, in:

- **Maharaja, Apul D.:** Romo Mangun: Arsitek, Budayawan dan Pengabdian Rakyat Jelata. Jakarta: Majalah MUTIARA, 16-29 Juli 1986.
- **Matra, (Majalah):** "Saya Tak Mau Jadi Godfather". Y.B. Mangunwijaya Bicara Tentang Desa, Wanita, Gereja, dan Pak Harto. Jakarta: April 1988.
- **Tota, Mangunwijaya:** Anggota TRIP Yang Menjadi Romo. Jakarta: Majalah INTISARI, Desember 1985.

3 On Javanese culture (including feudalism), see for example:

- **All, Fachry / Refleksi Paham** Kekuasaan Jawa Dalam Indonesia Modern. Jakarta: Gramedia, 1986.
- **Geertz, Clifford / The Religion of Java.** London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960.
- **Lombard, Denys / Le Carrefour javanais.** Essai d'histoire globale. Paris: I'E.H.E.S.S., 1990.
- **Mulder, Niels / Mysticism and Daily Life in Contemporary Java: A Cultural Analysis of Javanese World View and Ethics as Embodied in Keblinan and Everyday Experience.** PhD. thesis at the University of Amsterdam, 1975.

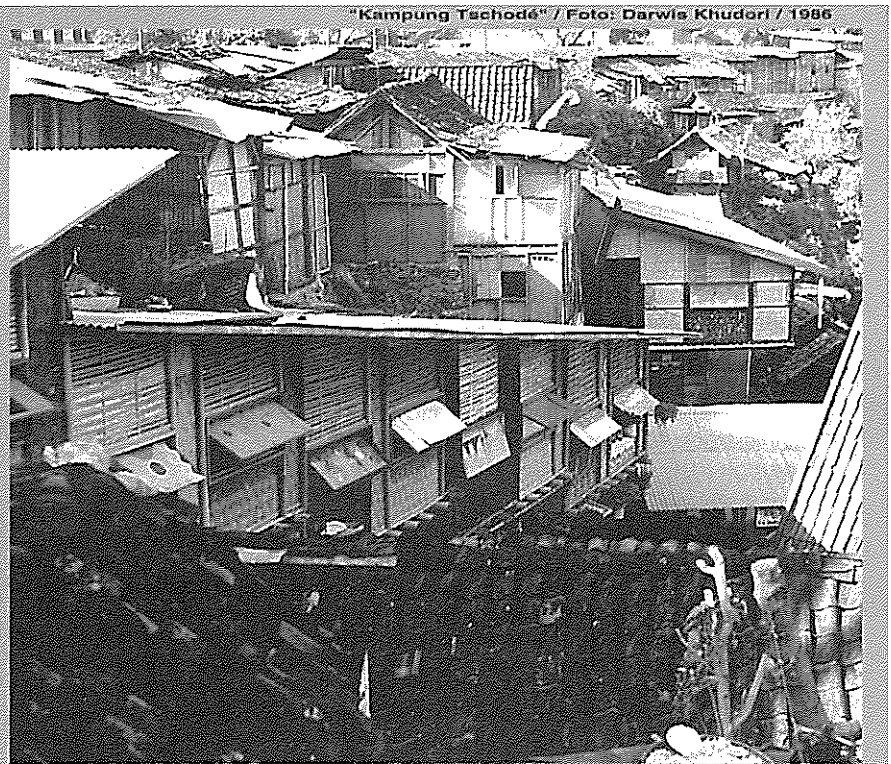
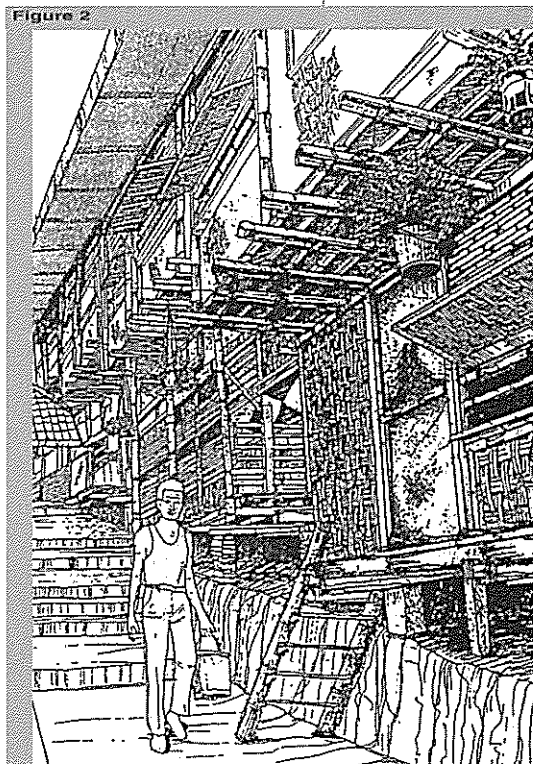
cept of human development in general and of architecture and urban planning in particular. The Kampung Tchodé movement covers a spectrum of visionary movements which can be qualified as moral, social, emancipatory, religious, altruistic, humanitarian or popular movements. Its spiritual rector, Y.B. Mangunwijaya (or Romo Mangun, meaning Father Mangun); priest, architect and writer is, no-doubt, one of the most important Indonesian advocates of the poor since the 1970s. His literary work shows his spirit of religiosity, his broad knowledge and deep understanding of human problems, as well as his solidarity with the poor and the oppressed. More than other intellectuals, however, who transmit their thinking mainly through writing or lecturing, Mangun puts his ideas into practice.²

In his view, the roots of the problems of development in Indonesia are not primarily structural (political-economy), but, rather cultural. They have to do with the mentality, with the moral and social visions and with the collective consciousness of the top leaders of the New Order regime. The failure can be described as the absence of respect for the little people. The roots are to be found in Javanese feudalism. In this view, the people are treated as the dependents of the ruling power.³

Figure 2 / Kampung Tchodé Bamboo Flat (Setyo-Budhi Tulus (ed.): Cooperative Housing for Slum Dwellers, Tchodé Kampung Yogyakarta Indonesia. Project Document submitted to the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1991).

