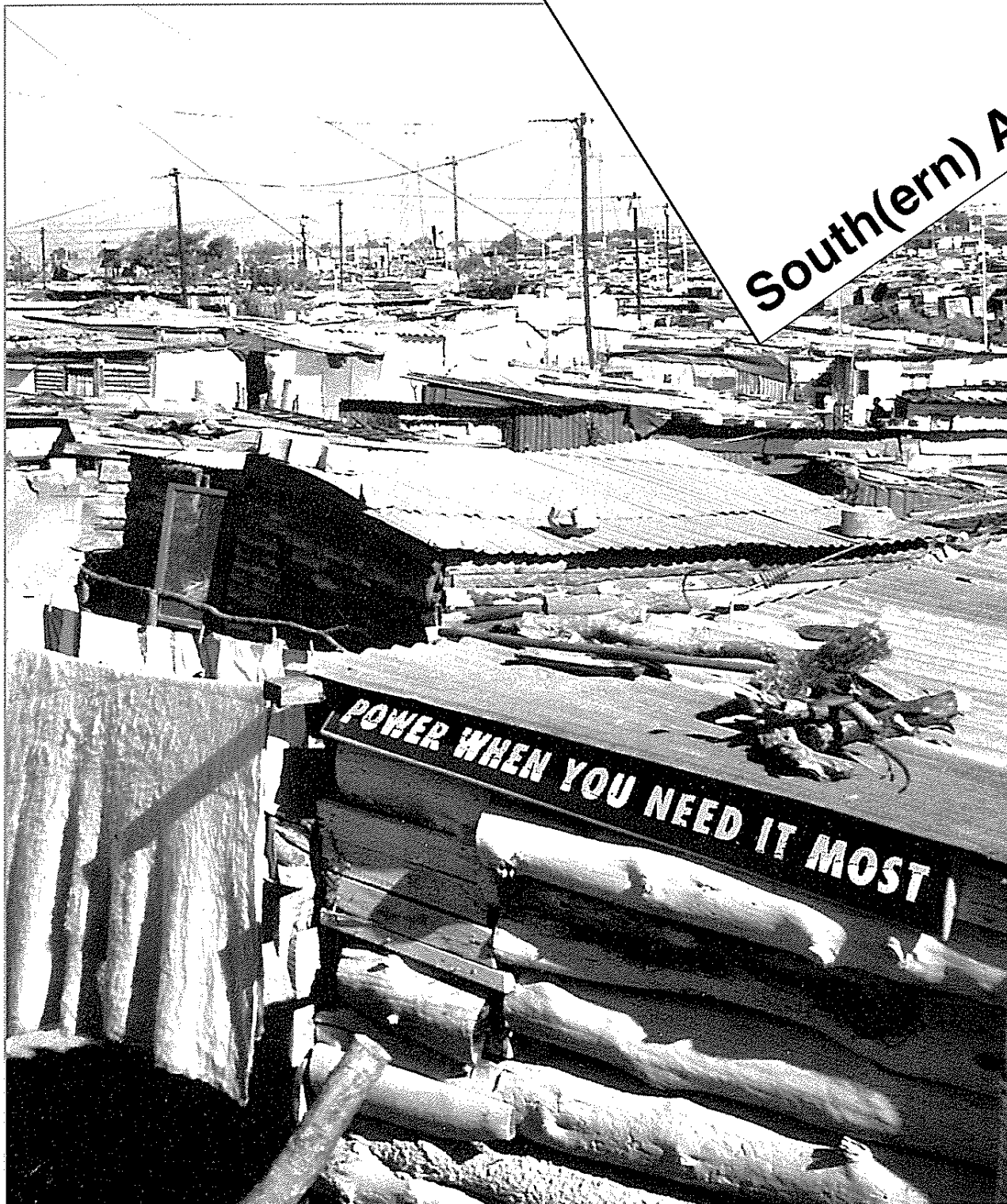


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South(ern) Africa

EDITORIAL

Im südlichen Afrika ist seit dem Ende der Apartheid sehr viel in Bewegung geraten. Die neue - zumindest theoretische - Gleichstellung der verschiedenen ethnischen Gruppen, der weißen und der "nicht-weißen" Bevölkerung, bringt zum Vorschein, daß jahrzehntelang unterschiedliche Kulturen nebeneinander existiert haben ohne sich gut kennengelernt und ausgetauscht zu haben, ohne gegenseitige Anpassung oder gar Vermischung. Die neue Verfassung der Republik Südafrika gehört zu den sehr fortschrittlichen, wie es ein Vielvölkerstaat, eine multikulturelle Gesellschaft eben erfordert, doch um sie mit Leben zu füllen wird wohl noch viel Zeit vergehen. Die Segregation ist nun nicht mehr verordnet, sondern ein schwierig zu überwindendes Relikt. Die Rassentrennung hatte sich im Städtebau, in der Architektur und in der Nutzung des öffentlichen Raums manifestiert. Seit dem Ende der Apartheid gibt es Verschiebungen, aber noch immer nur zögernde Vermischung. Jetzt sind es die Gewalt - ein spürbarer, ständig hoher Gewaltpegel als ein Erbe der vorangegangenen Jahrzehnte - und die Angst vor ihr, die das Lebensgefühl mitbestimmen und zu neuen Abgrenzungen führen. Gut erkennbar ist dieses Phänomen am Stadtzentrum von Johannesburg: Die Weißen zogen sich in die Vororte zurück, schwarze Zuwanderer nahmen die Innenstadt in Besitz und verbreiteten ihren eigenen urbanen Lebensstil; seit dem gilt das Zentrum als so "gefährlich", daß dort nachts niemand an einer roten Ampel hält. Was für die benachteiligten afrikanischen Bevölkerungsgruppen die Wahrnehmung ihrer Rechte u. a. durch das Einnehmen von Raum ist, wird von denen, die Privilegien abgeben müssen, also den Weißen, als Invasion und Bedrohung empfunden. Auch wenn allmählich zunehmend viele dunkelhäutige Südafrikaner Zugang zu den ehemals weiß-privilegierten Berufen und sozialen Schichten finden: Die Armut ist noch immer überwiegend schwarz.

In diesem Heft werden unterschiedliche Lösungsansätze zur Wohnungs- und Landversorgung in Südafrika und im südlichen Afrika vorgestellt sowie auch damit verbundene Phänomene - wie etwa zu

erwartende erhebliche Rückschläge durch HIV und AIDS- Epidemien (am Beispiel Namibia) oder die Schwierigkeit, gesicherte und ausreichende Informationen über schnellwachsende informelle Siedlungen zu finden (Beispiel Dar Es Salaam).

Marie Huchzermeyer beschreibt in ihrem Text über die Siedlung Weiler's Farm die Entwicklung einer nicht legalisierten Siedlung über 4 Jahrzehnte hinweg. In ihrem Artikel über die Rural Housing Renaissance zeigen **Mercia Waring** und **Benoit Allanic**, daß das Selbstbau-Potential der Armen oft unterschätzt wird - zumindest auf dem Lande - und zu ungeahnt guten Ergebnissen führt. **Grace Stead** und **Astrid Ley** berichten von Projekten im Rahmen der Agenda 21-Städtepartnerschaft zwischen Aachen und Tygerberg S.A. Eine Gruppe von Studenten der **Universität Dortmund** und der **University of Western Cape** untersuchte an mehreren Beispielen die Möglichkeiten, das Konzept der Public Private Partnerships im Wohnungssektor Südafrikas gewinnbringend einzusetzen und beschreibt diese. Die rasante Verbreitung von AIDS als Epidemie im südlichen Afrika wird innerhalb kurzer Zeit erhebliche Folgen für die Volkswirtschaft mehrerer Länder haben. **Bernd Quick** und **Roland Ziss** schildern das zu erwartende Szenario an dem besonders stark betroffenen Land Namibia. **Robert Home** erläutert am Beispiel Botswana, wie im Spannungsfeld zwischen städtischen Expansionsbereichen und stadtnahen Zonen, in denen traditionelles Landbesitzrecht gilt, ein fast rechtsfreier Raum entsteht, der das informelle Wachstum begünstigt. Die Schwierigkeiten, Planungen und Strategien für schnellwachsende informelle Siedlungen zu entwickeln, weil Informationen und Kartenmaterial oft dürftig und veraltet sind, beschreibt **Richard Sliuzas** in seiner in Dar Es Salaam durchgeführten Studie. Den Zusammenhang zwischen sozio-ökonomischem Status der Bewohner und dem "Marktsegment", in dem sie ihr jeweiliges Grundstück, auf dem sie wohnen, erworben haben, hat **Clement Leduka** für den Fall Lesotho untersucht und beschreibt das Ergebnis.

Antje Wemhöner

TITELFOTO:
AUTOREN DES ARTIKLES "PUBLIC
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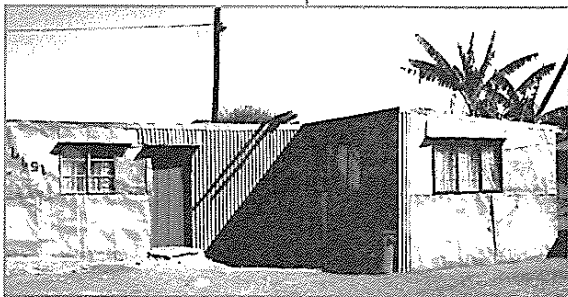
South(ern) Africa Land and Housing

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Wellblech / Corrugated Iron

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Fotos: A. Wemhöner

Karten der menschlichen Wanderbewegungen in der weitläufigen südafrikanischen Landschaft zeigen, wie sehr die Geschichte des Landes durch Migration beeinflusst wurde. Die ersten Jäger,

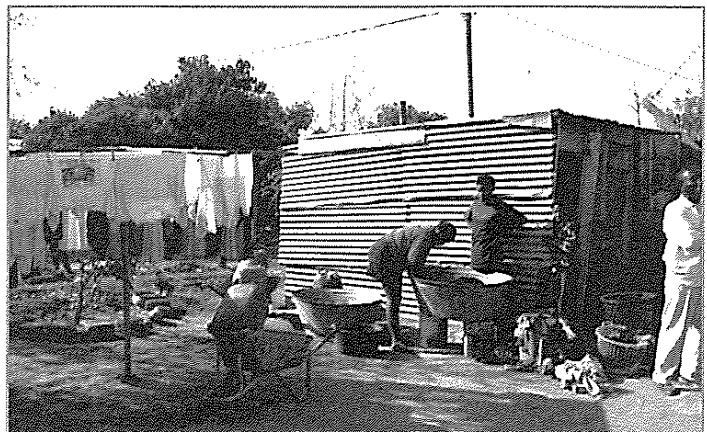
Sammler und Hirten zogen auf der Suche nach neuen Weidegründen ständig umher. Die europäischen Siedler nahmen das Land in Besitz, aber zogen selbst relativ schnell aus den Kolonialhäfen und den Grenzstädten weg, um sich in den boomtowns im Landesinneren niederzulassen. Die besiedelten Teile der Landschaft waren durch eine Kultur der Vergänglichkeit geprägt.

Während der achtziger Jahre des 19. Jahrhunderts sorgten ergiebige Bodenschätze für einen industriellen Aufschwung und zogen einen Strom von Diamanten- und Goldsuchern an. Nur wenige glaubten, daß der Boom lange anhalten würde. Die Gold- und Diamantengräber bevorzugten daher temporäre Unterkünfte aus Wellblech. Dieses leichte, stabile und tragbare Material war geeignet, für die Nacht schnell eine Hütte zu errichten, sie am nächsten Morgen wieder abzubauen und abends an anderer Stelle wieder erneut aufzubauen. Gold- und Diamantenfunde verwandelten kleinere Siedlungen wie Kimberly und Johannesburg

über Nacht in boomtowns, aber sobald die Minen keine Erträge mehr abwarfen, wurden etliche blühende Ortschaften genauso schnell zu Geisterstädten.

Zu Zeiten der Apartheid stellte das Baumaterial Wellblech für viele schwarze Südafrikaner eine Notlösung dar, als die Vertreibung von ihrem Land durch die weißen Behörden drohte. Wellblechplatten sind zur Wiederverwendung geeignet und konnten bei Bedarf an einem anderen Standort zu einer neuen Hütte zusammengebaut werden.

Auch heute noch kommt Wellblech verstärkt zum Einsatz. Nach Abschaffung der Gesetze, die den Zuzug der schwarzen in die Städte beschränkte, setzte eine dramatische Steigerung der urbanen Migration und der Entwicklung illegaler Siedlungen auf verfügbarem Land ein. In den Townships entstehen nach wie vor unzählige Kleinbetriebe; etliche davon als Straßenstände, an denen Fertigbauteile für Hütten (die sogenannten "ZoZo-Hütten") verkauft werden. Bei diesen Platten sind die Öffnungen für Türen und Fenster bereits ausgestanzt.





Das Southern African Wildlife College

Antje Wemhöner

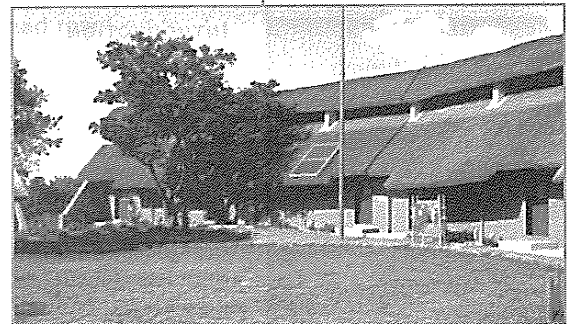
Richtig erfreulich wird es, wenn ein erfolgreiches (Bau-)Projekt der "Finanziellen Zusammenarbeit", der deutschen Entwicklungshilfe also, nicht nur aufgrund von Inhalt und Funktion Beachtung erfährt, oder wegen der gelungenen notwendigen Einbeziehung der Bewohner der umliegenden Dörfer in den Bauprozess, sondern sogar einen Architekturpreis gewinnt.

Das Wildlife College im Krüger Nationalpark, Südafrika, (Bauherr: der World Wildlife Fund) dient der Aus- und Fortbildung von Forst- und Wildlife Managern aus den SADC (Southern African Developing Community) Staaten und damit dem Schutz der einheimischen Tierwelt. Entworfen und durchgeführt wurde das Projekt von dem Architekturbüro Dennis Moss Partnership; Stellenbosch. Ziel war, die gesamte Anlage möglichst störungsfrei in die Landschaft einzupassen, in Etappen erweiterbar zu gestalten und durch den Einsatz nachwachsender Baustoffe und ressourcenschonender Energieverwendung eine Vorbildfunktion einzunehmen. Im Frühjahr 1997 wurde das College nach nur 1 ½-jähriger Bauzeit fertiggestellt und in Betrieb genommen. Im selben Jahr zeichnete die südafrikani-

sche Architektenkammer die Anlage als das derzeit fortschrittlichste Beispiel für "Sustainable Architecture" aus.

Der gesamte Gebäudekomplex ist eingeschossig, umfaßt Unterrichts- und Studienräume, Bibliothek, Verwaltung, Werkstätten, eine Küche mit einem riesigen Speisesaal (wunderschön!), Studentenhäuser, Gästehäuser, Dozenten-Wohnhäuser. Alle Gebäude sind mit Stroh gedeckt und bieten von innen ungehinderten Einblick in die Dachkonstruktion. Ein notwendiges Zugeständnis an die "Bauaufsicht" (sonst wäre das College nicht zugelassen worden): umfassende präventive Brandschutzmaßnahmen, u.a. eine Sprinkleranlage auf den Strohdächern.

Ein großer Teil der Bauarbeiter waren vorher ungelernete Bewohner der Nachbardörfer, die sich auf diese Weise qualifizieren konnten. Auch die Ziegel wurden in der Umgebung hergestellt. Die intensive Zusammenarbeit - koordiniert durch einen "sozialen Bauleiter" - war nicht einfach, erforderte sehr viel an Bemühung, Diplomatie und Einfühlungsvermögen, war aber notwendig, damit der große Fremdkörper in der Umgebung akzeptiert wird. Nach anfänglichen heftigen Konflikten und Störmanövern scheint das College sich inzwischen auch als Arbeitgeber und Handelspartner vieler Dorfbewohner etabliert zu haben.



Legalising Rights to Occupied Land: Impediments in the Housing Process at Weiler's Farm, Johannesburg

Marie Huchzermeyer

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Siedlung "Weiler's Farm" liegt ca. 30 km südl. von Johannesburg und 15 km südl. von Soweto. Der Text schildert die wechselvolle Entwicklung und graduelle Legalisierung seit der ursprünglich illegalen - aber von Farmer Weiler geduldeten - Besetzung im Jahr 1960.

Die sehr engagierte und effektive Selbstverwaltung sorgte von Anfang an für die notwendige Infrastruktur - sogar eine Klinik - und kämpfte für die Weiterentwicklung und Legalisierung, in den 80er-Jahren noch gegen massive Eingriffe des Staats. Legalisierung und Verbesserungsmaßnahmen sind seit 1996 mit dem "Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme" der Provinz verbunden, das in seinem unflexiblen Maßnahmenkatalog der bisherigen Siedlungsentwicklung zuwiderläuft, in vieler Hinsicht auch deutliche Rückschritte bedeutet, und sich als schädlich für eine aktive und flexible Bewohnerorganisation auswirkt. Eine zufriedenstellende Lösung wurde noch nicht gefunden.

INTRODUCTION

The official procedure for the legalisation of land rights for urban informal settlement residents in South Africa is geared to the relocation of 'squatters' from invaded land to formally laid-out housing developments. Temporary rights are granted the informal settlement residents, while the relocation site is prepared with the capital subsidy housing finance to which low-income households are entitled. Upon relocation, households are granted freehold titles for the individual plots, which are serviced and developed with a core housing structure. Official solutions may eventually be sought on the invaded land, in cases where informal settlement residents have undertaken organised resistance to relocation. However, the individualised product which includes freehold titles of standardised plots, and which is financed through the capital subsidy, dictates the 'in-situ' housing development.

This paper presents the case of the Weiler's Farm informal settlement. It presents the gradual legalisation of the informal occupation as separate stages in the housing process. The activities of the representative community organisation are critical to the unfolding of the tenure legalisation process, and are therefore juxtaposed with the actions taken by authorities and other actors. The collective decisions and investments made through the community organisation indicate an early commitment to permanent occupation. The community-based priorities reflected in these actions stand in contrast to those eventually imposed through the official granting of permanent individualised rights to the occupied land. Therefore the case study, undertaken in November 1998, presents a critique of the South African policy that, as yet,

allows no upgrading alternatives to standardised capital subsidy housing developments with delivery of freehold titles.

Weiler's Farm was first settled in the 1960s, with rapid and uncontrolled growth from the mid-1980s. In late 1998, at the time of data-collection for this case study, the settlement comprised approximately 2 500 families (14 000 people) on 330 ha of land. Weiler's Farm is located 30km south of Johannesburg's city centre and 15km south of Soweto. (*Figure 1*) It falls under the jurisdiction of the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council and the Southern Metropolitan Local Council. By 1998, Weiler's Farm had been established as a township, with the layout planning undertaken through the Gauteng Province's Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme. The formal layout provides for 3 200 sites. In November 1998, essential services were installed and site allocation was underway. With the township establishment, the official name was changed from 'Weiler's Farm' to 'Kanana Park'.

ILLEGALITY: THE FORMATION OF WEILER'S FARM INFORMAL SETTLEMENT

The informal settlement on Mr Weiler's farm emerged with illegal consent from the owner of the land. Unauthorised rental operations on the farm, which started in the 1960s (Crankshaw, 1993:41), repeatedly came under raid by the police. However, the landowner continued to defy government policy (Mashabela, 1990:35). 'Weiler's Farm', as the informal settlement came to be known, was not an isolated case. Various informal settlements in the area were subject to police raids and arrests. The legal standing of the arrested residents was improved with the formation of a squatter committee for

the district, supported by sympathetic lawyers (Adler, et al., 1985:7).

The emergence of uncontrolled squatting in the district was a result of land tenure changes. Since the early 1970s, the rezoning and expropriation of farmland for the establishment of coloured and Indian townships disrupted farming activities in the region. Previous farm workers were displaced and in need of accommodation. At the same time, expropriated farms that were not supervised became subject to land invasion (Crankshaw, 1993). Though not expropriated, the Weilers abandoned their farm in 1985. In the subsequent decade, farming in the area came to a virtual standstill with most resident farmers leaving due to crime (Department of Development Planning and Environment, 1995:7). The 300 residents were permitted to remain on the land. In the absence of control and charges, the settlement rapidly attracted both former farm workers and those seeking to escape exploitative rentals in the backyards of township stands, or faction fighting and violence in the single-sex hostels. By 1987 about 13,000 people were resident at Weiler's Farm (Budlender, 1990:67).

In these early stages of the autonomous settlement, the community leadership ensured and regulated access to the necessary resources. A water supply system was arranged using the existing farm boreholes, and a primary school was operated from a prefabricated building. This was secured through a sympathetic NGO. A clinic was run from the former farmhouse (Black Sash, 1989:S5).

CONTESTING EVICTION AND RELOCATION: SECURING TEMPORARY RIGHTS

While other farms in the area had been expropriated for township development, Weiler's Farm remained officially designated for agricultural land-use. It was with reference to the contravention of land-use regulations that the provincial administration justified its attempts to arrest and evict the residents of Weiler's Farm. However, the actual motivation for the removal of the squatters was primarily political, with pressure from the remaining white landowners in the area who supported the conservative opposition (Crankshaw, 1993:33). In turn, the Weiler's Farm leadership illegally supported the ANC, under cover of a fake funeral association, named the Masakhane Association, until the unbanning of the ANC in 1990.

The defence force was called upon be-

cause of the resistance to evictions, and their tactics took such forms as the use of military searchlights for harassment. The Masakhane Association sought support from a legal NGO, the Legal Resources Centre, which succeeded in securing a sympathetic ruling by the court. In mid-1987, the Provincial Administration expropriated the land, and the main portion of the informal settlement was declared an emergency camp, in accordance with the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act. Thus temporary rights to occupation were granted. Officially, this was viewed as temporary management of the informal settlement until voluntary relocation to a suitable alternative (Department of Development Planning and Environment, 1995:2). However, the majority of the residents had resolved to remain on the land. The possibility of food gardening, due to the relatively large plots and fertile soil at Weiler's Farm, was one of the reasons why residents wished to stay.

Official management of the settlement was through military and police control. The emergency camp was sealed off and regulations were applied. A service charge was introduced for access to the borehole water (12 additional taps were installed by the officials). Regulations also called for the election of a committee to be responsible for coordinating the removal to the planned relocation site (Black Sash, 1989:S5). This committee was controlled by an administrator and inevitably led to a division within the settlement (Mashabela, 1990:37). The Emergency Camp Committee, which had a following of people willing to relocate, was opposed by the Masakhane Association, which was committed to permanently developing Weiler's Farm. At the same time, smaller settlements on the farm outside of the emergency camp, continued to attract newcomers.

The official plan was to remove the Weiler's Farm squatters to Orange Farm, a township development eight kilometres to the south of the informal settlement. As voluntary relocation was not forthcoming, the Provincial Administration applied camouflaged forced removal tactics and, well aware of the significance of the community-based social facilities, removed the prefabricated primary school to Orange Farm and demolished the farmhouse with clinic. In response, a settlement leader organised the collection of zinc planks and the building of a large shack as a school building, and with four other volunteers continued the teaching at Weiler's Farm.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

This paper is based on case study research conducted towards the author's Ph.D. (*The exploration of appropriate informal settlement intervention in South Africa: Contributions from a comparison with Brazil, 1999*) in the Department of Sociology, University of Cape Town. This component of the research was funded by the Division of Building Technology (Boutek) of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), Pretoria, and together with three other case studies was produced as a report: Huchzermeyer, M., 1999. *Current Informal Settlement Intervention in South Africa: Four Case Studies of people-Driven Initiatives*. Department of Sociology, University of Cape Town, and BOUTEK, CSIR.

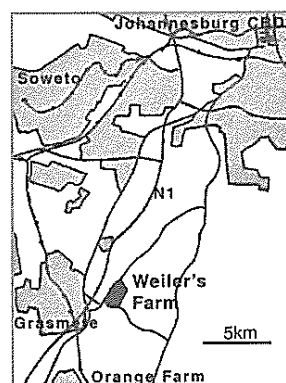
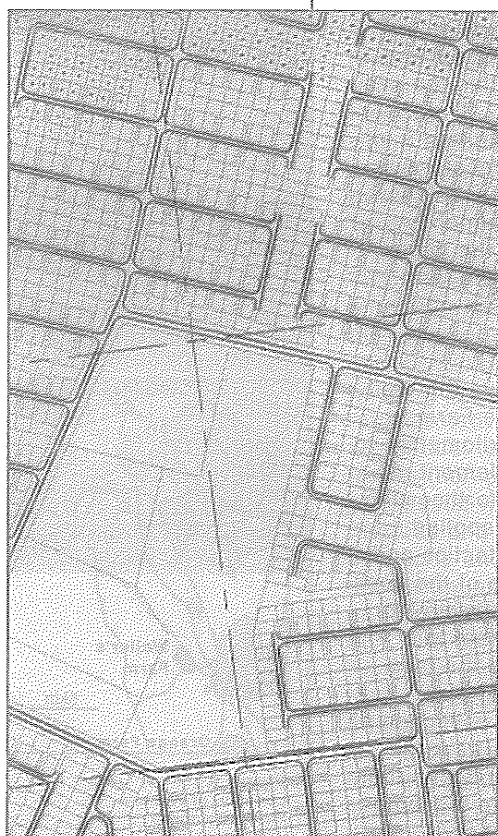


Figure 1. Location of Weiler's Farm (Southern Johannesburg)



Figure 2.
Weiler's Farm: Informal layout
with plot sizes larger than
300m².
(Source: EVN Consulting
Engineers):

Figure 3.
Weiler's Farm: Planned layout
with standardised plot sizes
within the permissible 300m².
(Source: EVN Consulting
Engineers).



At this stage, soldiers were deployed to push people into relocating to Orange Farm, and about 1000 families were coerced into relocating. However, the situation at Weiler's Farm remained unresolved. New arrivals, alongside those having resisted removal, were intent on settling permanently. The Provincial Administration in turn, even beyond 1994, attempted to arrange for relocations.

ASSUMING PERMANENT RIGHTS TO THE LAND: SEEKING ASSISTANCE FOR DEVELOPMENT

While occupational rights to the land at Weiler's Farm remained temporary, the community organisation (formerly the Masakhane Association, later a civic organisation affiliated to the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO)) assumed its rights to be permanent, and thus pursued permanent development. A formal brick school with two classrooms was constructed, using international and local donations. Two hundred children attended the school, some coming from neighbouring areas. Volunteers from the community continued the teaching, and attempts were made to have the school officially recognised and formalised. Outsider sympathies with the educational struggle at Weiler's Farm led to the deployment of trained teachers through the National Education Coordination Committee in 1992. However, poor transport and fear of crime prevented their longer-term involvement.

While social facilities had been the primary concern of the local leadership, there was also a concern for the permanent residential development. In 1992 the community mandated a 'Weiler's Farm Development Team' to find ways of formalising the settlement. Although the

search for assistance in this regard met with closed doors, it was not abandoned. Through employment contacts (one of the community leaders was employed as a security guard at the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg) the development team heard of a Chinese brick-making machine. With the commitment of one donation, and the hope for support from influential ANC personalities in the wake of the 1994 elections, the leadership set out to purchase a brick-making machine for the permanent construction of houses. Their search eventually led to contact with a sympathetic businessman. As a result of his advice, the development team became aware that rights to Weiler's Farm were by no means permanent. The permanent house construction pursuit was thus postponed and attention turned to the status of the land.

A COMMITMENT TO UPGRADE: SECURING PERMANENT COLLECTIVE RIGHTS TO THE LAND

In October 1995, a decade after the abandonment of Weiler's Farm by its landowner, the new provincial cabinet finally resolved that 'the upgrading of Weiler's Farm be approved in principle' (Gauteng Provincial Government, 1998). Permanent collective rights to the land were thus granted to the residents of the informal settlement. A joint task team was appointed, comprising representatives of provincial and local government and the Weiler's Farm Development Team. However, progress was stifled by ongoing questioning by officials as to whether the settlement location was appropriate in relation to technical considerations such as bulk services. Also unresolved were sources of funding and the role of the local authority, which indicated other commitments (ibid.).

Committed to speedy permanent housing development of the Weiler's Farm settlement, the development team, with the assistance of the sympathetic businessman, engaged with the official framework for development. This entailed a realisation that the majority of Weiler's Farm residents were entitled to the standardised capital subsidy of the new National Housing Policy.

In a first step towards accessing these subsidies, the Weiler's Farm Development Team established itself officially, with a constitution, as the Weiler's Farm Planning Team (Rand Afrikaans University, 1997:3). Its structure of accountability is to the SANCO-aligned civic organisation, which is also referred to as

the section committee, comprising the elected heads of the ten sections of the settlement. The planning team then registered a not-for-profit company, the 'Thuthuka Foundation' (meaning 'let's improve').

The Thuthuka Foundation responded to a call from the provincial government for applications to its pilot 'Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme' (Gauteng Provincial Government, 1996), through which capital subsidy funding from the National Housing budget was to be channelled to development on invaded land (rather than relocation sites). Funding through this programme was for the first phase of the capital subsidy investment, covering layout planning and approval, township establishment and the transfer of individual property titles. As the local authority did not have the capacity to manage this project on behalf of the Weiler's Farm community, the provincial government appointed the Thuthuka Foundation as developer for the project.

For the simultaneous implementation of the second phase of the capital subsidy investment, the 'essential services phase' covering infrastructure and services, the Thuthuka Foundation again took the initiative of applying to the provincial Department of Essential Services. In this instance, however, the Essential Services Department insisted that the local authority be involved in a 'joint venture' with the Thuthuka Foundation, as the local authority would be responsible for the subsequent maintenance of the investment. As there was no precedent for such a joint venture, differences emerged around powers and functions of the two parties, as well as diverging development objectives, thus causing a delay in the implementation.

Subsequent to the essential services installation, the Thuthuka Foundation will manage the investment of the final phase of the subsidy funding (the individual 'top-structure' or house), with no involvement from the local authority other than plan approval and inspection. At the time of data collection in November 1998, various top-structure options were being considered, including the housing support centre route through the People's Housing Process of national government. It was Thuthuka Foundation's intention to integrate



Figure 4. Formally constructed store at Weiler's Farm, to be demolished with the settlement upgrading.

house construction with the infrastructure development in such a way that shacks would not be relocated from informal to formal sites, but that people would move into housing structures, complete with connections to sewerage, water and electricity.

SUBMITTING TO CAPITAL SUBSIDY DICTATES: THE IMPOSITION OF INDIVIDUAL FREEHOLD TITLES

In applying for the capital subsidy funding, the Weiler's Farm community pragmatically submitted to the development priorities prescribed in the funding mechanism. Through the capital subsidy, most households at Weiler's Farm were entitled to a maximum of 300m², substantially less than the informally allocated plots. In order to accommodate smaller and standardised plot sizes, an entirely new settlement layout was designed. Households were to be re-allocated plots in accordance with the phasing of the development. Thus the well-defined informal settlement layout [Figure 2], with a definite civic focus around a soccer field, where school buildings, a community hall and shops were grouped, was to give way to a more-or-less conventional township layout [Figure 3] to the approval of the local authority.

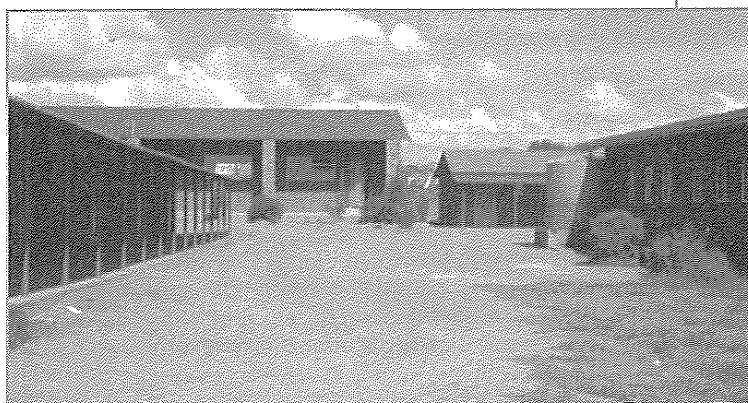


Figure 5. School buildings at Weiler's Farm.

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Figure 6. Food gardening on large informal residential plots at Weiler's Farm.



Where residents had constructed permanent houses, often with assistance from employers, these were to be demolished and replaced on the standardised plots by the core houses constructed as the third phase of the capital subsidy investment. A permanently constructed store [Figure 4], the main economic investment in the settlement, was to be demolished without compensation. Only the school [Figure 5] and hall were accommodated in the standardised layout. Complacency on the side of the community organisation with regards to these dictates, appeared to result from a wish not to further delay the development process, which had taken a decade to secure.

