

# TRIALOG 99

A Journal for  
Planning and Building  
in the Third World

4 / 2008

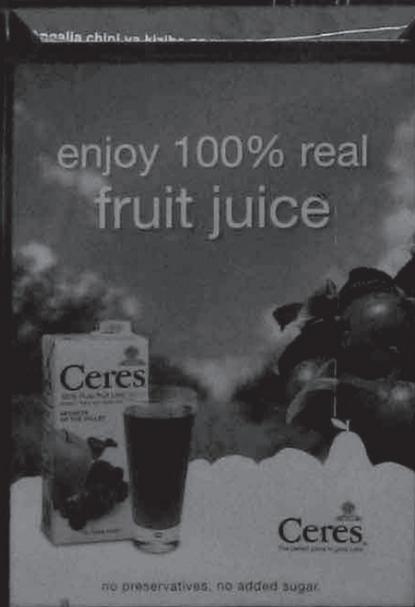
East Africa



Patapata  
NA Coca-Cola  
Utazitumiaje pesa zako?  
MAMILIYO  
YA PESA  
MUNDANI

A woman is smiling and holding a Coca-Cola bottle and a fan of money.

The SlipWay



enjoy 100% real  
fruit juice

Ceres  
no preservatives, no added sugar.

A carton of Ceres fruit juice and a glass of juice are shown.



BARCLAYS  
Bank  
with us today!



SHOPRITE  
Supermarket  
BARCLAYS RITE



Longer  
Tsh 1  
Kwa sekunde  
tigo



the widest quality Coverage  
in Tanzania



NOW OPEN  
MANEY...  
DAGLE...  
PAGES...  
DIVERS...  
SPECIAL...  
SPECIAL...  
SPECIAL...

## Editorial

This issue of **Trialog** focuses on the expanse of East Africa covering not only the countries of the East African Community (Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda), but neighbouring countries like Ethiopia as well. Although the regions differ in some aspects they all share similar problems related to rapid urbanisation. The aim of this **Trialog** issue is, therefore, to highlight local solutions to address such problems and to provide information regarding the transferal of the approaches and knowledge to other countries in the area and beyond. Thus, the call for papers was issued mainly to local experts and scholars and, additionally, to experts working in the regions.

The first paper by **Rose Musyoka** describes the challenges of informal urbanisation based on case studies in Kenya and provides insights from research and practical work. **Rukundo Bruce** addresses the central question of the underlying causes of informal urbanisation, the actors involved and the corresponding problems. He is looking for solutions on how to guide urbanisation in a more sustainable way. **Aldo Lupala** focuses on the actors at the grass-root level and the role of social institutions in the guidance of informal urbanisation when the government is nearly absent in the process. Analysing three case study settlements at the periphery of Dar es Salaam, he presents in-depth information on the strengths and weaknesses of the roles and relationships of social institutions. **Nimrod Mushi** highlights a less studied aspect of urban-rural linkages: The changing of livelihood strategies at the periphery of growing cities when agricultural land becomes urbanised. He traces the changes in land use and the agricultural sector from the perspective of the farmers, providing a deep economic analysis of land prices and the crop market. Returning to the highly densified urban areas, **Gabriela de Freitas Barbosa** deals with urban violence and crime in informal settlements. She studied local, community-level approaches to reduce the risk of crime and enhanced her findings with experiences from Brazil. **Livin Masha** addresses the challenge of energy supply in urban areas, analyses the weaknesses of the relevant system and provides detailed figures of energy consumption. He stresses the need for the introduction of renewable energy sources, energy efficiency and energy conservation. **Beate Lohnert** critically analyses microfinance schemes in the housing sector in Africa and highlights potential risks and side effects for members of credit groups and the society. She calls for a more differentiated discussion of microfinance schemes and for a deeper analysis of the side effects of these schemes on the social networks instead of the simple transfer of programmes from other regions. **Karin Gaesling** leaves the urban area and, by using the tool of participation in land-use planning, looks at the living conditions in the countryside of Ethiopia and Kenya. She addresses the economic interests of the residents as well as resource management and environmental protection in order to tackle the future problems of climate change on the livelihood of the farmers. Growing urban areas and increasing populations require more and better infrastructures. **Damte Data, Alexandra Linden** and **Shummeye Tessema** analyse the provision of infrastructure in Ethiopia and the donor programmes to

support the local administrative bodies. They stress the weakness of the local authorities regarding delivery services and the conflicts between centralised decision-making and funding and local needs and demands. **Kosta Mathey** addresses another donor-funded programme in Ethiopia: A large-scale housing programme in Addis Ababa which intends to reduce the demand for housing by providing housing for 60,000 residents. However, the first draft was highly criticised. The author presents ways to design a functional new neighbourhood using the same housing schemes of the Housing Authority by considering existing structures, topography and the need for income-generating activities and services within the area. His students **Franziska Marcus, Carolin Metz** and **Moritz Reinhold** explain the concept in detail, focussing on the creation of smaller units, a hierarchical system of access and functional open spaces.

Diese Ausgabe von **Trialog** beschäftigt sich mit den Ländern Ostafrikas. Obwohl sich die Länder in einigen Aspekten unterscheiden, teilen sie die Probleme des schnellen Stadtwachstums. Forscher aus der Region, aber auch langjährige ausländische Experten zeigen spezifische Problemlagen auf und schlagen Lösungswege vor, die auch auf andere Regionen übertragen werden können.

Eine ausführliche Zusammenfassung der einzelnen Artikel ist auf Deutsch den jeweiligen Beiträgen vorangestellt.