The top leaders of the New Order regime, according to Mangun, have never been acquainted with humanitarian ideas. They are simply the pupils of Japanese fascist occupation (1942-1945). Mangun's experiences in the army during the war of independence when he got to know many figures presently in power, shaped his judgement of the present regime. He witnessed that it was the people — the little people - rather than the Republican soldiers who sacrificed most for the independence of Indonesia. They were tortured, even killed by the Dutch Army, while the Republican soldiers were hiding or escaping. They were not only victimized by the colonial regime, but also by the Indonesian guerillas who took from them what they wanted.

Today, the farmers and the poor are still no better off than during the colonial period. Under the New Order, Indonesia has regressed to a situation prior to 1908, before Javanese feudalism was temporarily enlightened by Western Humanism. The idea of supporting the poor through overall development does not conform to the global vision of the ruling elite, perpetuating the dualism of the modern/formal, traditional/informal, the urban/rural, large scale / small scale Java and outside Java. The development in Indonesia is basically a problem of human emancipation. Therefore, it is morally imperative, according to Mangun, for the rich, the intellectual, the well educated, the fortunate people to support or, at least, to cooperate with the poor in their struggle for a better life in a better social order.



Kampung Tchodé as a „Housing“ Movement

Mangun's choice of Kampung Tchodé to materialise his moral vision can not be separated from the fact that he is an architect, marked by his architectural education at the Aachen Technical University 1960-1966, and from his consciousness — thanks to his professor Liborius Schelhasse, — that architecture and urban planning are rather more socio-political than technical and aesthetical. This architectural school of thought, however, did not meet its cultuations ground when he returned to Indonesia in 1966. There appears to have been two factors which did not conform to his moral appeal which led him to leave the architectural circle. Firstly in Indonesia, architects and urban planners work only for the rich or the powerful, while the poor are neglected and even victimized for the benefit of the rich or big enterprise.

The other, more personal factor, is his experience of working and teaching at the university. Mangun founded the Research Centre at the Department of Architecture of the state's university in Yogyakarta concerning the architectural heritage of Indonesia, and the Design Centre serving the people and providing the students with a place to practice. However, the oil boom transformed these two centres into professional consultancy agencies. In fact, the university was transformed into a hidden business agency. In 1981/1982 Mangun resigned from university. Four reasons seem to have prompted him: the emergence and the spread, throughout the developing world, of the new ideas in social movement and „Liberation Theology“, from Ivan Illich, Paulo Freire, etc.; the readiness of Mangun and his group of students to do concrete work, the intention of the government remove the Tchodé river-bank building from and to transform it into a beautiful green-belt; and his coincidental encounter with the young.

Mangun found in Kampung Tchodé a perfect example of cultural and structural problems of Indonesian development.

Here, the rejection by society of the inhabitants of Kampung Tchodé in cultural and economic terms, is completed by politics. The government did not recognise the existence of these people. They were not even recognised by any political party during the general election campaign, because their number was too small to influence the election outcome.

In opposing to the government plan, Mangun proposed to the local authority a concept of development for Kampung Tchodé approved by the Chief of the kampung: firstly, the Tchodé river-bank settlement should be impro-

ved instead of being removed. Secondly, Kampung Tchodé should be managed by the inhabitants as a collective with community meetings and discussions becoming the basis of cooperative decision making and community cohesion; thirdly, the land on which Kampung Tchodé takes place remains the property of the state and, therefore, the inhabitants would not have the right to own, to rent or to sell; fourthly, to develop Kampung supervised by a competent team acceptable by the inhabitants.

Concerning Kampung Tchodé as a housing development, however, we do not find any pre-established concept of physical planning nor design. A concept existed, but it was not written exclusively for Kampung Tchodé. It was to be found in various articles and conferences by Mangun in different places or could be drawn from his existing architectural work. It was only ten years later, in 1991, that the concept was found and the physical design of Kampung Tchodé reconstructed for the assessment of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture 1992.⁴ The content of this concept confirms our conclusion that as a Housing Movement, Kampung Tchodé is more architect's creation for people, similar to Hassan Fathy's „Housing for the Poor“⁵, than people's creation enabled by architect, according to John Turner's „Housing by People“⁶.

Kampung Tchodé and K.I.P.⁷

Given the existing housing policies of the Indonesian government, it is important to assess the difference or similarity between Kampung Tchodé and K.I.P. (Kampung Improvement Programme, the Indonesian version of slum upgrading). By way of illustration, some of the characteristics of Kampung Tchodé are compared to K.I.P. in this section.

Firstly, K.I.P. is a part of national development policy. It represents government projects and is an instrument of government policies. The Kampung Tchodé movement however is a manifestation of a concept of development which contradicts that of the government. It is a non-governmental advocacy (not necessarily N.G.O.driven) for people harmed by the government's development policies. It is more a symbol rather than instrument of a certain concept of humanism.

Second, the motives are not the same. Since K.I.P. is an instrument of governmental policy, its executors are government functionaries whose personal motives are not always favourable to the K.I.P. objectives. In Kampung Tchodé, on the other hand, the motive is humanitarian. The activists of Kampung Tchodé did not represent either the government nor an N.G.O. It is true, that they worked under the

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— Setyo-Budhi, Tulus (ed.) / Cooperative Housing for Slum Dwellers, Chodé Kampung Yogyakarta Indonesia. Project Document submitted to the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1991.