With the subsidy intervention, Weiler's Farm is making the transition from a flexible and continually growing settlement to one where access to land is defined by the allocation of a housing subsidy. Qualification criteria officially exclude households that either: earn above a certain threshold; are headed by a non-South African citizen; are without proof of dependants (for instance widows and widowers who's children are no longer dependants); or have previously owned property (in many cases ownership by an applicant's defected spouse is traced on the national data-base of capital subsidy beneficiaries).

The Weiler's Farm residents first completed the capital subsidy application forms in 1996, and only a small number did not qualify. These households, which were the slightly better off, were given the option to buy sites in the development or to relocate elsewhere. Subsequent to the initial subsidy application, additional households had joined the settlement, with the result that further capi-

tal subsidy applications had to be made. The Thuthuka Foundation had requested additional sites in the standardised layout plan because of knowledge of severe levels of homelessness in the district. Thus some 700 sites were being provided, over and above those to be allocated to existing residents. Outsiders stating an interest in joining the settlement were being referred to the site allocation committee, which was keeping a waiting list.

The additional site allocation, again, is subject to housing subsidy qualification, in order for the development costs to be recovered through the applicants' capital subsidy entitlements. Thuthuka Foundation's stated preference in this additional allocation was for extended families of Weiler's Farm households, and for people from nearby informal settlements, in other words people familiar to the residents of Weiler's Farm. In accordance with the subsidy criteria, requests from the neighbouring reception area 'Thulamntwana' ('Baby Don't Cry'), to which inner-city squatters had recently been forcefully relocated, were less welcome. Many of these residents did not qualify for South African citizenship, therefore had no entitlement to the capital subsidy. Tragically, the desperation of the Thulamntwana people is not only evident in the name of the settlement, but also in conflicts arising at benevolent food drop-off operations. The distance from their previous inner city livelihoods, hence the dependency on food drop-offs, and the unlikelihood of their social integration into the Weiler's Farm surroundings, is a harsh witness to social incompatibility of current South African squatter policies.

It must be noted that in cases where local authorities are involved in the subsidy investment, the provincial government encourages those not qualifying for the subsidy to be accommodated rather than displaced. The provincial government offers bridging finance for institutional subsidies, which enable the non-qualifiers to receive occupational status and pay occupational rent. Should they qualify for a subsidy at a later stage, for instance, immigrants receiving citizenship after five years, the property can then be transferred into their names. Evidently, the ultimate blanket objective is to create property owners, rather than considering the long-term need for

more flexible legal tenure arrangements.

A CONTRAST IN APPROACH: FLEXIBLE COMMUNITY-MANAGED ENTITLEMENTS TO AGRICULTURAL LAND AT WEILER'S FARM

A central dictate of the capital subsidy system clearly is the delivery of individual freehold tenure. In the case of Weiler's Farm, the prospect of ownership was stated as the main incentive for residents to relocate from larger and informally established sites to the standardised plots in the new layout. However, the Thuthuka Foundation had also secured additional neighbouring land for an agricultural project. This was to compensate for the loss of subsistence farming on the larger informal sites. (Figure 6) In the absence of any alternative to individual freehold tenure of a standardised plot, it must be assumed that the primary incentive for relocation was not ownership as such, but the permanence or security that this entailed. Residential movement into and out of the settlement will remain a reality into the future. It is questionable whether the Thuthuka Foundation, or the local and provincial authorities, will enforce the legal transfer of ownership (at its official cost) should owners require to move elsewhere. Will the property cadastre in a decade after implementation reflect the reality of occupation?

It may also be asked whether the Weiler's Farm community representatives would have chosen the route of individual freehold titles, and with it the remodelling of the entire settlement, had the decision over land entitlement not been dictated. The community organisation's long-term objective is the socio-economic development of the settlement (originally though the education of the children), and not the creation of individual property owners. Plans for the agricultural project resulted from this long-term vision. The project was to enable both subsistence and commercial farming. The authorities were not dictating tenure arrangements, or the management of individual entitlements, of the agricultural land at Weiler's Farm. Therefore, the plan was for a flexible rental arrangement, managed by the community organisation. As the implementation of this approach is delayed to date by the hugely disruptive capital subsidy development, the functioning of this flexible system could not be evaluated. However, it is on such community-managed processes of land entitlement, that approaches for the legalisation of rights to occupied land for housing should be based.

CONCLUSION

The housing process at Weiler's Farm, which began for some as far back as the 1960s and for a large proportion of the population in the mid 1980s, has to date (early 2001) not been resolved. The release of the top-structure component of the capital subsidy has been delayed, and residents are required to relocate their shacks from the informal plots they have occupied for over a decade, to the smaller formally laid out plots on tarred roads. Formal houses are still not in sight.

Resistance to this relocation by a group of households has caused tension in the community and has placed Thuthuka Foundation in a difficult position, as it is, by some, no longer perceived to be working in the interest of the residents. The illegal construction of permanent houses back in 1994, when the Weiler's Farm Planning Team set out to purchase a brick-making machine, would appear to have been a more suitable solution to many of the households at Weiler's Farm. Their existence in a shack has been perpetuated through a lengthy and costly process of delivery of freehold titles to standardised plots. This has meant the perpetuation of health problems related to poorly insulated structures, the excessive cost of heating these structures in winter, and the cost of maintaining rapidly eroding informal building materials. These private expenses might have been more effectively invested in the incremental construction of permanent structures. The public expenses of entirely re-planning and re-developing the settlement might have been more effectively spent on a sensitive in-situ approach, introducing the relevant infrastructure, and supporting the civic organisation's endeavours at social and economic upliftment.

It is the inflexibility of the capital subsidy framework for informal settlement intervention, coupled with a deep entrenchment of the thinking of government officials and development practitioners within this framework, that prevents more socially, technically and economically appropriate intervention in informal settlements in South Africa. In the case of Weiler's Farm, this framework has severely impeded the farsighted developmental commitments of an exemplary civic organisation. It is the damage that this framework potentially does at the level of community organisation in informal settlements, that makes it incompatible with the ongoing reality of urban poverty in South Africa.

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INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED

Government:

Dumisa Dlamini: Assistant Director of Land Affairs and Housing, Gauteng Department of Land Affairs and Housing, 31.7.98, 23.11.98 and 12.1.99

Johann Axel: Manager: Housing Projects, Southern Metropolitan Local Council, 3.12.98.

Community-based organisation:

Wilson Bangisa: Director, Thuthuka Foundation, 26.11.98 and 12.7.00

Steven Poullouras: Director, Thuthuka Foundation (also businessman), 24.11.98 and 12.7.00

Nomawethu Gwalempi: Secretary of the Allocation Committee, Thuthuka Foundation (also Secretary of the local ANC Women's League), 26.11.98.

Bethwell Dondashe: Chairman of Section Committee Forum, Thuthuka Foundation (also Chairman of Section B), 26.11.98.

Civic organisation:

Randell Mjempu: Branch Secretary, SANCO (also Labour Officer of Thuthuka Foundation), 4.12.98.

Outside individuals:

Yvette Berkovits: Film producer and activist, 24.11.98.

Madelaine van der Steege: Dispute resolution consultant (involved during the construction of the community hall), 27.11.98.

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South Africa's Rural Housing Renaissance

Mercia Waring and Benoît Allanic

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Autoren untersuchen und beschreiben aus anthropologischer Sicht die Resultate des Selbsthilfe-Hausbaus der unteren Einkommensschicht im ländlichen Raum verschiedener Provinzen Südafrikas. Entgegen dem verbreiteten Bild der "hilflosen Ärmsten der Armen in prekären Hütten" fanden sie größtenteils ansprechende, dauerhafte Häuser in guter Qualität vor. Die individuell gebauten und finanzierten Häuser weisen auch einen deutlich höheren Standard auf als die monotonen Produkte staatlicher oder kooperativer Wohnungsversorgungsprogramme. Auch auf dem Lande herrschen eher "städtische" Lebensweisen vor; Landwirtschaft wird kaum betrieben und dient nur in Ausnahmefällen dem Lebensunterhalt, die meisten Haushalte leben von "abhängigen Arbeitsverhältnissen". Preisgünstiger und sicherer Zugang zu eigenem Land, wenig rechtliche Einschränkungen des Bauens, niedrige Lebenshaltungskosten und geringe Kriminalität - insgesamt weitaus höhere Lebensqualität gegenüber der, die Stadtbewohner gleicher Einkommens- und Sozialschicht erleben - sind Anziehungsfaktoren.

Armut ist ein ernstes Problem - die Unterschätzung des Potentials und der Ansprüche der Armen allerdings auch.

INTRODUCTION

First-time foreign visitors to South Africa often express surprise that things here are not as bad as were expected. There is endless engagement with shadow rather than sunshine. An astonishing widespread grassroots housing renaissance in what Minister of Education Kadar Asmal recently called the country's "obscure and dusty spots" has stayed hidden rather than being triumphantly revealed and loudly celebrated.

Only very recently has the Housing Ministry intimated that self-built housing could actually perhaps contribute to shelter for the country's poor. A recent high profile urban land 'invasion' has thrown land and housing realities and land reform in South Africa onto centre stage (not before time). The self-driven housing renaissance described here is significant to these issues as well as to real upward mobility or empowerment of the poor.

This now extensive, constantly escalating, self-started self-funded housing upgrade among a population generally thought of as helpless hopeless poorest of the poor rural South Africans

- speaks of their robust dynamism and their own determination to escape the confines of life lived in conditions of poverty,
- confounds culture of poverty theory that the poor are driven by a strong present-time orientation and desire for immediate short-term gratification and lack the ability to plan for the future. When a gap presents itself the poor are not slow to take it,
- indicates that in residential aspirations South Africa is one nation; that the poor are not really satisfied to live permanently in shacks or basic sub-

economic housing,

- that they have profited greatly from transfer of technology via extensive hands-on involvement as labourers in the building and construction industry,
- since starving people do not make substantial bricks and mortar investments it suggests a need for clarity about the real parameters of poverty in South Africa,
- and for incorporation and harnessing of the Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto's insights about the poor's hidden strengths and assets, to the benefit of the poor themselves as well as South Africa.

RESEARCH PROGRAMMES

This housing research focus commenced in 1998 with anthropological input requested for a multidisciplinary land reform, livelihoods and quality of life study in the eastern district of the North West by the Land and Housing Centre at Pretoria University, to support a national research programme commissioned by DANIDA for the Department of Land Affairs.

In 2001 as part of a research programme funded by the European Union for the Northern Province provincial, district and municipal government's pending local economic development activities, the housing research was extended to that province.

As well as in-depth research in the North West and Northern Provinces additional fieldwork and/or observations in Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Free State and Eastern Cape reveal that the people-driven housing upgrade is now a feature of all so-called rural habitats.

This research is continuing.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL METHODOLOGY

Anthropological fieldwork commences from the outside looking in and its very first task is to take note of the habitat or locality in which a group has its settlement and how it houses itself or is housed.²

EXISTING PARADIGMS AND FIELDWORK OBSERVATIONS

According to the last national census in 1996 the North West Province contains a population only around one-third (1 171 734) urban and two-thirds (2 183 091) non-urban of whom over 70% are said to rely on crop cultivation for survival. Similarly, the Northern Province statistics indicate that only 11% (541 301) of the population are urban, 89% (4 388 067) non-urban and also largely reliant on subsistence agriculture.

The belief is widespread that apart from the few benefiting from government delivery of sub-economic (RDP) housing or the cooperative Peoples' Housing Process (PHP) these non-urban populations mainly occupy rudimentary traditional earthwall or shack structures. But first observations immediately revealed and further research confirmed that residential realities in these regions are in fact as far removed from this conventional negative stereotyping as chalk from cheese. And furthermore the evidence was that agricultural activities within these populations are much less extensive than portrayed.

The vast majority do not live 'on farm' but in villages and settlements of 80 to 15 000 or more households. These villages and settlements do not resemble urban slums like Alexandra nor are they blighted with the uniformity associated with all low-income mass housing since Soweto. Individual plots are generally large to very large and conditions of crowding the exception rather than the rule. Decrepit shacks are far and few between. And everywhere there is evidence of brick stockpiling, home extensions, home improvements, and construction of modest, medium-size and very large new cement, clay and face brick houses. Establishing gardens, lawns and trees, putting in hedges, walls and gates is more prevalent than subsistence agriculture even in areas called deep rural.

The sum total of these self-initiated self-funded bricks and mortar investments and property improvements can justifiably be called a housing renaissance. It

is also argued with justification that residential quality of life in such regions is now by and large superior to that generally available to grassroots urban residents. These are radical claims. Together with documented data our extensive photographic evidence will hopefully help modify prevailing mindsets but in any event a curtain cannot indefinitely be drawn over this people-driven home-improvement phenomenon. It will speak for itself.

THE PROCESS

In 1994 the ANC government promised land to the disadvantaged masses. Land reform policy has three components:

- restitution of land to dispossessed groups
- redistribution of land to the landless
- upgrading tenure rights

Legal processing of 64 000 restitution claims has been extremely slow. Redistribution as well as tenure upgrades in existing villages and settlements or for informal settlements on state property have been put largely on the back burner throughout although together these two land reform policy components in fact affect by far the majority.

However, the recent high profile land 'invasions' may make a difference to this status quo. Against this backdrop the implications of the self-initiated people's housing upgrade described here should be appreciated as a land reform and transformation lemonade rather than a lemon. South Africa's poorest of the poor are demonstrating that if given the right gap they can pull off housing miracles.

Thus far two priorities for land reform in so-called rural regions have been land productivity and communal ownership. Regardless of the facts that most of these populations are not using their own sites for crop cultivation or any kind of stock (poultry, goats, cattle) or that the vast mass of modern humanity has used individual property ownership and bricks-and-mortar investment on it as their chief asset and route to upward mobility, land productivity has been narrowed to mean (originally subsistence, more recently small commercial) agriculture and to a far lesser extent small, medium and microenterprise (SMME) self-employment activities. The bias towards agriculture as the chief livelihoods option for the bulk of the so-called rural poor is in essence a topdown perspective which replicates apartheid government mindsets and poli-

1

Among the Peruvian Hernando de Soto's many relevant points is that the single most important source of funding for new businesses in the United States is a mortgage on the entrepreneur's house. The self-driven housing renaissance speaks of extraordinary entrepreneurial capacities among populations generally understood as hopeless helpless poorest of the poor tucked away in obscure and dusty spots in South Africa's hinterland regions. This housing appears to be largely well within accepted building standards. In conjunction with legally acceptable property ownership it could provide an important bridge to further upward mobility and economic empowerment.

2

Hands-on participant observation fieldwork during anthropology's comparatively short era as a scientific discipline makes all good anthropologists sceptical about social and scientific paradigms enshrined in 'received wisdom'. Whereas sociologists can be compared to anglers who bait their hooks with prior hypotheses and usually catch the fish they expect to catch, anthropological methodology resembles seine fishing - nets are cast and findings based on the fish found.

RECONSTRUCT
(A NATIONAL SUNDAY
NEWSPAPER SUPPLE-
MENT) ON
19 DECEMBER 1999:

"Poverty is deepest (here) and inequalities between urban and rural areas are probably on the increase. Government policies since 1994 have failed to make a dent on the problem. The bulk of the rural poor depend for cash on migrant remittances or pensions. Sizeable numbers are landless and own no livestock. Nevertheless over 70% cultivate crops which keep so many families alive. Some retrenched migrants, recognising that the urban economy will not solve their problems, are beginning to return home, looking for local economic activities. But these are thinly scattered."

cies and entirely ignores grassroots realities and aspirations. Not surprisingly it has produced many more failures than successes, both with agricultural land reform projects as well as community food garden and other agriculture-related poverty alleviation projects. Absence of community buy-in is a central problem. Only 2% of respondents in our NW household survey of 236 families expressed the least interest in owning a farm; most (including the increasing number of matriculants) are wholly disinclined to expend vast amounts of their time and energy trying to live off the land especially with fruit, vegetables, eggs, chickens, chicken feet etc widely and cheaply available either from local vendors or supermarkets.

By comparison with failed agricultural projects the people's own housing achievements present a very upbeat scenario.

Since 1994 the inhabitants of previous dumping grounds as well as numerous settlements and villages of the North West, Northern Province and other such regions have enjoyed de facto security of tenure. From a bottom-up rather than top-down or legalistic perspective the majority consider that the ANC's 1994 promise of land for all confirms their property rights over the piece of earth on which they live. Subjectively experienced security of tenure clearly kickstarted the housing renaissance and feeds into its present rolling mass action. But the housing renaissance is also further underpinned by intelligent grassroots assessments that dynamic social changes now make a permanent stake in so-called rural localities a 'best value' option.

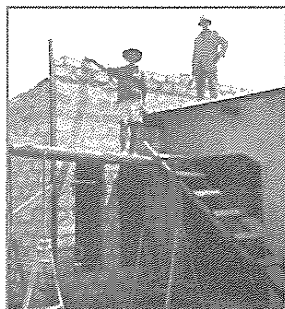
As elsewhere, the apartheid government pursued its homelands policy in North West and Northern Provinces for populations decreed to have no legal status in urban areas in which they were permitted only as labour units. Apart from the numerous settlements and villages already existing in such areas, homelands policy produced dumping grounds like Winterveld or Stinkwater as well as formally proclaimed mass housing townships like Garankuwa, Mabopane and Temba, established as labour dormitories for main metropolitan hubs. With natural population growth over the years, even backyard accommodation reached saturation in these townships and hence the proliferation of informal settlements now virtually wall-to-wall around them, all within easy reach of urban workplaces. Rather than involving land invasions of

farms or other private land these residential extensions which mostly accommodate young adult families wanting their own home on their own piece of land are generally located on state-owned property. These households also consider that they own the land on which they live. Their attitude is fortified by some government formalisation of such settlements together with its infrastructural enhancements within or its anticipated service delivery to them.

Hence in whatever locality they elect as their permanent home, be it established village or settlement or a more recent informal habitat, the population shares a subjective sense of rightful ownership over their property and this tenure confidence can be measured by the residential upgrading processes. Informal settlements are not rural slums. Commencing with neat shacks on bare ground but on substantially sized plots their transformation rapidly commences, first with stockpiling of bricks and other building materials and establishment of gardens and tree planting. Ornate walls, wrought-iron fences and gates appear. Within the year there are extensions to shacks as well as construction of cement, clay or face brick homes of all sizes. In short, an identical process to what is occurring in the villages, settlements and former dumping grounds.

In these regions there are a minority of traditional dwellings, usually well-maintained and attractive and often with modern extensions. Informal settlements commence with basic wood-and-iron shacks, largely as starter homes built by young families setting up on their own. These and older wood-and-iron structures in established villages or settlements tend to be well maintained. Upgrading, modernising, adding to, or entirely replacing them with brick dwellings is an ongoing process. Most of the housing stock however consists of modern, owner-built cement-brick structures which though modest are usually superior in size, quality and architectural components to basic RDP units or PHP structures. There are also significant numbers of larger modern clay or face brick homes which incorporate sophisticated architecture such as tiled split-level roofing, picture and arched windows etc. and elaborate fittings such as ornamental ceilings, en-suite bedrooms, marble tile floors etc. And even in informal settlements there are what can only be described as mansions.

Cooperative and social housing has a



strong following. Its proponents consider this to be more appropriate for low-income South Africans than the "individualistic focus of current tenure practices internationally and in South Africa" - notwithstanding research which "shows a preference for individual ownership because of the security it is seen to give and the historical denial of access to ownership rights". However, this housing renaissance is in no sense a communal or group thing. Neighbours do not come together to help build. The process is driven wholly by individual households. Individualistic orientations extend beyond property ownership and decisions when and how to initiate construction activity to include size, shape, architectural style and decor, and positioning of dwellings. South African architect and analyst Alan Lipman has pointed out that personalised embellishment by upmarket sectional-title townhouse occupants gives expression to the diversities that mark human existence; he remarks that this bears especially on the bleak uniformity of low-cost housing. Diversity is the hallmark in so-called rural villages and settlements. Architectural variety together with positioning large and small homes on site according to individual choice breaks the original Soweto as well as the current RDP mould, makes a significant positive contribution to residential quality of life and loudly proclaims individual diversity, all of which compensates for headaches it may cause to planners of infrastructural installation as well as tenure upgrading.

EXTENT AND COSTS

Here we are concerned mainly with a qualitative representation of a housing phenomenon visible to those with eyes to see, but passing notice for too long. We put the housing renaissance horse in front of the cart and explore the general nature, shape, size and colour of that horse.

Comprehensive quantitative research is in process to expand data about both horse and cart. For example, our sample survey of 236 households in nine North West villages and settlements reveals that 86% built their own home, 9% bought it from a previous owner and only 5% occupied state-built housing. A mere 3% were accommodated in only one room, a mere 9% in two rooms; 32% had three to four rooms, 52% five to nine rooms and 4% ten or more rooms. Of the sample, 8% still intended to improve their house, 22% to extend it, 29% to build a new house and 41% stated that the house was complete and that they liked it as it was.

Sample surveys of 490 properties in two ex-homeland localities in the Northern Province reveal that 190 or 38.78% had building materials on site, 147 or 30% had extensions to an existing house, 325 or 66.33% had a basic modern house, 57 or 11.83% had a larger modern house and 6 or 1.22% had a mansion. There were only 44 or 8.98% traditional structures and shacks. Of the existing dwellings, 364 or 72.24% cement block structures, 17 or 3.47% clay brick and 29 or 5.92% face brick structures. These data are structured on an 'as well as' basis: a single property can have building materials and a shack with a cement block extension or a cement/clay brick dwelling.

The Centre for Development Enterprise conducted research in Winterveld in the North West in 1998. It established that even in this notorious dumping ground which is generally perceived as the worst rural slum of all, average household expenditure on upgrading accommodation amounted to no less than R11 000. Our ongoing research confirms that this is the general trend in these regions.

THE EFFECT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

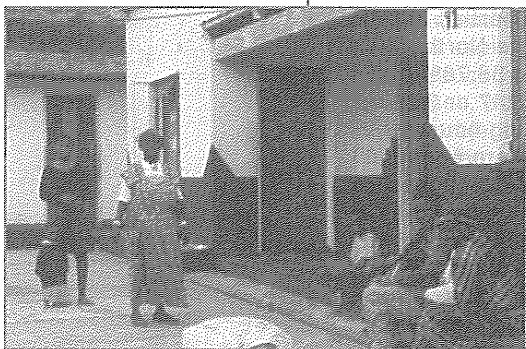
It is suggested that the housing renaissance is largely a post-1994 phenomenon arising out of widely felt tenure security. But furthermore, exercise of the option to make substantial bricks and mortar investments in such areas arises out of 'best value' considerations.

'Best value' is associated with present socioeconomic realities and social change. South Africa has hardly been a standstill society yet analysts, planners and policy-makers often appear to discount social change and particularly its intrusion into the lives of so-called rural populations.

URBANISATION

Urbanism in South Africa is a century old. During that century there has been much coming and going into and out of urban areas by the bulk of the indigenous population. As far back as 1971 the Africanist Basil Davidson criticised the manner in which memory of things past was overlooked in favour of the tabula rasa or blank slate myth, a presentation of Africans "without history, living in a perpetual vacuum





of experience" and that same year South African anthropologist Bernard Magubane condemned the accumulation of urbanisation studies that "are theoretically false and have congealed into a steadfast intellectual reality (acting as) a powerful mystification of the real social forces at work". Apart

from a short timespan in the early 1900s when poor white farmers/sharecroppers first migrated to cities there is no reference to a constantly necessary urbanisation process for whites who continue to relocate from farms and rural towns. But the blank slate perspective is still applied to black citizens. It is suggested that if ever significantly valid the concept of a one-way urbanisation process long ago passed its sell-by date.

URBAN AND NON-URBAN DISTINCTIONS

The problem starts with Central Statistics. Its 1996 census report commences with definitions of urban and non-urban. The former applies only to towns, cities and areas legally defined as urban. Non-urban applies not only to agricultural areas but also to all small settlements, rural villages and areas away from towns and cities as well as to what are called "semi-urban areas adjoining but not part of legally proclaimed urban areas". New municipal demarcations will affect this definition but its implication is that even those who have spent entire lives in cities but happen to live outside the proclaimed municipal boundary have been enumerated as non-urban.

Via these definitions around half the South African population is in fact decreed to be non-urban. This prescription is extended beyond locality and taken to indicate way of life and state of mind. Non-urban people are perceived to be different from those defined as urban. Each new generation is taken to be 'not urbanised', forever frozen like insects in amber into a static encapsulated non-urban domain entirely composed of poorest of the poor; some living as urban squatters following their one-way migratory journey to towns or cities, most still "rural" and living in isolated hinterland areas where they survive on subsistence agriculture, migrant remittances, pensions and welfare, suffer from an inferior quality of life in all respects and are in need of appropriate input to equip them

for more productive agricultural livelihoods.

EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Overriding emphasis on South Africa's unemployment and formal sector job shrinkages tends to obscure the facts and effects of existing employment. Within the North West's economically productive age-group (15 to 65 excluding scholars, students, housewives, the disabled and those unable to work for other reasons) 725 287 out of the total of 1 168 833 are enumerated as employed and 443 546 unemployed (although it is known that this count under-represents the informal economy). In the Northern Province 570 129 are enumerated as employed and 486 554 unemployed, totalling 1 056 683 in the economically productive age group. In short in both these cinderella provinces there are still more employed than unemployed.

Assuming that breadwinners support on average three dependants, the bulk of the total population will have a cash income. It is suggested that South African wage disparities are the more serious problem since Central Statistics census findings for 1996 are that 72% of the workforce earn no more than a paltry R2 500. Nonetheless these incomes do more than keep body and soul together. They subsidise the housing renaissance.

SOCIAL CHANGE

The impact and effects of social change in so-called rural areas has tended to be bracketed out. Social change includes

- widespread knowledge as opposed to rural peasant naivety about what is on offer in towns and cities. This includes the lowdown if not actual firsthand experience of the realities of urban labour and consumer markets, residential options and comparative costs, schooling, crime etc.
- general involvement in functionally urban livelihoods, adoption of functionally urban lifestyles and commitment to functionally urban aspirations;
- much greater mobility as a result of relatively cheap, fast transport via a taxi network servicing every area including the deepest rural habitats. Not only does this enhance the coming and going between rural and urban areas which has always been a feature of black social life. Large numbers of breadwinners in formal urban employment are now able to commute daily at an average of less than an hour per trip while those further away

from urban workplaces commute weekly, averaging three hours per trip and living largely in informal shacks during the week. Opting for a permanent home base in so-called rural areas is influenced by this ease of mobility.

LIVELIHOODS AND LIFESTYLES

The majority of households in these two provinces have at least one breadwinner in formal employment mainly at the R2 500 or below income level. Breadwinners have never been entirely dependent on migrant labour in distant metropolitan centres since both provinces have around ten of their own larger or smaller towns - for example from only three of many ex-homeland villages a few kilometres out of Potgietersrus in the Northern Province no less than 800 taxis ferry some 22 000 breadwinners and consumers into this town daily.

Many households also participate in self-initiated income-generating activities which can bring in anything from R200 to R6 000+ per month. Absence of entrepreneurial spirit is not the main SMME limitation. Local SMME activities are symbiotically connected to outside incomes and rather than stimulating self-employment job shrinkages and unemployment impacts negatively on local SMME economies. Where local self-employment is relatively thriving, levels of outside formal employment also tend to be reasonable. A second major limitation is absence of innovation within the SMME - no settlement can support an unlimited number of identical enterprises. However, as well as the oversupply of spazas, she-beens, fruit and vegetable vendors etc and contrary to data from other sources that the informal economy is largely 'survivalist' it also caters for non-survivalist functionally urban expenditure on vast quantities of soft and alcoholic drinks, sweets and chips as well as in hairdressing and beauty salons, pool-rooms, discos and other recreational and leisure amenities.

Since the 'poverty game' is the only one on offer most residents play it. If actually provided, declarations of total household income cannot be regarded as reliable. Information about household consumer patterns and the impact of livelihoods on actual lifestyles is more accessible and provides useful data. Household food consumption is generally well above poverty datum line levels. In most families, members are decently and often stylishly clothed and shod, a growing

number possess cellphones and credit cards for major retailers, homes are at least decently and sometimes lavishly furnished and fitted. And as this paper emphasises, many are organising their financial resources so well that they are managing to upgrade their residential quality of life far above the RDP housing level.

FUNCTIONAL URBANISM

The South African school syllabus includes education on rural settlements. Learners are taught that "the best way to decide whether the settlement is urban or rural is to look at what the people are doing. Settlements are rural if they are unfunctional around agriculture." Some agricultural activity on a minority of individual properties or some use of grazing and cropland in villages/settlements administered by tribal authorities cannot justify calling entire populations living in such settlements rural. With respect to livelihoods as well as lifestyles and aspirations they are with very few exceptions functionally urban.

Urban (or mainstream South African) quality of life involves participants in non-agricultural multifunctional formal or informal employment to generate cash income with which they rent/buy/build and fit out houses for families whom they feed, clothe, educate and otherwise care for; with which they strive to purchase as wide as possible a range of consumer goods including cellphones and vehicles; with which they also manage to entertain themselves, families and friends in various ways inter alia snacking, drinking, smoking, gambling, partying, pool-rooms, taverns, discos, restaurants, cinemas, concerts, theme parks, zoos, seaside holidays, Christmas shopping sprees etc. Universal cash limitations in the face of an Aladdin's cave of consumer options ensure that most modern functionally urban families live their lives in greater or lesser debt. Nevertheless many also invest in savings and insurance of various kinds as well as strategies to bring about their own upward mobility or empowerment.

Expectations of opportunity for upward mobility are part and parcel of functional urbanism. This is generally achieved through two related avenues for advancement and display of status - the work you do, and the house/neighbourhood you live in. The existing employment scenario offers limited opportunities for rank and file advancement. Most present breadwinners have to take what comes when it

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comes if it comes. They hope their better-educated children will be positioned for occupational upward mobility but rising educational levels are not yet bringing great employment rewards to matriculants or even tertiary education graduates.

However, the so-called rural regions have clearly supplied a gap for residential quality of life empowerment. Opportunity has knocked. The population is responding with vigour, energy, strength and the ability to do something to improve their lot in life. Involvement in home improvement and in what can only be called gentrification of properties is a flag proclaiming progress as well as functionally urban identity.

BEST VALUE

The cluster of 'best value' components feeding into this self-started self-funded housing upgrade includes

- de facto security of tenure;
- government upgrading of village and settlement infrastructure and expectations of further service delivery including piped water into houses, water-borne sewage and tarred roads;
- availability of free or very cheap land. It is commonly known that accommodation and living costs in country areas is low and expectations of extremely cheap living are based on fact. In terms of the traditional tenure system those with legitimate tribal affiliation are entitled to almost free residential, agricultural and grazing land, while affiliation fees for people who apply for a site but do not belong to the tribe vary from only R400 to R650 (a one-off fee). In trust land settlements (determined as land for Africans by the 1936 Land Act) payment per annum is a mere R1 for a residential site and R3 for agricultural or grazing rights if needed. In terms of the 1994 promise of land for all, other vacant State-owned land which totals around a third of the entire NW and Northern Provinces has been considered as legitimate localities for (free) residential expansion via informal settlements which in some cases have been formalised by government, also involving very low costs to occupants. Rent boycotts were initiated by civic structures in the 1980s with respect to tenants on black-owned land and although these rentals were also extremely low there has been no resumption of rent payments, usually in agreement with landowners with whom 'willing buyer

willing seller' arrangements have been made in expectation of initiation of land reform in these localities. These are the typical cost realities of such regions;

- the benchmark for South African mainstream housing is of high quality construction and architecture, matching the best in the world. Longterm involvement in the building and construction industry has produced extensive transfers of technology within grassroots populations. Some households possess the necessary skills to design and build their own structures from start to finish and smallscale house designers, building-plan draughtsmen, brickmakers, builders, plasterers, carpenters, joiners, plumbers etc are widely available;
- bureaucratic intervention or interference with house-building activities is minimal to non-existent;
- in addition to the opportunity for upgrading residential accommodation these areas offer families and especially their growing children a community quality of life with far fewer risks and dangers than in urban areas. People say their villages and settlements are 'cool' i.e. crime free. With jobs in short supply and frequently only one breadwinner per household in formal outside employment it makes sense to have permanent residence where families are most comfortable and safe;
- this is enormously enhanced by the availability to breadwinners of fast taxi transport which permits probably the majority to commute either daily or weekly to urban workplaces;
- pull of place also exerts an influence on best-value choices. Contrary to received wisdom, so-called rural populations do not all yearn for the city's bright lights. Our research reveals that subjective 'no place like home' attitudes are the norm even among younger adults. This is understandable if the popular misconception that social life in country villages and settlements is entirely different to urban social life is dispensed with - from accessible consumer centres to visiting friends, partying, playing pool, sports activities, discos, taverns, jazz concerts and so-forth, the available recreation and leisure menu is basically the same.