**Rose Musyoka** führt in die Herausforderungen der informellen Urbanisierung in der Region ein und **Rukundo Bruce** analysiert deren Hintergründe und zeigt Lösungswege auf. **Aldo Lupala** untersucht die Rolle der Zivilgesellschaft bei der Steuerung des informellen Stadtwachstums am Stadtrand. **Nimrod Mushi** analysiert Stadt-Land-Beziehungen und sich ändernde Überlebensstrategien an der städtischen Peripherie. **Karin Gaesling** beschäftigt sich mit partizipativen Prozessen der Landnutzungsplanung im ländlichen Raum in Äthiopien und Kenia. **Gabriela de Freitas Barbosa** wendet sich wieder der Stadt zu und behandelt das Thema städtischer Kriminalität und Gewalt. **Livin Masha** untersucht Probleme städtischer Energieversorgung und zeigt Potenziale zum Einsatz regenerativer Energien auf. **Beate Lohnert** hinterfragt Mikrofinanzierungsmodelle im Wohnungswesen und weist auf potenzielle Risiken hin. **Damte Data, Alexandra Linden** und **Shummeye Tessema** analysieren Förderprogramme für städtische Infrastruktur der Geberländer und die Schwächen lokaler Institutionen. Abschließend stellt **Kosta Mathey** einen Entwurf für ein Stadterweiterungsgebiet in Addis Abeba vor und seine Studierenden **Franziska Marcus, Carolin Metz** und **Moritz Reinhold** gehen auf weitere Details des Entwurfs ein.

## East Africa

Volume Editors: Antje Wemhöner, Wolfgang Scholz

4 / 2008

### Inhalt / Table of Contents

- 4 Informal Urban Development in Africa  
Rose Musyoka
- 8 The Underlying Causes and Challenges of Informal Urban  
Development in Uganda  
Rukundo Bruce
- 12 Informal Peri-Urban Land Management in Dar es Salaam  
Aldo Lupala
- 16 Unravelling the Potentials of Rural-Urban Linkages and  
Livelihood Enhancement  
Nimrod S. Mushi
- 21 Urban renewal and crime prevention  
Gabriela de Freitas Barbosa
- 25 Renewable Energy Policy Issues in Human Settlements  
Livin H. Moshia
- 30 Microfinance of Housing in African Cities  
Beate Lohnert
- 34 Participatory Land Use Planning in Practice  
Karin Gaesing
- 38 Closing the Cycle of Local Public Service Provision – Ethiopia  
Damte Data, Alexandra Linden, Shumeye Tessema
- 42 Bole Summit Suburb in Addis Ababa  
Kosta Mathéy
- 48 Bole Lemi Housing Addis Ababa  
Franziska Marcus, Carolin Metz, Moritz Reinhold
- 50 Neue Bücher / Book Reviews
- 56 Veranstaltungen / Forthcoming Events

# Informal Urban Development in Africa:

## Insights from Research and Practical Experience

Rose Musyoka

*In Afrika ist seit den 60er-Jahren ein erheblicher Anstieg der Stadtbevölkerung zu verzeichnen, derzeit wird die jährliche Zunahme auf etwa 3,35 % geschätzt, wobei unter den Ländern südlich der Sahara das mittlere und östliche Afrika mit mehr als 4 % die höchsten Wachstumsraten aufweisen. Diese Verstädterung vollzieht sich unter Bedingungen, die wenig geeignet sind, um diesen Prozess zu fördern.*

*In den meisten Städten Afrikas kann zur Wohnungsversorgung nicht auf den offiziellen Bodenmarkt zurückgegriffen werden. Bedingt durch Armut, fehlende Ressourcen, nicht ausreichende Investitionen in die städtische Infrastruktur, ungeeignete Gesetzeslage, unrealistische Entwicklungsstandards und fehlenden politischen Willen wird die formelle Stadtentwicklung unterlaufen.*

*Das formal zu erwerbende Land, das alle rechtlichen Vorgaben erfüllt, ist für die meisten Käufer unerschwinglich. In der Folge entwickelt sich ein informeller Bodenmarkt, der den Armen, dem Mittelstand und sogar den Wohlhabenden Siedlungsraum bietet. Informelle Verstädterung zieht jedoch wieder eigene Kosten nach sich, so dass es mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit das wirtschaftliche Wachstum erheblich beeinträchtigt.*

*Dieser Artikel konzentriert sich auf Ostafrika und erläutert Forschungsergebnisse zur informellen Stadtentwicklung. An Hand einer detaillierten Fallstudie aus Kenia werden weiter reichende Erkenntnisse genauer erklärt. Abschließend wird darauf hingewiesen, dass die informellen Siedlungsentwicklungen – anders als oft in der relevanten Literatur beschrieben – keineswegs nur die unteren Einkommensschichten beherbergen, sondern durchaus auch für die Mittel- und Oberschicht von Bedeutung sind.*

### Introduction

The mode of the supply of land for urban development largely determines the type of the resultant development. In Africa, land for urban development is supplied through various channels, including the market (both formal and informal) and customary and administrative arrangements (Rakodi and Leduka 2004). The operation of these land delivery channels, to a large extent, determines the ease with which urban land can be accessed by land seekers of different socio-economic characteristics.

The supply of land in urban areas in East Africa is constrained by topography, the spatial pattern of infrastructure, the willingness of land owners to make land available on the market, property rights, land titling and registration, land-use planning and regulation, direct public intervention in the acquisition of land and fiscal practices (Dunkerley 1983). Understanding urbanisation in East Africa calls for an understanding of land supply, these factors and the processes by which rural land is urbanised.

In practice, access to land may be obtained through both commercial and non-commercial mechanisms. Land

obtained through non-commercial mechanisms has no initial monetary transfer value, unlike land in the commercial market. Access to the latter is determined by purchasing power, mediated through institutional and administrative mechanisms (Farvacque and McAuslan 1992). Non-commercialised land supply channels have increasingly become commercialised owing to urban population pressure and, therefore, their contribution in providing land to the urban poor is decreasing (Rakodi and Leduka 2004).