5

— Fathy, Hassan / Housing for the Poor. Chicago and London: the University of Chicago Press, 1973.

6

— Turner, John F.C. / Housing by People. London: Marion Boyars, 1976.

7

On K.I.P., see, for example:

— Dharoko, Atyanto / Low-Income Settlement Development: Study on Urban Kampung in Semarang, Indonesia. Ph.D. thesis at the Department of Architecture, University of Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1988.

— Karamoy, Amir / "Program Perbaikan Kampung: Harapan dan Kenyataan" in Prisma No. 6/XIII, Jakarta, 1984.

— Sitas, Johan / "The Kampung Improvement Programme of Indonesia: A Comparative Case Study of Jakarta and Surabaya" in PAYNE Geoffrey K. (ed.): Low-Income Housing in The Developing World. Chichester/New York/ Brisbane/Toronto/ Singapore: John Wiley & Sons, 1984.

— Taylor, John L. / "Evaluation of the Jakarta Kampung Improvement" in SKINNER, TAYLOR and WEGELIN (eds.): Shelter Upgrading for the Urban Poor. Evaluation of the Third World Experience. Manila: Island Publishing House, 1987.

Referenzen

8

"Professionalism" here means a mode of work based on three principles. First, it engages two sides: the "client" and the "professional". Second, it involves an exchange of values: "service" from the professional with "remuneration" from the client. Third, it is based on scientific approach. The phrase "Urban Professionals" refers to people working in the fields related to urban development or urban management in a broad sense, for example planning, organisation, implementation, control and evaluation, with special emphasis, here on housing for low income people. The "professionals" can include architects, urban planners, economists, sociologist, etc., working independently or as employee of planning agency, design office, research institute, N.G.O., etc.

9

Recommendation I is to be found in MANGUNWIJAYA Y.B. and others: *Penelitian Awal Kota Yogyakarta*. Yogyakarta: the Department of Public Work and Gadjah Mada University, 1971. It is interesting to note that Mangun, leading lecturer at the Department of Architecture of Gadjah Mada University at that time, was the chairman of the first team preparing the Preliminary Master Plan of Yogyakarta which recommended, developing the Tchodé river-banks as a green belt of the city. His subsequent advocacy on behalf of the inhabitants of Tchodé River settlements seems, therefore, to contradict his own previous opinion. In fact, as he explained, it does not. The term "green belt" does not necessarily mean "vacant green land belt", but it can also mean "green kampung belt". Moreover, at that time (1971) his engagement with the poor was still at the level of "intellectual", and not yet based on practice.

At the time of Recommendation II the structure of the team was still the same, i.e. the Department of Public Works and Gadjah Mada University, but Mangun did not participate any more. He was already living in Kampung Tchodé. See *Rencana Pengembangan Malioboro*, Pemerintah Daerah Yogyakarta, 1981.

Recommendation III is to be found in INDANOE Soewandi, WOERJANTO Djoko and ISMU-DIYANTO: "Penataan Ruang Pemukiman di Daerah Bahaya II Gunung Merapi (Kawasan Khusus Sungai Code)" in *Widyapura* IV-3, 1983.

name of the lowest local government authority (Kalurahan), but they could be categorised as a temporary group of humanitarian activists.

Third, the initiative of K.I.P. versus that of Kampung Tchodé is important. There has been an evolution in the initiative of K.I.P. From 1966 to 1974, the initiative for kampung improvement activities (not yet K.I.P.) came from people known as „Formula 60-40“, whereby people bore 60 % of the total budget in the form of money, labour, building materials, land etc, while the local government contributed the other 40 %. From 1979 to 1984, with loans from the World Bank and money generated by the oil-boom in Indonesia, the central government became involved in the formulation of the project organisation at the local level in the selection of the distribution of project components. At present, a more important role has been given to the provincial level, but the role of central government is still strong. In Kampung Tchodé, on the other hand, the initiative came from two sides: the people, as was expressed by the Chief of the kampung and from Mangun and his group.

Fourth, the criteria of selection are of interest. In K.I.P., as a consequence of the programme's nature, the kampungs are selected by the government. It is logical, therefore, that a selected kampung cannot oppose the objectives of government development policies. The kampungs considered illegal, moreover, would not have any chance to be selected for a K.I.P. project. Regarding Kampung Tchodé, however, the choice was based, first of all, on the seriousness of its problems, in humanitarian, social, environmental and housing terms.

Fifth, the objectives of the two programmes are different. In K.I.P. it is to improve the physical and socio-economic conditions of the selected kampungs. In Kampung Tchodé, aside from having these objectives, there is the further objective of gaining government authorisation to remain on the river-bank.

Sixth, finance is different. While there is a similarity between K.I.P. and Kampung Tchodé in the sense that housing development finance comes fully from outside, for K.I.P. it is government, whereas for Kampung Tchodé comes in from various private sources. Some rich personalities, from private companies and Mangun himself have contributed. The problem lies in the mobilisation and management of funds.

Seventh, the intervening actors must be considered. In terms of qualifications and composition, the intervening agents in K.I.P. and Kampung Tchodé are the same: architect, urban planner, sociologist, and others. The difference is that in K.I.P. they are government

functionaries or professionals employed by government agencies, while in Kampung Tchodé they are voluntary activists.

Finally, the level of intervention is important. In K.I.P. there are various levels of intervention mostly limited to infrastructure. In Kampung Tchodé, aside from infrastructure provision, the level of intervention also includes the construction of housing and a community centre.