IMPLICATIONS

Whereas the Oxford Dictionary defines power as a property, quality or function giving an object or person vigour, energy, strength or the ability to do something, it

shifts emphasis to an other-directed process when dealing with empowerment which is defined as authorising or licensing to do, giving power to, making able. This encapsulates South African thinking about the poor who are considered powerless to do anything for themselves. It is a top-down perspective. And so far it has brought virtually no relief to the country's poor. Poverty, unemployment and job creation have been on agendas for decades and there is a constitutional imperative to transform quality of life for all citizens. It is surely no credit to the intelligence or resourcefulness of those driving the process that the war on poverty and unemployment in order to empower the disempowered still shows no indication whatsoever of being won. It becomes relevant to raise the possibility of hidden agendas. Who might benefit from prolonging the war? How?

On a less conspiratorial note there is little doubt that continuance of defective, inappropriate paradigms which overlook the impact of social change on livelihoods, lifestyles and aspirations of the so-called rural poor create barriers to meaningful, effective, sustainable empowerment delivery.

It can be suggested that impetus to empower the poor has stemmed less from topdown interventions and more from self-started initiatives. On the job creation front, regardless of their imperfections the grassroots-initiated taxi industry, street trading and community-based SMMEs have almost certainly made the largest contribution to actual job creation. If such activities are deemed 'survivalist' only, they can at least be placed at one end of a self-empowerment continuum. The people's housing renaissance is at the other end, signifying a thrust towards real upward mobility and advancement which will be appreciated as such by all except unrepentant Marxists who detest private home ownership because it is seen as capitalism's basic building block.

Substantial bricks and mortar investments by an ever-growing number households speak both of commitment to permanence in the village or settlement regarded as home, and a sense of legitimate ownership over the investment. These populations have shown that they do not need formal legal title to improve their quality of life. The subjective reality for most is that land reform happened in 1994 and they have wasted no time in literally building on this base, proclaiming their roots and attachment to their own

particular locality, insisting that no other location will do. They express a sense of being in control of their own destiny. They do not anticipate any further pushing about like pawns on a chessboard by players in Pretoria or elsewhere who design development blueprints which ignore their own preferences, plans and intentions.

Land values, costs and tenure entitlement rather than merely a culture of non-payment influence and justify the general outlook that country areas are cheap as well as good to live in. "We love the country because we can live here so cheaply" is stated not with any sense of exploitativeness or advantage presently being taken of existing circumstances but as a fact of life.

Until now there has been widespread ignorance about the actual parameters of land reform and not a pressing sense of urgency about obtaining legal tenure, yet paradoxically everyone including those in settlements whose leaders have taken the land reform communal property option, as well as residents falling under traditional (tribal) authorities with whom they have no quarrel, know about and want individual title deeds. Some respondents say that this would enable them to access bank loans to start businesses; others tie it in to protecting their housing investment, obtaining building bonds, enabling them to upgrade their accommodation at no risk. There does seem to be some understanding that although present costs of acquiring or occupying land in these localities is low the future may be otherwise, to the advantage of those getting in on the groundfloor now. Especially in localities within an hour of major metropolitan industrial hubs the expectation is that there will be an inevitable continuation and growth of urban spread in their direction accompanied by fast-track community infrastructural development by government. Present property and bricks-and-mortar investments are viewed not merely as a best value strategy for survival but also as an avenue for future upward mobility, a sounder provident fund than ownership of cattle.

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Astrid Ley and Grace Stead

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG: KOMMUNALE NORD-SÜD ZUSAMMENARBEIT IN DER LOKALEN AGENDA 21

Mit der anstehenden Rio-Nachfolgekonferenz 2002 in Johannesburg (Rio+10), verdient auch die Lokale Agenda 21 (LA 21) Partnerschaft zwischen Aachen und Tygerberg in Kapstadt, Südafrika mehr Aufmerksamkeit. Diese Partnerschaft hat sich 1998 aus Kontakten zwischen den beiden Nichtregierungsorganisationen Welthaus und KERIC (Khayelitsha Education Resource and Information Centre) entwickelt. Mit der offiziellen Unterzeichnung des Memorandum of Understanding am 29. Juni 2000 ist ein Grundgerüst für die Partnerschaft aufbauend auf den drei Themenschwerpunkten - Förderung eines gemeinsamen Verständnisses der Bedeutung von LA 21 im Nord-Süd Kontext, Austausch von Erfahrungen in LA 21-Technik und Partnerschaftsprojekte - geschaffen.

Zu Tygerberg gehören einige der ärmsten Gegenden von Kapstadt. Deshalb konzentrieren sich Projekte vor allem auf Armutsbekämpfung, lokale Wirtschaft- und Sozialentwicklung sowie Umweltmanagement. Dabei stehen Aus- und Fortbildungsprogramme, Beschäftigungsmaßnahmen sowie...

BACKGROUND

The Local Agenda 21 Partnership between Aachen, Germany, and Tygerberg, South Africa, was started in 1998 with initial links between the Non-Governmental Organisations Welthaus, in Aachen, and KERIC (Khayelitsha Education, Resource and Information Centre) based in a township called Khayelitsha. Tygerberg Administration is situated in the City of Cape Town and was established in 1996 due to the local government transition and amalgamation of various municipal areas after the first democratic local elections. Tygerberg shoulders much of the poverty within the Cape Metropole. Khayelitsha, Elsies River and Delft are examples of developing communities which were seriously disadvantaged over many decades in the apartheid era. Therefore poverty reduction, local economic and social development, as well as environmental management - to name only a few - are some of the main issues local government and NGOs have to deal with currently.

The implementation of Local Agenda 21 in the Tygerberg was largely due to the partnership with Aachen which forms part of a North-South Network of cities; a bilateral partnership between cities with joint responsibility for shared outcomes. In 1999 the Aachen and Tygerberg Councils joined the programme **Agenda 21: Community based co-operation towards global and sustainable urban development** by the Carl Duisberg Gesellschaft, an international training organisation. This led to the formal agreement of the Aachen/Tygerberg Agenda 21 Partnership.

AACHEN/TYGERBERG PARTNERSHIP

With the signing of the Partnership Mem-

orandum of Understanding in Aachen, Germany, on 29 June 2000, the various parties recorded their sincere intention to give effect to the following :

- Commitment to the principle and practice of global sustainability and Partnership as stated in Agenda 21, adopted at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, as well as the promotion of Local Agenda 21 within the respective structures.
- Commitment to actively participate in the North-South Network as launched by the Carl Duisberg Gesellschaft (CDG) in 1999.
- Recognition of the SA-German Cooperation Agreement of 1998, with special reference to joint responsibility to work together in a global context to the mutual benefit of the cities and their communities.

CIVIL SOCIETY: PARTNERSHIP WORKSHOPS

Various workshops have been held in Tygerberg to promote the interaction between government and civil society to encourage public participation, provide information, promote networking and explore initiatives to strengthen relationships on local and international level.

Through the workshops it was agreed that a Local Agenda 21 (LA21) Project Forum be established. The co-ordination of LA21 is done by the Projects Office and a Steering Committee. This links up with the Project Forum consisting of all interested parties which meets at least twice a year. Various action groups are established for the implementation of different projects.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY: INFORMATION SESSION AND TOUR

In an attempt to include the business sector more closely with sustainable development projects an information session on the Partnership was presented to a group of business and industry representatives, followed by a tour of some of the projects in Tygerberg. It has however been identified that participation by the private sector needs to be more focused, but actual ways of implementing this still have to be explored.

PROJECTS

The linking of economical, social and environmental issues and provision of information have been identified as priorities in establishing LA21 projects. Furthermore it was identified that in South Africa there is a lack of understanding about the issues of Agenda 21. Some of the major functions of the Agenda 21 office was to promote training and awareness about sustainable development within local government, to establish a co-ordination team for LA21 within the Tygerberg and to promote the principles of sustainable development.

These principles are implemented in various projects throughout the city and some of the main issues that have been identified are:

- Empowerment of Women, Youth and Family
- Community Development, Health and Welfare
- Job Creation, Skills Training and Capacity Building
- Environmental Education and Development
- Urban Environment and Renewal
- Providing of affordable Housing

A tremendous amount of work is being done by Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) in various disadvantaged areas. Unfortunately not all these projects can be mentioned within limited space, but below are some examples of projects.

To address the need for empowering abused women a **Court Support Desk** project has been established by Mosaic Women's Organisation. The aim of this project is to provide crisis intervention, to educate clerks of the courts and raise public awareness. There is a training program to provide skills for court volunteers.

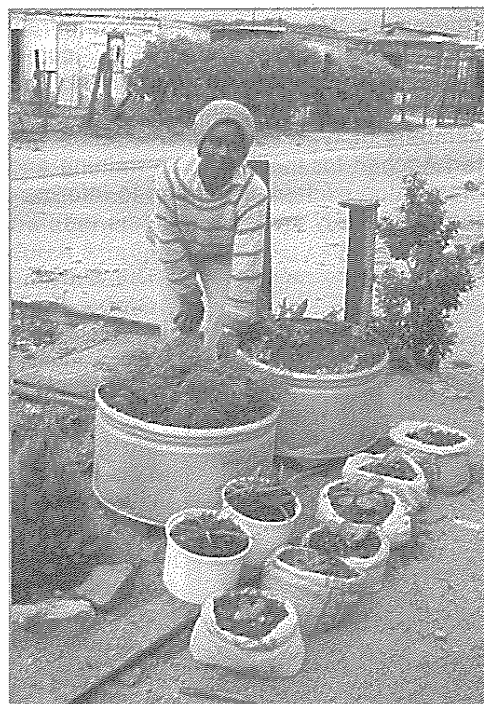
The Mosaic Drum Garden Permaculture

Project teaches women in disadvantaged communities to grow vegetables within their home environment and through that encourage them to become economically independent. To overcome the problems related to the sandy environment galvanised oil drums are used to confine quality soil and grow vegetables. The promotion of recycled materials are also encouraged.

To promote skills training and capacity building the **Zanokhanyo Home Management Training Centre** has been established. Their aim is to provide practical skills as domestic workers and assist with job placement. They teach basic skills in cooking and cleaning, as well as strengthen the self esteem of the women.

In an area plagued by gangsterism the **Elsies River Youth Development Program** aims to offer alternatives to crime involvement and drug abuse. Peer counselling, life skills training and recreation activities form the basis for the youth initiatives.

Thousands of families in the Tygerberg area live in informal dwellings which lack basic infrastructure and pose a health and fire risk, because they are not structurally sound. The **Build and Live Safe Programme** is a co-operative initiative by Tygerberg and SEED (Sustainable Energy, Environment & Development Programme) to raise awareness for sustainable energy and environmental practices in low-cost housing developments. They provide advice for building basic houses



.. Umweltbildung, Wohnraumversorgung und Gesundheitsprogramme im Vordergrund. Es wird versucht, die einzelnen Projekte miteinander zu vernetzen. Partnerschaftsprojekte bestehen bereits u.a. durch Fortbildungsprogramme für Fachkräfte, ein gemeinsames Wandmalprojekt und Kontakte zwischen Schulen und Hochschulen.

Mosaic Drum Gardening and Permaculture Project
Photo: Astrid Ley

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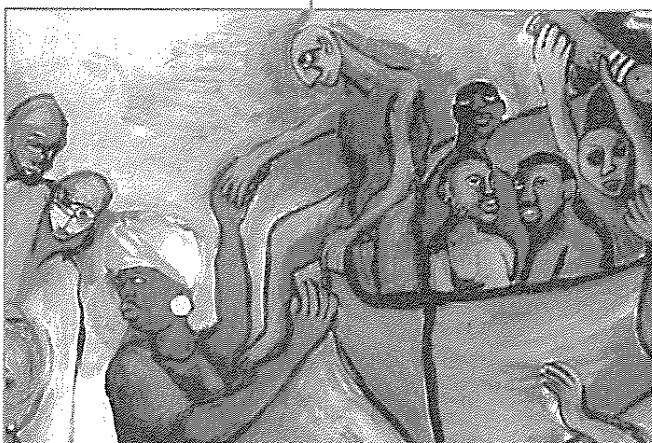
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Muralglobal: Mural painting for Aachen. Artists: Brele Scholz & Uta Göbel-Groß (Aachen) and Xolile Mtakatya (Khayelitsha, Südafrika).



and shacks or extensions to the residents in the townships. Other housing initiatives like DAG (Development Action Group) and People's Dialogue/ Homeless People Federation promote mutual help in housing delivery.

Through the establishment of the Aachen/Tygerberg Partnership various **North-South Projects** have been implemented. One of the most important joint projects is the monitoring of the partnership. An independent consultant has been appointed to monitor, evaluate and document the process's and activities of the partnership. The aim is to increase the impact and effectiveness of the partnership process in the two cities by providing a mechanism to facilitate networking and learning amongst local authority and civil society partners. This is being funded by Misereor.

The **ASA-Programme** (Arbeits- und Studienaufenthalte für Studierende und Berufstätige in Afrika, Asien und Lateinamerika co-ordinated by CDG) initiated a project which assisted with the co-ordination of the partnership, to determine common options and interests to ensure a sustainable network, to develop an understanding of LA21 within both cities, to establish contacts with relevant projects and institutions as well as to promote Partnership projects. This was carried out by two students from Aachen during 2000 and was followed by two southern participants visiting Aachen for three months.

Expert-training was funded by the CDG-Programme "Management of urban infrastructure" with a member of KERIC conducting a one-year training-programme in Germany. During summer 2001 two staff members of Tygerberg Administration visited Aachen for three months training and information exchange relating to information technology and GIS-systems.

issues. An artist from Khayelitsha, Xolile Mtakatya, was invited to participate in painting the mural in Aachen during September 2000 with two artists from Germany, Brele Scholz and Uta Göbel-Gross. It is proposed that this be repeated in Khayelitsha as a partnership project and funding is currently being sourced to implement the project in October 2001.

A **Bicycle Recycle Project** has been initiated and the aim is to collect disused bicycles within the Aachen region and send them to Khayelitsha. The bicycles will then be used for social projects, such as job creation and skills training, and the promotion of the use of bicycles as an alternative method of transport.

Two **School Partnerships** have been established between schools in Aachen and Tygerberg and initial contact has been provided by municipality on both sides. Up to now students exchange letters and introduce their activities and interests, but school exchange programs are planned for the future.

It is envisaged that the universities in Aachen and Tygerberg link up to create partnerships relating to specific projects and to gain international experience. The Institute of Landscape Ecology and Landscape Planning at Aachen University of Technology started with a new urban design project for Khayelitsha and they are currently trying to get funding. Students are encouraged to make proposals for promoting sustainable development with various focuses, such as renewable energy, greening, resource management and composting.

WAY FORWARD

A ten year review of the Agenda 21 process will be done at the Earth Summit in Johannesburg, South Africa, in September 2002. This will focus on the importance of sustainable development throughout the world and be an occasion for the presentation of the North-South Partnership between Aachen and Tygerberg. The current focus of the partnership is project orientated and various organisations are encouraged to participate in promoting projects related to sustainable development. In a short time this partnership has already broadened the understanding about North-South issues and the need to work together for a better future.

The **Mural Global Project** is one of the exciting initiatives in the partnership. This is an international mural painting project aiming to create awareness around Agenda 21



Bild: Staatlich unterstütztes Selbsthilfeprojekt in Kayelitsha

Der Artikel basiert auf den Ergebnissen des Fortgeschritten-Projektes "Developing low-cost-housing areas in the Republic of South Africa by Public Private Partnership" (2000/01), betreut von Prof. Dr. Günter Kroës, Dr. Ute Middeldmann und Wolfgang Scholz, Universität Dortmund unterstützt vom Deutschen Akademischen Austauschdienst (DAAD).

Dr. Günter Kroës, Bettina Hanel, Friedrich Krüger, Karin Molde und Regi Witter

PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP IM SOZIALEN WOHNUNGSBAU - BEISPIELE AUS SÜDAFRIKA

Das Modell der Public Private Partnership (PPP) gewinnt international und auch in der entwicklungspolitischen Diskussion zunehmend an Bedeutung. Im Idealfall ist PPP für beide Kooperationspartner von Vorteil ("win-win-Effekt"). Für die öffentliche Hand besteht dieser in der Regel im Zugang zu privaten Geldern und zu der vermeintlichen oder tatsächlichen - höheren Effektivität und Professionalität der Privatwirtschaft. Die privaten Partner hingegen versprechen sich besseren Zugang zu staatlichen oder kommunalen Aufträgen und eine Erweiterung ihres Geschäftsfeldes durch partielle Übernahme traditionell öffentlicher Aufgaben.

Der Wohnungsbausektor für unterste Einkommensschichten erfordert aufgrund der mangelnden Möglichkeiten, Profite zu realisieren, spezielle Formen der Kooperation. Die südafrikanischen Banken sehen die Townships als zu risikoreich für jegliche Investition an und grenzen diese Gebiete daher aus. In diesen Fällen stehen auf der privatwirtschaftlichen Seite überwiegend nicht gewinnorientierte Organisationen. Drei Beispiele aus der Region Kapstadt geben einen Einblick in die praktische Bandbreite.

In Südafrika kommt Projekten zur Wohnungsvergung nicht nur aus sozialen Gründen besondere Bedeutung zu, sondern auch aufgrund des in der Verfassung verankerten Grundrechts auf angemessenen Wohnraum und des während des Wahlkampfes 1994 gegebenen Versprechens, innerhalb einer Legislaturperiode eine Million Wohneinheiten zu schaffen. Hierdurch sind natürlich hohe Erwartungen bei der Bevölkerung geweckt worden. Diesen Anforderungen

kann die südafrikanische Regierung bisher weder quantitativ noch qualitativ gerecht werden. Offizielle Zahlen beziffern den Wohnungsrückstand zur Zeit mit drei Millionen Wohneinheiten.¹

CAPE TOWN COMMUNITY HOUSING COMPANY (CTCHC)

Die Cape Town Community Housing Company wurde 1999 als Joint Venture zwischen der Stadt Kapstadt und dem "Housing Institutions Development Fund" gegründet. Ziel war es, die Bereitstellung von Einfachsthäusern für Bewohner der Townships, die vorwiegend durch das Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) geschieht, zu verbessern.

Die bisher im Rahmen dieses Programms (RDP) gebauten "Häuser" genügen den Bedürfnissen der Bewohner in keiner Weise. Dies erklärt sich zumindest teilweise aus den sehr knappen Finanzmitteln per "Haus" von 16.000 (bei besonders hohen Erschließungskosten 18.500) Rand. Hiervon sind sowohl die Erschließungskosten als auch die Einraum-Gebäude (ca. 25 qm) zu bezahlen. Da aber insbesondere die Erschließung durch Straßen und Kanalisation sehr hohen, vielleicht auch zu hohen Standards entspricht, wird der größere Anteil der verfügbaren Mittel bereits für die Infrastruktur aufgebraucht, sodass für das eigentliche "Haus" nur selten mehr als 2000 bis 3000 DM übrig bleiben. Quantität statt Qualität und daraus folgende Uniformität sind die zwangsläufigen Folgen.

Hier setzt die CTCHC an und versucht die Qualität und Größe der Gebäude sowie die Planung der gesamten Siedlung durch die Zusammenarbeit mit der Stadt Cape Town zu verbessern. Hierzu entwickelte die CTCHC ein Finanzie-

PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS IN THE LOW COST HOUSING SECTOR: EXAMPLES FROM SOUTH AFRICA

Public private partnerships seem to be a new "key word" in international development discussions. Its aim is to give the public sector - with its limited resources - access to private capital and to the supposed effectiveness and professionalism of the private sector.

As a countermove, the private sector tries to improve its business opportunities by working for and together with the public sector. Both sides expect to gain an additional benefit by PPP. Therefore PPP only works if all parties involved are able to create - or at least expect - a win-win situation. As most PPPs are composed of public organisations and profit earning private companies the question was raised whether PPP can also work with non-profit organisations e.g. NGOs in an extremely non-profitable sector like low cost housing in the townships of South Africa. In these areas, South-African banks had drawn so called "Red Lines", indicating that the respective areas are too risky for any investment. On the other hand there is an extremely high...

¹ www.gov.za/yearbook/housing/htm

...political and social pressure to provide enough low cost houses with a minimal standard. But the government of RSA is not able to meet this pressing demand alone. Therefore collaboration with (all) non-public organisations that can help to solve the problem is obligatory.

The focus of a student research project conducted at the University of Dortmund and "The University of Western Cape" was to examine the potentials and limitations of the instrument of PPP for the low cost housing sector in Cape Town / South Africa. The South African housing market faces a strong pressure, because of an enormous demand. The officially stated backlog of housing for low-income households is figured out with three million units. The Republic of South Africa has got a special responsibility to provide housing for its citizens because the right of housing is manifested in the constitution.

The examples presented below refer to a housing company as public-private joint venture; to a non-profit orientated housing company as well as to a NGO supporting community based housing approaches. All of these companies are not gaining direct profit out of these PPPs but nevertheless they all can "win" additional benefit from the cooperation in terms of better achieving their statutory objectives.

runungsmodell, bei dem die Stadt zusätzlich zu den staatlichen Fördergeldern 5000 Rand bereit stellt und zudem private Ersparnisse durch die zukünftigen "Hauseigentümer" eingebracht werden müssen. Dies ermöglicht den Bau größerer Häuser, stärkt durch die Eigenbeteiligung die Verbundenheit der Bewohner mit ihrem Haus. Die meisten Bewohner der Townships waren aus dem ländlichen Raum zugewandert, in dem die eigene Hütte selbstverständlich und auch mietfrei war und weder ein veräußerbares Gut noch einen Kostenfaktor darstellte. Während der Apartheid wurden Mieten und Abgaben zwar gefordert, aber aus Protest gegen das Regime faktisch nicht bezahlt. Daher ist es schwer diese Bürger daran zu gewöhnen, für das Wohnen regelmäßig Geld auszugeben, vorausgesetzt, dass sie dies überhaupt können. Geld für ein Haus anzuspahren, Zinsen und Tilgungsraten zu zahlen aber auch Abgaben für Wasser, Strom etc. zu leisten, müssen viele erst noch lernen. Auch dadurch, dass diese Einfachst-Häuser durch das RDP kostenlos verteilt werden, entsteht kein Bewusstsein für den Wert des Hauseigentums.

Da zudem die Empfänger der teilweise im Schnellverfahren gebauten Siedlungen sich am unteren Ende der Einkommensskala befinden (sie dürfen maximal 3500 Rand pro Monat verdienen, um in die Förderung zu kommen), geschieht es oft, dass die Bewohner sich gezwungen sehen, ihre neuen Häuser kurz nach Erhalt wieder zu verkaufen. Auf Grund des fehlenden Wertbewusstseins und daher fehlenden Marktpreises geschieht dies oft zu einem Bruchteil des realen Wertes. Die Käufer dieser Häuser gehören jedoch in aller Regel nicht zur angestrebten Zielgruppe. Einige Spekulanten häufen so ein großes Immobilienvermögen zu Lasten der Armen an. Eine Fehlallokation knapper öffentlicher Mittel ist die Folge.

Eines der wesentlichen Probleme bei der Umsetzung des RDP ergibt sich aus der Tatsache, dass die Begünstigten des Programms häufig nicht in der Lage sind, die mit dem Hausbesitz verbundenen laufenden Kosten für infrastrukturelle Leistungen zu tragen. Da die Stadt Kapstadt die Baukosten für die technische Infrastruktur mit 5000 Rand bezuschusst, kann die Höhe der benötigten Kredite verringert werden, so dass sich die laufenden Kosten pro Monat für den jeweiligen Haushalt reduzieren.

Da außerdem für die Teilnahme an Projekten der CTCHC zur Bedingung

gemacht wird, dass die Bewerber durch regelmäßige Ansparung über einen längeren Zeitraum ihre Fähigkeit und ihren Willen zu regelmäßigen Zahlungen beweisen, werden diese bereits an regelmäßige Zahlungen gewöhnt. Beide Effekte führen zu einer drastischen Erhöhung der Zahlungsquote bei den städtischen Versorgungsbetrieben.

Für die Stadt Kapstadt rechnet sich die anfängliche Investition nach ca. sieben Jahren. Durch dieses Verfahren lassen sich für die Stadt die Einnahmen aus ihren Leistungen verbessern und die Belastungen der privaten Haushalte reduzieren. Eine win-win Situation kann erreicht werden, wenn die anfänglichen Erfolge langfristig stabilisiert werden können.

Allerdings schränkt die Zulassungsbedingung der Sparfähigkeit den Kreis der möglichen Teilnehmer ein; die untersten Einkommensschichten können auf diese Weise nicht erreicht werden. Durch die Bereitstellung von Wohneinheiten in großer Zahl von der CTCHC können einerseits Skaleneffekte erreicht werden, andererseits ist auch hier eine Tendenz zur Massenanfertigung zu beobachten, die soziale Aspekte nicht immer ausreichend berücksichtigt.

Für eine kleine Gruppe etwas besser Verdienender, jedoch immer noch sozial Schwacher, kann die Wohnsituation durch das Modell der CTCHC erheblich verbessert werden.

COMMUNICARE

Communicare ist ein zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts gegründetes Wohnungsbauunternehmen in Kapstadt, das im Sinne des Allgemeinwohls günstige Wohneinheiten für Haushalte mit geringem Einkommen zur Verfügung stellt. Es führt weiterhin profitable Bauvorhaben durch, verwendet diese Gewinne jedoch zur Reduzierung der Kosten von Sozialwohnungsbauprojekten. Daneben wird der große Teil der Kosten für den Sozialwohnungsbau mit den üblichen staatlichen Subventionen für privaten Wohnungsbau gedeckt. Hier findet eine Quersubventionierung vom profitablen Bausektor zu Gunsten des Sozialwohnungsbaus statt.

Das Unternehmen gehört aufgrund seiner Gemeinnützigkeit zur "Section 21", was bedeutet, dass es keine steuerlichen Abgaben zu leisten hat und somit eine indirekte zusätzliche Subvention von der öffentlichen Hand erhält. Einen weiteren Vorteil für Communicare stellt die zu Werbezwecken nutzbare Sozialorientierung dar.

Communicare sieht seine Aufgabe in der Steigerung des Allgemeinwohls, was auf jeden Fall mit der Verpflichtung der öffentlichen Hand korrespondiert, für genügend Wohnraum zu sorgen. Somit liegt für beide Seiten eine Kooperation nahe.

Im Gegensatz zu konventionellen Wohnbauprojekten wie RDP entstehen durch zwar immer noch limitierte, aber bereits ausgeweitete finanzielle Möglichkeiten, bessere Wohneinheiten, die weitaus eher den Bedürfnissen der Menschen entsprechen.

PEOPLE'S DIALOGUE ON LAND AND SHELTER

People's Dialogue on Land and Shelter ist eine nicht-profitorientierte NRO, die 1991 in Kapstadt ins Leben gerufen wurde. Die Gründung war eine Reaktion auf die schlechten Wohn- und Lebensverhältnisse der städtischen schwarzen und farbigen Bevölkerung, um die Möglichkeiten der Betroffenen zu vergrößern, sich an den öffentlichen Wohnungsbauprogrammen zu beteiligen. People's Dialogue on Land and Shelter bildet die Dachorganisation für zwei weitere Einrichtungen: die "South African Homeless People's Federation" und den "uTshani Fund".

Die S.A. Homeless People's Federation macht es sich zur Aufgabe, die verschiedenen existierenden informellen Sparprogramme zusammen zu fassen und damit verbesserte Konzepte für den Wohnungsbau von Haushalten mit sehr geringem Einkommen zu entwickeln. "Saving Clubs" als siedlungsbezogene Sparprogramme besitzen eine lange Tradition unter der schwarzen Bevölkerung und stellen eine erfolgreiche Methode dar, durch gegenseitige Kontrolle und Motivation Gelder für verschiedene individuelle und gemeinschaftliche Zwecke beiseite zu legen. Traditionell werden diese Ersparnisse jedoch v.a. für den Konsum (z.B. familiäre Ereignisse wie Hochzeiten und Beerdigungen), nicht aber für langfristige private und betriebliche Investitionen oder die Schaffung von Wohneigentum eingesetzt.

Der uTshani Fund wurde 1994 mit der Aufgabe gegründet, Gelder von People's Dialogue zu verwalten und zu verteilen. Die Stiftung bietet Überbrückungskredite zu sehr geringem Zinssatz an und stellt somit eine wichtige zusätzliche Finanzierungsquelle für die einkommensschwachen Haushalte Südafrikas dar, welche sich nicht für die üblicherweise durch Banken angebotenen Kredite qualifizieren.

Neben der finanziellen Unterstützung durch internationale wohltätige Organisationen finanziert sich People's Dialogue durch Gelder des öffentlichen Sektors.²

Der Staat gewährte dem uTshani Fund ein Startkapital von 10 Mio. Rand. Zusätzlich werden die Regierungssubventionen für sozialen Wohnungsbau an People's Dialogue gegeben, um diese in institutionseigene Hausbauprojekte fließen zu lassen.

In jedem Fall kann festgestellt werden, dass das vorliegende Kooperationsprogramm vorrangig auf finanzieller Unterstützung basiert. Die win-win-Situation liegt bei der öffentlichen Hand in der Erfüllung ihrer politischen Ziele und Vorgaben, die einkommensschwache Bevölkerung mit Wohnraum zu versorgen. Auf Seiten der NRO bestehen die Vorteile neben der finanziellen Unterstützung vor allem darin, ihr partizipatorisches Konzept zu verfolgen, durch Einbeziehung der potentiellen Bewohner bei der Planung und Realisierung angemessenen Wohnraum und nachhaltigere Siedlungsstrukturen besser verwirklichen zu können.

FAZIT

Die mit PPP verbundene Hoffnung, dem öffentlichen Sektor Zugang zu privatem Kapital zu verschaffen, kann im Wohnungsbereich nur sehr bedingt erfüllt werden. Vorteile sind vor allem in der verbesserten Umsetzung und der Einbindung der Bewohner in Hausbauprojekten zu sehen. Weitere Effizienzsteigerungen ließen sich möglicherweise durch gemeinsam konzipierte und organisierte Projekte der drei oben kurz skizzierten Organisationen erzielen. Dies erfordert allerdings die Bereitschaft aller Beteiligten, sich aufeinander einzustellen und die unterschiedlichen Ansätze aufeinander abzustimmen.

2

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Bild: Wohnungsbauprojekt der CTCHC - Finanziert durch staatliche Mittel sowie Eigenbeteiligung.



The Impact of AIDS and Housing in Namibia

BERND QUICK AND ROLAND ZISS, SUM CONSULT GMBH

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Folgen der Immunschwächekrankheit AIDS treffen Namibia in besonderer Härte und werden in den kommenden Jahren schwerwiegende Auswirkungen auf die Wirtschaft, Wohnungsverorgung und soziale Stabilität haben. Mehr als 10 % der Bevölkerung sind HIV-infiziert, und AIDS ist mit 47 % aller Fälle deutlich die häufigste Todesursache der 15- bis 49-Jährigen, also der Mehrheit der ökonomisch aktiven Bevölkerung. Von 1995 -98 fiel die durchschnittliche Lebenserwartung um 5,7 Jahre; die lange Inkubationszeit läßt eine noch schlimmere Entwicklung erwarten, besonders in städtischen Räumen mit hoher Migrationsrate. Sexualität ist ein Tabu-Thema, was die Prävention sehr erschwert.

Die Autoren zeigen die zu erwartenden Folgen auf: für das Land, wenn ein Teil der Fach- bzw. Arbeitskräfte zu jung verstirbt; für Familien, für die der Tod des Ernährers katastrophale Folgen haben kann, und für die Gesellschaft, in der die HIV-Infektion zu erneuter Segregation und Diskriminierung führt.

INTRODUCTION

Addressing the rapid spread and serious impact of Human Immuno-deficiency Virus (HIV and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) presents one of the most critical challenges to social and economic development in sub-Saharan Africa. Although only 10 percent of the world population lives in sub-Saharan Africa, more than 70% of the estimated 36.1 million people living with HIV and AIDS (25.3 million) and more than 90% of the estimated 13.2 million AIDS orphans are living in the region. Namibia is among the countries that are most seriously hit by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. SUM Consult GmbH has been providing consulting services to financial cooperation projects in the areas of housing and settlement upgrading in Namibia since 1992. In these years the HIV epidemic has developed into an AIDS pandemic. The authors have witnessed this transition and how AIDS changed the life of families and the entire Namibian society.

DIMENSIONS AND REASONS OF THE HIV/AIDS PANDEMIC

In 1999 Namibia the HIV/AIDS prevalence rate of adults in the age group between 15 and 49 years was 19%, one of the highest in the world (SAPES-/UNDP/SADC 2000: 148). According to the World Bank classification Namibia belongs to the countries with a generalised HIV prevalence where the disease has spread beyond the original sub-populations with high risk behaviour. Recent estimates indicate that the AIDS menace is even worsening. Between 1995 and 1998 average life expectancy dropped 5.7 years, from 55.8 years to 50.1 years, more than one year per year, and is expected to fall more in the coming years.