Most African countries that were colonized inherited, at independence, land that had been taken over by the outgoing colonial administration, which became government land reserves (Baross 1983). In East African countries this land has provided a non-commercial land supply channel to low-income households, who invade or squat on it free. However, in most African cities, idle government land is diminishing and government resources to acquire land in private ownership are inadequate. In addition, governments have limited technical and administrative capacity to subdivide, survey, service and allocate large numbers of plots; in some cases there is political interfer-

ence in the allocations (Musyoka 2004). Consequently, illegal ways of obtaining access to land have evolved, as in Kenyan (Musyoka 2006), Ugandan (Nkurunziza 2004) and Tanzanian cities (Kombe 1994). In Africa over the past 40 years, 70 to 95 percent of all new housing is estimated to have been provided informally (Kombe 2000).

### Informal Access to Urban Residential Land

One of the objectives of the study on which this paper draws was to understand how different land-owning households gain access to their land. The majority of studies agree that formal land markets in Sub-Saharan Africa are malfunctioning, and that a dual land supply system has emerged in most African cities, with much of the land for urban development supplied through informal land delivery channels. To access land through the legal land supply channels is often time consuming, cumbersome and expensive. In Tanzania, less than 10% of the demand for residential land is met by the formal housing land delivery system (Kombe and Kreibich 2002), while about 75% of the urban population and 50% of the housing stock is found in informal settlements (Mghweno 2002). Over 60% of Nairobi's population live in informal settlements (Majale 2002). A similar situation exists in Uganda (Nkurunziza 2004).

Discussions on low-income housing development often draw a distinction between the 'official', 'formal', or 'legal' city and the 'unofficial', 'informal' or 'illegal' city. The former terms refer to those areas that are developed within the formal/state legal framework governing urban development, while the terms 'unofficial', 'informal' or 'illegal' denote urban development that occurs outside the formal legal framework. However, this distinction is fluid because, as Farvacque and McAuslan (1992:39) observe, there are almost infinite degrees of informality which, as is shown in the case study presented here, are normally paralleled by almost infinite degrees of official tolerance.

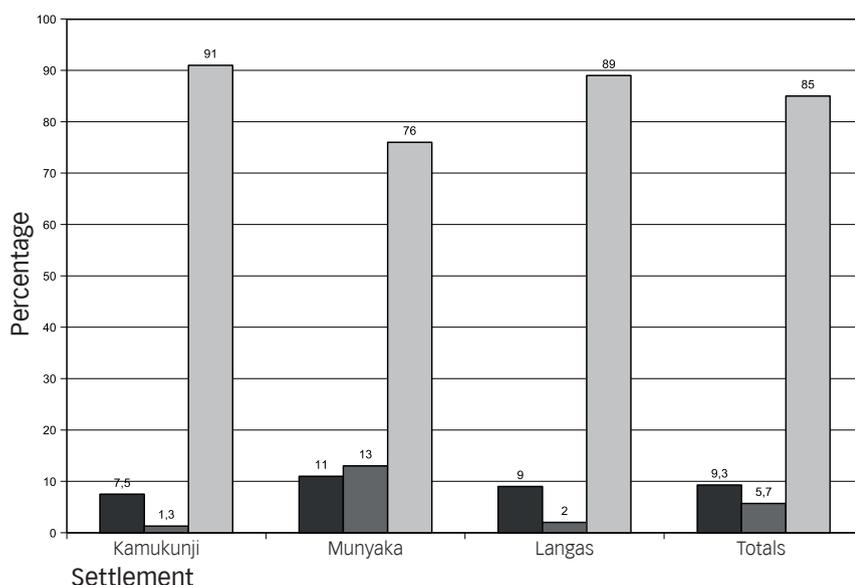
Informal urban residential land supply channels are often associated with the low-income end of the land and housing market, which cannot afford the high planning and building standards (Angel 1983). But the situation is more complex, with middle and high-income households, civil servants and prominent entrepreneurs engaged as actors in this sub-market.

### Study Methodology and Findings

In 2003, a study sample of 280 households was drawn from Langas, Kamukunji and Muniyaka, three informal settlements in Eldoret, Kenya, for the purpose of investigating how they had acquired their plots. The sample was obtained using both non-probability and probability sampling techniques. This sample was supplemented by focus group discussions and in-depth interviews.

### Socio-Economic Characteristics of Plot Rights Holders in the Study Settlements

Socio-economic characteristics of the sampled households analysed include: respondents' origin, ethnicity, work status, level of education, wealth status, gender, and how they gained access to their plots.

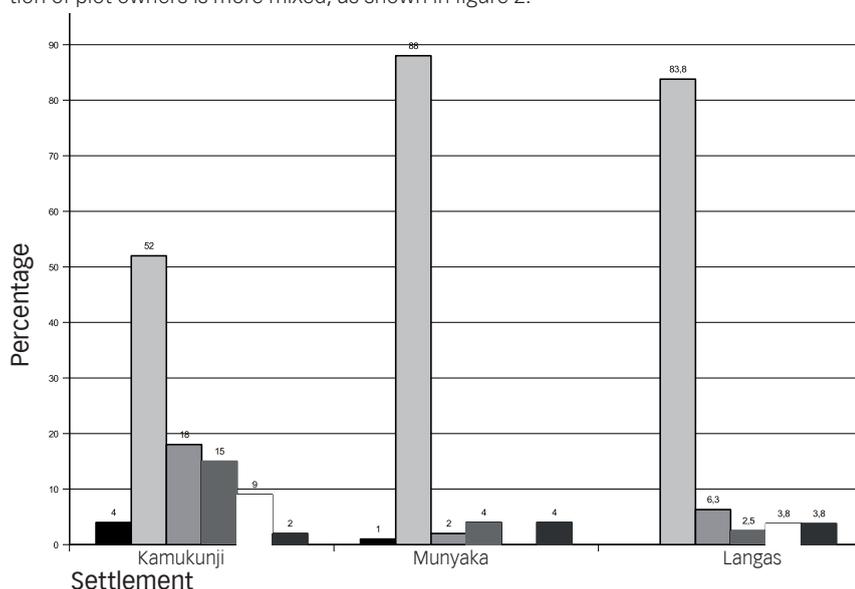


Place of Birth of Plot Owners/Rights Holders

As shown in figure 1, most (85%) of the rights-holders and plot owners were first generation rural-urban migrants, and only 9% were born in Eldoret itself, which means that most of the plot owners in the study settlements are perpetrators of rural-urban migration, a phenomenon of recent urbanisation.