Kampung Tchodé and Urban Professionalism ⁸

Seen from the perspective of urban professionalism, the Kampung Tchodé movement conducted by non-professionals raises the question of why it happened and whether or not local urban professionals were capable of solving the housing problems of the poor? The answer lies, in the author's opinion, not in capability, which is a technical aspect of professionalism, but, deeper than that, in its ethical aspect, that is in the attitude of urban professionals towards people.

A look at the recommendations of those architects and planners charged by the government to prepare the Master Plan of Yogyakarta⁹ demonstrates that all the recommendations are based on a physico-spatial approach, either to make the city worthy of its name as the city of culture or to make the city beautiful and attractive for tourism. At no point is it suggested that the inhabitants of the Tchodé River-settlement or elsewhere are a subject whose aspirations have to be taken into account in the plan. No question is raised about a possible conflict between the beautification of the city and the living conditions of the urban poor imposed by that beautification. The urban professionals have simply ignored the aspirations of the people in their physico-spatial planning process.

This attitude is, in fact, not unusual among urban professionals in Indonesia. In other words, it is a sociological phenomenon. The problem here, therefore, lies not only in the personalities of the urban professionals themselves, but more importantly in the whole system of society which lets that attitude flourish. This is possible because urban professionalism has not been really established yet in Indonesian society.

The Kampung Tchodé movement happened, therefore, not because of the incapability (technical aspect) of urban professionals to solve the housing problems of the poor, but due to the mistaken attitude (ethical aspect) of urban professionals which harmed the interests of the poor. This is what Mangun, has demonstrated through the Kampung Tchodé movement in a radical way.

Neue Bücher / Book reviews

Architektur

Altner, G. u. a.; *Jahrbuch Ökologie 1995*; 306 S. + Anhang, Register 1992-95; DM 24.-
 Altner, G. u. a.; *Jahrbuch Ökologie 1996*; 294 S. + Anhang, Register 1992-96; DM 24.-

Die bisher erschienenen 5 Bände der Jahrbücher, gleich in ihrer Gliederung und der Verteilung der Beiträge auf die Abteilungen mit dem sorgfältig nachgehaltenen Register bis hin zur Abschattierung der Coverfarben, sind das Zeugnis einer vertrauensvollen Kontinuität im Herausgeberteam.

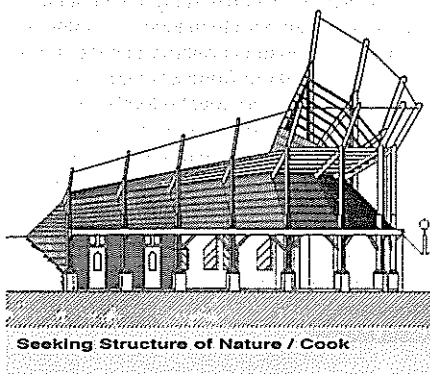
Wie immer befaßt sich auch 1995 und 1996 die erste Abteilung mit Reflexionen und Argumentationshilfen für die politische Diskussion über nachhaltigen Lebensstil und zukunftsichere Gesellschaftssysteme. Die zweite Abteilung versammelt Beiträge zu jährlich wechselnden Themenschwerpunkten. 1995 waren hier neben Nahrungsmittelproduktion/Ernährung und Wasser eine grundlegende Darlegung über ökologische Ökonomie von H.E.Daly und über prä- und postmaterielle Werthaltungen von Gerhard Scherhorn zu finden illustriert mit einer (Selbst-) Darstellung der Hutterer-Gemeinden. 1996 wurden die Stichworte Zukunftsfähigkeit von Volkswirtschaften, Gestaltung von Kulturlandschaften, Beachtung/Nichtbeachtung von Politiken in Verkehr, Artenschutz und Klima umkreist. Über die Jahre haben sich die Beiträge in der dritten Abteilung "Disput" als von geringerer Halbwertszeit erwiesen, nicht weil die jeweiligen Kontroversen (Auto und Verkehrssystem, 1993 Ökodiktatur, 1994 Gentechnik, 1995 Ökologisierungspotential der Warenproduktion, 1996 Tragfähigkeit der Erde im Verhältnis zu den Zivilisations- und also Konsummustern) entschieden wären — ganz im Gegenteil —, sondern weil die Diputanten als Mitglieder derselben scientific community allzu höflich, verschlüsselt und cum grano salis argumentieren. Demgegenüber sind die abschließenden Abteilungen "Umweltpolitikgeschichte" (1995 Wasserprobleme, 1996 Umweltbezogenen Enquêteaktivitäten de Bundestages), "Musterbeispiele" (nicht nur Erfolgsmeldungen) und "Spurensicherung" (von gelaufenen Aktivitäten) auch noch nach Jahren oft fesselnd zu lesen; so wie sie als Selbstversicherung der Ökogemeinde eine sinnvolle Funktion haben.

Ein solches Jahrbuch ist ein Sammel-

paket, aus dem sich der Leser das jeweils für ihn Brauchbare herauspicken kann. Dem TRIALOG-Leser, dem es besonders auf die Vermittlung von Hintergrundwissen ankommt, sind in den angezeigten Bänden folglich die Aufsätze von Daly und Scherhorn und die Wasserdiskussion (1995) sowie die Abhandlungen zur Frage Kultur- vs. Naturlandschaft (1996) zu empfehlen. Diese Texte ersetzen nicht nur die Anschaffung, sondern auch das Lesen sehr viel umfangreicherer Publikationen der erwähnten und anderer Autoren.

Jeffrey Cook. *Seeking Structure from Nature. The Organic Architecture of Hungary.* 191 S., ISBN 3-7643-5178-0. 1996. Birkhäuser Verlag, Basel.