Until 1990, the year of independence, the Namibian society was a very closed and restricted one. About 80% of the population was living in rural areas mostly in a traditional way. Apartheid policies had tried to control migration of the black population as much as possible. By 2000, after an accelerated urbanisation process, the urban population had increased to roughly 40%; nevertheless, many families stick to their traditional patterns of behaviour. Discussions about sexual matters are prohibited; family members simply do not talk about sexuality, not even mother and daughter, or father and son. "As a boy or a girl you had to find out everything yourself. Sexuality is a taboo, even if a couple is just holding hands or kissing each other you should not look at them and walk away very fast", says Sofie Shaningwa, social worker at the National Housing Enterprise.

The taboos surrounding sexuality makes it difficult to talk openly about HIV/AIDS and to implement an efficient prevention strategy. AIDS is referred to as "the other illness"; people do not want their deceased family members associated with AIDS. Unlike other sub-Saharan countries, e.g. Uganda, not a single politician or pop star has identified him or herself yet as being HIV positive in Namibia.

The Ovambo society (Ovambo are the predominant ethnic group of Namibia, approx. 50% of all Namibians are Ovambo speaking) typically tolerates polygamy or male-initiated sexual relations with numerous partners. During Apartheid times the separation between home and work place was intensified; many families suffered from the migrant labour system. Men recruited as labourers in the cities were provided a place in a hostel or "single quarters" close to the urban area,

while their families had to live in the so called "homelands". Still today the rich diamond mining and the commercial farming areas of the South draw large numbers of workers from the North on a seasonal basis. Many men have their legal spouse in the Northern provinces and a second wife in the town where they are working. The limited formal employment opportunities in the North bring many people to the booming fishing industry at Walvis Bay and Lüderitz, as well as to Windhoek and Swakopmund in search of work resulting in large informal settlements where health services are poor. The segregation of breadwinners from their families and high levels of promiscuity are important reasons for the fast spread of HIV in Namibia.

The main increase of HIV infection in Namibia took place between 1993 and 1996, nearly doubling every year from 2,500 to 10,500 officially confirmed new cases (but the real numbers are much higher). Actually the rate is stabilising on the high level of about 13,000 newly infected individuals per year. According to the HIV Sentinel Sero Survey, carried out among pregnant women between 15 and 49 years as a proxy for the sexually active population, the Ministry of Health and Social Services estimates that 190,000 Namibians were HIV positive in the year 2000 (Republic of Namibia 2001), representing more than 10% of the total population and 22.3% of the sexually active one. The survey shows that HIV is correlated with high population densities: HIV prevalence was highest in the large urban agglomerations and in the Northern Regions, namely in Katima Mulilo (33%), Windhoek (31%), Oshakati (28%) and Walvis Bay (28%)

Death from AIDS is meanwhile the single most important cause of death in Namibia: 26% of all reported deaths and even 47% of deaths in the age groups of 15 to 49 years are attributed to AIDS. But the real increase will take place during the next five years due to the relatively long incubation period of up to ten years before an HIV infected person shows the first symptoms of AIDS (Melber 2000).

THE IMPACT OF AIDS ON THE HOUSING MARKET

Although the impact of AIDS on the formal housing sector is felt only very recently, the situation is more critical in the informal segments of the housing market and worsening dramatically when considering the following trends and tendencies:

→ Increase of mortgage insurance claims: In 1990 the National Housing Enterprises (NHE), the parastatal in charge of housing delivery at the lower end of the formal market, had 5663 active clients and received 24 claims against the mortgage insurance covering death (1:236); in the year 2000 NHE received 120 mortgage insurance claims from a total of 9087 clients (1:75). Based on the number of claims received in the first four months the projections for 2001 are close to the 300 claims from a total of 10300 clients (1:34). While not more than 20% of these claims are due to normal causes, such as non AIDS related death or disability of the client, as well as damage caused by fire, 80% or even more may nowadays be attributed to AIDS.

→ Withdrawal of insurance companies from covering AIDS related risks: Since January 2001, the NHE mortgage insurance scheme no longer pays out claims if death or disability resulted from AIDS or AIDS related diseases, e.g. pneumonia. More than half of the 2001 claims were repudiated and every single case is being screened by studying the detailed medical records. The whole procedure takes now six to eight weeks instead of two to three weeks as previously. Other insurance companies will follow and exclude AIDS related risks from their coverage.

→ Pressure on the formal housing finance system: NHE is still working on a strategy of response to this new development, trying to find answers to the difficult questions like the following ones. Will clients get beneficial premiums or interest rates if they take voluntary HIV tests? Are some insurance companies willing to specifically cover AIDS for a higher premium and voluntary testing? Will loan periods and loan amounts be reduced? Will NHE set up a self-financing credit life insurance scheme? Will families be able to repay and maintain a house after the main breadwinner had died? Will it be politically feasible to evict families who were struck by AIDS? Under which conditions can the loans be renegotiated? How much has the interest rate or the premium to be increased to cover the higher risk for the next ten to twenty years? After only a few years of addressing the needs of the previously underprivileged population, the formal housing finance system is under pressure and has to envisage many bad debts through AIDS, serious capital losses,

HOW FAMILIES ARE AFFECTED

(The names of the actual people with whom we interacted have been changed to protect their privacy, but the case study is accurate in its other details.)

The case of Filemon Shikongo and his wife Aili living in Meduletu, Swakopmund:

By the end of 1998, Filemon Shikongo moved with his wife and two young children to an upgraded four room flat with a private bathroom, situated in the old Mondesa Single Quarters of Swakopmund. He could finance the purchase price of N\$ 25,000 (DM 7,200) through an upfront capital subsidy of the KfW co-financed Meduletu Project and a loan of a private bank guaranteed by the municipality over the entire payback period of 15 years. Before this the Shikongo family had lived as tenants in a nine square meter room, sharing sanitary facilities with about one hundred other families.

Eight months after the occupation of the renovated housing unit Filemon died at the age of 41 years. Following traditional heritage rules, immediately after the funeral Filemon's brothers decided that the flat be passed over to one of them. Aili, Filemon's widow, should get a place on the plot to build a shack; the brother receiving the house would have been in charge of looking after her and her children.

Aili did not agree and contacted the social workers of the Meduletu Project, who helped her successfully through the legal procedures of the local magistrate, ruling in inheritance cases. As she was Filemon's legal wife and even had signed the deed of sale together with him, the house was finally transferred to Aili. She is still living in the flat and, as the outstanding balance on the loan was covered by credit life insurance from a large insurance company, no monthly instalments are due anymore. She has opened a small shop in her house, which allows her to make a modest living and to pay the municipal fees for water and electricity. As she did not agree to the late husband's family decision, she is now an outsider and cannot expect the Shikongo family ever to help her.

The case of Toini Nkoshu and her nine children living in Greenwell Matongo, Windhoek:

Toini was already a divorced mother of six children when she was resettled by the Government from the Windhoek Single Quarters to the Greenwell Matongo location where she built a shack. In 1994, through the Oshatowa Project financed by KfW through the NHE, her plot was serviced with water, a sewage connection and electricity; additionally a small wet core with sanitary facilities was constructed. These investments were financed by a 15 year loan amounting to N\$ 14,000 (DM 4,000), which Toini paid back in monthly instalments of N\$ 240. In February 2000, Toini passed away leaving nine children between 4 and 19 years of age behind. The father of the three

youngest children had never really lived with the family and died some months later. Toini's family decided that the dwelling should be transferred to Naemi (19), the eldest daughter. The five boys moved to their grandmother, who is living in the Northern part of Namibia, and the four girls - two of them are still attending school - decided to stay in Windhoek. Naemi had already finished secondary school and expected to find work soon to be able to take care of the rest of the family. A few months after her mother's death, Paulette (17), the second eldest daughter, gave birth to a little girl who was named Tseufulwa (in Oshivambo: "we were left alone").

Until now, Naemi has not been able to find a permanent job; the girls make their living mainly by selling goods, cool drinks and beer on their plot. The dwelling is properly maintained and so far the girls have been able to pay the municipal fees for water and electricity. Toini's loan was covered by a life insurance scheme; her daughter received the dwelling without the burden of a loan to be paid off.

The two cases of Aili who lost her husband through AIDS and the nine children who lost their mother through AIDS are exceptional in the sense that both families had access to a formal loan and were protected with a life insurance policy which paid the outstanding capital when the borrowers died. The relatives inherited a fully paid house.

The vast majority of poor urban households does not have access to a formal loan with a life insurance policy. For them the loss of the breadwinner through AIDS means a sheer family catastrophe: often they cannot even afford the high funeral costs, especially when several family members die because of AIDS in a short period; they are forced to neglect family traditions and cannot rely on family support as they could before; with less household income they cannot afford staying where they used to live; they have to move away, either further away to the periphery from where it takes them longer to get to work or to school, or back to the village where survival is even more difficult; orphans are left alone and pushed between different family interests, particularly vulnerable to become victims of exploitation and violence. By killing adults in their most productive time of the life cycle, AIDS destroys the backbone of families and potentially of the entire society.

shrinking demand and an adjustment of conditions that exclude the poorer clients.

By reducing access to formal housing finance the AIDS pandemic will lead to an informalisation of the housing market. Those who owned a house will face losing ownership and becoming a tenant when the main breadwinner dies. Those who were renting a flat may be forced to move to a backyard shack or to an informal settlement. In general, urban housing demand will not shrink; it is even likely that the AIDS pandemic accelerates the urbanisation process, as medical treatment is only available in urban areas and families who lost their main breadwinner see better chances to survive in the suburbs of a city. The demand for cheap and very cheap accommodation will increase. The option of serviced land will diminish with growing distances to the central business district, to markets and centres of employment. Rental accommodation will be the alternative, with the consequence of increasing densities. Informal settlements will grow, especially in Windhoek and the larger towns. Namibia will be confronted with hitherto unknown urban phenomena like land invasions and slumlords providing large amounts of rental accommodation in shacks. Appropriate and affordable infrastructure and services that benefit the informal sector will need to be devised, encouraged and targeted, a difficult task in today's Namibia which continues to preach high building standards and low density housing on large plots.

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF AIDS

AIDS has the following demographic and socio-economic implications for Namibia:

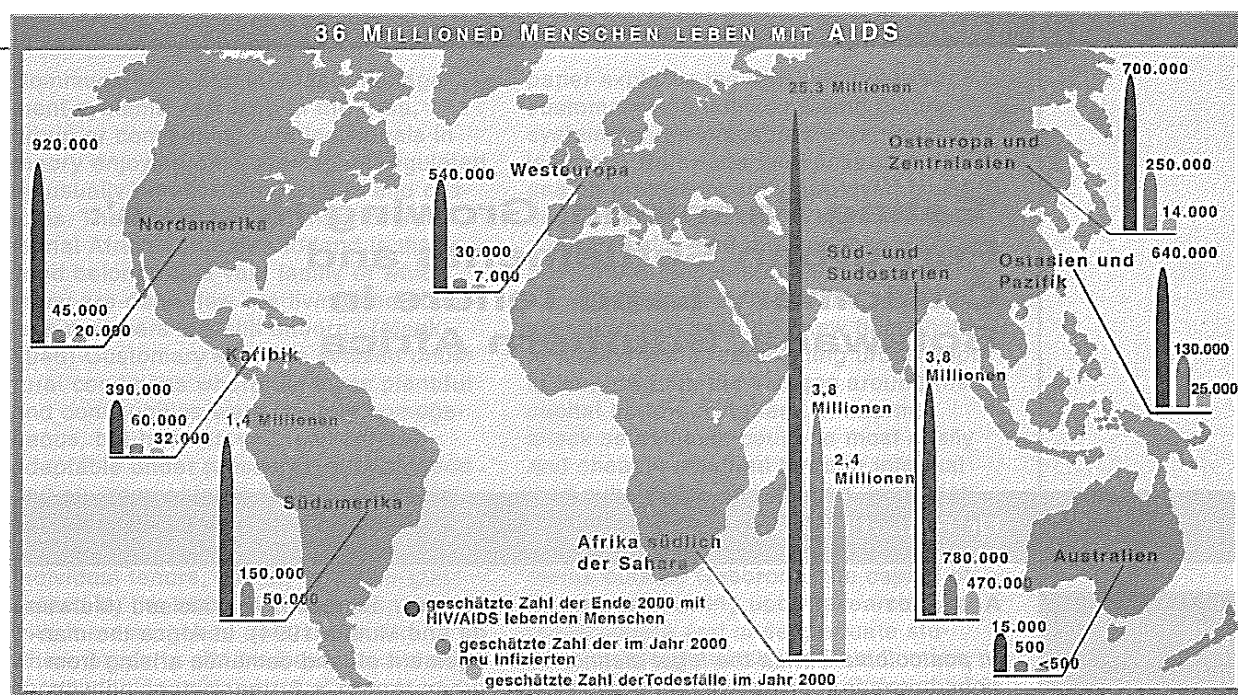
- By 2020 more than 500.000 Namibians will have died from AIDS, a quarter of the present total population. Under current assumptions and existing trends it is expected that 55% of boys at the age of 14 in the year 2000 will be HIV positive before they reach the age of 50 years, with 38% of them dying from AIDS before their 40th birthday. The situation of girls is even more alarming: 60% will be HIV positive before their 50th birthday and 48% are projected to die before their 40th birthday (MoHSS 2000).
- In the next twenty years almost 200.000 AIDS orphans will be created, children under 15 years of age who lost at least their mother, many of them both parents to AIDS (MoHSS

2000). The healthy development of these children will be jeopardised as their extended families and kin may not be willing or able to take care of them. AIDS orphans have to bear the trauma of losing their parents, as well as the stigma of proximity to the virus.

→ The economic costs associated with HIV and AIDS will be tremendous: the cost of health is expected to explode; hospitals already today cannot cope with the number of AIDS patients. Consumption and expenditure patterns will change. Government, the private sector and the families of the infected will have to pay large amounts of money for health care, treatment, sick leave, funerals and financial support to those who lost their breadwinners. The existing formal or informal systems of social security will be extremely challenged and may eventually collapse when coping with the increasing social and economic costs of AIDS.

→ As AIDS affects adults and adolescents, the most productive sub-groups of society will be affected, many years of productive life through sickness, time to attend funerals and early death will be lost. The Namibian economy could lose about 20% of the workforce. The companies will have to employ more workers and increase training to maintain the levels of production; as they will have to pay more workers and to invest more into training per worker, productivity and competitiveness will drop. Savings and investments will be negatively affected. In South Africa, GDP is likely to decline by 17 per cent by the year 2010 as a result of the AIDS pandemic while per capita income will fall by 7 per cent (SAPES/UNDP/SADC 2000: 156). The economic impact of AIDS will be similar in Namibia.

→ In strategic sectors AIDS may cause severe bottlenecks with effects on the entire economy. For instance, in the power generation sector illness and deaths among certain critical staff will negatively affect the maintenance of power equipment; poorly maintained power equipment will reduce the availability of electrical power for trade, agriculture, manufacturing industry and domestic usage. AIDS will also increase the pressure on the education system through the loss of badly needed young teachers. Some sectors will be particularly hit, like mining and transportation where the workers usually live far away from their families and where HIV spreads



very fast. Even food security will be affected when in rural areas the young and active pass away and nobody is left to work on the fields.

These implications will happen with or without measures being taken to mitigate the impact of AIDS. Only the extent of the implications will vary. Even under the best conditions, say when massive-scale treatment with anti-retroviral drugs will become affordable, when prevention strategies will work efficiently and when an effective vaccine will become available, AIDS will undermine the economic system and existing social structures of Namibia. The challenge is to avoid the collapse of the political, social and economic system. It's a challenge for all, the Government, the private sector and the entire civil society.

CONCLUSIONS

Namibia is one of the latest countries in which the HIV epidemic has turned into an AIDS pandemic, and at the same time one of the hardest hit countries in the world. Though the projections do not envisage a negative growth rate of the population in the coming years, the death toll will be tremendous; by the year 2020 half a million Namibians will have died from AIDS, a quarter of the present population.

Research has concentrated so far on methodological and health issues, particularly on monitoring aspects and general projections. Policy making is involved in creating a basic consensus among the different stakeholders; the Government

considers addressing HIV and AIDS as one of the main challenges in the present National Development Plan. The Ministry of Health and Social Services has taken a certain leadership and coordinating role, together with the National Planning Commission. Various donors are supporting cooperation projects to help the Government tackle the problem, namely GTZ, USAID, the European Union and the United Nations with various organisations, among others.

Sectoral analyses of the impact of AIDS are still lacking or in a very incipient stage. This is surprising because the AIDS pandemic somehow affects all sectors of the economy. The analysis of the impact on the housing sector shows how severely AIDS will affect access to housing finance and how the housing market will undergo a far-reaching informalisation process. Sector strategies will be needed to respond adequately to the challenges of the AIDS pandemic and to complement the overall national AIDS policy and prevention strategy.

Strong traditions and the ongoing spatial separation between the family and the main breadwinner foster the spread of HIV and render effective prevention difficult. Namibia may learn from the example of countries with successful HIV prevention strategies, as diverse as Australia, Thailand, Uganda and Senegal, where a mixture of interventions such as the promotion of the use of condoms and single sex partners, as well as education and awareness programmes have helped reduce transmission.

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'Eating Farmland, Growing Houses': Peri-urban Settlements and Customary Land Tenure in Botswana, Southern Africa

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die differenzierten und komplizierten Formen des Bodenrechts im postkolonialen Afrika - nämlich Land in privatem, öffentlichem oder "Stammesbesitz" mit ganz eigenen Regeln - trugen maßgeblich zum Entstehen von informellen Siedlungen in der Peripherie der Städte bei.

Die Apartheidsideologie unterstützte eine Politik der indirekten Regulierung, indem den "Afrikanern" Land außerhalb der Stadtgrenzen in "Locations" zugewiesen wurde; und auf dem Land galten stammes-, gemeinde- oder gewohnheitsrechtliche Vereinbarungen.

Vor diesem Hintergrund ist für Migranten aus dem ländlichen Raum der Zugang zu Siedlungsland am einfachsten und billigsten in Zonen nutzungsrechtlich geprägter Grundbesitzverhältnisse nahe der Stadtränder. Dort fehlen der lokalen Verwaltung i.d.R. die Kapazitäten für Planung und Infrastrukturversorgung.

Der Bericht über eine informelle Siedlung in der Peripherie von Gaborone (Botswana) stellt die Bestrebungen der Regierung dar, erschlossene Parzellen zur Verfügung zu stellen, Rechtsansprüche von Landeignern und -Besetzern zu klären sowie handlungsorientierte Planungsansätze wie Strategien der Landakkumulation und -Umverteilung zu entwickeln.

ABSTRACT

In postcolonial Africa the legal distinctions between tribal, private and state (or municipal) land are a major contributor to peri-urban settlement outside formal regulatory control. Colonial policies of indirect rule and urban management, consolidated under apartheid ideology, allocated land for Africans outside municipal boundaries in 'locations', and in rural areas under tribal, communal or customary tenure arrangements. Rural-urban migrants can access land for housing more easily and cheaply where customary land comes close to urban areas, and such areas generally lack the local government capacity to facilitate planning and infrastructure provision. A case study of an informal settlement outside Gaborone, the capital of Botswana, will explore attempts by government to provide serviced plots and clarify the legal position of owners and occupiers, investigate some of the issues raised, and propose more inclusive and pro-active approaches to the management of urban growth, including techniques of land pooling and reapportionment.

INTRODUCTION

The quotations in the title of this paper come from the 1991 Commission of Inquiry into illegal peri-urban housing in Botswana (Botswana Government 1991), which was disturbed to find 'the eating up of agricultural land by towns and villages', and that: 'the best arable soils do not grow crops for human consumption but they grow houses for human shelter' (pp.110-112). This concern over the conversion of farmland to urban uses faces most countries in the world, especially those subject to severe population and development pressures. Tough approaches to clearing squatter settlements are,

however, increasingly criticised (Mulwanda and Mutale 1994). In Africa the management of land demands arising from urban growth is further entangled with the sensitive issue of communal, customary or tribal land tenure, often seen as an obstacle to the development of efficient urban land markets as well as agricultural productivity (Migot-Adholla and Hazell 1991; Bruce 1993).

Communal and individual land tenure systems can be seen as opposite ends of a spectrum of land rights. Distinctions between communal and individual tenure have deep historical roots, and Judaic Old Testament law (Leviticus 25: 29-34) links them specifically to distinctions between urban and rural property:

'Anyone who sells a house inside a walled city has the right to redeem it for a full year after its sale... But if it is not redeemed within a year, then the house within the walled city will become the permanent property of the buyer... But a house in a village - a settlement without fortified walls - will be treated like property in the open fields. Such a house may be redeemed at any time and must be returned to the original owner in the Year of Jubilee... After all, the cities reserved for the Levites are the only property they own in all Israel. The strip of pastureland around each of the Levitical cities may never be sold. It is their permanent ancestral property.'

Such property rules endorsed the creation of property markets within urban areas, and the protection of communal rights outside, but said nothing about how the processes of urban expansion and population growth should be managed.

Communal or customary land management systems vest land in the tribe, group or community, with individuals in theory enjoying only user rights regulated by usually non-literate tradition and customs. The oft-quoted summary of traditional African attitudes to land is that 'land belongs to a vast family of which many are dead, few are living and countless members are still unborn.' (Meek 1946) Customary systems evolved under rural conditions where land was plentiful and communities were broadly homogeneous, but have proved resilient and adaptable under pressures of population and environmental change and colonial land policy (Platteau 1996).

Individual tenure, usually with title guaranteed by the state, has been connected with the emergence of land markets where property can be freely traded as a commodity. In colonial situations, land deemed to be 'not in beneficial occupation' was expropriated by the colonial administration, and could be transferred to individuals (usually from the colonising group) on licence, long lease or freehold. Newly created urban areas were controlled as government land, where individual title could be granted and western forms of municipal administration and service provision created.

In postcolonial Africa the legal distinctions between tribal, private and state (or municipal) land have contributed to creating the conditions for peri-urban squatter settlement outside formal regulatory control. Colonial policies of indirect rule and urban management had sought to exclude Africans from urban life, and offered them little or no opportunity to acquire land in urban areas. Such policies, consolidated in southern Africa by apartheid ideology, housed African urban workers in peri-urban 'locations', and indeed legally excluded them from owning property (Dubow 1989; Robinson 1996; Maharaj 1997), while in rural areas, outside municipal boundaries, access to land was still governed by tribal, communal or customary tenure arrangements. With housing and land increasingly difficult to get, and tightly regulated, within municipal areas, tribal land allocation systems offered a 'safety valve' where customary land comes close to urban areas, although such areas generally lack the local government capacity to facilitate planning and infrastructure provision.

The colonial and postcolonial creation of illegal settlements has been well researched in the context of South Africa (Hindson and McCarthy 1994)) This

paper explores the tensions between customary and individual land tenure systems under pressures of rapid urbanisation in Botswana, and links to a research project recently approved by DFID on land titling and peri-urban development in Africa and the Caribbean. When pressure of population and rural poverty forced migration to the towns, together with natural growth and new household formation within the existing urban population, it was in the villages around the capital that housing land in informal shack settlements could be most easily and cheaply obtained through informal land subdivision and dealing, in breach of customary land allocation rules. A case study is presented of such settlements outside Gaborone, the capital of Botswana, drawing upon research by postgraduate and undergraduate students at the University of East London. Much publicity was given in Botswana to the dramatic uncontrolled development of the Mogoditshane area, and a Government Commission of Inquiry took place in 1991, following which various recommendations and initiatives were made, some successful, some not.

BACKGROUND TO THE MOGODITSHANE INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

Botswana (formerly Bechuanaland) has a land area of some 580,000 sq. km, over 60% of it desert, and a small and sparse population of 1.3 million people (1991 census). The country has experienced rapid urbanisation and large rural/urban migration, especially around the capital, Gaborone. In 1991 half of the national population lived within 100 km of the capital, and the proportion of urban to total population rose from 4 per cent at independence in 1966, to 9 per cent in 1971, and by 1991 to a striking 45.7 per cent (Habana 2000). A National Settlement Policy (1998) and Housing Policy (1999) has attempted to tackle the ever-escalating trend of urbanisation in Botswana.

Land in Botswana is held under three different tenure arrangements:

freehold/leasehold 6 per cent, state land 23 per cent (formerly crown lands), and Tribal Land 71 per cent. Freehold title in the colonial period was for Europeans only, and was after independence replaced with leasehold (under a 99-year term for residential, less for others), subject to an approved cadastral survey, but the procedure proved to be too expensive for most citizens, and was not responsive to the pressures of rapid urban growth. A lesser category of tenure, called Certifi-

cate of Rights (COR), was, therefore, introduced in 1975, which conferred user rights on land which still belonged to the State and was administered by the local authority. This system, supported by the Self Help Housing Agency Scheme (SHHA), avoided the need for expensive surveys and conveyancing, replaced rates with a fixed service levy, and allowed titles to be progressively upgraded. It now applies to 75 per cent of all plots in towns, and is supported by free government surveys, physical planning and land administration. A related delivery programme, the Accelerated Land Servicing Programme (ALSP), doubled the number of available plots in towns and shifted the land problem from lack of serviced plots in towns to lack of development finance. The SHHA scheme was then proposed for decentralisation into customary tenure areas where some 80 per cent of the population lived.

Tribal or customary tenure applied to nearly three-quarters of the land area, and much former state land (24 per cent of all land) was transferred to it after independence. The system was codified by the colonial protectorate administration following the anthropological research of Professor Schapera (1933 and 1943), and eight Tribal Territories were designated, with land vested in the tribe and administered by Chiefs as trustees. Within these areas ownership could be granted to the State for national development purposes (eg mining). Twelve tribal land boards were created in 1970 (with many subordinate boards), with membership both official and elected. They were intended to guarantee access to land and guard against land grabbing. The Tribal Land Act 1968 required the boards to hold land 'in trust for the benefit of the tribesmen of that area' (no reference made to rights of women), but additionally 'for the purpose of promoting the economic and social development of all the people of Botswana'.

Three land tenure types existed within tribal land: residential plots in village/urban areas, 'masimo' (ploughing fields around the village, although they could be up to 30 miles away), and 'moraka' (cattlepost), with hunting areas beyond. 'Tribesmen' were guaranteed an allocation of these three types. Masimo was intended for open access outside the ploughing season, but fencing (to keep out animals) has gradually conferred all-year exclusivity for the occupiers. After independence new types of leases were introduced: common law leases (99 or 50 years, pledgable) and residential leases,

obtained on application at the land board by tribal members. The normal type of customary lease had unlimited duration but were not pledgable as collateral.

In the 1980s the village of Mogoditshane, outside Gaborone, came to symbolise the problems of illegal peri-urban settlement in Botswana. Gaborone had experienced tremendous pressure for land because of the shortage and high price of house-plots, combined with a tough anti-squatting policy within the city boundaries. People turned to the adjacent tribal land board area for plots newly created around existing villages, believing that they were exercising their birthright. The government, concerned about the proliferation of illegal land transactions and uncontrolled house-building, appointed a 'Presidential Commission of Inquiry to look into the Land Problems of Mogoditshane and Other Peri-Urban Villages' (Botswana Government 1991), which toured the villages, held public meetings and interviewed some four hundred individuals. It found at least eight hundred illegally created plots, and in effect a total collapse of the legal procedures for allocating land. Among the abuses it found were:

→ **Unauthorised subdivision.** The owners of ploughing fields (masimo) had been subdividing and selling land to individuals without the consent of their land board. Such informally allocated plots created unplanned and haphazard developments that were subsequently difficult to provide with infrastructure. Field owners were either selling the whole land or subdividing it into 40m by 40m plots (1600 m²), encouraged by unofficial land brokers.

→ **Unauthorised change of use and development.** Changes of use from masimo land to residential were not approved either by the land board or the planning authority before the new owners started to build houses. (Commercial plots were not affected, since official titling documentation was essential before loans and mortgages could be obtained.)

→ **Unauthorised recipients.** Tribal land was intended only to be allocated to 'tribesmen' on demand, but the Tribal Land Act in 1993 replaced the term 'tribesman' with the wider one of 'citizen', which had the effect of opening up applications for free plots from those not local to the land board area. In 2000 a long-awaited Presidential Commission found parts of the constitution to be discriminatory by referring

only to the main clan groups, excluding others.

→ **Land board irregularities.** With only a handful of subdivisions taking place officially, the Commission found that Land Board members and officials were selling plots, issuing fraudulent ownership certificates and without planning permission. Officials had insufficient education/training or experience and low salaries, and often failed to follow procedure or keep adequate records.

The participants in these extralegal practices were uncontrite and defiant in their evidence to the Presidential Commission. The holders of tribal land rights, often handed down over several generations, believed they owned their land in perpetuity, and that they could sell, sub-divide or convert it to other uses, while no effective sanctions were available to the land boards ('dogs without teeth', as they were called). The squatters felt justified in their action because of the failure of government to allocate enough land at a price they could afford, and because leading Batswana, including senior politicians, were engaging in suspicious land transfers. 'Why should they sit back when these responsible people accumulate large chunks of land and enrich themselves' (Botswana Government 1991). For example land compulsorily acquired for a commercial centre had been transferred by the Minister to a Member of Parliament, over-ruling the Land Board.

RESPONSE TO THE COMMISSION

Following the report of the commission, a government paper was published with proposed remedies (Botswana Government 1992). The Government established a Task Force to monitor illegal land developments assisted by nine police officers. To identify illegal structures (in the absence of reliable land board records or large scale up-to-date maps) Government surveyors interviewed plot occupiers and mapped all structures with standard basic mapping techniques, assisted by aerial photography and large scale digital mapping of the area at 1:5 000 scale. Illegal land developments still continued, which the Task Force was powerless to prevent, other than warning the developers to stop. A new subordinate land board to the Kweneng Land Board was created, headed by a senior and experienced officer (deputy board secretary), and provided with a survey section, and the Government also established a Land Tribunal to speed up land procedures. All illegally acquired but unused and undeveloped

land in the peri-urban villages was to revert to the land board (such undeveloped land adjacent to built-up areas often had been allocated before the establishment of Land Boards, and had no legal records of ownership, since the chiefs had not kept records and land boards did not pursue them).

Meanwhile High Court case law was eroding the position of the land boards. The case of Kweneng Land Board and K.Matlho (Misca 137 of 1990) legitimated the sale of masimo land within village boundaries, undermining the role of tribal land tenure and reinforcing the trend towards individual freely transferable title. A ruling in the Court of Appeal gave field owners the right to dispose of their fields to whoever they wished, for allocations before 8 July 1994, and compels the Land Board to issue titles for such land. In another case an individual bought a piece of land and constructed an expensive dwelling house; the Land Board successfully petitioned the High Court for an eviction order, only for the appellant to appeal to the responsible Minister who waived the court order.

The Department of Town and Regional Planning in 1992 prepared detailed layout plans for 24 000 residential plots, 28 commercial, 132 industrial, 27 civic and community, 13 recreational plots, with open spaces and infrastructure (roads, power and telephones). The area had been declared a Planning Area since 1986, but permissions for subdivision and change of use had been neglected, and detailed planning layouts not implemented. The 24 000 residential plots based upon the approved layouts in Mogoditshane were to be surveyed within twelve months from May 1993, and handed over to the land board for allocation. To design these layouts the physical planners required accurate base maps quickly and a compromise was reached to select priority blocks and have surveyors up date the maps using traditional field measurements (Total Stations). Surveyors from different Land Boards were re-deployed for the task, and this allowed the first detailed plans to be completed comprising 10 000 plots.

The biggest test to comprehensive planning came when surveyors went on the ground to start placing beacons, only to find non-conforming subdivisions, unauthorised structures (houses, fences etc) and land occupiers denying them access. The surveyors had no authority to remove obstructing property, and the land board was powerless to act. As a result

most areas covered by approved layouts were not surveyed, even with the hiring at a cost of 1 million pula of additional private surveyors. Surveying in tribal areas is more expensive, quite apart from the illegal development at Mogoditshane, because plots were often non-standard and required time-consuming fixing of polygon boundary points.

By April 1999 a total of 3590 residential, 28 commercial and 132 industrial plots had been surveyed and handed to the Land Board for allocation. Of the residential plots, 2935 had been allocated, while the remaining 655 were held up because former owners refused compensation or for other legal complications. The estimated plot demand was steadily increasing meanwhile: in 1993 the projected demand for 1997 was 20 000, and by 1997 it had risen to an estimated 29 391. For the plots which could be allocated, advertisements soon after began to appear in the press for sale, as individuals sought to sell on their official allocation.

With land boards and district councils effectively powerless to enforce against illegality, the Government introduced a mandatory P5000 fine to those who had acquired land illegally (as identified by the Task Force in 1992), for each plot of 1600 m², increased proportionately for larger plots. Some 3000 people were given this mandatory fine, but by April 1999 only 99 had fully paid and 18 were paying by instalment. As an incentive to pay the fine an automatic title from the Land Board (customary lease) was offered, but most plot occupiers, having already paid the field owners for their plot, expected the field-owner to pay the mandatory fine.