### Ethnic Composition of Plot Owners/Rights Holders in the Study Settlements

Although the three farms on which the study settlements stand were initially purchased by land-buying groups of a particular ethnic background, the current ethnic composition of plot owners is more mixed, as shown in figure 2.



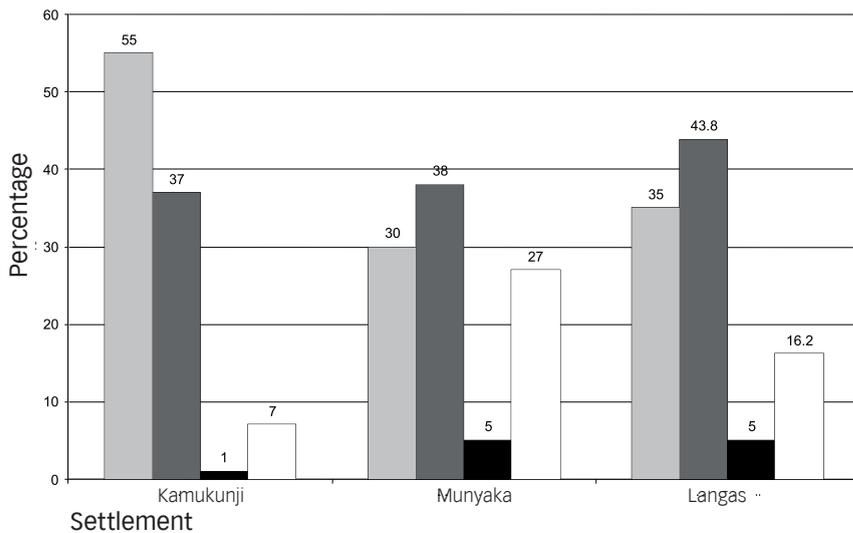
Langas, where the original shareholders were Kalenjin, is now predominantly Kikuyu, although the current ethnic composition is diverse, with significant proportions of other ethnic groups. However, Muniyaka and Kamukunji, which were originally Kikuyu farms, have remained largely so. The Kalenjin, who are the indigenous ethnic group in the Eldoret area, constitute just 2% of the sampled plot owners overall. The small proportion of Kalenjin is partly

Fig 1: Place of birth of plot owners in percentage by area (source: own survey 2003)

- Eldoret
- Another town/city
- Rural areas

Fig 2: Ethnic composition in the study settlements (source: own survey 2003)

- Kalenjin
- Kikuyu
- Kisii
- Luhia
- Luo
- Others



▲ Fig 3: Employment types at the time of plot acquisition (source: own survey 2003)

- Full time
- Self-employed
- Casual/piecework
- Unemployed

explained by the nature of their economy, which is mainly large-scale agriculture and livestock production. This, according to informants, led most Kalenjins to sell their plots in Langas when the area was incorporated into the municipality and to move out to rural areas. Although Kamukunji was initially a Kikuyu farm, currently there are a few (13) non-Kikuyus, constituting 16% of the sampled 80 plot-owners, who gained entry into the settlement by buying plots from Kikuyus. The ethnic composition in the case study settlements bears out the argument that migration by Kikuyus in particular – but also by Luhyas, Luo, Kisiis and Kambas from Central, Western, Nyanza and Eastern provinces respectively – to high-potential agricultural areas of settler and commercial farming in Rift Valley and Coast Province has been common (see Rutten, 1992). Uasin Gishu, whose administrative headquarters is Eldoret, is one of the main receiving Rift Valley districts. Most of the migrants migrated as farm labourers from overcrowded reserves (areas that were reserved for indigenous Kenyans during colonialism) and bought land in Eldoret in the run up to and immediately after independence. These migrants have, for nearly two decades now, been perceived as ‘outsiders’ and have been victims of the ethnic clashes that have rocked Kenya every election year since 1991 (the worst of which so far were at the end of 2007 and beginning of 2008).

► New constructions in Ethiopia (photo: Kosta Mathéy)

### Work Status at the Time of Plot Acquisition

The same proxies for socio-economic status were used as in the 1997 Welfare Monitoring Survey in Kenya. It was expected, in the current study, that non-working status, low education level and lack of certain possessions would indicate poverty, while the reverse would indicate non-poor status.

Work status, education level, and ownership of some possessions associated with not being poor (including an urban house, large electric/gas cooker and a vehicle) were analysed in order to assess the extent to which urban land delivery processes enable the poor and other vulnerable groups to access urban residential land with secure tenure.

Plot owners/rights holders were engaged in different forms of income-generating activities at the time of plot acquisition. On average, most (83%) were either employed fulltime or self-employed, with a few in casual work as shown in figure 3.

Thus, there is a relationship between working status and acquisition of plots.

### Level of Education of Household Heads

Household heads accessing land through the various land delivery channels have different levels of education. Some 10% had never attended school, 43% had primary education, 32% secondary education, 9% tertiary or university education and 4% some form of vocational training. Overall, people of all educational levels have acquired plots in the three settlements, showing that informal land delivery channels are not necessarily associated with low levels of education. However, there are more people with no education at all (10%) or primary school education (43%) who have acquired plots in the study areas than those with high education level (9%). This finding indicates that more low-income people have gained access to land informally in the study areas than high-income people.