Während sich in der westlichen Welt die sogenannte Moderne bis hin zum Rückfall in den Postmodernismus entwickelte, erblühte in einigen Regionen Ungarns ein unabhängiger und indigener Stil in Form der sog. organischen Architektur. Die Formen scheinen an Mendelson, Scharoun oder das Goetheanum anzuknüpfen. Eine zentrale Persönlichkeit der Bewegung ist der Architekt Imre Makovecz, doch mindestens ein Dutzend seiner Kollegen haben sich in den siebziger Jahren in der sog. Peázzá Gruppe zusammengefunden, und ein sehr breites Spektrum an Bauten mit organischen Formen zurückgelassen. Es handelt sich dabei sowohl um Aufträge für einzelne Familienhäuser wie auch Gemeinschaftsgebäude, Industrieanlagen, Einkaufszentren oder auch Sakralarchitektur. Die verwendeten Baumaterialien sind lokalen Ursprungs: in der Hauptsache Holz, aber auch Ziegel und Stahl. Auch

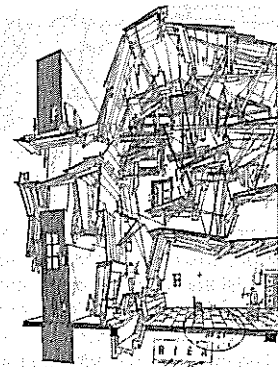


Seeking Structure of Nature / Cook

die Formensprache bezieht sich auf die regionale Tradition, wie das Manifest der Gruppe 'Only from Pure Sources' nahelegt. Dem Herausgeber des Bandes gebührt der Verdienst, als erster eine systematische Sammlung und Evaluierung dieser bemerkenswerten Architekturrichtung durchgeführt und evaluiert zu haben. Die Fotos, meist in schwarz/weiß, sind sachlich und qualitativ wie auch die Aufmachung des Buches allgemein. Eine Publikation ohne Doppelgänger.
 Kosta Mathéy

Peter Noever (ed). *The Havana Project: Architecture Again.* 184 S., ISBN 3-7913-31600-1. 1996. DM 48,-. Prestel Verlag Berlin / Wien / New York.

Ein Dutzend international erfolgreicher Architekten trifft sich für die Neujahrferien 1995 in Havanna, um sich selbst zu feiern. In einem fünftägigen Workshop werden alle Probleme der Metropole am runden Tisch ana-

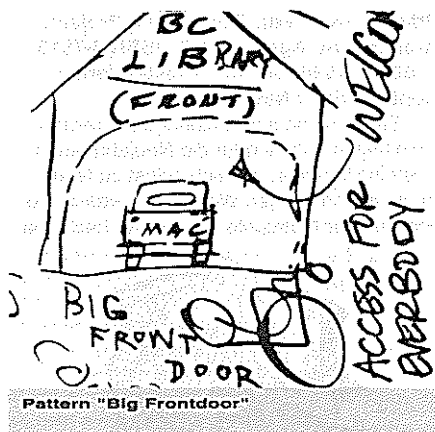


Perspective Section Wall

lysiert, und Wort für Wort mitgeschrieben — das Kapitel eins des Buches. Hervorzuheben sind die ausgezeichneten Fotos von Havanna, die über die Seiten hinwegtrösten. In einer zweiten Phase zuhause arbeiten die Teilnehmer Vorschläge zur Rettung der vom Verfall heimgesuchten Stadt aus, die im zweiten Teil der Publikation dokumentiert werden. Am überzeugendsten des Vorschlag des Coop Himmelblau, die Architekten fernzuhalten — da jede neue Architektur die vorhandene Substanz zerstört. Auch C.P.P.N. (Carl Pruscha & Peter Noever), die wohl einzigen ausländischen Teilnehmer mit langjähriger Ortskenntnis, sind auf Erhalt bedacht, und schla-

gen einen Schutzwall gegen die Sturmfluten in respektvoller Entfernung vor der einmaligen Küstenstraße der Hauptstadt vor. Nur den phallischen Super-Turm am Eingang der Altstadt hätten sie weglassen können — er sei als Zugeständnis an den Rest der Runde zu entschuldigen. Denn die übrigen Vorschläge — 'künstlerische Spinnereien' — erheben sicher nicht den Anspruch, jemals realisiert zu werden. Eben: Ferien sind zum Vergessen der Wirklichkeit da. Auch den cubanischen Gastgebern ist ein wenig Abwechslung zu gönnen, wenn auch der praktische Nutzen des Unterfangens gegen Null tendiert. Die aus dem Projekt hervorgegangene Dokumentation manifestiert eine Trendwende in der Architekturszene, die wie schon gegen Ende der siebziger Jahre bei nachlassenden Realisierungsaufträgen den Entwurf (und seine Darstellung) als Produkt der professionellen Anstrengung akzeptiert.
Kosta Mathéy

Henry Sanoff. Participatory Design, Theory & Techniques. ISBN 0-9622107-3-0. 212 S. 1990. US\$ 18, - incl. postage. Selbstverlag H.Sanoff, 405 West Park Drive. Raleigh, North Carolina 27605-1743, USA
Partizipativer Entwurf erlebte Ende der 70er Jahre eine Hochkonjunktur — dabei



geblieben sind danach jene, die es ernst damit meinten, und nicht nur Mode folgten. Henry Sanoff ist als Architekt und Hochschullehrer einer der überzeugten Vertreter des Ansatzes. Darüberhinaus zeichnet er sich durch die Tugend aus, die Methoden anderer Kollegen ebenso hoch zu schätzen wie seine eigenen — so hat er rund zwanzig Aufsätze und Berichte über unterschiedlichste Verfahren des partizipativen Entwerfens gesammelt, die er hier nun in einem Buch zusammen vorlegt. Die meisten Papers sind Reprints und in der Mehrzahl auf den amerikanischen Kontext bezogen, doch im Original oft schwer oder gar nicht mehr erhältlich. Das Buch ist somit als Schatzgrube zu bezeichnen und besonders für den Unterricht zu empfehlen.
Kosta Mathéy