Indeed, it was money and compensation that proved most difficult in the protracted negotiations between government representatives and illegal occupiers. The government position was that tribal land was not owned by the occupiers, and therefore any compensation payment to them was for improvements only. Land required for government purposes (such as the planned expansion) on tribal land, was calculated according to uniform national compensation guidelines, making no allowance for the particular land pressures around the capital, and giving land boards no power to negotiate based on market conditions. Even when Government increased the compensation payable (to P700 per hectare in 1992; P800 in 1998; P1950 in 2000), this was still less than 1992 prices. One hectare could subdivide into 6 plots at P15000-

P30000 each, forty times higher than official figures. Thus in peri-urban areas the Government was seeking to deny people the true betterment value of their land and a chance to participate in the development gain from urban expansion.

A decade on from the Mogoditshane Commission of Inquiry there is still bitter confrontation between field owners and government policy. The parastatals had placed their infrastructure according to the approved plans but high-voltage power lines cannot be switched live without physically removing the squatters. The Government still attempts to remove squatters with bulldozers, contrary to the spirit of the UNCHS Global Campaign for Secure Tenure. Land users still refuse to give up their land to implement the rest of the layouts, and some of the more enterprising have prepared their own allocation lists and handed them over to land boards as a basis for negotiation.

COMMENTS

What wider lessons can be learned from the land management problems of Botswana and Mogoditshane? Unprecedented population pressure has outpaced the rate at which infrastructure and housing can be provided, notwithstanding the range of government land delivery programmes, and a failure of executive capacity by government has resulted in a loss of public confidence. At the same time a loophole in the structure of land tenure created opportunities for speculative private land developers. This loophole was the contrast between the slow delivery of public sector serviced land within the municipal area, and the availability of plots on peri-urban land nearby poorly managed under tribal land boards. The zoning, plan-making and control functions of official land use planning were ineffective in peri-urban areas under customary tenure, not keeping pace with demand and insufficiently in contact with development on the ground. The land boards, set up after independence to guard communal land resources against land grabbers, proved ineffective. Institutional capacity can be strengthened, particularly at local level. The attempt of government to manage urban development through a variety of 'packaged development' programmes has had some success, but is increasingly viewed as an imposed top down exercise by central authorities, not demand driven or responsive to local opinion (Farvacque and McAuslan 1992). A more robust local land management structure would combine technical functions (such as plan-

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ning and infrastructure) and tribal land management with more inclusive community participation (Christensen and Hojgaard 1997; Home and Jackson 1997). Limited resources and the rapid pace of development have made monitoring and record-keeping inadequate and ineffective. The lack of basic up-to-date land information for peri-urban areas under customary tenure requires new approaches, with opportunities created by the new digital data technologies of GPS and GIS for data capture and integration (Fourie and Nino-Fluck 1999). The functions of land use planning by District Councils and land management (allocation) under Land Boards might be integrated under one authority, allowing integrated planning and land board records of legal titles (customary and common law leases) and approved/actual physical land use.

The tribal land board system was at the time of independence a potent symbol of the new nation-state managing its land resources for the benefit of the people and community rather than foreign colonial interests. The uncontrolled development at Mogoditshane has damaged public confidence in the system, exposing the land boards as ineffective, liable to corruption, and inadequately managed and resourced. The winding-up of the tribal land tenure system is not a realistic or practical political option, but a more strategic approach to urban expansion through transfer of tribal land to a development agency should be possible, and indeed did occur in part with the creation of the subordinate land board. In this way the special pressures of urban expansion could be recognised, and the alienation of land to individual owners managed through a market process. A more enabling approach to sub-division and sub-leasing would improve public confidence in the system. Changes in the legal status of use rights under customary tenure would clarify and strengthen individual ownership, allowing progressive conversion to registered leasehold title in certain conditions (similar to leasehold extension and enfranchisement in the United Kingdom). New tenure types have already been introduced into tribal land law, but the executive capacity of local land management and levels of public awareness and willingness to conform to the procedures are lagging.

While the costs of land registration with full cadastral survey have sometimes discouraged land developers, the other extreme still exists in tribal areas, where people do not bother to collect their free

customary certificates (which constitute the overwhelming majority of titles issued) from the land board offices. After all, if customary title is an oral agreement with the community, then why bother with a written paper to confirm it? If, however, the benefits of planned layouts and infrastructure provision are to be realised, the costs of orderly land delivery and infrastructure will need to be recovered from those beneficiaries somehow. At present the nominal charges for common law titles and annual leases are insufficient even to support a competent land information system, while a property rating system has yet to be introduced in tribal areas. Customary land-holders are unable to access existing credit institutions, and the issue of credit depends less upon title than disposable incomes (Botswana Government 1986).

A more effective intervention could be through land pooling techniques, a process for the distribution of the financial benefits of urban development between the parties, ensuring for the occupier a share of the added value or betterment created when farmland is converted to urban use. The limitations of the official compensation code were exposed by the unauthorised land market of Mogoditshane, which could achieve land values many times the official compensation paid out on improvements only. There are numerous approaches of land pooling and similar mechanisms for distributing the benefits of urban expansion between the owners, developers and public enabling agencies (Archer 1999). The concern must be, however, that yet another bureaucratic procedure would be by-passed by the speedy, if risky, operation of the informal land market.

Public confidence in government management of land resources needs to be rebuilt, through better public awareness of the general social benefits of an orderly land delivery and land market process, reducing risk, disputes and other inefficiencies. Land pooling programmes have the advantage of creating opportunities for the different stakeholders to work in partnership, and achieve a measure of consensus. At present, the apparent chaos of the peri-urban settlements of Gaborone, and the loophole of a weak tribal land board system, work to the advantage of a small number of unscrupulous land grabbers, but the longer term social benefits of orderly urban expansion.

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Access to Urban Housing Land in Lesotho: The Rules-of-the-Game¹ and Socio-Economic Status of Beneficiaries

Clement R. Leduka

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Dieser Bericht beruht auf einer kürzlich durchgeführten Studie in Maseru / Lesotho und beschreibt anhand von vielen Indizien, inwiefern der Zugang zu städtischem Bauland vom sozio-ökonomischen Status der Bewerber, ihrer ethnischen Zugehörigkeit, Geschlecht, Bildung sowie dem Verhältnis zwischen Landbesitzer und "Klient" abhängen.

SOURCE FOR ALL TABLES & FIGURES: THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY OF LAND SUPPLIER & CONSUMER HOUSEHOLDS, MASERU, MARCH/APRIL 1999

TABLE 1: *ULC/PSA refers to Urban Land Committee or Public Sector Authority, for example, the District Administrator, Town Clerk or Principal Secretary of Local Government and Home Affairs [former Ministry of Interior]. Unless specified otherwise, reference to Minister means the Minister of Local Government and Home Affairs [former Ministry of Interior], who is also responsible for Housing, Lands, Surveys and Physical Planning.

TABLE 2

1. Missing category includes babies, pre-school toddlers and the truly missing cases and are not included in calculated percentages.

2. Figures in brackets denotes percentages.

TABLES 3, 4 & 5

1. Missing category is not included in calculated percentages.

2. Figures in brackets denotes percentages.

INTRODUCTION

Much of the literature on access to housing land in African cities only alludes to links between rules that regulate acquisition of housing plots and an individual's social identity defined on the basis of socio-economic status, gender or patron-client relationships. However, very limited evidence exists to demonstrate this assumed link (Leduka, 1998; 2000a; 2000b). Drawing on a recent study of the rules that regulate access to urban housing land in Maseru, the capital city of the Kingdom of Lesotho, the paper aims to provide evidence of this link.² This is achieved by analysing the socio-economic status of plot-owners vis-à-vis the rules through which they acquired housing plots. Three indicators of poverty/wealth are used as proxies for socio-economic status: education, employment status and household possessions. With respect to all these indicators, the paper shows that access to urban housing land in areas of formal rules is generally easier to individuals with high socio-economic status. In contrast, in areas of informal rules, although access to housing land is open to all groups of people, it is especially easier to those with low socio-economic status. The paper concludes, therefore, that in general, formal rules of access to urban housing land discriminate between individuals on the basis of their socio-economic status.

THE STUDY AREAS

The study focused on four neighbourhoods of Hillsvie, White City and Maseru East (MEWCH)³ in the old (1905 boundary) Maseru urban reserve, and Ha Matala and Ha Thetsane in new or former peri-urban parts of Maseru (1980 boundary). Access to housing

plots in the old urban reserve neighbourhoods has predominantly been through a system of formal rules, while in the two former peri-urban neighbourhoods, it has largely been on the basis of informal rules.⁴ The socio-economic survey covered a total of 213 plot-owners. It is these plot-owners whose socio-economic status is assessed vis-à-vis the rules of access to housing land as discussed in detail in the ensuing sections of the paper.

HOUSING PLOT SUPPLY SYSTEMS

For the purpose of defining the way in which would-be house owners access housing plots in Maseru, the concept of 'social articulation' (Baross, 1983) is used, and three types of social articulation are identified:

i) Non-commercial articulation: refers to situations where prospective house builders do not pay for the ownership of land or use right or where there are only token payments, which are usually regarded as gifts. In other words, there is no monetary value attached

TABLE 1 TYPOLOGY OF SOCIAL ARTICULATION BY TYPE OF RULES

TYPE OF RULE SYSTEM	TYPE OF SOCIAL ARTICULATION
FORMAL RULES Study Areas: MEWCH and LHLDC mixed low- and middle-income site-and-service scheme at Ha Matala.	I. NON-COMMERCEALISED ARTICULATION <i>Sources of plots</i> → State bureaucratic allocations (UCL/PSA/Minister*) → Land allocation by reserve headman → Inheritance/gift II. COMMERCIALISED ARTICULATION <i>Sources of plots</i> → State land development corporation (LHLDC) → Plots purchased from original plot owners
INFORMAL RULES Study Areas: Ha Matala (excluding LHLDC site-and-service area) and Ha Thetsane.	I. NON-COMMERCEALISED ARTICULATION <i>Sources of plots</i> → Free allocation by local chief → Plots from family land as inheritance or gifts II. COMMERCIALISED ARTICULATION <i>Sources of plots</i> → Plots purchased from local chief → Plots purchased from private (illegal) sub-divisions by field-owners → Plots purchased from other plot owners

to the land.⁵

ii) Commercial articulation: relates to the land market, where land has a monetary value and its availability is determined by the laws of supply and demand.

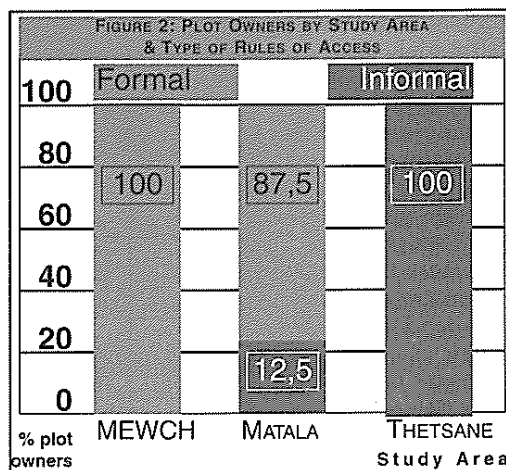
iii) Administrative articulation: refers to instances where the state acquires, disposes of and regulates the use and development of land, either in serviced projects or as free or nominally priced un-serviced housing plots.

Using the concept of social articulation, and the two categories of rules (formal/informal) of land access, it is possible to develop a typology of social articulations that is summarised in Table 1. For each category of rules, there is a commercialised and non-commercialised articulation or supply system, and for each supply system also has a number of sources of plots (See Table 1).

For each category of rules there are two types of plot-owners: first, plot-allottees, who had acquired housing plots as free allocations or grants, i.e., for no cash consideration; and, second, plot-purchasers, who had obtained housing plots in exchange for cash in commercialised formal and informal articulations. The distribution of plot owners by study area and type of rules is summarised in Figure 2.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF PLOT-OWNERS

Educational qualifications, employment status and household possessions are use as proxies of socio-economic status⁶ and their significance as indicators of relative levels of household welfare/deprivation in Lesotho and Maseru is discussed under the relevant sub-sections below. The analysis of the relationship between indicators of socio-economic status of plot-owners and the rules of access, is carried out at two levels: first, at a gener-



al level of rules; second, at the level of supply systems or social articulations under each rule system.

EDUCATION QUALIFICATIONS⁷

The Sechaba Consultants (1994) and the World Bank (1995) argue that, as an indicator of socio-economic well-being, education is significant because it either opens or impedes access to regular wage employment, and that educational status and the incidence of poverty were negatively correlated, which meant that people with less education were much more likely to be poor. According to the Lesotho Poverty Assessment Report, a majority of the poorest households were headed by individuals with no formal schooling beyond primary education. It general, 40 per cent of poor households in Lesotho were headed by people who had not proceeded beyond primary school education, compared to 30 per cent of non-poor households. In Maseru, 50.6 per cent of household heads had only primary education; 24.2 per cent had completed secondary education; 12.4 per cent had post-secondary qualification and 12.8 per cent had no formal educational (World Bank, 1995).

TABLE 2 EDUCATION PROFILES OF PLOT OWNERS BY TYPE OF RULES AND STUDY AREA						
EDUCATION	FORMAL RULES		Total	INFORMAL RULES		Total
	MEWCH	Matala LHLDC		Matala	Thetsane	
PRIMARY	2(3.8)	1(11.1)	3(4.9)	30(50.0)	42(61.8)	72(56.3)
SECONDARY JUNIOR	5(9.6)	0(0.0)	5(8.2)	13(21.7)	14(20.5)	27(21.1)
SECONDARY SENIOR	13(25.0)	5(55.6)	18(29.5)	9(15.0)	8(11.8)	17(13.3)
VOCATIONAL	8(15.4)	0(0.0)	8(13.1)	1(1.7)	2(2.9)	3(2.3)
UNIVERSITY CERT/DIPL.	3(5.8)	0(0.0)	3(4.9)	2(3.3)	1(1.5)	3(2.3)
INV. DEGREE	21(40.4)	3(33.3)	24(39.3)	5(8.3)	1(1.5)	6(4.7)
TOTAL	52(100.0)	9(100.0)	61	60(100.0)	68(100.0)	128(100.0)
MISSING	1	1	2	10	12	22

In MEWCH and Ha Matala LHLDC, where formal rules were the dominant determinants of access to housing plots, almost half (44.2%) of plot-owners had university education, followed by those with senior secondary and

1 For the purpose of this paper, the 'rules-of-the-game' are categorised as 'formal' and 'informal'. Formal rules refer to formal state (national and local) legal rules emerging from legislatures or as military decrees and presented as statutes and regulations, as well as and rules devised by state housing and land development corporations. Informal rules refer to socially embedded rules, norms and practises (including the so-called rules of customary tenure), which might be invented and used alongside formal rules.

2 The data on which this paper is based is drawn from a PhD thesis submitted in December 2000 to the Department of City and Regional Planning, Faculty of Engineering and Environmental Design, University of Wales Cardiff.

3 For purposes of analysis and presentation, the three neighbourhoods of Hillsview, White City and Maseru East are combined and assigned the acronym MEWCH (Maseru East/White City/Hillsview). In subsequent analysis, plot-owners in MEWCH and the Ha Matala LHLDC site-and-service area (i.e. those who had obtained housing land through formal rules) are analysed together and compared with those who had obtained land through informal rules in Ha Matala and Ha Thetsane.

4 The exception is the site-and-service area in Ha Matala, where access was through formal rules established by a state housing corporation - the Lesotho Housing and Land Development Corporation (LHLDC).

5 However, Baross (1983) notes that non-commercialised articulation is a transient phenomenon, which often applies to the first generation of plot-acquirers in the case of invasions, or close kin members in the case of customary land, but that subsequent generations of plot-acquirers and those from outside customary kinship circles, who are often migrants to the cities, generally access plots through commercialised social articulations (Baross, 1983).

6 These indicators are some of those that were used by the Sechaba Consultants (1994) in their assessment of poverty levels and distribution in Lesotho, which led

to a report entitled Poverty in Lesotho: A Mapping Exercise. The World Bank in their assessment of poverty in Lesotho in 1995 used similar indicators, see the World Bank (1995) Lesotho Poverty Assessment.

7 Tertiary education in Lesotho can generally be divided into primary (*7 years), secondary (junior and senior) (*5 years) and university (*2-6 years for various diploma and degree qualifications) levels. At any stage in the education ladder, an individual can drop out to pursue vocational training [reference being to basic training in technical (e.g. motor mechanics, watch, radio and shoe repairs) and artisan skills (dressmaking and knitting, carpentry, bricklaying, etc.) aimed at self-employment (see for example, Education Sector Survey, 1982) or for a variety of other reasons.

8 A test of association between education and rules of access to plots yields a statistically significant relationship between the two variables (for details, see Leduka, 2000b).

9 Similar to education, the association between employment and rules of access to plots was found to be statistically significant (see Leduka, 2000b).

10 The Sechaba Consultants used an averaged market (purchase price at 1993 values) value of household possessions as a measure of differences between households. In this study, a numeric or quantity difference is used as a measure of differences between households and not the purchase price of an item or its market value.

vocational training (42.6%).

In the former peri-urban areas of Ha Matala and Ha Thetsane, over three-quarters (77.4%) of plot-owners had only primary or junior secondary education.

As Table 3 indicates, commercialised and non-commercialised formal supply systems would seem to have favoured people with similarly high educational qualifications.

In non-commercialised informal supply systems in Ha Matala and Ha Thetsane, over three-quarters (77.0%) of plot-allottees had only primary or junior secondary education.

A similar pattern in Ha Matala and Ha Thetsane was also reflected in the case of commercialised informal plot supply systems, where 78.3 per cent of plot-purchasers had primary or junior secondary education.

At the level of plot supply systems, a majority of plot-owners who had acquired plots as free grants (plot-allottees) under formal rules had high levels of education qualifications (post-senior secondary) and many were in MEWCH and Ha Matala LHLDC. In contrast, informal rule plot-allottees generally had low levels of education, with a majority, especially in Ha Thetsane, having only primary or junior secondary school education. Therefore, non-commercialised formal supply systems appear to have catered for educated individuals, who were probably well off, while non-commercialised informal systems appear to have catered for the less well educated and by implication, less well-to-do.

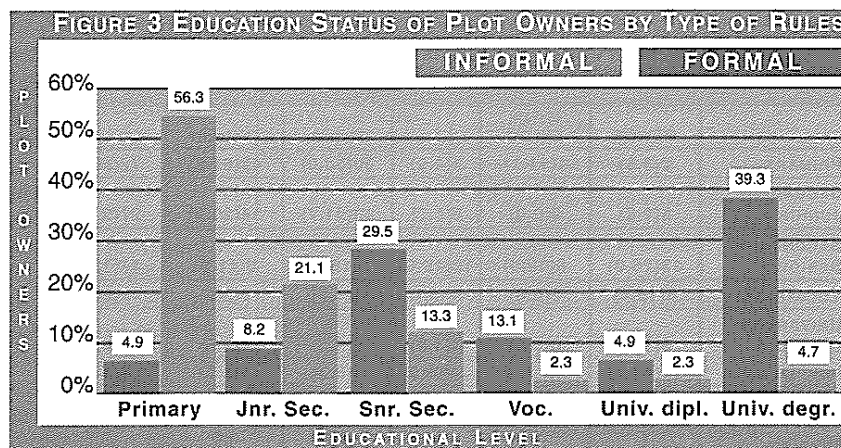
It is obvious, therefore, that the beneficiaries of formal rules and their commercialised and

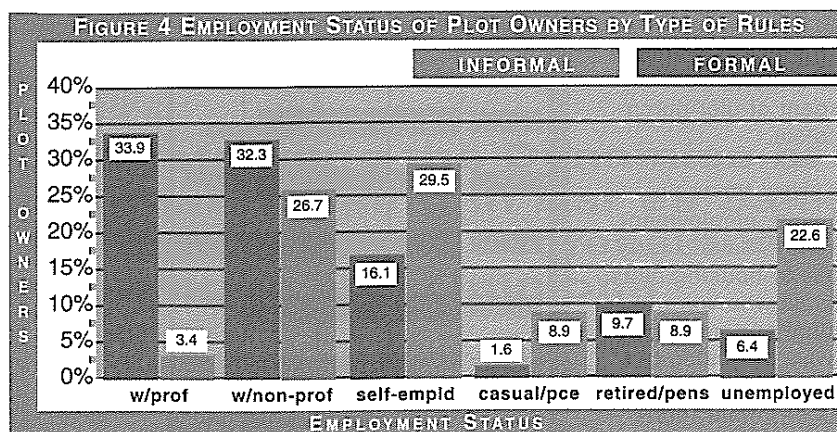
EDUCATION STATUS	FORMAL RULES			INFORMAL RULES		
	Non-commercialised	Commercialised	Total	Non-commercialised	Commercialised	Total
PRIMARY	2(4.5)	1(5.9)	3(4.9)	60(60.0)	12(42.6)	72(56.3)
SECONDARY JUNIOR	5(11.4)	0(0.0)	5(8.2)	17(17.0)	10(35.7)	27(21.1)
SECONDARY SENIOR	12(27.3)	6(35.3)	18(29.5)	15(15.0)	2(7.1)	17(13.3)
VOCATIONAL	6(13.6)	2(11.8)	8(13.1)	3(3.0)	0(0.0)	3(2.3)
UNIVERSITY CERT/DIPL.	3(6.8)	0(0.0)	3(4.9)	3(3.0)	0(0.0)	3(2.3)
UNIV. DEGREE	16(36.4)	8(47.0)	24(39.3)	2(2.0)	4(13.8)	6(4.7)
TOTAL	44(100.0)	17(100.0)	61(100.0)	100(100.0)	28(100.0)	128(100.0)
MISSING	1	1	2	20	2	22

non-commercialised supply systems, and to a lesser extent informal commercialised systems, are plot-owners with high socio-economic status, while those who benefit from commercialised and non-commercialised informal rule systems are plot-owners with limited education and, by implication, low socio-economic status. Therefore, on the basis of education as an indicator of socio-economic well being, it seems logical to conclude that formal rule systems discriminated between individuals on the basis of their socio-economic status.⁸

EMPLOYMENT STATUS

The source of household income is closely associated with employment status (Sechaba Consultants, 1994; World Bank, 1995). According to the Sechaba Consultants (1994), households that had at least one member in wage employment showed low levels of poverty and deprivation, compared to those that had none. In their 1993 national poverty survey, the Sechaba Consultants found out that 46.2 per cent of households had no one in wage employment and 53.9 per cent had at least one person in wage employment. In Maseru urban area, it was estimated that 42.0% of households had no wage





to show that only well-off individuals were able to purchase plots through commercialised formal channels.

As indicated elsewhere (Leduka, 2000b), with respect to informal non-

worker and were, by implication, poor.

Similarly, the World Bank (1995) acknowledged that the main source of income for households that they considered as non-poor was regular wage employment in the public and formal private sectors in Lesotho, which catered for 24 per cent of households, as well as migrant workers' remittances from South African mines, which supported about 40 per cent of households (World Bank, 1995). The main sources of income for poor households were identified as temporary wage work, informal business, gifts and casual work. The World Bank also estimated that 42.0% of households in Maseru urban area were poor to ultra-poor, which was associated with the lack of at least one wage-working household member.

Similar to education above, the analysis of the relationship between employment status of plot-owners and the rules of access is carried out at the general level of rules, followed by analysis at the level of supply systems. From the socio-economic survey of plot-owners, six categories of employment status were developed (T. 4).

Table 4 shows that in areas where formal rules were the dominant determinants of access to housing land (MEWCH and Ha Matala LHLDC), 66.2 per cent of plot-owners were in waged professional and non-professional jobs.

As shown elsewhere (Leduka, 2000b), in terms of sources of statutory non-commercialised plots, the Minister for Lands and the ULC/PSA were the most important, since a majority (64.7%) of plot-allottees who had acquired plots from them were in the top two job categories as waged professional and non-professional workers. Similarly, in the case of commercialised formal sources, a majority of the purchasers (72.2%) were in the top two work groups, followed by the self-employed (16.7%). This generally seems

commercialised sources of plots, local customary chiefs were the most important source, providing 52.1 per cent of plot-owners with housing land, followed by the family, from which 47.9% of free plots were acquired.

Commercialised informal sources tended to follow very much the pattern under non-commercialised formal sources, with a majority (46.7%) of plot-purchasers being in waged non-professional jobs, followed by those who were in self-

EMPLOYMENT STATUS	FORMAL RULES			INFORMAL RULES		
	MEWCH	Matala LHLDC	TOTAL	Matala	Thetsane	TOTAL
W/SALERIED PROFESSIONAL	18(34.6)	3(30.0)	21(33.9)	3(4.4)	2(2.6)	5(3.4)
W/SALERIED NON-PROFESSIONAL	16(30.8)	4(40.0)	20(32.3)	19(27.9)	20(25.6)	39(26.7)
SELF-EMPLOYED	9(17.3)	1(10.0)	10(16.1)	17(25.0)	26(33.3)	43(29.5)
CASUAL/PIECE WORK	1(1.9)	0(0.0)	1(1.6)	9(13.2)	4(5.1)	13(8.9)
RETIRED/PENSIONER	5(9.6)	1(10.0)	6(9.7)	3(4.4)	10(12.8)	13(8.9)
UNEMPLOYED	3(5.8)	1(10.0)	4(6.4)	17(25.0)	16(20.5)	33(22.6)
TOTAL	52(100.0)	10(100.0)	62(100.0)	68(99.9)	78(99.9)	146(100.0)
MISSING	1		1	2	2	4

EMPLOYMENT STATUS	FORMAL RULES			INFORMAL RULES		
	Non-commercialised	Commercialised	TOTAL	Non-commercialised	Commercialised	TOTAL
W/SALERIED PROFESSIONAL	13(29.5)	8(44.4)	21(33.9)	4(3.4)	1(3.5)	5(3.4)
W/SALERIED NON-PROFESSIONAL	15(34.1)	5(27.8)	20(32.3)	26(22.2)	13(44.8)	39(26.7)
SELF-EMPLOYED	7(15.9)	3(16.7)	10(16.1)	36(30.8)	7(24.1)	43(29.5)
CASUAL/PIECE WORK	1(2.3)	0(0.0)	1(1.6)	9(7.7)	4(13.8)	13(8.9)
RETIRED/PENSIONER	5(11.4)	1(5.6)	6(9.7)	12(10.3)	1(3.5)	13(8.9)
UNEMPLOYED	3(6.8)	1(5.5)	4(6.4)	30(25.6)	3(10.3)	33(22.6)
TOTAL	44(100.0)	18(100.0)	62(100.0)	117(100.0)	29(100.0)	146(100.0)
MISSING	1		1	3	1	4

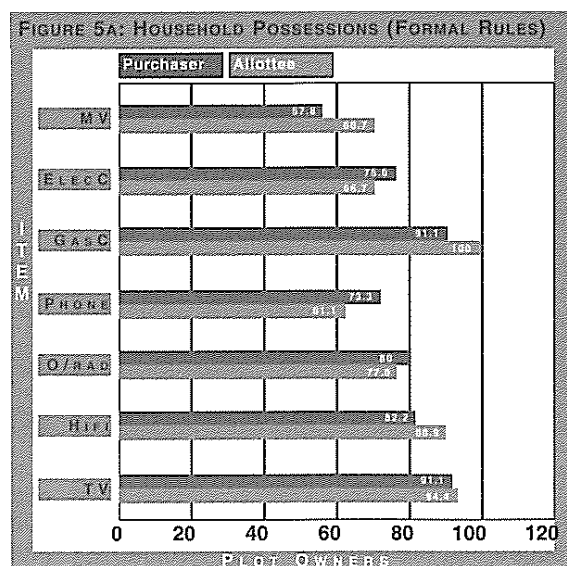
employment (23.3%) and in casual work (13.3%). The most significant source was field-owners, from whom 76.7 per cent of plot-purchasers acquired plots.

Therefore, as a proxy for socio-economic well-being, employment status would seem to have clearly influenced access to housing plots, because individuals who were in waged professional and non-professional jobs, who were also better educated, were a majority of the beneficiaries of formal (non-commercialised and commercialised) and informal (commercialised) plot supply systems, while many of those with less rewarding jobs, who were also less well-educated, including the unemployed, were a majority of the beneficiaries in non-commercialised informal systems.⁹

HOUSEHOLD POSSESSIONS

The Sechaba Consultants (1994) also used household possessions as a measure of household wealth. This is because household possessions are normally accumulated over long periods and are good indicators of expenditure, which is closely associated with income. In addition, possessions were considered as assets that could be liquidated in times of household fiscal stress. Differences in possessions were, therefore, considered a useful indicator of welfare differences between households.¹⁰

From Figure 5a, it is obvious that plot-purchasers under formal rules had the most possessions, followed by formal



rule plot-allottees. For plot-owners who had acquired housing land under informal rules (Figure 5b), clearly plot-purchasers in informal sub-divisions had more household possessions than plot-allottees.

It seems appropriate to conclude, therefore, that formal rule plot-purchasers were the most endowed with possessions and, by implication, the wealthiest, followed by formal rule plot-allottees and plot-purchasers in informal sub-divisions. Plot-allottees in informal private sub-divisions were the least endowed in terms of possessions and, therefore, seemingly poorer.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

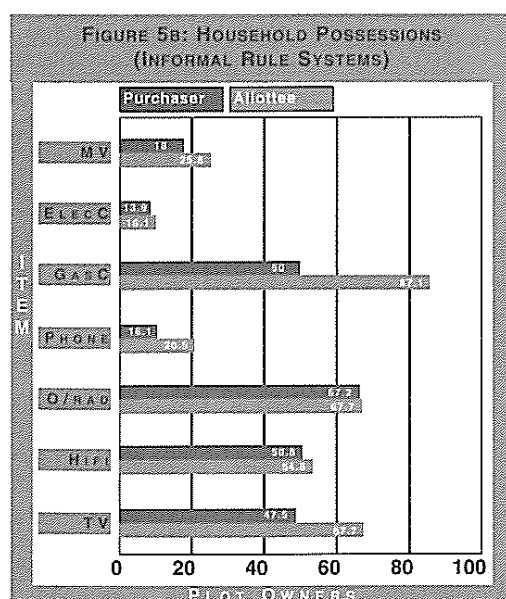
The purpose of this paper was to provide some evidence to demonstrate that formal rules of access to urban housing land in Lesotho discriminated between individuals on the basis of their socio-economic status. Access to housing plots through non-commercialised informal systems has generally been by individuals of low socio-economic status, who were predominantly close family members, in the case of plots that were carved from family land, and the immediate subjects of local customary chiefs. In general, therefore, there is strong evidence to conclude that formal rules of access to housing land, as free bureaucratic allocations or market transactions, discriminate between individuals on the basis of their socio-economic status, as were market transactions in informal private sub-divisions.

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Understanding the Dynamics of Informal Housing in Dar es Salaam: An Exploration of Professional Knowledge and Opinions

Richard Sliuzas

INTRODUCTION

Informal development processes are highly dynamic and, by their very nature cannot be described or monitored via formal development control procedures. However, even when some data is available, it is likely to be deficient in one or more ways. Limited spatial coverage of maps and the inability to maintain appropriate temporal resolutions are but two of the problems that may regularly confront professionals in the field of urban management. Yet, despite the limitations of poor data, decisions must be taken on policy issues concerning interventions in informal areas.

This paper presents some results from ongoing research on informal development in Dar es Salaam, a fast growing city characterised by a high degree of informality and relatively poor systems for collecting and maintaining data on informality. The paper concentrates on data related to physical development.

Although, it is realised that insights into the socio-economic process are also essential to fully appreciate the dynamics of informal development, these are beyond the scope of the current work. The paper looks briefly at some of the major transformations in the planning system in Tanzania before presenting some results from a recent survey of urban professionals on their opinions on recent trends in informal development. A brief comparison is also made with some empirical data derived via an analysis of digital mapping data and a more recent satellite image of the city.

A tentative framework for analysing and monitoring the status of informal settlements is then suggested. This framework is based upon a set of variables covering physical, socio-economic and service related dimensions of development. The

framework provides scope for integrating data from various data sources, including the direct involvement of informal populace in the collection and use of relevant data.

URBAN PLANNING IN DAR ES SALAAM

The roots of the planning system in Dar es Salaam are to be found in the British system of master plans and development control [Armstrong, 1986]. Despite the obvious failure of this system of interrelated laws and procedures for planned development and implementation in the post-colonial period, it is only comparatively recently that significant reform has taken place. In particular, the adoption of a strategic planning framework in the major cities and towns of Tanzania, via the auspices of the Sustainable Cities Programme (SCP), is a major departure from the traditional approach to planned urban development [Halla, 1994; SDP, 1999].

In addition to including provision for a city-wide consultation, the strategic planning system functions through a set of working groups each of which concentrates on a limited number of substantive issues identified as having highest priority. One of these groups was directly concerned with the upgrading of unserved settlements. In Dar es Salaam unserved settlements include both formally planned and unplanned areas, though it is the latter that are more extensive and are the primary subject of this paper.