### Household Wealth Categories by Site

To supplement the analysis of work status at the time of plot acquisition and the educational level of owners, this analysis ranks households on the basis of ownership of assets. The study used household possessions as a proxy for wealth (CBS and GTZ, 2000). The rationale for using a proxy for wealth/poverty is that ownership of certain possessions in Kenya is generally associated with not being poor. This was articulated well in one of the discussions during which the participants ruled out the possibility of the poorest buying urban land. The 1997 Welfare Monitoring Survey III (WMS) based its categorisation of the poor and non-poor on ownership of selected assets such as a radio, sewing machine, stove, television, vehicle, fridge, stereo cassette recorder and an urban house, among others. Based on the WMS and the researcher’s local knowledge, ownership of two or more of the following assets was considered as indicating a non-poor household: television, telephone (land line, not cell phone), large gas cooker, electric cooker, vehicle or urban house. However, ownership of a vehicle and/or



urban house in itself gave the owner a non-poor status, as these are highly valuable possessions. Thus, overall there were 110 (39%) plot owners who owned possessions that gave them non-poor status at the time they acquired their plots. The other 170 (61%) did not own the possessions categorised above at the time they acquired their plots.

### Gender Breakdown of Plot Owners

In addition to poverty, the research was interested in whether particular disadvantaged groups, especially women, had been able to access land through informal channels. A gender breakdown of the studied plot owners showed that the majority 84% (n=235) were males while only 16% (n=45) were females, compared to 26% of female-headed households in the national urban population (CBS 2002:11).

### Means of Plot Acquisition

This clearly shows the disadvantaged position of women, since one needs to be both socially and economically empowered to access land. Men, as household heads, are not only expected to acquire property but are also economically and culturally more advantaged than women.

### The Fluidity of Informality

The three study settlements have different tenure status. Tenure status reflects the rules governing transactions, the rights transferred and the means of recording those rights. Up to 1994 they could all have been categorized as informal, but on account of the informal subdivision and informal development that had occurred, tenure status in the initial Kamukunji subdivision was formalized in 1995, legalizing what had been illegal for 30 years. This demonstrates the fluidity of the concept of informality as reinforced by its many shades. Thus, a settlement was considered informal from 1965 to 1994, only to acquire the status of 'formal' upon the registration of its 30-year-old informal subdivision.

Actor perceptions of the legality or illegality of informal land delivery and development processes were varied. Informal sector actors reported that they did not see anything illegal about informal land transactions, providing the parties involved were in agreement and each honoured the contract of sale. Illegality was not viewed in terms of failing to conform to the legal framework governing development in the municipality.

### Conclusion

Informal urban development is not a preserve of a certain category of people, as the poor, rich, educated, non-educated, employed and unemployed are all perpetrators. 'Informality' is fluid and for the concept to be well understood, it should always be qualified by stating the perspective from which it is used. The rate of informal urbanisation is tremendous, as is evidenced by its enormous contribution to housing development in East African cities. But cities are economic engines and poverty fighters since they attract more investment than the rural areas, and it is instructive that urban development is realistically guided to tap this great potential and avoid the costs of informal urban development.

Means of acquisition	Bought		Inherited		Gift from relative/friend		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Research site							
Langas	11	86	0	2	0	1	100
Kamukunji	16	56	1	4	0	3	80
Munyaka	17	76	0	4	0	3	100
Total	44	218	1	10	0	7	280
TOTAL	262 (94%)		11 (4%)		7 (2%)		

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▲  
Table 1: Means of plot acquisition disaggregated by gender (Source: Field survey, 2003)

### Dr. Rose Musyoka

is a lecturer in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Nairobi. Before joining the university in December 2008, Rose worked as a planner for the government of Kenya. She holds a B.A. in Geography and Philosophy, M.A. in Philosophy and Philosophy, M.A. in Urban and Regional Planning, a PhD in Public Policy (specialising in Land) and a Postgraduate Diploma in Urban Land Management and Slum Regularisation. As a professional planner, she has over 18 years of experience in Kenya.

rmysyoka@hotmail.com

# The Underlying Causes and Challenges of Informal Urban Development in Uganda

Rukundo Bruce

*Die Anzahl der Stadtbewohner hat sich in Uganda innerhalb von 10 Jahren mehr als verdoppelt; nahezu die Hälfte von ihnen lebt in der Hauptstadt Kampala. Diese besteht zu 65 bis 75 % aus informellen Siedlungen, die bei weitaus unzureichender oder gar nicht vorhandener öffentlicher Infrastrukturversorgung und unter Armutsbedingungen die überwiegende Mehrheit der Hauptstadtbevölkerung beherbergen.*

*Dieser Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit den zentralen Fragen, warum nimmt die informelle Besiedlung kontinuierlich zu? Wer sind die Akteure? Welche Auswirkungen sind bisher zu beobachten? Welcher Handlungsbedarf besteht? Für den Fall Kampala wurden unterschiedlichste Faktoren identifiziert: schwache Planungsinstrumentarien und –Ressourcen, die u.a. zur Folge haben, dass Strukturpläne überholt sind, noch bevor sie in Kraft treten; schwache Stadtverwaltungen und unsichere Gesetzeslage, unübersichtlicher Bodenmarkt unsicheres Landrecht und politische Fehler. Das starke Bevölkerungswachstum im städtischen Raum beruht teilweise auf Migration oder Flucht, ausgelöst durch sich verschlechternden Lebensbedingungen im ländlichen Raum und kriegsähnliche Konflikte in einigen Regionen Ugandas sowie in Somalia und im Süd-Sudan.*