Astrid Schneider (Hrsg.). Solararchitektur für Europa. ISBN 3-7643-5381-3, 205 S. 1996. Birkhäuser Verlag, Basel / Berlin.
Das Buch versucht, sehr viele Aspekte der Solararchitektur gleichzeitig anschaulich

wie kompetent zu vermitteln: Der Einstimmung dienen ein Interview der Herausgeberin mit Julius Posener, eine Würdigung der Berliner Nationalgalerie unter bauklimatischen Gesichtspunkten, und eine Abhandlung über die globale Klimaproblematik. Energiereserven und aktuelle konzeptionelle Tendenzen der Solararchitektur werden unter der Überschrift 'Potentiale' vorgestellt. Etwa die Hälfte des Umfangs der Publikation ist der Darstellung gebauter Beispiele hauptsächlich in Deutschland gewidmet. Auch mit der Thematik bereits vertraute Leser/innen finden in dem Abschnitt 'Instrumente und Techniken' Informationen über neue Entwicklungen in der schnell voranschreitenden Solar-Technologie. Der mit 'Perspektiven' überschriebene Teil des Bandes schließlich thematisiert die Politik zur Unterstützung einer weiteren Verbreitung von Solararchitektur. Angesichts des boomenden Büchermarktes zum Thema solares Bauen ist es nicht leicht, wirklich neue Informationen zusammenzutragen: der Herausgeberin ist es dennoch gelungen, diese Anforderung mit Hilfe glücklich ausgewählter Mitautor/inn/en und ausgezeichneten Farbphotos zu erfüllen. Drittmittelförderung und Verzicht auf unnötig aufwendige Präsentation erlauben dennoch einen publikumsfreundlichen Verkaufspreis. Ein Buch, das man auch nach den ersten Konsultationen oft wieder in die Hand nehmen wird.
Kosta Mathéy

Stadtentwicklung

Kulwant Singh; Florian Steinberg; Nathaniel von Einsiedel. Integrated Urban Infrastructure Development in Asia. 436 Seiten, ISBN 81-204-1078-5. 1996. Oxford & IBH Publishing Co., 66 Janpath, New Delhi 110 001 India.

Das Indian Human Settlements Institute, das Indian Human Settlements Programme (mit Unterstützung des IHS Rotterdam), und das Weltbank-gestützte Urban Management Programme veranstalteten 1995 ein internationales Fachseminar über 'integrierte städtische Infrastrukturentwicklung' in Delhi, dessen Beiträge hier veröffentlicht sind. In den 29 Einzelbeiträgen aus Indonesien, den Philippinen, Thailand, Nepal, Indien und der Türkei spiegeln die gängigen Prinzipien dieses Planungsansatzes in unterschiedlicher Vielfalt wieder: Einbeziehung eines erweiterten Spektrums an sozialen Akteuren ('stakeholders') an den Planungsprozessen; Verbesserung der Basisinfrastruktur für arme Bevölkerungsschichten; Finanzierung der Projekte unter der Hoheit der Gemeinden — unter zunehmender Inanspruchnahme des freien Kapitalmarkts; stärkere Berücksichtigung von Umweltfaktoren, und privat/öffentliche Planungsverbände. Ein dickes Buch voller qualifizierter, doch nicht immer ausgesprochen ansprechender Beiträge. Die von den Herausgebern geschriebenen Einführungs- und Schlußkapitel liefern den Schlüssel zur selektiven Auswertung der übrigen Texte — entsprechend thematischen oder regionalem Interessen.
Kosta Mathéy

Gesellschaft und Politik

Peter Dienel. Die Planungszelle. Eine Alternative zur Establishment-Demokratie. 3. Auflage, 1992. 291 S. ISBN 3-531-11427-1. Westdeutscher Verlag Opladen.

Demokratie ist gut, hat aber auch ihre Schwächen. Diese gerade im Bereich der Planung auszugleichen ist die Absicht der Planungszellen, wie sie Peter Dienel vorschlägt und inzwischen mit zusammen 2.600 Mitbürgern ausprobiert hat. Das Prinzip ist jenes der Schöffen in der Gerichtsbarkeit: Losauswahl statt Wahl (was übrigens schon im alten Griechenland als bessere Alternative betrachtet wurde). Diese so zustandekommene Gruppe arbeitet etwa eine Woche zusammen an einem Planungsproblem und erstellt im Ergebnis ein 'Bürgergutachten' als Gegenposition zu offiziellen Planungsvorschlägen.

Das Buch ist systematisch aufgebaut: Im ersten Kapitel wird das Dilemma der konventionellen Demokratie analysiert. Darauf folgt eine Untersuchung bestehender Beteiligungsmodelle — ihrer Vorzüge und Schwächen. Kapitel 3 stellt das Modell der Planungszelle im Detail vor. Organisatorische Fragen der Anwendung werden im Kapitel 4 beschrieben, worauf Beispiele für typische Aufgabenstellungen folgen. Beobachtete Effekte werden kurzfristig in Kapitel 6 berichtet und längerfristig in Kapitel 7 versprochen. Es folgen Varianten des Modells und Realisierungsmöglichkeiten. Insgesamt eine anregende Lektüre und ein wirklich ernstzunehmender Vorschlag zur Planungspraxis.
Kosta Mathéy

Ökologie

Beacon Mbiba. Urban Agriculture in Zimbabwe. Implications for Urban Management and Poverty. 220 S. ISBN 1 85628 857 9, 1995, 35,- Pfund bzw. US\$ 60,-. Avebury; Aldershot.