INFORMAL HOUSING IN DAR ES SALAAM

Although it is generally accepted that informal housing is the major source of shelter in Dar es Salaam, estimates of the scale of informal housing in the city do vary. Kyessi [1994, 1997] for example is one of several authors who refer to a

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Formulierung politischer Standpunkte gegenüber der informellen Wohnungsverversorgung und die Ausarbeitung von Interventionsstrategien in bestimmten irregulären Siedlungen sollten auf genauer Kenntnis der Dynamik in solchen Gegenden beruhen. Tatsächlich aber sind in Städten mit einem sehr dynamischen informellen Wohnungssektor die verfügbaren Daten sehr begrenzt und weisen räumliche, zeitliche und thematische Lücken auf; das Kartenmaterial ist veraltet.

Der Artikel berichtet über eine kürzlich unter Fachleuten aus dem "Urban Management" in Dar es Salaam durchgeführte Untersuchung ihres Informationsstandes bezüglich der Lage und des Status verschiedener informeller Siedlungen, sowie ihrer Einschätzung der zukünftigen Entwicklung. Daten über ältere Siedlungen schienen einheitlich und brauchbar zu sein; das Wissen über neue, schnellwachsende periphere Siedlungen und ihre Dynamik wies gravierende Unschärfen auf, und kann damit keine Grundlage für politisch sinnvolle Entscheidungen sein.

TABLE 1: BASIC DATA ON RESPONSES RELATED TO KNOWLEDGE ON EXISTING SETTLEMENTS IN DAR ES SALAAM.

	GROUPS			
	LGO	CGO	UCLAS	TOTAL
Legend: LGO = LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICER CGO = CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OFFICER UCLAS = ACADEMIC STAFF OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF LANDS & ARCHITECTURAL STUDIES				
Settlements with highest growth in next 5 years?				
Total no. of cases mentioned	33	25	40	98
Total no. of settlements mentioned	28	21	20	47
% of all settlements mentioned	60	45	43	100
No. of valid respondents	7	7	12	26
Average cases/respondent	4.7	3.6	3.3	3.8
Opinion on informal settlements visited since January 1999				
Total no. of cases mentioned	69	37	74	180
Total no. of settlements mentioned	47	24	44	78
% of all settlements mentioned	60	31	56	100
No. of valid respondents	7	7	10	24
Average cases/respondent	9.9	5.3	7.4	7.5

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proportion of 70% of the population in informal settlements that comprise 50% of the total residential land area. Official estimates, based upon data extracted from aerial photographs from 1992, put the informal population at 60% of the total population [Mgwheno, 1999]. While the difference of 10% between these two estimates is perhaps not startling, in absolute terms it amounts to in approximately 250,000 persons, a substantial number of households with very real social and physical needs.

From a policy development perspective the variations between data sources clearly underline the deficiencies in the monitoring capacity of the planning systems. Two main points should be made at this time. Firstly, the most complete data available in 1999 (and still today) dates from 1992, and given even a conservative estimate of population growth of 4% per annum, is therefore highly outdated. Secondly, the 1992 data does not relate to the complete administrative region of Dar es Salaam, but is focussed on the core of the city as covered by aerial photographs. The lack of photographs of peri-urban areas has excluded settlements in these areas from counting. This provides a possible explanation for the difference between the two population estimates but also raises some new concerns about the lack of a complete 'pic-

ture' of urban development resulting from the narrow definition of urban adopted in the traditional mapping process. The usability of this data for policy development related to informal housing is therefore diminished due to limitations in the temporal and spatial domains of the data itself [Sliuzas and Brussel, 2000].

POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN A DATA POOR ENVIRONMENT

Urban policy development in Dar es Salaam clearly takes place in a data poor environment. However, as policy development and policy decisions necessarily continue to be made, the relative importance of informal channels of information and professional judgements or opinions concerning informal development, is likely to increase. Parsons [1995, pg 385] describes the use of information within decision making in terms of four quadrants defined as formal or informal and internal or external (see Fig 1). Applying his view to the current situation in Dar es Salaam, would entail a shift from more formal sources of information toward informal sources, as resource constraints and the requirements of the policy process itself do not provide for new research studies to be carried out. The shift from the traditional master planning to more open and participatory planning styles, on the other hand, implies a greater emphasis on external information sources, and information sharing through multi-stakeholder working groups established under the umbrella of the SCP initiatives. In practice the information sources used at any one time is likely to comprise a mixture of these dimensions, with gaps in more formal sources being compensated via more informal channels.

A SURVEY OF URBAN PROFESSIONALS

In order to investigate the degree to which urban management professionals share similar views and opinions on informal development in Dar es Salaam a small exploratory survey was held in March-April 2000. A short questionnaire was distributed to 46 senior urban planners, engineers, land managers and surveyors working at either the Local Government (14), Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development (8), and the University College of Lands and Architectural Studies (24). Although not a large group, the respondents included senior government officials and academics who could be expected to be well acquainted with the local situation, as many are either working on a daily basis in parts of the city or have been involved in various

INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS	
NEGATIVE EXTERNALITIES High pollution & hazards. Poor access to external services & employment opportunities	POSITIVE EXTERNALITIES Low pollution & hazards. Good access to external services & employment opportunities
SITE CONDITIONS % subject to floods % on excessive slopes PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT Size of settlement, Density of settlement, % of buildings replaced or renovated, % of buildings subject to flooding, % of buildings >50 m roads from road	SERVICES % households by water supply % solid waste collected % households by sanitation type % of children at school
SOCIO-ECON. CONDITIONS Demographic (e.g. No. of households, Pop. by age and sex, etc) Economic (e.g. incomes, cost of housing & room rent, cost of water, etc) Social (e.g. crime/pers., & % female headed households, morbidity & mortality rates, etc.)	OTHER % households by legal status % local charges collected

research and project activities related to the SCP or other urban projects throughout the 1990's.

The survey forms for local and central government officers were distributed in person to the target group and an appointment was made to collect the completed forms. For the UCLAS group forms were generally distributed via department heads to selected staff. The overall response rate was 59%, with the lowest response from local government and UCLAS primarily due to logistical constraints in the follow-up procedures.

DISCUSSION OF RESPONSES

The main focus of the survey was to establish to what extent local professionals shared a common view of the status and trends of informal development in the city. Further their views on a number of other related issues such as future roles of local and community level agents, norms and selective demolition and resettlement as a policy response were obtained.

LIKELY GROWTH AND DENSITY OF EXISTING DEVELOPMENT

The responses reveal a strong consensus on the current status and likely future developments of informal settlements.

To develop a more detailed picture of current and likely future developments at settlement level respondents were asked to:

1. classify the density in informal settlements which they had personally visited since January, 1999, using a 4 class categorical scale: density well above acceptable levels, density just above acceptable levels, density just below acceptable levels, density well below acceptable levels,
2. identify existing informal settlements which will have the highest growth in the next 5 years.

Some general observations can be made on the basis of the response to these 2 questions. There appears to be considerable ambiguity as to the number and names of many informal areas and, this is likely to also extend to the location and extent of such settlements. Many official planning documents are vague about their exact number [SDP, 1992 & 1999], stating only that they are in excess of 42. However, the combined responses of this survey include in

TABLE 2: REACTIONS TO STATEMENTS CONCERNING INFORMAL DEVELOPMENT

No.	STATEMENT	AGREE	MORE AGREE	MORE DIS-AGREE	DIS-AGREE	TOTAL	N
1	Public sector has primary responsibility to monitor & regulate informal development	56	30	7	7	100	27
2	Action to regulate informal settlements is urgently required	81	15		4	100	27
3	Demolition of houses in informal areas is OK under certain conditions	74	15	7	4	100	27
4	It is important to establish norms for population density in unserviced settlements	44	12	20	24	100	25
5	The lack of data is a major barrier to effective control	27	19	23	31	100	26
6	Local administrative officers and mtaa leaders are best placed to monitor and regulate informal settlements	63	22	7	7	100	27
7	Local administrative officers and mtaa leaders have the ability and skills to monitor and regulate informal settlements	15	11	41	33	100	27

excess of 100 settlement names. While this is partly attributable to the ambiguity between fringe villages and urban informal settlements, there is considerable evidence of variation in the knowledge base of the respondents and different interpretations of the location, extent and names of informal areas. In itself this is not completely surprising, as mental maps are known to differ between individuals. However, such ambiguity is a potential source of confusion and error in consultative processes, as stakeholders may mistakenly believe themselves to be discussing a settlement's problems when they are in fact thinking of different areas. The potential for miscommunication here is high.

A summary of the numbers of settlements referred to be each group is contained in Table 1. All but one of the settlements that is expected to have the highest growth in the next five years is located in the urban rural interface of the city. There is a clear preference for settlements to the south (Mbagala, Yombo Vituka) and west (Kimara) of the main city, particularly amongst academics from UCLAS, while the inclusion of Manzese is surprising as it is a highly consolidated settlement, with seemingly little scope for further swahili-style development. Three main factors are considered to be most influencing growth: Good accessibility to improved roads and public transport, relatively low land prices and the availability of sufficient land (i.e. still at relatively low density).

Only 14 settlements were mentioned by at least four professionals with a strong preference for the older more established settlements in the central sector such as Manzese, Tandale, Hana Nasif, Keko, Ubungo and Buguruni. The opinions expressed on density in these older areas tend to be quite uniform while more variation exists in views on density in fringe settlements. Two main factors are likely

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Ploger, J. (2001) *Public Participation in Planning. Environment and Planning B*, Vol. 28, pp 219-241.

SDP, (1992)

Dar es Salaam Environmental Profile, Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project.

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Sliuzas, R. V. and M. Brussel (2000). "Usability of large scale topographic data for urban planning and engineering applications: examples of housing studies and DEM generation in Tanzania". Proceedings ISPRS, Amsterdam, ISPRS.

Sliuzas, R. V., M. Brussel, Gorte, B., Dekker, R. and Mtalio, E.G. (1999). Urbanisation in Dar es Salaam: The use of SPOT and ERS for monitoring urban development and terrain modelling. Delft, Beelds Commissie Remote Sensing (BCRS): 47.

Sliuzas, R. V. and H.F.L. Ottens (1999). Can geographic information technology improve urban land management practice in Tanzania? The interaction between formal and informal land management in Africa, Dar es Salaam

to contribute to this variation in this data. Firstly, a precise, common definition of each settlement's location and extent is lacking. Secondly, density is never uniform over entire settlements and the variation in newer settlements may be considerably higher than that found in older, more consolidated settlements. Further, it can be concluded that comparatively recent personal exposure to a settlement is not the only factor influencing an opinion concerning likelihood for future growth. This is well illustrated by Kimara, which was mentioned by nine persons as being a likely growth area, yet only four of those persons listed the settlement as one that they had visited in the previous 15 months for either professional or personal reasons.

It would appear that the recent experience of the senior experts tends to be concentrated in the more centrally located settlements. At the same time the opinions expressed on the development density in these areas is more similar than their views on the more remote and less accessible fringe settlements. There are some indications that the spatial definition of fringe settlements is more "fuzzy" than that of other areas, while perceptions of density also show a greater range of variability.

COMPARISON WITH DATA DERIVED FROM REMOTE SENSING

Some experiments have been made to derive density data from SPOT satellite images have enabled a city wide estimation of development density in informal settlements to be made [Sliuzas et al, 1999; Kuffer et al, 2001]. Figure 2 shows a map of settlement consolidation levels that illustrate in a systematic manner the density over all informal areas in 1998. This map is in general agreement with the opinions of the local professionals but enables a more spatially explicit representation of the settlements to be produced. The Mbagala area in the southern part of the city for instance, is seen to consist of several areas with somewhat different density levels. Whereas many local experts tended to refer to the more general name of Mabagala, the area is highly differentiated in terms of its physical and spatial characteristics and referring to its smaller settlement units is preferable.

Longitudinal data is needed to provide insights into dynamic processes. The adoption of digital mapping technology makes it possible to use roof area coverage as a measure of

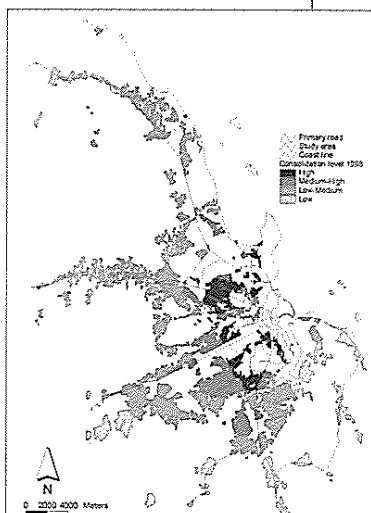
density in informal areas. Dangol [1998] has shown how such data can be used in combination with sample socio-economic surveys to estimate population and other socio-economic characteristics of informal residents. The same data can also be made compatible with the 1998 data on physical consolidation levels enabling an analysis of physical consolidation processes at settlement level (see Figure 5). In this manner, relatively straightforward and replicable approaches to generating data on the dynamics of informal areas can be developed. However, although the technology and expertise is locally available, in practice, to date little use has been made of these techniques for data acquisition and analysis.

ATTITUDES TO INTERVENTIONS AND PROFESSIONAL ROLES

More insights into opinions on informal development were sought by requesting individual responses on a fixed, 4 class scale to 7 statements related to the management of informal development (see Table 2). In addition to responding via the fixed scale, many respondents also added explanatory remarks as requested.

The responses to statements 1, 2 and 3 confirm that generally local professionals strongly support public sector intervention in informal settlements and are willing, if necessary to demolish houses to provide access or community facilities. Further, there is overwhelming support for urgent regulatory action in the settlements. In contrast, opinions are divided on the value of population density standards and the significance of the lack of data as an inhibiting factor in establishing effective control over informal development. Even amongst those supporting population density standards there does not appear to be consensus on what may be an appropriate level, with figures ranging from 120 to 300 persons/hectare, while others stated that it would be preferable and easier to use a housing density, with a density of 40 houses/hectare being suggested as a useful limit. Those in disagreement with Statement 5 frequently expressed the view that other factors such as the lack of political will, corruption, and the lack of technical, financial and human resources are major barriers more important than any lack of data. In the view of some, site visits and media attention are adequate to develop a "feel" for the situation, and one may also assume, provide a basis for basic policy decisions related to housing. Given that the frequency of site visits has been shown to be rather low and covering the

FIGURE 2: CONSOLIDATION LEVEL IN INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN 1998 (SOURCE: SPOT SATELLITE DATA)



settlements only partially, the validity of this view may be questioned

Lastly, Statements 6 and 7, relate to attitudes toward the capacity of two specific actors operating at the lowest level of local government. The responses suggest that while the potential of these actors is generally recognised, at present there is little confidence in their ability to actually regulate informal development. The cited barriers include:

- inadequate knowledge of relevant laws and regulations
- inadequate technical and administrative skills
- subject to local political influence
- general lack of a sense of responsibility amongst community
- low literacy rate of mtaa leaders
- the current financial benefits for mtaa leaders attached to their role as witnesses of land transactions

In the Keko Mwanga area for example there are 2 Mtaa's. One leader has completed only primary school and devotes most of his time to the performance of his duties. The other has completed up to standard 4 of high school and, in addition to his Mtaa leader responsibilities also runs a small guesthouse. Although they are motivated and willing to commit considerable time for their duties both have reported that they have little power and capacity to do anything to regulate the continuing development in a settlement that has one of the highest densities in the city.

Several conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the above discussion. It is evident that much has been done in recent years to improve the planning process. However, it is also evident that the rate of expansion of informal development has continued to increase and that relatively little is known about the dynamics of this process. The knowledge of senior local professionals is limited geographically as well as in terms of detailed understanding of the development processes themselves, though the growing amount of research in this area is addressing some of the gaps (see for example [Kombe, 1995, 1998, 2000; Kironde, 1995, 2000; Kreibich and Kombe, 1999]. While the professional group generally recognises the urgency of developing actions that will respond to the needs of residents in informal areas they are not optimistic about the ability of local level officials and community leaders to do so at this time. The focus on data related to physical aspects of informal settlements is

also a major limitation that must be addressed as it presents an important but partial view of the ongoing process of informal development.

TOWARDS A FRAMEWORK FOR MONITORING THE DYNAMICS OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

The remaining part of this paper examines a possible framework for monitoring the dynamics of informal settlement development. The framework is based on the premise that the essential dimensions of change can be captured via a relatively small set of key indicators, as shown in Figure (6) 4. The basic characteristics of any informal settlement are described by sets of variables related to the internal environment: site conditions, the nature of physical development, service levels and socio-economic condition and, in addition, the external environment as described by both positive and negative externalities may also be significant.

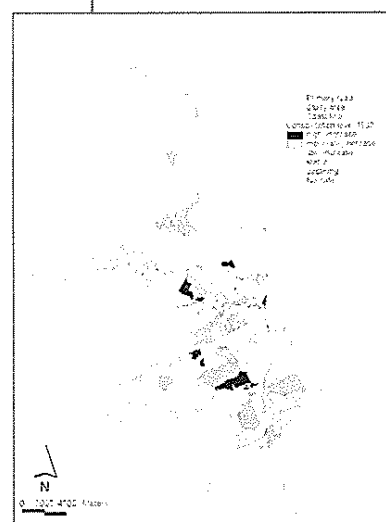
Given that it is the dynamics of informal development that is to be understood, data on the relevant variables should be available over time. Ultimately, a database is envisaged that would describe the status of each indicator as a series of snapshots over time. In its most simple form, data from each snapshot would be contained in a separate table, with each record referring to a specific settlement, which is identifiable via a unique number. An analysis of dynamics of development processes (changes in variables) could then be made by relating the snapshot tables as required.

In practice, such detailed data is not frequently available because it either depends on top-down data collection processes or is based on surveys that cover a limited study area. Generally it is also not made available at the required level of aggregation. For example, highly centralised systems such as the National Census and traditional mapping approaches are expensive and highly complex operations that involve considerable time delays before products become available. Even when available, the standard products of such systems that could contribute to local area management are not provided as a part of normal procedure.¹

New approaches in data collection are required in which communities and other partners could work in a collaborative manner to their mutual benefit. Internationally there are

¹ Discussions with a ward level executive officer and two (Mtaa) community leaders in March 2000, revealed that the 1992 topographic base maps which were on sale by the end of 1994 had never been made available at this level to facilitate the performance of their local management duties. Tanzania's decennial census was scheduled for 1998 but funding problems have delayed the data collection until at least 2001.

FIGURE 3:
CHANGES IN CONSOLIDATION LEVEL OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS, 1992 - 1998



2

For example in April 2000 a fused colour and panchromatic Ikonos image with a resolution of 1 m of the city of Cochabamba, Bolivia was purchased at a cost of \$28/sq.km. by the ITC and CLAS, Bolivia. The City has since decided to order a new image for 2001 to enable it to maintain its fiscal cadastre and improve its revenue collection system. Similar imagery for the whole of Dar es Salaam Region would cost approximately US\$40,000 and given the frequent cloud cover problems, it may be extremely difficult to achieve complete coverage of the city.

3

Such small format photomaps have been successfully used by the author as a tool in focus groups with residents in the Keko Mwanaga settlement in Dar es Salaam held in April 2000. Subsequently the same photomaps were used by the settlement's Development Committee to discuss possible expansion of the school, by the local government to identify flood prone buildings, by an NGO working on water supply systems for the area and by statistical officers for defining collection units for the Census.

a growing number of examples in which low income communities or networks participate in the collection of baseline data on their settlements.

The work of Heholt [1996] has also demonstrated that with relatively little training and support, community residents are willing and able to collect basic socio-economic data. A capacity building programme designed to enable local communities to design, collect and manage data on their own settlements has several benefits. The process itself provides a focal point for community interaction and learning; it could raise awareness amongst the public and official agencies about the state of living conditions in informal settlements and contribute to a strengthening of the dialogue and other linkages between stakeholders; it would encourage communities to reflect and debate on the development related issues which affect their lives and livelihoods.

A settlement's ownership of data on key development related variables, can also be seen as a form of empowerment, in that it may be used to provide leverage in their collaboration with local government and other stakeholders. Though the data collected by communities could be also provided to other stakeholders, this should not be seen as automatic. By releasing control of their data communities also relinquish a degree of power that is inherent in their intimate knowledge of their locality.

There are of course, many barriers to the implementation of what, for some, may be seen as revolutionary practices. The acceptance of community data collection mechanisms as valid sources of knowledge about informal development implies a redistribution of power amongst the stakeholders, as ... "it is power that defines what can count as knowledge" [Pløger, 2001, pg 227]. The acceptance of new techniques for data capture by the most powerful stakeholders is therefore by no means automatic, as criticism related to methods, quality assurance and scientific rigor are likely to abound.

Also from the side of more technical procedures for the capture and provision of spatial data alternatives exist for the traditional mapping systems. Although the latest high resolution satellite imagery is expensive² it does begin to offer the kind of technical specifications which would be suitable for mapping equivalent to traditional maps at scale 1:10,000. For smaller areas such as settlements, where

a more detailed image is required to understand the complex, high density development, Small Format Aerial Photography offers excellent opportunities for quick and relatively inexpensive base map updating that meet the needs of communities [Sliuzas and Ottens, 1999]. Small format photomaps can be produced and digitally enhanced with locally available technologies. They are easily understood and used by local residents and other stakeholders for the improvement and management of the area³. Recent research in South Africa is also successfully incorporating such technology as a component of community based approaches for settlement planning and management [Abbott, 2000].

CONCLUSIONS

Currently little data is available for the analysis on the complex and multi-dimensional dynamics of informal development in Dar es Salaam. The lack of relevant data is a prohibitive factor in understanding the nature of the physical and socio-economic processes occurring within the informal settlements that dominate housing supply in this city. Traditional approaches to data collection that rely on infrequent centralised mapping and census systems are a barrier to understanding and thereby to effective local policy making and action. As a result, the opinions of policy advisors may become relatively more important in policy processes, even though they may be based on limited and scattered first hand experience and knowledge.

The combination of community based approaches to socio-economic data collection and low cost geographic information technology has the potential to address many of the shortcomings of traditional systems. Community based data collection can also contribute to the empowerment of the informal citizens, lending legitimacy to their demands for recognition and services from the formal urban management systems. Locally available Geographic Information Technology can now also contribute to improving spatial and physical information on informal settlements. The acceptance of such innovative approaches has obvious impacts to current power relationships and will not come easily. The message from the limited data that is available however, suggests that there is scale of informal development is such that further innovation in urban planning and management practice is required.

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Neue Bücher / Book Reviews

ARCHITEKTUR

Thomas Pichlau und Serena Melgari. *Springers Architekturführer 20. Jahrhundert: Frankreich. Band 1 (Norden), Band 2 (Süden).* Jeweils ca. 300 S. und DM 56,-. 2000. ISBN 3-211-83341-2 bzw. 3-211-83342-0. Springer-Verlag, P.O. Box 89, A-1201 Wien.

In den zwei Büchern im handlichen Taschenformat (11,5 x 19,5 cm) wird anhand von etwa 400 ausgewählten Bauten ein repräsentativer Überblick über die moderne Architektur Frankreichs im 20. Jahrhundert vermittelt. Die Aufteilung in zwei Bände (wobei Paris zunächst ausgespart und vielleicht einem dritten Band vorbehalten bleibt) dient der Halbierung des jeweiligen Umfangs und damit auch der "Gewichtsminderung". Denn das Ziel des Werkes ist eindeutig das eines Reisebegleiters bzw. Wegweisers für Besuche vor Ort. Dazu dienen übersichtliche Landkarten und Stadtpläne mit den Standorten der einzelnen Projekte, genaue Adressangaben (eine einfache Qualität, die man in Fachveröffentlichungen leider oft vermisst), Beschreibungen der Anreiserrouten, Öffnungszeiten, Adressen der jeweiligen Touristeninformation sowie weiterführende Literaturangaben. Somit lassen sich die Projekte leicht vor Ort ausmachen bzw. auch schon im Vorfeld die notwendigen Informationen einholen. Zusammen mit einer (nicht immer sehr aussagekräftigen) Abbildung pro Gebäude, manchmal ergänzt durch einen Grundrissplan, steht - bei einer Buchseite je Objekt - nur noch wenig Raum für die eigentliche inhaltliche Beschreibung und Beurteilung zur Verfügung, die sich dann auf wenige, eher allgemeine Sätze beschränkt. Das definitive Urteil bleibt, vielleicht auch besser, wohl dem Besucher selbst überlassen...

Als hilfreiche Ergänzung des Nachschlagecharakters der beiden Bücher dienen vier ausführliche Register, welche die dargestellten Werke nochmals über ihr Entstehungsjahrzehnt, die jeweilige Stadt, die Architekten sowie nach unterschiedlichen Gebäudetypen erschließen und verknüpfen.

Michael Peterek

Michael Wilkens. *Architektur als Komposition.* 384 S. ISBN 3-7643-6330-4. 2000. Birkhäuser, Basel.

Der Kasseler GHK Professor Michael Wilkens hat seine unkonventionellen Positionen gegenüber zeitgenössischer Architektur als Vater der Baufrösche mehrfach und vielbeachtet in gebaute Form umgesetzt. Für eine schriftliche Dokumentation seiner Vorstellungen mußte man bislang allerdings lange suchen; diese Einschränkung gilt jetzt glücklicherweise nicht mehr. Anlässlich einer Vortragsreise nach Zentralamerika entstand die schriftliche Niederschrift einer Vorlesungsreihe über das Entwerfen, die später im Zusammenhang mit

ähnlichen Vorlesungsreihen in Kassel und Santa Clara (Cuba) ergänzt und illustriert wurden. Der deutsche Text wurde dann zusammen mit der spanischen Übersetzung von Birkhäuser in einem kleinen aber kompakten Buch vereint, das sicher einmal Geschichte machen wird.

In zehn Lektionen werden auf eine sehr persönliche und deshalb ausgesprochen überzeugende Art architektonische Gestaltungsgrundsätze vorgestellt, nebeneinandergestellt, gegenübergestellt, bloßgestellt und nahegelegt. Die jeweiligen Prinzipien werden anhand von gebauter Architektur illustriert, wobei der Autor jeweils Wert darauf gelegt hat, nur solche Beispiele aufzugreifen, die er selbst gut kennt und somit keine Gefahr läuft, Stereotype weiterzutragen. Leider sind unter den Beispielen nur wenige der beachtenswerten Baufrösche-Projekte vertreten, so wie auch nur ganz wenige der Ideen-Skizzen aus der so begabten Hand von Wilkens selbst stammen. Dafür wird der geneigte Leser wohl auf die Werksbiografie der Baufrösche warten müssen, die bereits in Vorbereitung ist. Diese Bescheidenheit hängt vielleicht mit der Aussage Wilkens' (auf Seite 361) zusammen, daß die Leistung eines Architekten mindestens genauso an dem gemessen werden sollte an dem, was er nicht gebaut hat (oder dessen Bau er verhindert hat) wie an seinen zu Stein, Glas und Eisen gewordenen Entwürfen.

Kosta Mathéy

STADTENTWICKLUNG

Mila Freire, Richard Stren. *The Challenge of Urban Government. Policies and Practices.* 442 Seiten, ISBN 0-8313-4738-1. 2001. The World Bank, Washington D.C., Fax 1-202-4776391.

Der Sammelband wurde herausgegeben vom World Bank Institute, einer 1955 gegründeten Abteilung der Weltbank, deren Aufgabe die Fortbildung von politischen Entscheidungsträgern ist. Die sog. städtische Problematik wurde allerdings das erste Mal nicht vor 1999 in das Fortbildungsprogramm aufgenommen, und zwar in Kooperation mit der Stadtverwaltung und der Universität von Toronto. In der vorliegenden Publikation sind in der für die Bank typischen Terminologie die 'Best Papers' dieses Kurses abgedruckt. Viele bekannte Namen finden sich unter den 39 Autoren, wie z.B. Jordi Borja, Manuel Castells, Richard Bately, Nigel Harris, Michael Cohen. Noch beeindruckender sind die fast lückenlose Referenz auf die Schlüsselbegriffe der in der heutigen Stadt-Diskussion dominanten Themen, welche die zehn Unterrichtsmodule durchziehen: Globalization, Metropolitan Region, City Governance, Urban Violence, City Corporate Planning, Sustainable Cities, Fiscal Decentralization, User Charges, Legalization, Demand-Side Appro-

aches, Private Service Provision, Public-Private Partnership. Land Markets, Property Taxation, Gender... um nur einige zu nennen. Natürlich ist bei der Fülle der Themen auch auf 500 Seiten keine detaillierte wissenschaftliche Auseinandersetzung mit jeder der angesprochenen Problematiken zu erwarten. So kann man sich leicht darüber amüsieren, wie zwei so berühmte Wissenschaftler-Männer wie Manuel Castells und Jordi Borja mit ihren vereinten Kräften schon nach zwei Seiten das Thema 'A View of Urban Transport, Infrastructure and Environment from the Female Condition' ausgeschöpft zu glauben scheinen. Auch der Beitrag von Israel Yaker über die Transportproblematik in Bogota beschränkt sich auf Träume von Ideallösungen und umschiffert dabei (zufällig?) das Hauptproblem, nämlich die personelle Kongruenz der wichtigsten Bustransporteure mit den Stadträten in dieser Metropole. Doch wie gesagt, die Zielgruppe dieser Aufsatzsammlung sind ja keine Akademiker oder community Leaders, sondern Lokalpolitiker. Denen auf die Füße zu treten würde ihre Aufnahmebereitschaft für die anderen Themen sicher senken, und als Compendium des geballten Städtewissens (und Unwissens) bleibt die Aufsatzsammlung auch so unübertroffen. Sicher eine der besten Publikationen, die die Weltbank in den letzten Jahren herausgebracht hat und die auch als Einführung im universitären Unterricht gut einsetzbar ist.

Kosta Mathéy

Erich Raith. *Stadtmorphologie - Annäherungen, Umsetzungen, Aussichten.* 215 S. DM 78,-. 2000. ISBN 3-211-83489-3. Springer-Verlag, P.O. Box 89, A-1201 Wien

Seit den grundlegenden Arbeiten der "Venezianischen Schule" Anfang der 60er Jahre - und insbesondere den Studien von Saverio Muratori zur Stadtstruktur von Venedig - kommt der morphologischen Betrachtungsweise von Stadt und Territorium eine zentrale Rolle in der räumlichen Stadtforschung zu. Die hier vorliegende Veröffentlichung basiert auf einer 1998 an der TU Wien eingereichten Habilitationsschrift. Sie strukturiert sich in die drei in ihrem Untertitel aufgeführten Teilabschnitte: Annäherungen, Umsetzungen, Aussichten.

In den "Annäherungen" werden zunächst unterschiedliche theoretische Ansätze, Definitionen und Modelle zum Thema Stadtmorphologie vorgestellt und kommentiert. Dem Verfasser geht es dabei weniger um die Entwicklung einer eigenständigen, neuen Theorie als vielmehr um die Darstellung eines bewusst breit gefassten Spektrums von möglichen Betrachtungs- und Interpretationsweisen des Phänomens Stadt in seinem räumlichen und naturräumlichen, kulturellen und historischen Zusammenhang. Auch wenn die Lesbarkeit des Textes stellenweise durch sehr lange Zitate aus der Primärliteratur

erschwert wird, handelt es sich um einen anregenden Überblick über die relevante Fachdiskussion.

Im zweiten Teil des Buches, den "Umsetzungen", soll die praktische Anwendbarkeit dieser theoretischen Ansätze anhand von konkreten Fallbeispielen und Planungskonzepten belegt werden. Da ausschließlich eigene Arbeiten des Verfassers dargestellt werden, mutiert die Veröffentlichung hier zu einem persönlichen "Werkbericht", der insgesamt drei Viertel des Gesamtumfangs der Publikation einnimmt. Vorgestellt werden architektonische und städtebauliche Projekte für unterschiedliche Situationen (von der historischen Altstadt bis zur "grünen Wiese"), Vorträge, vom Verfasser betreute Studienarbeiten etc. Mit schönen Zeichnungen, Skizzen, Abbildungen umfassend illustriert, stehen diese Projekte für eine Planungshaltung, die ihre Elemente vor allem aus der Analyse, Interpretation und Weiterentwicklung des jeweiligen Kontexts entwickelt. In den abschließenden "Aussichten" werden noch einmal die wesentlichen Gedanken dieser "Planungsphilosophie" des Autors zusammengefasst und durch ein umfassendes Literaturverzeichnis zum Thema ergänzt.

Auch wenn die Veröffentlichung nicht das in sich birgt, was der Titel zunächst vermuten lässt (nämlich ein allgemeines Grundlagenwerk zur "Stadt morphology"), stellt sie - als theoretisch hinterlegter Werkbericht - dennoch eine für den am spezifischen Themenkomplex interessierten Leser bereichernde Auseinandersetzung mit der Entstehung und Weiterentwicklung städtischer Strukturen dar.

Michael Peterek

Michel S. Laguerre. The Global Ethnopolis. Chinatown, Japantown and Manilatown in American Society. 200 Seiten, ISBN 0-333-77789-1, 2000. Macmillan Press, Basingstoke UK (mdl@macmillan.co.uk).