*Die unkontrollierbare Verdichtung der Siedlungen in Verbindung mit improvisierter Energieversorgung führt zu sozialen Spannungen, hohen Risiken wie Unfall- und Brandgefahr und hygienischen Problemen aufgrund mangelnder und immer schwieriger werdender Entsorgung. Dauerhafte und für alle Akteure akzeptable Lösungen müssen in der Verbindung von Maßnahmen auf politischer, sozialer, technischer und Verwaltungsebene erarbeitet werden.*

## Introduction

Urbanisation processes in Uganda began with the Kenya-Uganda railway construction in the 1890s and, later, the industrialisation policies in the 1960s aiming at economic empowerment and job creation for migrants from rural areas. Urban centres such as Tororo, Kasese, Gulu and Kampala developed informally with no proper plans. Today, about 44% of the population in Kampala lives in unplanned and un-serviced or under-serviced slums. Only 17% of residents in informal settlements have access to piped water (UNhabitat [www.unch.org](http://www.unch.org)). The key questions guiding this paper are: Why has informal urban development continually increased and who are the actors? What has been the impact? What are the best practices needed? Examples of informal urbanisation have been drawn from the case of Kampala. As a working definition, informal urbanisation is a “process whereby people engage in painstaking efforts to construct dwellings often years before services reach them” (Roy and Alsayyad 2003:36). It relates to the abnormality and irregularity of a habitat that does not obey authority, legal right, or norms and standards (ESF/N-AERUS 2001).

## The Case of Kampala

In sub-Saharan Africa about 71.9% of the urban population was estimated to live in slums with high consumptive pov-

erty and under-5 mortality rates (UNhabitat 2003:13:14). The Government of Uganda-GoU (2008:8) estimates the population density at 30 million with a 3.2% growth rate. The urban population growth from 1.6 to 3.6 million between 1991 and 2002 has not been matched with physical infrastructure improvements in housing, social amenities and skills. In Kampala, the home of 40% of the urban population (Ibid), squatter settlements and slums have spread. Under the Local Government Act (2002), only Kampala is the gazetted city with about 1.2 million people. Also gazetted are municipalities/town councils as urban centres irrespective of population densities (Population Secretariat (PS) 2007), but many areas with urban characteristics were left ungazetted. Kampala has an urbanisation rate of 12.3%, which is above the national average urbanisation rate of a 5.9%, and forms a national face of the informal urban development realities. About 65-75% of Kampala city is of informal settlements (see Kasozi 2001:1), and informal housing accommodates the majority of the city population. At a high urbanisation rate, the delivery of services and amenities like health, education, social welfare, transport by urban authorities is difficult (GoU 2008:10). Informality cuts across the city as abuse of building standards via poor planning and construction standards, causing accidents in schools, churches, shops and markets which claim lives and property.

## Conceptual framework

Uncoordinated actors, weak institutions and rural poverty instigate informal urban development. Weak urban governance is a catalyst of corruption and land management problems. Consequently, slums and squatter settlements develop (See figure 1). The causes of informal urban development are further discussed below.

### The causes of informal urban development

Informality is facilitated by the acts of multiple actors in formal and informal sectors. In Kampala, causative factors include:

**Corruption:** Politics, corruption and lack of political will have also been very influential. In Kampala, some construction plans are corruptly approved, normally in road reserves and access lanes contrary to the Kampala City Council (KCC) policy. Developers abuse the city master structural plan, and the Urban Planning and Land Management Department only has the legal authority to offer advice, not to enforce standards.<sup>1</sup> Institutional capacity is weak due to poor institutional coordination and hardships in securing land titles, while the existing prerequisites for the submission of plans have left planned developments for the rich. The poor turn to illegal developments, where they must bribe KCC agents and building inspectors to “ignore [the] unauthorised developments” (see Nkurunziza 2004:76).

**Poor planning and legal failure:** Either urban planning capacities are weak or good structural plans expire before implementation. For example, the Kampala structural plan expired in 2004 – before it was even implemented.<sup>1</sup> Informal developments rise in presence of well designed and shelved master plans. The legal framework is ambiguous and outdated. The Town and Country Planning Act 1964 that still operates to-date provides standards for built-up spaces in urban areas but ignores the vitality of planning. By emphasising the need for development to supersede planning in urban centres (see PS 2007:2), the Act legalises informality.

**Weak urban councils:** Land reforms and further enactments of the Land Act 1998 that entrusted land to the people with unrestricted rights affected the urban councils which were initially entrusted with the urban land and tasked to secure, plan and develop it. This weakened urban development planning since it meant that any development on urban land had to be preceded with compensation of the bona-fide occupants. But urban councils are often financially constrained, with budget deficits too large to provide the necessary urban infrastructure and services (PS 2007). Urban centres have stretched to a no-man’s state of informality and illegality.

**Land tenure effect:** There are various tenure regimes in Uganda, such as free-hold, mailo land,<sup>2</sup> customary and leasehold. In Kampala, these land tenure regimes are parallelly governed by uncoordinated land administration systems including the Buganda Land Board, the Uganda Land Commission, the National Land Registry and the Kampala City Council Land Board. These institutions have no shared vision in urban planning, monitoring and implementation. The confusion in the urban land market system



▲  
Figure 2: Katanga Slum in Kampala (Source: Author)

through corrupt and irregular land transfers in pursuit of private goals has fuelled land speculation and informality.

More challenging are the policy and legal failures. Urban councils fail to enforce the 1964 Town and Country Planning Act due to the complicated administration of land use on private land. The decentralisation of planning authorities after the 1993 decentralisation policy complicated the land-tenure systems that impeded planning for the urban land. As a result, land owners sub-divided private land parcels without due regard to established urban infrastructures such as water pipes, roads and underground communication cables (PS 2007:2), or fragile ecosystems. The consequential rise of floods, squatter settlements and slums is not surprising.