Das einstige Außenseiter-Thema städtischer Lebensmittelproduktion ist inzwischen, angesichts der Wiederkehr verbreiteter Armut selbst in Norden, gesellschaftsfähig geworden. Stadtplaner und Politiker, die sich einst auf vermeintliche Gesundheitsgefahren und Bruch des Planungsrechts beriefen, sind heute offener für wissenschaftliche Argumente und — first of all — das Interesse der normalen Bevölkerung. Die hat nämlich, seit langer Zeit, auch in den Städten und um sie herum Gemüse angebaut und Kleintiere gezüchtet. Natürlich läßt sich die Gefahr von Interessenskonflikten nicht ganz vom Tische fegen, wie die vorliegende Studie zeigt, was eine gewisse öffentliche Steuerung der Tätigkeiten rechtfertigt. Unbestritten ist der Vorteil von Output und Nähe von in der Stadt erzeugten Nahrungsmitteln, doch nicht immer sind es die Ärmsten und Bedürftigsten, die von den Früchten profitieren. Sie nämlich haben auch in der Stadt keinen Zugang zu Grund und Boden, den sie bewirtschaften könnten. Kontraproduktiv kann die Aktivität sogar werden, wenn man sie mit anderen städtischen Bodennutzungen in Verhältnis setzt, z.B. geschützte Spielflächen für Kinder oder bitte

benötigter Wohnraum. Dieses sind nur einige der Erkenntnisse aus der empirischen, seit 1991 von Mbiba in Zimbabwe durchgeführten Studie, die jetzt gedruckt vorliegt. Systematisch werden die Praktiken des Anbaus von Lebensmitteln direkt am Haus oder in separaten Gärten am Stadtrand untersucht, die Vermarktungschancen, die Reaktion der Behördenvertreter. Nach so viel Text und Tabellen ist ein eher philosophisches Kapitel über Wahrnehmung eingefügt, mit sehr vielen visuellen Informationen in Form von Fotos. Es folgt ein Vergleich mit der europäischen Schrebergartenbewegung, die als wegweisend auch für Afrika dargestellt wird. Schließlich werden Praktiken der lokalen Stadtverwaltung untersucht, die Viehweiden angelegt hat, um die städtischen Abwässer nicht in die offenen Flußläufe leiten zu müssen, und damit auch noch Profit macht. Auch die Akzeptanz von Weidevieh in der Nachbarschaft städtischer Wohnsiedlungen wird untersucht, allerdings ohne eindeutiges Fazit. Wegen der andererseits knappen empirischen Datenlage ist die Publikation bemerkenswert, aber auch wegen der zahlreichen aufgerollten Nebenthematiken, die wichtig erscheinen, jedoch im Rahmen dieser Arbeit nicht in dem von dem Autor erhofften Umfang untersucht werden konnten.

Kosta Mathéy

Technologie

Julian Keable. Rammed Earth Structures - A Code of Practice. 114 Seiten, ISBN 1-85339-350-9, 1996. 13,- Pfund. Intermediate Technology Publications, London.

Das Buch versteht sich als Bauanleitung für Bauleute und Gruppen, die Strukturen in Stampflehm-Bauweise erstellen wollen. Alle wichtigen Schritte von der Baustellenorganisation bis zu Fragen des Ausbaus werden kurz in Wort und Bild beschrieben, sodaß Mißverständnisse größtenteils ausgeschlossen werden können. Der Schwerpunkt liegt bei der Technik, gestalterische Hilfestellungen fehlen leider — auch der Autor scheint kein Interesse an architektonischer Qualität zu haben, wie das Foto des Modellhauses auf der 2. Umschlagseite vermuten läßt. Innerhalb seiner Grenzen ist die Veröffentlichung insbesondere wegen der narrativeren Schritt-für-Schritt Darstellung durchaus nützlich, obwohl es bei weitem nicht die einzige in der Art zu dem Thema ist.

Kosta Mathéy

G.C. Mathur. Low-Cost Housing in Developing Countries. 142 S., ISBN 81-204-0774-1, 1994. US\$ 22.50. Oxford & IBH Publishing, 66 Janpath, New Delhi 110 001, Indien.

In zwanzig Kapiteln mit insgesamt über 150 Zwischenüberschriften auf nur 150 Seiten erscheint diese Publikation eher wie ein Glossarium zu administrativen und technischen Fragen des Billig-Wohnungsbaus. Das Themenspektrum reicht von Wohnungsnot über Landverteilung, ländliches Wohnen, Sanierung, Baumaterialien, Finanzierung, Lehre und Forschung, Training, Ökologie, Naturkatastrophen, Infrastruktur, Normgebung, Technologietransfer bis hin zu Süd-Süd Ent-

wicklungshilfe. Der Autor, über Jahre hinweg Direktor der 'National Building Organization' zeigt, daß er bei allen Themen mitreden kann, ohne sich mit Details oder gar Fußnoten und Quellenangaben aufzuhalten. Stattdessen gibt er die Schätze seines Adressbuchs mit den Anschriften und Kontaktpersonen in über 50 Bautechnologie-Forschungszentren auf der ganzen Welt preis — alleine schon eine wertvolle Ressource. Ansonsten eher ein, in Indien sicher einmaliges, Nachschlagewerk für Bibliotheken.

Kosta Mathéy

Milan Zacek. Construire Parasismique. 342 Seiten, ISBN 2-86364-054-2, 1996. 480 FF. Editions Parenthèses, 72 Cours Julien, F-13006 Marseille.