Der Autor, Anthropologe seines Zeichens, interpretiert dem Begriff der 'Global City' auf seine Weise. Festgemacht werden seine Erklärungen an den verschiedenen existierenden ethnischen Zentren in San Francisco. Seine Hypothese ist, dass diese Zentren als ökonomische Vertretungen der jeweiligen Heimatnationen in den USA funktionieren, von der Globalisierung profitieren und dieselbe gleichzeitig beschleunigen. Ein Beispiel für eine solche Rolle wäre das Involvement der Chinatown von San Francisco bei Richards Nixon's taktischen Annäherungen an die VR China im Jahr 1972.

Das Buch gliedert sich in sieben Kapitel. Globalisierung ist das Thema des ersten Kapitels und spricht u.a. von der Implosion des Lokalen im Globalen und umgekehrt. Kapitel 2, 3 und 4 beschäftigen sich jeweils mit den Bezirken Chinatown, Manilatown und Japantown in San Francisco. Die internationalen Verknüpfungen dieser Enklaven werden repräsentativ am Beispiel der Japantown in Kapitel 5 aufgezeigt. Kapitel 6 beschäftigt sich mit Querverknüpfungen ethnischer Enclaven über den Globus hinweg, wobei als wichtiges Indiz so etwas wie internationale ethnische Gelbe Seiten aufgeführt werden. Das Schlusskapitel weist auf die innerstädtischen Verknüpfungen zwischen den ethnischen Minoritäten hin, sozusagen das Abbild des Globus innerhalb

der Grenzen einer einzigen Stadt.

Die Arbeit enthält interessante Daten über die Konzentration ethnischer Minoritäten in San Francisco und könne Ansatzpunkt sein z.B. über das Studium angepaßter Planungs- und Selbstverwaltungs Optionen in den ethnisch geprägten Stadtbezirken. Der Beitrag des Buches zur Globalisierungsdebatte glänzt eher durch exotische Qualitäten, verkennt aber aus seiner Froschperspektive heraus die dominante Bedeutung rein ökonomischer Faktoren.

Kosta Mathéy

Inoguchi, T. Newman, E., Paoletto, G. (Hrsg.): Cities and the Environment - New Approaches for Eco-Societies, United Nations University Press, 1999, 337 S., United Nations University Press, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo, 150-8925, Japan.

Städte sind die Zentren von menschlicher Kreativität, Kultur, Industrie und sie bieten Wohlfahrts- und Einkommensmöglichkeiten für Milliarden von Menschen weltweit. In einer globalisierten Welt werden die Städte einen immer universelleren Lebensstil repräsentieren. Zwar mögen diese Perspektiven positiv anmuten, doch Umweltprobleme werden in zunehmender Weise bedrohlich für die Lebensqualität der Bewohner der Städte. Die Städte zerstören die Basis der natürlichen Ressourcen, sie verschmutzen Luft, Wasser, Böden und Umland, während der Bedarf nach Wohnung-Habitat, Infrastruktur und Transportsystemen unbefriedigt bleibt. Dies stellt offensichtlich die Nachhaltigkeit vieler Städte und städtischer Agglomerationen in Frage.

Dieses Buch behandelt im wesentlichen die japanische Stadtrealität und die Suche nach den wesentlichen Parametern in diesem Kontext. Es wird argumentiert, dass Japan ja eigentlich schon die notwendige materielle Basis erreicht habe, um sich eine umweltbewusste (und nachhaltige) Entwicklung zu leisten. Doch wenig von den neuen Ansätzen ökologischer Stadtentwicklung - Partnerschaft zwischen verschiedenen Akteuren, Stärkung der Zivilgesellschaft, technologische-ökologische Konzepte, etc. - wird angewandt. Und dabei gibt es im Bereich von Schadensminderung und Risikomanagement, Regenwasser-Management, und der Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Nationen so viele interessante und innovative Ansätze... und diese finden sich recht gut zusammengestellt in diesem Buch, für Alle, die noch Hoffnung haben...

Florian Steinberg

Barton, H., Tsourou, C. : Healthy Urban Planning, Spon Press, London 2000, 184 S., ca. \$ 33 Bezug: Taylor & Francis Books Ltd, IPTS, Cheriton House, North Way, Andover, Hampshire, SP10 5BE, UK.

Die Planung "gesunder" Städte ist sicherlich kein neues Thema, denn selbst Ebenezer Howard hatte das schon bei der Gründung der Gartenstadtbewegung als Leitmotiv artikuliert. Doch im letzten Jahrzehnt sind da nun die ideologisch wie wissenschaftlich fundierte Umweltsätze hinzugekommen. Agenda 21 und das von der Weltgesundheitsorganisation propagierte "Healthy Cities Project" haben zur Propagierung des Ansatzes beigetragen. Das führt dazu, dass nun "gesundes" städtisches Leben mit nachhaltiger Entwicklung in Verbindung gebracht wird.

Die Autoren untermauern die konzeptionellen Grundpositionen mit einem Überblick des Healthy Cities Project der Weltgesundheitsorganisation und der wesentlichen Anwendungsfelder "gesunder" Stadtplanung. Die wesentlichen Elemente sind: Förderung der Ökosysteme, Konsensus für umwelt-politische Entscheidungen, strategische Planung, gemischte Flächennutzung, Integration von nicht-schädlichen Wirtschaftsbetrieben, umweltbewusste Wohngebiets- und Verkehrsplanung, sowie eine konkrete Umweltbilanz zur Reduzierung der "ökologischen Fussabdrücke" im Umfeld der Städte. Die Autoren heben dabei besonders hervor, wie wichtig die partizipative und detaillierte Nachbarschaftsplanung ist, und welche Kriterien für die Evaluierung eines Projektes angewandt werden sollten. Im Anhang finden wir EU-Standards zur Gesundheit in den Städten und die neuesten Indikatoren des Healthy Cities Project (1993-97), deren weltweite Anwendung sicherlich noch Jahrzehnte dauern wird. Eine wirklich interessante konzeptionelle Arbeit, aber ernüchternd, wenn wir an die bisherige Umsetzung der hier präsentierten Ideen in den Ländern des Südens denken...

Florian Steinberg

WOHNUNGSVERSORGUNG

Lü Junhua, Peter G. Rowe, Zhang Jie. Modern Urban Housing in China 1840-2000. 302 S. ISBN 3-7913-2507-8. 2001. Prestel Verlag, München.

Das Buch entstand im Kontext eines gemeinsamen Forschungsprojektes der School of Design an der Harvard University in Boston und der Tsinghua Universität in China. Wie kaum anders zu erwarten, ist das Material grob in drei Epochen gegliedert: Kolonialzeit von 1840 bis 1949; Sozialistische Planwirtschaft 1949 bis 1978 (Ende der Kulturrevolution); Reformepoche 1978 bis 2000. Die Arbeit ist gründlich recherchiert und reich bebildert, wobei die Textteile, die von den chinesischen Partnern verfaßt wurden, in der Übersetzung etwas von ihrem kulturell typischen Schreibstil mit vielen Umschreibungen behalten haben. Der Band ist ohne Zweifel die z.Z. beste und vollständigste Veröffentlichung auf dem Markt zum Thema der Wohnungsverorgung in China.

Während im Westen trotz der Informationsbeschränkungen ein gewisses Grundwissen über Wohnungsbau und Stadtgestaltung der kommunistischen Periode in China in Fachkreisen bekannt war, kann man dies - trotz leichterem Zugang zu Daten - für die Zeit davor und danach nicht sagen. Diese Veröffentlichung enthüllt nun die städtische Wohnumwelt im kolonialen China mit starken Ähnlichkeiten zum damaligen England - insbesondere was company housing (Eisenbahnen usw.) angeht. In der jüngsten Reformepoche dagegen scheinen sich die Chinesen zu beeilen, alle Fehler europäischer Trabantenstädte der 70er und 80er Jahre nachzuholen. Es steht zu hoffen, daß diese Epoche -wie im Buch - tatsächlich mit dem Jahr 2000 abschließt.

Kosta Mathéy

ACHR (Hrsg.): Face to Face; Housing by People in Asia; UCDO Update, Asian Coalition for Housing Rights, Bangkok 1999, 2000, 2001, verschiedene Zeit-

schriften, kostenlos (Bezug: ACHR, 73 Soi Sonthiwattana 4, Ladprao Road Soi 110, Bangkok 10310, Thailand, achrs-ec@email.ksc.net).

Die Asian Coalition for Housing Rights, die seit mehr als 10 Jahren besteht, hat ihre Arbeit sichtbar konsolidiert. In den letzten Jahren hat sie als regelmässige Publikation die Zeitschrift *Housing by People* veröffentlicht. Hier finden wir interessante Beispiele asiatischer (und auch afrikanischer) Community Projekte. Es geht um Legalisierung von Squattersiedlungen, Kreditfonds zur Finanzierung von Projekten, die auf Armutsbeseitigung orientiert sind, die Beteiligung von Frauen an Wohnungsprojekten, erdbebensicheres Bauen, Infrastrukturprojekte, Toiletten- und Latrinenbau, Community-Beteiligung, Altstadtsanierung, Wohnungsbau, die Rolle der Professionals in Unterstützung dieser Initiativen, und Aktivitäten des regionalen und transkontinentalen Austausches (mit Fedevivienda in Kolumbien, und verschiedenen Gruppen im südlichen Afrika). Die im ACHR vor allem aktiven Länder sind Thailand, India, Philippinen, Pakistan, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Nepal, Bangladesh und Japan. Die Publikation *Face to Face* ist vor allem diesem Austausch zwischen Community Gruppen gewidmet und bietet eine reiche Fülle von Lektionen dieses neuen Süd-Süd-Experimentes, das wohl Schule machen wird, und von diversen Donororganisationen als sehr positiv eingeschätzt wird.

Die Vielfalt der hoch interessanten Projekte reflektieren ein Potential, das normalerweise in den offiziellen Publikationen der Weltbank oder vieler Regierungen nicht zu finden ist. Aber hier gibt es auch erhebliches Potential an Kritik der von der Weltbank angeführten Politik teurer Projekte, deren Wirksamkeit und Nachhaltigkeit ernsthaft angezweifelt wird. ACHR beweist mit diesem Spektrum von Aktivitäten und vor allem mit den von ihr unterstützten Kreditfonds zur Finanzierung von armutsorientierten Projekten in 10 verschiedenen Ländern, dass dort alternative Entwicklung Gestalt annimmt.

Man muss der Misereor, DFID-UK, National Lottery Charities Board UK, und Cordaid Niederlande dankbar sein, diese interessanten Publikationen unterstützt zu haben.

Florian Steinberg

Schader-Stiftung (Hrsg.). Wohn:Wandel. Szenarien, Prognosen, Optionen zur Zukunft des Wohnens. 385 Seiten, ISBN 3-932736-07-9, DM 69,-. 2001. Schader Stiftung, Darmstadt (Bestellformular unter www.schader-stiftung.de).

Die Stiftung, die sich schwerpunktmäßig mit Wohn- und Siedlungsfragen beschäftigt, veranstaltete im Mai dieses Jahres einen Kongress mit dem Titel 'wohn:wandel', dessen Beiträge in diesem Band nachzulesen sind. Unter der Prämisse, daß sich die immer noch gültigen Wohnungsbaunormen und Förderrichtlinien weitgehend an den Erfordernissen und Projektionen einer vergangenen Jahrzehnte orientieren, stellte diese Veranstaltung die Frage nach künftigen Wohn- und Siedlungsformen. Veränderungen zeichnen sich besonders in drei Sektoren ab: Wandel in der Arbeitswelt, demographische Veränderungen, und sich ändernde Lebensformen.

Die Arbeitswelt wird, wie sich inzwischen sicher herumgesprochen hat, heute stark von der Informatik und Globalisierung bestimmt, was auf die Wohnsituation bezogen flexible Zeiten und Orte der Erwerbstätigkeit mit sich bringt, aber auch - nicht zuletzt wegen höheren Arbeitslosenzahlen und der Telemedien - auch intensivere Anwesenheit in der Wohnung und seinem Umfeld. Unter den demographischen Veränderungen fällt der wachsende Anteil der älteren Mitbewohner ins Auge, regional unterschiedlich jedoch auch eine multinationale Durchmischung, bzw. Segregation bei größeren Minoritäten. Unter den sich wandelnden Lebensformen wissen wir inzwischen um den drastisch angestiegenen Anteil von Singles-Haushalten, aber auch von anderen nicht konventionellen Wohnkonstellationen. Sowohl für die einzelne Wohnung wie auch für das Wohnumfeld resultieren daraus aktuelle und künftige Anforderungen, deren sich Wohnungsvermarkter, Architekten, Stadtplaner und Politiker im Klaren sein sollten, wenn sie nicht an der Nachfrage einer zahlenmäßig schrumpfenden Bevölkerung vorbeiplanen wollen.

Der Band dokumentiert gut den aktuellen Stand der Diskussion und ist vorbildlich redigiert. Inhaltlich sind die visionären Ideen nicht so stark repräsentiert wie die Gesellschaftsdynamik das vielleicht wünschen ließe, aber das ist wohl eher ein Problem unseres Praxis und Wissenschaftsbetriebes und weniger der Organisatoren des Kongresses. In der Publikation hätte sich die typischerweise gestalterisch interessierte Zielgruppe der Planer und Architekten durch mehr visuelle Kommunikation (Schaubilder, Fotos etc.) stärker ansprechen lassen. Das ist wiederum ein allgemeines Manko unserer Kongresskultur, in der die Referenten ihre Wortbeiträge (heute per e-mail) diffundieren und die visuelle Kommunikation meist auf Mimik und Gestik der Vortragenden (wenn überhaupt!) reduzieren.

Kosta Mathéy

GESELLSCHAFT UND POLITIK

Teresa P.R. Caldeira. City of Walls. Crime, Segregation and Citizenship in Sao Paulo. 490 Seiten, ISBN 0-520-22143-5. 2000. University of California Press, Berkeley 49720, www.ucupress.edu.

Aus der Sicht einer Anthropologin analysiert die Autorin das Phänomen der zunehmenden Gewalt in Lateinamerika und speziell in ihrer Heimatstadt Sao Paulo. Für Trialog-Leser besonders interessant ist die Dokumentation der räumlichen Folgen, nämlich eine verstärkte soziale Segregation und freiwillige Ghettoisierung der Wohlhabenden. Wie so häufig bei Dissertationen wird das Thema weit ausholend angegangen, und in diesem Fall mit vielen Interviewpassagen (aber so gut wie gar keinem visuellen Mitteln) illustriert. Der über 100 Seiten starke Referenzteil (Endnoten, Bibliografie, Index) erfüllt bestens die konventionell akademischen Ansprüche.

Das Thema ist ohne Zweifel aktuell, doch die sehr persönliche Art der Bearbeitung macht es schwierig, eine bestimmte Zielgruppe für die Lektüre des gesamten Buches auszumachen - außer eben den Anthropologen (obwohl diese wahrscheinlich mehr methodologische Informationen erwarten). Für Wissenschaftler jedoch, die

empirische und faktische Daten zu Kriminalität und räumliche Segregation in Sao Paulo suchen, ist das Buch eine Fundgrube.

Kosta Mathéy

Tilman Evers (Hrsg.). Ziviler Friedensdienst: Fachleute für den Frieden. Idee, Erfahrungen, Ziele. 376 Seiten, ISBN 3-8100-2910-6. DM 30,-. 2000. Leske & Budrich, Opladen. www.leske-budrich.de.

Das Konzept der zivilen Friedensdienste ist außerhalb des relativ engen Kreises direkt engagierter Kollegen noch relativ unbekannt. In Deutschland entstand es Anfang der 90er Jahre im Umfeld nicht-staatlicher Entwicklungsdienste und Bildungsinstitutionen; eine konsequente Lobbyarbeit setzte Mitte des Jahrzehnts ein bis sich die zuständigen Bundesministerien nach Etablierung der rot-grünen Bundesregierung zu einer aktiven Unterstützung der Bemühungen entschlossen. Kerngedanke der zivilen Friedensdienste ist die Feststellung, daß lokale wie regionale gesellschaftliche Konflikte nicht alleine durch Politik und noch viel weniger durch militärische Mittel lösbar sind. Ein erfolgversprechender Weg sind Initiativen, die die Akteure im informellen und inter-institutionellen Kontext ansprechen, Aufklärungs- Bildungs- und Mediationsarbeit mit den direkt Betroffenen der verschiedenen Konfliktgruppen betreiben und ein persönliches Engagement mitbringen - was bei den konventionell bezeichneten 'Friedenstruppen' eher auszusprechen ist. Die neuen Friedenshelfer haben eine mehrmonatige Ausbildung absolviert, arbeiten im Idealfall innerhalb eines multinationalen und interdisziplinären Teams und bedienen sich erprobter Vermittlungsmethoden wie Fact-Finding Missionen, Monitoring, stiller Diplomatie, Mediation, Konsultation, Konfliktmanagement, Arbitration, positive und negative Sanktionen, Hilfe beim Wiederaufbau. Typische Einsatzgebiete wäre heutzutage Israel/Palästina, Somalia, Sudan, Ruanda, Kosowo, Nordirland, Chiapas etc.

In diesem ersten Buch zum Thema wird das Konzept in einem einleitenden (und wichtigsten) Abschnitt vorgestellt, es folgen einige erste Erfahrungsberichte aus bisherigen Einsätzen, und schließlich kommen die in der BRD beteiligten Institutionen zu Wort.

Kosta Mathéy

Misereor, ed.; Zukunft. Gemeinsam anders handeln; 2000 (ISBN 3 89502 107 5); 190 S., DM 19,80,-, Horlemann Verlag, Bad Honnef

Eine der wichtigsten deutschen und hinsichtlich des intellektuellen Einflusses auch international bedeutendsten Nichtregierungsorganisation im Bereich Stadtentwicklung ist zweifellos Misereor. In diesem Band stellt sie einige ihrer wichtigsten Partner und Partnerprojekte vor. Joel Bolnick, Direktor der südafrikanischen NRO "People's Dialogue" und Koordinator der Weltorganisation von Slumbewohnern "Shack/Slum Dwellers International" vermittelt in seinem Beitrag einen lebendigen Eindruck von der Arbeit seiner und verwandter Organisationen. Er führt viele Beispiele auch aus Ländern wie Simbabwe und Indien an und zeigt dabei die Bedeutung, die eine internationale Austausch von Erfahrungen zukommt. Eike Schütz, der spiritus rector dieses Arbeitsbereiches bei Misereor, berichtet

beispielhaft von der Quartiersorganisation COPADEBA in Santo Domingo, der es mit internationaler NRO-Unterstützung gelang, die Vertreibung aus ihren Vierteln zu verhindern. Die philippinische Organisation Sama-Sama hielt die Vertreibung von über 40 000 Menschen in Manila auf, erreichte aber mit der Wiederansiedlung nur eines Teils der Familien seine Ziele nur teilweise- auch das gehört in eine solche Bilanz. Neben vergleichbaren Ansätzen in Basisgemeinden in Brasilien, Argentinien usw. wird mit einem Bericht über das Konzept der Lokalen Agenda 21 allgemein auch ein Bezug zu unserm Land hergestellt. Die Überschriften, die Petra Gaidetzka ihrer Einleitung und ihrem Schlußwort voranstellt, könnten bezeichnender nicht gewählt sein: "Zukunft - Gemeinsam anders handeln" und "An der Schwelle eines neuen Jahrtausends ..."

Jürgen Oestereich

Isabelle Milbert; What Future for Urban Cooperation? Assessment of Post Habitat II strategies; Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation (SDC) Bern Geneva; 342 S. (ISBN 3-905398-37-0) kostenlos erhältlich über SDC, Eigerstrasse 73, CH 3003 Bern, Fax +41 31 322 4767

Dies ist der zweite Bericht (nach etwas 10 Jahren) des renommierten Genfer Instituts universitaire d'études du développement (IUED) über die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit im städtischen Bereich weltweit. Berücksichtigt werden die 17 wichtigsten nationalen ("bi-lateralen") Organisationen der Industrieländer, die Afrikanische, Asiatische und Interamerikanische Entwicklungsbank, dazu die Weltbank mit dem Weltwährungsfond sowie die relevanten UN-Organisationen UNCHS, UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF, UNITAR, UNRISD, ILO, WHO und, last and not least, die Europäische Union. Die Vorstellung der Aktivitäten geschieht nach einem durchgehendem Raster: Übersicht, organisatorische Strukturen, politische und strategische Grundlinien, Instrumente, Anteil der Mittel für urbane Aufgaben, relevante Organisationen in dem Sektor (hier hat TRIALOG die Ehre, erwähnt zu werden), Länderschwerpunkte, beispielhafte Projekte, Bibliographie und Kontakte.

Alle diese Angaben beruhen auf Informationen aus den jeweiligen Organisationen die nach bestem Wissen und Gewissen gefiltert und redigiert wurden. Angesichts ihrer Fülle und bei den geringen Mitteln wäre es zuviel verlangt, eigene Erhebungen oder auch nur eine detaillierte Nachprüfung zu erwarten. Es handelt sich also um Selbstdarstellungen der Institutionen, die nachträglich standardisiert wurden. Der nicht zu unterschätzende Wert des Bandes besteht darin, Übersicht und Vergleichbarkeit herzustellen. Die Titelfrage nach der Zukunft der EZ im städtischen Bereich wird aber nicht beantwortet und vom "Assessment of Post-Habitat II Strategies", wie im Titel angekündigt, bleibt der Eindruck, daß sich wegen der Istanbul-Konferenz bei den zuständigen Organisationen eher wenig geändert hat.

Jürgen Oestereich

Jon May, Nigel Thrift. Timespace. 322 Seiten, ISBN 0-415-18084-8. 2001, GBL 20,-. Routledge, London.

Der Band erscheint innerhalb einer Reihe mit der Bezeichnung CRITICAL GEO-

GRAPHIES zusammen mit anderen sehr spannenden Arbeitstiteln. Diesem Buch speziell liegt die Feststellung zugrunde, daß sich die Disziplin der Geographie in den letzten Jahrzehnten immer stärker der räumlichen Betrachtungsweise verschrieben hat; daneben aber auch ganz unabhängig davon zeitorientierte Arbeitsfelder koexistieren. Um fragmentiertes Wissen zu überwinden und zu einem ganzheitlichen Verständnis unserer gelebten Welt zuzugreifen, ist eine Verschmelzung der beiden Ansatzweisen notwendig, nämlich TIMESPACE. Zeit ist dabei als soziale Zeit zu verstehen: Rhythmen, die unseren Tages- und Lebensablauf bestimmen, und vielleicht auch das Leben nach dem Leben. Die Referenzen gehen hin bis zu Phänomenologie, der Auflösung von Kontinuität durch Bruch und weiter zum Buddhismus. Das alles ist, wie auch die Herausgeber zugeben, nicht ganz leicht zu verstehen - wie es bei allen neuen Konzepten meistens der Fall ist. Kein Buch für Leser, die noch glauben, Geographie hätte etwas mit der Herstellung von Landkarten zu tun.

Kosta Mathéy

Yvonne Preiswerk, ed.: Les silences pudique de l'économie. Economie et rapports sociaux entre hommes et femmes / Economies and Gender / Economia y género, UNESCO/SDC Bern, 1998, 262 S. + 8 S. Bibliographie, kostenlos zu beziehen über IUED - Institut Universitaire d'Etudes du Développement, 24 rue Rothschild, CH 1211 Genève 21, Tel: +41 22 906 5940, Fax: +41 22 906 5947

Die Beiträge eines internationalen Kolloquiums des IUED, Genf, zusammengestellt und herausgegeben von Yvonne Preiswerk, der Schweizer Delegierten bei der UNESCO Kommission der Sozialwissenschaften und der Hochschullehrerin in Genève und Fribourg über "das keusche Schweigen der Volkswirtschaft" über die Geschlechterfrage in der Ökonomie. Immerhin stammen 3 der 14 Beiträge von Männern, die aber allesamt hoch theoretisch sind - womit das Geschlechterkloische dann doch bestätigt wäre. Diese und einige weitere Aufsätze, zusammen über die Hälfte des Buches befassen sich mit Konzepten, Strategien und Programmen (z.B. der Weltbank) der ökonomischen Frauenförderung. Von den Frauen berichten immerhin acht aus eigener Erfahrung in den Ländern Senegal und Niger, Peru, El Salvador, Honduras und Mexiko. Das Spannende an der Zusammenstellung ist die Sichtbarmachung des vielfältigen kulturellen Hintergrundes, gerade in der Umbruchsituation hin zur Geschlechtergleichstellung. Allerdings wird auch vom Leser eine multikulturelle Voreinstellung verlangt: Um den Vergleich nachvollziehen zu können, werden die englische, spanische und französische Sprache vorausgesetzt, Zusammenfassungen gibt es nicht.

Jürgen Oestereich

Eade, D., Ligteringen, E. (Hrsg.): Debating Development - NGOs and the Future, Development in Practice Readers, 421 S., \$ 18.95, 2001. Oxfam, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7DZ, UK.

Dieses Oxfam Buch bietet eine breite Auswahl von Artikeln von Entwicklungspraktikern und NGO-Vertretern des Nordens und Südens. Die Autoren hinterfragen die Rele-

vanz der NGOs am Ende des Jahrhunderts, denn es bedarf heute, im Zeichen der Globalisierung wirtschaftlichen Integration, anderer Fähigkeiten und Rollen. Zu viele NGOs haben ihre kritische Distanz verloren und sind zu (egoistischen) Ausführungsorganen der internationalen neo-liberalen Entwicklungsagenda geworden, während ihre (selbsterklärte) Stellvertreterrolle als Interessensvertreter der Armen und Marginalisierten immer mehr in Frage gestellt wird. Viele NGOs sehen inzwischen auch wieder als neue Herausforderung das Thema ihrer Beziehung zur Demokratiebewegung, welche in vielen Ländern abgeebbt ist. Laut Meinung vieler Autoren, können NGOs in der Zukunft zur Identitätsfindung der marginalisierten Gruppen beitragen und garantieren, dass die Globalisierung ein Prozess wird, von dem Alle profitieren. Ob das nicht etwas zu anspruchsvoll ist?

In jedem Falle ist eine Neu-Perfizierung des NGO-Sektors angebracht, denn in vielen Ländern sind die direkten institutionellen Subventionen am Austrocknen, und allein eine Professionalisierung kann ihren Fortbestand -- als Teil der internationalen Entwicklungsbemühungen -- sichern.

Florian Steinberg

Harper, M. (Hrsg.): Public Services through Private Enterprise - Micro-Privatisation for Improved Delivery, London 2000, 370 S., 14.95 GBL. ITDG, London WC1B 4HH, UK.

In den Ländern des Südens können wir Konsumartikel an jedem Büdchen oder Stand irgendwo und jederzeit kaufen, aber Dienstleistungen wie sauberes Trinkwasser, Grundschulausbildung, Gesundheitsdienstleistungen sind nicht verfügbar. Und der öffentliche Sektor ist speziell verantwortlich für diesen eklatanten Mangel, und darüber hinaus sind die meisten Dienstleistungen auch noch unerschwinglich für die Armen. Dieses Buch bietet eine interessante Alternative: Anhand von vielen kleinen Fallbeispielen aus Uganda, Peru, Indien, Tanzania, Philippinen, Brasilien, UK, USA, Kenya, Nicaragua, und Dänemark werden Erfahrungen von kleinen, privaten Dienstleistungsbetrieben in Sachen Management von Märkten, Unterhalt städtischer Parks, Stadtreinigung, Abfallbeseitigung, Reinigung von Regenwasserdrainagekanälen, dörfliche Wasserver- und -entsorgung, Telefonservice, postalische Dienstleistungen, ländliche Elektrizität, Bewässerung, Gesundheitsdienstleistungen und Hygiene, Lebensmittelverteilung, Schulausbildung behandelt.

Der Herausgeber zieht die generelle Schlussfolgerung, dass diese Dienstleistungen zwar sehr unterschiedlich sind, und viele Akteure umfassen, aber es lassen sich einige generelle Empfehlungen formulieren. Kleine Privatbetriebe können sich durchaus verstärkt um Dienstleistungsverträge bemühen, und die Wettbewerbsverfahren sollten möglichst transparent sein. Es ist ausserdem empfehlenswert, dass diese Dienstleistungen sich auch an Qualitätsprinzipien und Rentabilität orientieren. Die Kleinteiligkeit vieler Dienstleistungen macht es möglich, dass Kleinbetriebe verstärkt ins Bild kommen. Eine interessante Arbeit, welche nicht nur allein die Gegner der Privatisierung von Dienstleistungen zum Nachdenken anregen sollte...

Florian Steinberg

Chris Ryan, Michael Hall. *Sex Tourism, Marginal People and Liminalities*. 172 S. ISBN 9-780414 195102, 2001, GBL 18,-. Routhledge, London.

Die beiden Autoren, Professoren an neuseeländischen Universitäten, versuchen das gemeinhin als zwielichtig dargestellte Phänomen des Sextourismus wissenschaftlich unvoreingenommen und differenziert zu evaluieren. Ihr Ausgangspunkt sind die in Neuseeland legalen Massagesalons, was sie zu ersten Aussage führt, daß sich das Gros der gewerblichen Sexualität in Ferientourismen kaum von vergleichbaren Aktivitäten in den Heimatländern der Touristen unterscheiden. Selbst ausbeuterische und entwürdigende Praktiken wie Kindesmißbrauch, ökonomische und andere Abhängigkeiten sind hier wie dort anzutreffen, bleiben mengenmäßig jedoch nicht repräsentativ. Andererseits, so eine weitere Aussage, bedeutet die Kaufkraftdifferenz im Fall vieler tropischer Tourismusziele ein Anreiz sowohl für Kunden wie Sexarbeiter/innen, wobei die vereinbarten 'Tarife' weit über dem Landesdurchschnitt anderer Dienstleistungen liegt. Der volkswirtschaftliche Nutzen ist wegen besserer Breitenwirkung höher als im Hotel- und Transportgewerbe. Kernaussage Drei besagt, daß Ferien per Definition, ähnlich wie der Karneval, eine gesellschaftlich sanktionierte Flucht- und Ausnahmesituation darstellen, wobei sexuelle Begegnungen auf freiwilliger oder Tauschbasis kulturell legitimiert sind und sozial stabilisierende Wirkung haben. Virtuelle Surf-Reisen auf den millionenfach besuchten Sex-Internetseiten sind ein vergleichbares Phänomen (ohne die Unkosten und Gefahren einer physischen Reise). Last but not least fordern die Autoren eine Abkehr von den Stereotypen des Sextourismus (männliche Kunden aus dem Norden und ausgebeutete Frauen im Süden) und eine durchweg differenziertere Betrachtungsweise, was mit Hinweisen auf das Grachtenviertel in Amsterdam, Gay- und Lesben-Festivals in Kalifornien und anderswo und weibliche nordische Kundinnen von Love-boys in der Karibik, Ghana oder Indonesien bestärkt wird. (Aus Deutschland ließe sich vielleicht die Love-Parade hinzufügen...). Ohne in wie auch immer gearteten Empfehlungen zu münden, stellt die Publikation eine anregende Diskussionsgrundlage des Thema Tourismus und Dritte Welt dar.

Kosta Mathéy

ÖKOLOGIE

Neefjes, K.: *Environments and Livelihoods - Strategies for Sustainability, Development Guidelines*, 2000, 277 S., \$ 15.95. Oxfam, Oxford OX2 7DZ, UK.

Dieses Oxfam Buch aus der Reihe der Empfehlungen für Entwicklungszusammenarbeit behandelt den Armuts-Umwelt-Nexus, der eines Standardthemen der gängigen Entwicklungstheorie ist. Der Autor weist die bekannten Gleichungen "Armut = Umweltprobleme", "Umweltprobleme = Armut" zurück und argumentiert für ein Entwicklungskonzept, in dem die verschiede-

nen sozialen (und ökonomischen) Interessengruppen vertreten sind und Einfluss nehmen auf die Bedingungen, welche die Grundlagen ihrer ökonomischen Basis ausmachen. Aus seiner breiten Entwicklungserfahrung mit Oxfam-unterstützten Projekten weist der Autor auf die immer noch zu geringe Beachtung der Umweltdimension hin. Trotz jahrelanger Bemühungen, bei allen Projekten die Umweltverträglichkeit und -einflüsse zu messen, so sind doch zu oft gerade diese Umwelaspekte zu kurz gekommen, während die Forderung nach dem Partizipationsparadigma schon lange eingehalten wird. Die konkreten Projektgestaltungshinweise für Nothilfeprojekte in städtischem wie ländlichem Kontext will der Autor als Beitrag zu deren Nachhaltigkeit verstanden wissen. Das Buch endet mit einer Liste relevanter Entwicklungsorganisationen und deren Internetadressen.

Florian Steinberg

United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP): *Global Environment Outlook*, 2001, 398 S., L 18.95. Earthscan, 120 Pentonville Road, London N1 9JR, UK, earthinfo@earthscan.co.uk.