**High urban population growth:** Kampala’s 12.3% urbanisation rate (GoU 2008:10) is above the urban authorities’ service

**1**  
Daily Monitor Sept. 6th 2008: Kampala structural plan expires. For the full news article, see: [http://www.monitor.co.ug/artman/publish/news/Kampala\\_structural\\_plan\\_expires\\_71070.shtml](http://www.monitor.co.ug/artman/publish/news/Kampala_structural_plan_expires_71070.shtml)

**2**  
The mailo land-tenure system resulted from the 1900 Buganda agreement under which land was divided between the King (Kabaka), notables and the protectorate government with the mile as the basic unit of subdivision – hence the mailo land tenure.

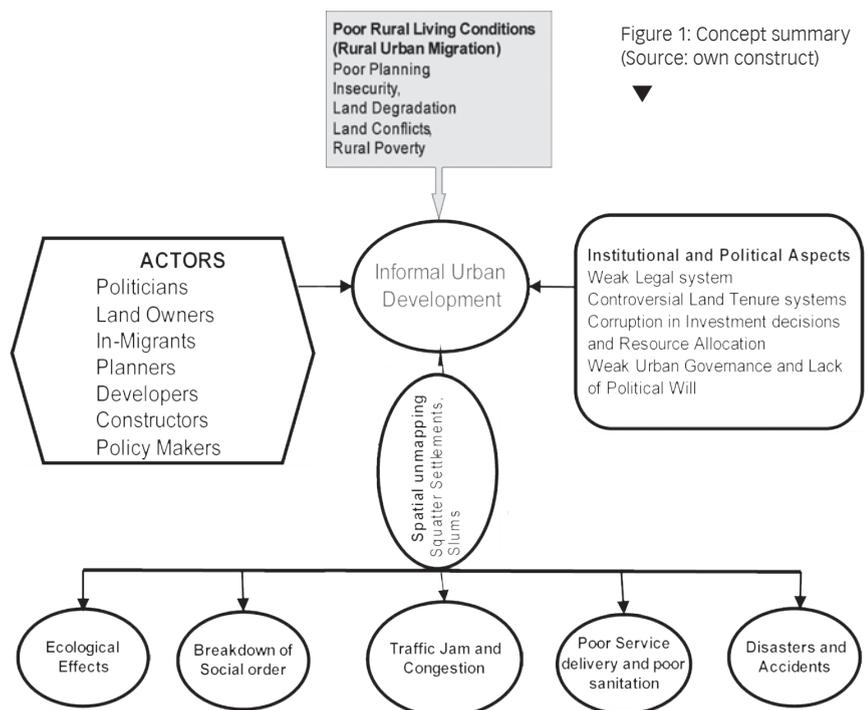




Fig 3: Narrow Streets in Katanga Slum, Kampala (Source: Author)

**3**  
NEMA as quoted by the Daily Monitor Nov. 17th 2008: City wetlands face extinction due to heavy encroachment, 2008 Monitor Publication Ltd, Kampala. For the full article, see: [http://www.monitor.co.ug/artman/publish/news/City\\_wetlands\\_face\\_extinction\\_due\\_to\\_heavy\\_encroachment\\_75109.shtml](http://www.monitor.co.ug/artman/publish/news/City_wetlands_face_extinction_due_to_heavy_encroachment_75109.shtml)

**4**  
The New Vision March 16th 2008: Wetland squatters chase NEMA staff. For the full article, see <http://www.newvision.co.ug/D/8/12/616999>

**5**  
The New Vision 30 Jun 2008: Are we taking the fire tragedies in Kampala lightly?

delivery capacity, yet it continuously engulfs the surrounding agricultural land and wetlands to accommodate its inhabitants. The prevailing weak urban governance, combined with the lack of pro-poor/urban policies and general neglect by the weak institutions, has made informality part of the urban development pattern. Proper planning is deficient as desperate individuals turn to survival strategies – raising shacks for shelter that make services such as waste collection or power and water supply more difficult to delivery (such as Katanga and Bwaise) (See Fig 2).

**Poor rural living conditions:** Rural poverty, famine, civil insecurity, land degradation, land conflicts and land-tenure insecurity have increased rural-urban migration. Conflicts in Somalia, Sudan, etc have led to the influx of refugees in Kampala. People flee insecure regions like Karamoja, Gulu and Kitgum to urban centres for survival. In parts of the city, they establish shacks with easy connection to the city centre for street begging or informal activities. In Eastern Uganda, urbanisation has shrunk without migration to other urban areas for better opportunities (PS 2007). Urban rural migration was only noted in the 1970s under Idi Amin's rule.

### Effect of informal urban development

Lack of pension rights, adequate housing, social security coverage, work contracts and environmental safety are the issues of urban informality often manifested through slums. AlSayyad and Roy (2003:5) argue that "...urban informality while manifested in distinct sectors, is an organised urban logic... informality operates through the constant negotiability of value and the un-mapping of space".

**Access to land and environmental entropy:** High urban population growth relates with congestion (land pressure), land scarcity

and environmental abuse, yet land demand is met with corruption in the land administration. Kampala has irregularly lost green belts to private investors. With immigrants from poor rural areas, slums continue to reclaim wetlands (such as the Nakivubo wetland) for agriculture, biomass harvesting and settlement. Pit latrine construction and poor waste dumping practices have polluted surface and ground water resources. Based on the 2006 water quality analysis for Kampala, there are high biological oxygen demand (57 milligrams/l) and chemical oxygen demand (110mg/l) levels<sup>3</sup> resulting in sanitary disease outbreaks especially diarrhoea, worm infestations, cholera and malaria.

**Poor service delivery:** Weak service delivery in informal areas is limited by accessibility to waste dumping grounds with too narrow streets for the waste collection trucks. The solid waste collection rate is very low at 55% (UNhabitat [www.unhabitat.org](http://www.unhabitat.org)) and clean water and power supply on the basis of affordability is hard.