Endlich gibt es das Standardwerk zum erdbebensicheren Bauen, das die Thematik nicht nur generell abhandelt und keine Fragen offen läßt. Vom Unausweichlichen zu präventiven Maßnahmen fächern sich die Kapitel der Veröffentlichung: Die Natur des Erdbebenphänomens; Effekte der Erdbeben auf Landschaft und Gebäude; allgemeine Vorsichts-Maßregeln; baukonstruktive Grundregeln; bedachte Grundstückswahl; architektonische Grundkonzepte des erdbebensicheren Bauens; Böden und Fundamente; Bauweisen der Obergeschosse; Nichttragende Bauelemente; technischer Ausbau; präventive Baunormen und gesetzliche Einschränkungen (auf Frankreich bezogen). Die Ausführungen enthalten auch für den Durchschnitts-Spezialisten des Bauens in Entwicklungsländern viele neue Informationen, wie z.B. die ganz unterschiedlichen Empfehlungen für die Bauweise in Abhängigkeit zum Untergrund. Zumindest für die in diesem Bereich spezialisierten Lehrinstitutionen und Projektbüros eine unvermeidliche Anschaffung.

Kosta Mathéy

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Organized by: International Association for Shell and Spatial Structures (IASS).
Contact: Knut Gabriel / Ulrich Hangleiter, IASS-Symposium '96, Inst. für Tragwerksentwurf und -konstruktion, Univ. Stuttgart, Pfaffenwaldring 7, D-70569 Stuttgart, Germany. ☎ (*49) 711 685 6227 / 6615, fax (*49) 711 685 6968.

October 7 -11th, 1996 in Dresden, Germany

„Differenz und Integration - Die Zukunft moderner Gesellschaften.“ 28. Kongreß der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie. Call for Papers. Contact: Prof. Dr. Karl-Siegbert Rehberg, TU Dresden, Institut für Soziologie, Bergstr. 53, D-01062 Dresden, Germany. ☎ (*49) 351 463 2887 / 7405 / 7374 / 7376, fax (*49) 351 463 7113.

October 13 -16th, 1996 in New Delhi, India

ESCAP Ministerial Conference on Infrastructure. Contact: Dr. M. Rahmatullah, Director, Transport, Communication and Tourism Division, ESCAP, United Nations Building, Rajdamnern Nok Avenue, Bangkok 10200, Thailand. ☎ (*662) 288 1234, fax (*662) 288 1000.

October 13 -16th, 1996 in Jerusalem, Israel

International Society of City and Regional Planners XXXI World Congress. Contact: ISOCARP, The Hague, The Netherlands. ☎ (*31) 70 346 2654, fax (*31) 70 361 7909.

October 14 -17th, 1996 in Sendai City, Japan

International Federation for Housing and Planning (IFHP) 1996 World Congress. Contact: IFHP Congress Department, 43 Wassenaarseweg, NL-2596 CG The Hague, The Netherlands. ☎ (*31) 70 328 1504, fax (*31) 70 328 2085.

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Ort: Universität Karlsruhe, Kollegiengebäude am Ehrenhof, Seminarraum 013
Organisation: Dr.-Ing. Michael Peterrek; ☎ 0721-608 3050 o. 608 2170 Fax 608 3734

October 24-26th, 1996 in Louisville, USA

12th Conference on the Small City and Regional Community: „Communities and their Physical Environments“. Contact: Peter Meyer or Tom Lyons, CUER Building, University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky 40292 USA. ☎ (*1 502) 852 8032 or (*1 502) 852 8256, e-mail: pbmeyer01@ulkyvm.louisville.edu or: ts lyon01@ulkyvm.louisville.edu

October 27-30th, 1996 in Sydney, Australia

Second International Global 500 Forum: Urban Futures - Environment Management for Tomorrow's Cities. Contact: Mr. Phil Noyce, Global 500 Forum, P.O. Box 16, North Melbourne, Victoria 3051, Australia. ☎ / fax: (*61) 3 932 62 567.

November 5 -8th, 1996 in Bangkok, Thailand

„International Conference on Urban Engineering in Asian Cities in the 21st Century“. Contact: Conference Secretariat, School of Civic Engineering, Asian Institute of Technology, PO Box 2754, Bangkok 10501, Thailand. fax: (662) 524 6059, e-mail: anilcw@rccsun.ait.ac.th.

November 6 -15th, 1996 in La Habana, Cuba

Curso Internacional de Ordenamiento Territorial, Regional y Urbano. Contact: Arq. Eduardo López García, Dr. C.T., Coordinador General VI Curso, Instituto de Planificación Física, Lamparilla # 65 e/San Ignacio y Mercaderes, Habana Vieja, Ciudad de la Habana, Cuba. ☎ (*53-7) 629 230 / 629 345 / 629 101, fax: (*53-7) 335 581 or 338 755

June 11 -14th, 1997 in Alexandria, Virginia, USA

RC 43 International Conference on Housing and the Built Environment. Contact: Patricia K. Edwards, Dean, College of Architecture & Urban Studies, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, VA 24061 USA. ☎ (*1) 540 231 6416, fax: (*1) 540 231 9938, e-mail: edwardsp@vt.edu -or: C. Theodore Koebel, Centre for Housing Research, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, VA 24061 USA. ☎ (*1) 540 231 3993, fax: (*1) 540 231 7157, e-mail: tkoebel@vt.edu

July 29 -August 3rd, 1998 in Montreal, Canada

XIVth World Congress of Sociology. Contact: Mr. Gilles Pronovost, Univ. de Québec à Trois-Rivières, P.O.Box 500, Trois-Rivières, Quebec, Canada G9A 5H7. ☎ (819) 376-5133, fax: (819) 373-1988.