Die andauernde Armut einer Mehrheit der Einwohner dieses Planeten und der exzessive Konsum einer Minderheit der Weltbevölkerung sind die beiden Hauptgründe der globalen, weltweiten Umweltschäden. Der gegenwärtige Entwicklungskurs ist nicht nachhaltig und ein Aufschub der notwendigen Eingriffe ist schon keine Option mehr. Eine inspirierte Politik und eine intensive weltweite Kooperation in allen Sektoren ist erforderlich, um schon existierende und neue Politikinstrumente einzusetzen.

Dieses von der UNEP produzierte GEO 2000 Bericht ist ein umfassendes Werk, das eine Analyse der weltweiten Umweltbedingungen anbietet, erarbeitet in Zusammenarbeit von mehr als 30 Organisationen weltweit. Als Teil der globalen Perspektiven werden die Hauptfaktoren der Umweltveränderungen dargestellt: Wirtschaft, Bevölkerungswachstum, Konsumverhalten der Weltbevölkerung, Handel und internationale Verschuldung analysiert. Per Region werden die Rolle des Ozonverbrauchs, des Klimawandels, der "El Niño" Phänomene, universelle Themen wie Bodennutzung, Waldwirtschaft, Biodiversität, Frischwasserreserven, Meeresverschmutzung und Überfischung, Küstenmanagement, Luftverschmutzung, und Stadtentwicklung per Kontinent bzw. Geographischer Region dargestellt.

Die UNEP und die verschiedenen regionalen Abkommen bieten eine Fülle von politischen Ideen und konkreten Vorschlägen an, doch es bedarf politischen Willens - auf allen Ebenen. Koordinierte Massnahmen auf Ebene der einzelnen Länder, Regionen und weltweit wird erforderlich sein, wenn das 21. Jahrhundert zum Jahrhundert der Umkehrung des negativen Klimawandels und einer Reduktion des Verbrauchs der nicht regenerierbaren Ressourcen und der alternativen Energien werden soll.

Florian Steinberg

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Bericht von der Istanbul+5 Konferenz

**UNKONTROLLIERTE VERSTÄDTERUNG -
INFORMELL/ILLEGAL ABER LEGITIM?
ÜBER DEN WORKSHOP "COPING WITH
INFORMALITY AND ILLEGALITY IN HUMAN
SETTLEMENTS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES"
IM MAI 2001 AN DER UNIVERSITÄT
LÖVEN, IN BELGIEN**

Zur diesjährigen Jahrestagung von N-AERUS (Network-Association of European Researchers on Urbanisation in the South) waren etwa 80 Experten und Wissenschaftler von internationaler Reputation gekommen, um über den Umgang mit informellen und illegalen Siedlungsstrukturen und den Forschungsstand zu diesem Thema zu diskutieren. Das lange im Vorhinein verteilte Positionspapier von Alain Durand-Lasserve und Jean-François Tribillon hatte den Diskussionsstand referiert, dabei aber die zentralen Fragen danach, wer das Recht bzw. das Rechtssystem bestimmt, offen gelassen. Das Einleitungsreferat von Gustave Massiah war eine Art Appell gewesen, den engen Begriff von Legalität als Vollzug einmal gegebener Gesetze in Richtung umfassender kollektiver Selbstbestimmung zu erweitern.

Vor Beginn des Workshops waren 45 Arbeitspapiere eingegangen, von denen dann 36 gedruckt vorlagen bzw. ins Internet gestellt wurden (www.workshop2001). Es handelt sich mehrheitlich um Fallstudien aus Afrika (14), Asien (7) und Lateinamerika (9). Eine Minderheit der Beiträge (7) befasste sich mit grundsätzlichen, i.d. Regel kultur- oder politikvergleichenden Erörterungen zu Bodenrecht und lokaler Selbstverwaltung.

Die Kenntnis dieser Vorarbeiten voraussetzend, konnten die vier Arbeitsgruppen sofort mit der Sachdiskussion beginnen, der freie Gedankenaustausch war nicht wie sonst oft auf die Kaffeepausen begrenzt. In der Arbeitsgruppe "Stärken und Schwächen informeller/illegaler Siedlungsstrukturen", war man sich schnell einig, dass die Probleme nicht in den Siedlungen als

solche liegen, sondern im blinden Fleck von Rechtssystemen bzw. dem politischer Macht inhärentem Autismus, der mit diesem Phänomen umzugehen verhindert. Das Doppeladjektiv "irregulär/illegal" durch "irregulär" zu ersetzen, bietet keinen Ausweg. Solange die Regeln des Zusammenlebens nicht von allen und für alle gemacht werden, ist das Ideal einer nicht-ausgrenzenden Stadt (inclusive city) in weiter Ferne. Die Arbeitsgruppe "Wechselwirkung zwischen Armut und Informalität/Illegalität" artikuliert diese Erkenntnis als Vorrang der "Legitimität". Denn nur aus sich heraus definierte Legitimität gibt wirtschaftlich benachteiligten Gruppen die Perspektive, sich in einem übergreifenden, nicht-diskriminierenden sozialen, ökonomischen und politischen Kontext mit eigener Kraft aus der Armut zu befreien. Die Arbeitsgruppe "Wirksame Methoden für den Umgang mit informellen/illegalen Siedlungen" kritisierte die von den internationalen (und in deren Nachfolge den nationalen) Geberinstitutionen verfolgten Strategien, die in Markt und Privatisierung ein Allheilmittel sehen, und stellte dem ökonomisch und kulturell begründeten einen komplexen Mix von Instrumenten gegenüber. Die Ergebnisse der Arbeitsgruppe "Wahrnehmung und Verständnis von Illegalität und Informalität durch die Akteure" hätten wegen des hier diskutierten rechtstheoretischen Ansatzes eine wesentliche Ergänzung zur empirisch-induktiven Sicht der anderen Arbeitsgruppen sein können, wenn es nur gelungen wäre, die Sprach-(und auch bis zu einem gewissen Grade Kultur-) Barriere (sie hatte französisch verhandelt und berichtet) zu überwinden.

Alle vier Arbeitskreise waren sich in der Sache weitgehend einig und folglich auch in der Richtung, in welcher die Forschung weiterzuführen wäre, nämlich in den Bereichen
→ Eigentumsformen. Inwieweit und in welcher Form sind individuelle Eigentumstitel erforderlich? Welches ist ihre

Rolle in einer Welt, in der die Akkumulation von wirtschaftlicher Verfügungsmacht bedrohlich ungebremst fortschreitet?

→ Wohnrechte. Gibt es neben dem Individualeigentum möglicherweise nachhaltigere Verfügungsformen über die Wohnung (Miet- und Wohnrechte) und allgemein über die Gestaltung der Wohnumwelt?

→ Politische Strukturen, Management und öffentliches Handeln. Inwieweit sind Dezentralisation, Subsidiarität und lokale Mitbestimmung effektiv und effizient? Welche Rolle kann "participatory budgeting" spielen?

→ Verwaltungsvorschriften, Versorgungsnormen. Inwieweit und auf welche Weise können und müssen Egalität und Rechtssicherheit in der Versorgung mit Infra- und Superstruktur, die eine weitreichende Normierung voraussetzen, lokal differenziert werden? Durch wen, etwa die Betroffenen selbst?

Diese Fragen, das mag manchem der Diskutanten mit seiner Fixierung auf ein Land im Süden entgangen sein, sind Fragen, die auch für den Norden, also universal zu beantworten sind.

Jürgen Oestereich

BERICHT VON DER ISTANBUL+5 KONFERENZ IN NEW YORK, 6.- 8. 6. 2001

Fünf Jahre nach Verabschiedung der Habitat Agenda auf der Wertsiedlungskonferenz in Istanbul trafen die Vereinten Nationen in New York vom 6.- 8. Juni 2001 zur dreitägigen Sondersitzung "Istanbul +5" zusammen. Ziel war eine Bestandsaufnahme der Wohn- und Siedlungsprobleme weltweit sowie eine Zwischenbilanz des UN-Habitat-Prozesses, der 1976 mit der Konferenz in Vancouver begonnen hatte und 1996 in Istanbul mit dem dort beschlossenen Aktionsplan seinen vorläufigen Höhepunkt erreichte.

Der "Habitat II" Gipfel in Istanbul hatte Maßstäbe gesetzt, vor allem durch die

weitreichende Einbeziehung von Kommunalverbänden und Nichtregierungsorganisationen in die Konferenzarbeit der UN. Etwa 9.000 Leute aus zivilgesellschaftlichen Gruppen hatten in Istanbul teilgenommen. Die dort beschlossene Habitat Agenda spiegelt somit Erfahrungen, Problemsichten und Entwicklungsvorstellungen eines breiten Spektrums in diesem Bereich tätiger Organisationen. Mit insgesamt 81 "commitments" verpflichteten sich die Regierungen unter anderem zu einer sozialen und nachhaltigen Siedlungspolitik, zur Sicherung des Rechts auf angemessenen Wohnraum sowie zur Beteiligung von zivilgesellschaftlichen Organisationen an den Entscheidungen.

Der Grundsatz einer Beteiligung der Zivilgesellschaft gilt auch für die Prozesse des Habitat-Monito-rings, durch die in allen Ländern die Umsetzung der Agenda kontinuierlich überprüft werden soll. Das United Nations Centre on Human Settlements UNCHS (Habitat) in Nairobi, das federführend war bei den Vorbereitungen zu "Istanbul +5", hatte hierzu Richtlinien verbreitet, die in den meisten Ländern jedoch ignoriert wurden. Auch Deutschland machte hier keine Ausnahme. Bei den Vorbereitungskonferenzen im Frühjahr 2001 wurde zudem deutlich, dass die US-Regierung die Position von Nicht-regierungsorganisationen und Kommunalverbänden im Rahmen der UN schwächen wollte. Der Konferenzort mit dem dort herrschenden UN-Protokoll war bereits eine Weichenstellung in diesem Sinn.

Zur Sondergeneralversammlung kamen keine hochrangigen Regierungsleute, keine Staatschefs und kaum ein Minister. Staatssekretär Stather (BMZ) leitete als Ranghöchster die deutsche Delegation. Auf der Rio+5 Sondersitzung der UN vor vier Jahren hatte dies noch der damalige Bundesbauminister Klaus Töpfer übernommen. Dies zeigt, welche geringe Priorität die Regierungen derzeit dem Thema "Habitat" beizumessen scheinen. Auch von Seiten der NGOs kamen nur etwa 450 Leute aus ca. 250 Organisationen: Überwiegend Fachleute und international erfahrene Lobbyisten, teilweise jedoch auch in sozialen Bewegungen Engagierte.

Alle Veranstaltungen innerhalb des UN-Gebäude waren nur zugänglich für Gesandte von Organisationen, die sich bei der UN hatten registrieren lassen und sie als VertreterInnen schriftlich benannt hatten. Dies war eine hohe Hürde für Leute aus Basisbewegungen. Die Zugangsrechte

waren fein differenziert, Mitglieder der Regierungs-Delegationen waren bei den Hauptversammlungen im Saal zugelassen, alle anderen durften dort nur auf den Balkon, sechs NGO VertreterInnen wurde je eine dreiminütige Rede zugestanden. Einige Gruppen versuchten unter diesen Bedingungen noch Einfluss auf den Konferenzverlauf zu nehmen, andere konzentrierten sich darauf, ihre Projekte vorzubringen, in thematischen Sitzungen zu spezifischen Problemen inhaltlich zu arbeiten und sich besser zu vernetzen.

Ein im Rahmen früherer UN-Konferenzen entstandenes internationales Bündnis von Frauenorganisationen hatte im Vorfeld eine siebentägige "Grassroots Women International Academy" im UN-Gebäude organisiert. Diese Frauen waren der selbstbewussteste und am besten vorbereitete Teil der NGOs, was in zahlreichen durch sie organisierten Parallelveranstaltungen zum Ausdruck kam.

Am Tag vor Beginn der Konferenz hatten sich 76 Bürgermeister aus aller Welt ebenfalls im UN-Gebäude getroffen, darunter die Bürgermeisterinnen von Bonn und Wismar. Die Stadtoberen forderten eine Stärkung der Kommunen, da die Umsetzung der Habitat Agenda schließlich auf lokaler Ebene stattfindet. Obwohl ihnen das UN-Protokoll eine marginale Rolle zuschrieb, bestimmten sie die Diskussion im "Thematic Committee", in dem 16 beispielhafte Projekte aus aller Welt zur Umsetzung der Agenda präsentiert wurden. Dieses Komitee mit seinen inhaltlichen Debatten wurde als bemerkenswerteste Neuerung im Rahmen dieser UN-Konferenz kommentiert.

Klaus Teschner

ISTANBUL +5 ODER ISTANBUL -5?

Das Ziel einer kritischen Bilanz des seit 1976 Erreichten wurde in New York verfehlt. Zwar hatten 94 Staaten ihre Rechenschaftspflicht erfüllt und dem UNCHS in Nairobi Nationalberichte vorgelegt. Die Aussagekraft dieser Regierungsberichte ist aber meist gering. In fast allen Ländern war die Zivilgesellschaft bei der Umsetzung der Agenda und der Formulierung der Berichte nicht wie gefordert beteiligt worden. Nicht nur die in New York anwesenden Initiativen beklagten, daß sich die Wohn- und Lebensbedingungen inzwischen vielerorts verschlechtert haben und daß bei Themen wie städtische Armut, Sicherheit vor Vertreibung, Landverbrauch, Energienutzung oder Verkehr kaum Fortschritte

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erzielt wurden. Auch die Berichte der UNCHS Generalsekretärin Anna Tibaijuka und des Spezial-berichterstatters der UN für Wohnungsrechte, Miloon Kothari, bestätigten dieses Bild. Etwa 1,6 Milliarden Menschen leben heute unter schlechten Wohnbedingungen, etwa 70% davon sind weiblich, etwa 30 bis 70 Millionen Kinder leben auf der Straße. Obdachlosigkeit und Wohnungsnot sind dabei nicht Probleme des Südens allein, gerade in den reichen Ländern wachsen Armut und Ausgrenzung.

Eine eingehende Diskussion der Erfolge und Versäumnisse fand aber nicht statt. So konnte auch nicht ernsthaft über Hindernisse diskutiert werden, die einer Umsetzung des Aktionsplans von Istanbul im Wege stehen. Als solche Hindernisse benannte der UNCHS Bericht den abnehmenden politischen Willen zur Änderung zunehmend schlechter Wohn- und Lebensbedingungen, unzureichende Information und Bewußtseinsbildung, das Fehlen lokaler Finanzmittel, Vereinzelung und mangelnde Verbreitung guter Ansätze sowie begrenzte Verwaltungskapazitäten vor Ort.

Stattdessen stand die Diskussion der Abschlusserklärung von New York im Mittelpunkt der UN-Sitzung, ein Text, der neue Handlungsschwerpunkte definieren sollte, der jedoch die Aussagen der Habitat Agenda in wesentlichen Punkten verwässerte. Das Recht auf angemessenen Wohnraum fand nur als "Bekräftigung des Ziels eines angemessenen Obdachs (shelter) für alle" Eingang. Dies war schon im Vorfeld von zahlreichen Organisationen als Rückschritt kritisiert worden, jedoch nicht mehr Gegenstand der Verhandlungen.

Einzelne Passagen der neuen Erklärung waren dagegen in Klammern gesetzt und in den Debatten des Committee of the Whole heftig umstritten. Die entscheidenden Verhandlungen fanden in informellen Sitzungen statt, zu denen nur die Regierungsdelegationen Zugang hatten. Die EU und besonders Deutschland verteidigten dort vehement den Vorschlag, ein Regierungsforum solle über internationale Leitlinien zur lokalen Selbstverwaltung entscheiden, was unter anderem von der G77 (der Gruppe der "Entwicklungsländer") und China als Einmischung in interne staatliche Strukturen abgelehnt wurde. Bei der Formulierung zum Schuldenerlaß und zu Entwicklungshilfesusagen ließen sich die Industriestaaten einmal mehr nur auf einen sehr vagen Appell ein. Die Sicherung von Landbesitz und

Eigentumsrechten von Frauen, ein Passus für den in Istanbul lange gekämpft worden war, wurde erneut in Frage gestellt, vor allem von Ländern, die dadurch traditionelle Familienstrukturen bedroht sehen. Norwegen machte sich zum Sprecher für die eindeutige Formulierung zugunsten der Frauenrechte, die EU und die USA waren in dieser Frage enttäuschend kompromissbereit und akzeptierten schließlich die Zufügung des Vorbehalts "kultureller Besonderheiten", die zu berücksichtigen seien. Schließlich wurde im Schatten des Nahostkonflikts lange um einen zusätzlichen Absatz zu "Völkern unter fremder Besatzung" gerungen. Dies hätte fast zu einer Kampfabstimmung geführt und zwang die Delegierten am letzten Tag zu einer Nachtsitzung, die erst Samstagmorgens kurz nach sechs mit einem Kompromiss endete.

Am Morgen des letzten Tags protestierten etwa 70 Leute aus teilnehmenden NGOs am Eingang zum UN Gebäude gegen Verfahren und Ergebnisse der Konferenz. Sie forderten: "Hört auf zu reden, beginnt endlich mit der Umsetzung der Agenda" und bauten in diesem Sinne gleich ein Haus aus den zahlreich herumliegenden Konferenzdokumenten, die sie mit Tapetenkleister zusammenklebten. Die Dokumente ergaben natürlich kein brauchbares Haus, es hielt nur etwa 10 Minuten.

Insgesamt ist es mehr als fraglich, ob die Umsetzung der Habitat Agenda in New York tatsächlich gefördert wurde. VertreterInnen der Habitat International Coalition meinten, statt Istanbul+5 sei Istanbul-5 erreicht worden. Da der politische Wille zur Umsetzung der Beschlüsse von Istanbul fehle, müsse die Zivilgesellschaft jetzt ihren Druck auf die Regierungen verstärken.

Gruppen der AG Habitat des Forums Umwelt & Entwicklung arbeiten bereits seit Jahresbeginn an einem unabhängigen Habitat-Monitoring in Nordrhein-Westfalen und Berlin, bei dem die Erfahrung von lokalen Initiativen und Fachleuten zu Wohnungsproblemen und Stadtentwicklungsfragen zusammengetragen wird. Ein Zwischenbericht ihrer Arbeit wurde in New York präsentiert. Er weist unter anderem auf eine zunehmende regionale und soziale Spaltung der Wohnungsmärkte in Deutschland hin, auf Gefahren einer neuen Wohnungsnot, auf die Verletzung der Wohnrechte von Migranten und Flüchtlingen, auf zunehmende Zersiedlung und Schwächung der Großstädte. Die Initiativen streben an, sich zu kontinuierlichen Diskussionsfo-

ren auf lokaler Ebene zu verfestigen. Politische Entscheidungen in diesem Bereich sollen nicht länger ein Thema von Expertenzirkeln bleiben. Eine offizielle Unterstützung dieser zivilgesellschaftlichen Initiativen sollte im Sinne der in Istanbul vereinbarten Ziele eigentlich selbstverständlich sein, bleibt jedoch noch einzufordern.

Klaus Teschner

KURZFASSUNG DER PRESSEERKLÄRUNG DER HABITAT INTERNATIONAL COALITION (HIC), NEW YORK, 7.6. 2001

"Zurück in die Zukunft"

Weltweit hat sich seit 1996 die Situation der Wohnungslosen und schlecht Behausten nicht verbessert; wir sind vielmehr Zeuge einer "Globalisierung der Wohnungslosigkeit". Die Regierungen geben ihre Verantwortung zur Umsetzung des Menschenrechts auf Wohnen mehr und mehr an eigennützige private Akteure und externe Institutionen ab. Obdachlosigkeit und Ausgrenzung betreffen genauso die reichsten Länder und werden dort zunehmend sichtbar. All dies sollte Anlass sein zu ernsthafter Reflektion unter Einschluss aller Habitat Partner. Deshalb fühlen wir uns verpflichtet, sowohl gegen den Ablauf als auch gegen das zu erwartende Ergebnis der UN Sonder-sitzung unseren scharfen Protest zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Der Ausschluss der NGOs von den Verhandlungen dieser Konferenz bedeutet einen gefährlichen Präzedenzfall mit weitreichenden Folgen und widerspricht der nachdrücklichen Förderung von Partnerschaft in der Arbeit der UN durch den UN Generalsekretär. Die Aufgabe von relevanten Menschenrechtsprinzipien und Verpflichtungen, die in der Habitat Agenda festgeschrieben wurden, stellt einen ernsthaften Rückschritt hinter das in Istanbul Erreichte dar. Dieser regressive Trend nach Istanbul wird von einigen wenigen Staaten vorangetrieben. Unglücklicherweise hat der Rest der Staaten diesem Druck nachgegeben und - im Gegensatz zu einer stetig fortschreitenden Verwirklichung von Menschenrechten - einem niedrigeren Standard auf dem untersten gemeinsamen Nenner zugestimmt. Weil unsere Positionen als in diesem Bereich tätiger Organisationen der Zivilgesellschaft im Text der New York Erklärung nicht berücksichtigt wurden, erscheint es uns nicht sinnvoll, ernsthaft dazu Stellung zu nehmen. Der Ausschluss der NGOs und die Abschwächung der Aussagen im Haupt-Konferenzdokument stellen insgesamt die Legitimität der gegenwärtigen Sitzung in Frage. Bereits bei den

Vorbereitungssitzungen wurde deutlich, was sich jetzt bewiesen hat: sowohl der Anspruch einer gerechten Bilanzierung des Erreichten wurde verfehlt als auch der einer Einbeziehung der Zivilgesellschaft, ohne die die zukünftige Umsetzung der Habitat II Agenda unmöglich sein wird. Die New York-Erklärung drückt - so wie sie jetzt formuliert ist - die Unfähigkeit aus, den hohen Ansprüchen zu genügen, die wir uns vor fünf Jahren gemeinsam mit den Regierungen gesetzt haben. Vorrangig ist jetzt nicht die Erarbeitung eines neuen und schwächeren UN Dokuments, sondern die Verstärkung des politischen Willens zur Umsetzung der vereinbarten Ziele, unter anderem der Gewährleistung des Rechts auf angemessenen Wohnraum für alle.

WELCHE ZUKUNFT FÜR KOMMUNALE NORD-SÜD-PARTNERSCHAFTEN?

Die 8. BUNDESKONFERENZ DER DEUTSCHEN EINE-WELT-FOREN
IM FEBRUAR 2001 IN BONN.

Seit 1988 veranstaltet das Netzwerk deutscher Eine-Welt-Foren im Zweijahresrhythmus Bundeskonferenzen, auf denen u.a. die politischen Instanzen zur Unterstützung für eine Politik kommunaler Nord-Süd-Partnerschaften und dezentraler Entwicklungsprojekte aufgerufen wurden. Zwar antworteten die Angesprochenen einschließlich des Bundestagsausschusses für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit mit Sympathiebekundungen, aber die potentiellen Geldgeber, das Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit, die Länder und die Gemeindeverbände, schwiegen dazu. Als Minimallösung wurde 1996 immerhin die "Zentrale für Kommunale Entwicklungszusammenarbeit" (ZKE) in einem Nebenraum des Bonner Gustav-Stresemann-Instituts eingerichtet versehen mit Mitteln, die gerade erlaubten, das Thema im Gespräch zu halten.

Nunmehr, zur 8. Bundeskonferenz konnte die ZKE verkünden, dass das BMZ, die Länder und die Gemeindeverbände bereit seien, eine "Service-stelle für kommunale EZ" zu finanzieren. Letzter Anstoß war der Kongress "Bewältigung der Globalisierung", gefeiert von Ministerpräsident Clement beim Kongress "NRW in globaler Verantwortung" als "Chance des rheinischen Kapitalismus", gewesen. Darauf antwortete die Bundeskonferenz mit der Frage "Globalisierung gestalten: Ohne Kommunen?". Natürlich nicht, konnten die Vertreter von BMZ, Bundesländern und Gemeindeverbänden unterstützt von EU und IULA verkünden. Um die Frage der Rolle der Kommunen angesichts der Globalisierung

ging es auch in den Arbeitsgruppen. Zwischen Staat und Wirtschaft vermittelnd wurden ihnen Aufgaben im Nord-Süd-Transfer von Angepasster Technik, in der Förderung von Fair-Trade allgemein und von Ökobewusstsein zugesiesen, wobei hinsichtlich der lokalen Wirtschaft die Rolle von "Public-Private-Partnership" im Vergleich zu direkter kommunaler Unternehmerschaft kontrovers diskutiert wurde. Außerdem ging es um Nord-Süd- und West-Ost-Partnerschaften und - mit Blick auf die geplante "Servicestelle" - die Rolle der Hierarchieebenen Bund-Land-Kommunen bei einer dezentral-kommunalen EZ.

Als Einstandsgeschenk hatten die politischen Institutionen möglich gemacht, eine Gäste aus Ländern der Dritten Welt einzuladen, die dann auch eifrig und kompetent mitdiskutierten. Dabei war überraschend, wie beeindruckt sie von den kommunalen Einrichtungen in Deutschland wie Energieunternehmen, Wohnungsgesellschaften, Sparkassen usw. waren. Folglich hatten sie kein Verständnis für den gegenwärtige Mode oder Ideologie der Politiker auf allen Ebenen, die egalisierend-ausgleichende Bürokratie zugunsten dem polarisierend-effektiven Marktprinzip abzuschaffen. Die Teilnehmer der Konferenz waren sich einig, dass beidem als drittes Prinzip die Zivilgesellschaft gegenüber zu stellen sei und dafür die notwendigen Kompetenzen und Rechte für genuine Selbstorganisation und lokal autonomes Handeln eingefordert werden müssten. Nur so sei die für ein langfristiges globales Überleben erforderliche globale Solidarität zu erreichen, was im ersten Schritt ein Zurückschrauben des quantitativen Wachstums bei uns und im zweiten Schritt die Umorientierung alles Handelns hin zu Synergie und Kleinteiligkeit als globales Projekt bedeuten würde. Die Arbeitsgruppen zeigten an mancherlei Beispielen die Bedeutung von lokalem Engagement dafür, untermauerten das mit theoretischen Argumenten und wiesen auf Schlüsselemente wie das der persönlichen Begegnungen einschließlich der Notwendigkeit von Reisen hin. Auch über die Nützlichkeit einer Servicestelle bestand Einigkeit, wenn auch über deren Struktur nicht diskutiert werden konnte. Erste Informationen über ein Konzept, das dafür von der Carl-Duisberg-Gesellschaft (CDG) erarbeitet worden war, deuten allerdings darauf hin, dass die Potentiale und Chancen die eine solche Service- und Moderationsstelle bietet, noch keine angemessene Form gefunden haben.

Hermann Hartwig

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IN UTRECHT, THE NETHERLANDS

37th International ISoCaRP Congress: "Honey, I Shrank the Space". - Planning in the Information Age. Organised by the International Society of City and Regional Planners. Contact: ISoCaRP Secretariat, Mauritskade 23, NL-2514 HD - The Hague, The Netherlands. ☎ (31 70) 346 2654, Fax: 361 7909; <secretariat@isocarp.org> www.isocarp.org/2001/index.htm

SEPTEMBER 24 - 27, 2001

IN CAIRO, EGYPT

Symposium on Architectural Heritage in New Arab Towns: Preservation and Contemporary Trends. Organised by INTA (International Network for Urban Development) and AUDI (Arab Urban Development Institute). Contact: AUDI, ☎/Fax (96 61) 480 2555; <info@araburban.org> www.araburban.org

SEPTEMBER 24 - 29, 2001

IN FLORENCE, ITALY

11th Annual INURA Conference 2001: "Rights and Fights. Networking urban communities and actions". Organised by the International Network of Urban Research and Action (INURA). Contact: <INURA@YORKU.CA>

OCTOBER 1, 2001

IN FUKUOKA, JAPAN

World Habitat Day Global Celebration. Organised by UNCHS (Habitat) Fukuoka office. Contact: Miki Oshima at UNCHS, Fukuoka Office, ☎ (81 92) 724 7121, Fax: (81 92) 724 7124; <miki.oshima@fukuoka.unch.org> www.fukuoka.unch.org

OCTOBER 1 - 5, 2001

IN MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY

Seminario Internacional "Producción Social del Hábitat: el capital de la gente versus la miseria del capital". Organizado por la SELVIP (Secretaría Latinoamericana de la Vivienda Popular) y HIC (Habitat International Coalition). Contacto: FUCVAM, Eduardo Victor Haedo 2219, 11200 Montevideo, Uruguay. ☎ (598 2) 402 4898, Fax: 401 9874; <fucvam@chasque.apc.org> www.laneta.apc.org/hic-al/newseguimiento.html

OCTOBER 4 - 7, 2001 IN VALLETTA, MALTA

Geographies of the Euro-Arab Encounter: Past, Presence and Future. Organised by University of Malta, The Arab World Geographer (AWG) and the Saudi

Geographical Society in cooperation with the European Mediterranean Network for the Social Sciences (EUMENESS). Contact: The Malta Conference Organiser, AWG, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 455 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 2G8. ☎ (1 416) 978 0708, Fax: (1 416) 978 7162; <tawg@chass.utoronto.ca> www.frw.uva.nl/ggct/awg

OCTOBER 16 - 19, 2001

IN MARRAKECH, MOROCCO

Fourth International Forum on Urban Poverty (IFUP): "Productive and Inclusive Cities: Towards Cities for All". Organised by UNCHS and the government of Morocco. Contact: IFUP, ☎ (254 2) 624 322, Fax: (254 2) 624 264 / 5; <ifup@unchs.org> website: www.unch.org/ifup

OCTOBER 20 - 23, 2001

IN DUBAI, UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

INTA25 Congress: "New Dimensions of Urban Development: Linking New Technologies of Information and Communication for Local management". Organised by the International Network for Urban Development (INTA). Contact: INTA, ☎ (31 70) 3244 526, Fax: 3280 727; <intainfo@inta-net.org> www.inta-net.org

OKTOBER 27, 2001

IN BRAUNSCHWEIG, GERMANY

TRIALOG-Fachtagung; "Siedeln zwischen ökologischen Idealen, ökonomischen Zwängen und sozialen Utopien"; Universität Braunschweig, Institut für Entwicklungsplanung

NOVEMBER 5 - 8, 2001

IN NANNING, CHINA

The First International Conference on Ecological Sanitation. Organised by the Jiu San Society, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), UNICEF, UNDP, the Ecological Society of China and the Chinese Association for Agricultural Engineering. Contact: Conference Secretariat, Jiu San Society. Fax: (86 10) 642 20 162; <jszykjb@236.net> www.wkab.se

Nov. 10 - 12, 2001

IN RIYADH, SAUDI ARABIA

Future Cities Conference. Organised by AUDI (Arab Urban Development Institute) and INTA (International Network for Urban Development). Contact: AUDI, ☎/Fax (96 61) 480 2555; <info@arabur-

ban.org> www.araburban.org

NOVEMBER 11 - 14, 2001

IN WASHINGTON, USA

24th World Congress of Housing Finance. Organised by the International Union for Housing Finance. Contact: Donald Holton, Intern. Union for Housing Finance, ☎ (1 312) 946 8200; Fax 946 8202; <don_holton@housingfinance.org> www.housingfinance.org

DECEMBER 2 - 11, 2001

IN LILLE, FRANCE

World Assembly of Citizens. Organised by the Charles Léopold Mayer Foundation (FPH) and the "Alliance pour un Monde Responsable, Pluriel et Solidaire". Contact: <lille@echo.org> www.echo.org/

DECEMBER 3 - 7, 2001

IN BONN, GERMANY

International Conference on Freshwater: "Water for the Poor, Sustainable Solutions to the Water Crisis". Organised by GTZ (German Technical Co-operation), convened by the German Federal Ministries BMZ (Economic Cooperation and Development) and BMU (Environment). Contact: Secretariat of the International Conference on Freshwater, Tulpenfeld 7, 53113 Bonn, Germany. ☎ (49 228) 28046-55, Fax: 28046-60; <info@water-2001.de> www.water-2001.de

JULY 22 - 26, 2002

IN BERLIN, GERMANY

UIA Berlin 2002, XXI. World Congress of Architecture: "Resource Architecture". Organised by Union Internationale des Architectes (UIA), Paris and Bund Deutscher Architekten BDA, Berlin. Contact: UIA Berlin 2002 e.V., Köpenicker Straße 48/49, D-10179 Berlin, Germany. ☎ (49 30) 278 734 40, Fax: (49 30) 278 734 12; <info@uia-berlin2002.com> www.uia-berlin2002.com Registration: DER-CONGRESS, Bundesallee 56, D-10715 Berlin. ☎ (49 30) 8579 030, Fax: (49 30) 8579 0326; <der@der-congress.de> www.der-congress.de

SEPTEMBER 2 - 11, 2002

IN JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

World Summit on Sustainable Development ("Rio +10"). UN Summit for the ten-year review of progress in implementing the outcome of the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). Contact: www.un.org/rio+10