**Land and social conflicts:** Squatter settlements with poor, low and middle income neighbourhoods in urban and peri-urban areas are common places for land conflicts (see Wehrmann 2005:326), sometimes due to adverse land occupation. Illegal settlements are followed with illegal evictions, yet legal evictions also cause conflicts. For example, in March 2008 the NEMA staff survived lynching by a mob of encroachers and failed to evict squatters and demolish existing structures in the Kinawataka wetland, a Kampala suburb.<sup>4</sup>

The limited living space and cost of living break family cohesion and cause social conflicts. The breakdown of values, norms and societal principles has caused increases in crime, violence and prostitution (PS 2007). High crime rates and armed robberies in

Kampala suburbs are the latest cases contributing to the high administrative costs of maintaining law and order.

**Tragedies and fire accidents:** Common floods, fire outbreaks and traffic accidents often trigger life and property losses. Based on the 30 June 2008 press release,<sup>5</sup> at least 45 fire outbreaks occur monthly in Kampala alone. About 2,214 fires were reported between 2003 and 2007 in Kampala, with 263 people dead and 152 injured. Homes, institutions, restaurants, hotels, warehouses, stores, factories, workshops, automobiles, shacks, farms, electrical installations and markets are damaged. Fire accidents are triggered by candles used for lighting or short circuits from illegal power connections in poor income areas.

### Solutions to informal urban development

The suggested solutions to informality are in line with the seven components of the right to adequate housing: a) Legal security of tenure; b) availability of services, materials, and infrastructure; c) affordability; d) accessibility; e) habitability; f) location and; g) cultural adequacy (UN Habitat 2002).

### Land-tenure security and regularisation of informal settlements:

- Institutional reforms in land administration. Negotiate intra and inter-institutional arrangements to improve land governance and land-use planning.
- Good urban governance criteria are needed to reduce corruption especially in the land sector and improve the design and implementation of master plans.
- Political will with local ownership and visionary leadership, and rule of law by active participatory planning.
- Sorting informal rights. A land audit should be undertaken to assess the legal status of the land under the informal status and after, regularisation programs can take off.
- Building a strong land information system with clear land record systems to facilitate urban planning through producing "evidence prior to eviction" and addressing adverse possession claims (UN Habitat 2003:77).
- Legal recourse and conflicts: Avail appeal channels with regard to the judiciary and public administration, assist evicted urban dwellers, and establish dispute resolution avenues (Ibid).
- Legal and policy reforms with accessible formal institutions to guide urban development processes.

### Technical planning legalisation

- Technical planning by a rational approach should take precedence over political interests. Technical plans should by law be compulsory and applied for the good of urban dwellers. Technocrats should be part of the enforcement, monitoring and evaluation-of-standards teams.
- Integration of technical planning with settlement regularisation programmes.
- Land-use zoning to deter haphazard urban development.

**Participatory planning:** Consider the peri-urban values and opportunities, and ensure active collaborative solution seeking

(by law and persuasion). Stakeholder consultation requires flexible adaptation to new plans and provision of options.

**Safety mechanisms:** Conduct environmental audits of institutions and structures close to flammable facilities and under high-voltage power lines, and train fire-fighting skills and efficient waste management methods.

**Service provision:** Extend water, power, sewerage-system and road networks through citywide infrastructural planning (UN Habitat 2003) to improve land value and land market. This would ensure upgrading and gentrification of informal settlements naturally.

**Rural development policies:** Balance economic development to create jobs in rural areas through industrialisation such as food processing industries (PS 2007), and extend services such as roads and power supply. This will reverse rural-urban to urban-rural migration

### Conclusion

The finding of lasting solutions to informal urban development in Kampala needs a study of the evolving formal and informal complexities whose mix forms the environment facilitating informality. The key factors range from controversial land tenure systems governed by uncoordinated institutions to poor rural conditions and weak urban governance. For the existing institutions, vital measures largely lie in good governance, land tenure, structural institutional reforms and political will as well as in appraising benchmarking, rural development and education of stakeholders in urban development planning.

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### Bruce Rukundo

is a Doctoral Researcher at the Center for Land and Environmental Risk Management, Technical University of Munich (TUM). He currently works with the Chair of Land Management as an Administrative Assistant Program Manager, while in pursuit of his research. Meanwhile, he has been working with Arrow Consults and Associates Uganda Ltd and Air Water and Earth Uganda Ltd, since 2004, specializing in Environmental Impact Assessment from where he went on a study leave. Rukundo holds a B.A. in Environmental Management and an MSc. in Land Management. As an Environmental Impact Practitioner and an Administrative Program Assistant, he has several years of professional working experience both in Uganda and Germany respectively.

[rukundobr@yahoo.com](mailto:rukundobr@yahoo.com)

# Informal Peri-Urban Land Management in Dar es Salaam: The Role of Social Institutions

Aldo Lupala

*Dar Es Salaam hat, wie viele andere Städte in Entwicklungsländern auch, ein beispielloses rasantes Wachstum der Stadfläche unter Armutbedingungen zu verzeichnen. An der Peripherie werden innerhalb kürzester Zeit große, bisher landwirtschaftlich genutzte, Parzellen außerhalb des Geltungsbereichs kommunaler Planungshoheit wohnungs- und wohnumfeldbezogenen Funktionen zugeführt. Dieser Prozess bietet weder formell noch informell anerkannten Institutionen ausreichend Raum, zu wachsen und die Transformation in geordneter Weise zu lenken.*

*Dieser Artikel stellt die sozialen Organisationsformen und private Initiativen vor, die das von Behörden oder anderen offiziellen Institutionen hinterlassene Vakuum zu füllen versuchen, indem sie anderen Stelle die Planung und das Land-Management an der Peripherie übernehmen. Ebenso wird untersucht, bis zu welchem Grad sie diese Funktion wirksam erfüllen können. Die Siedlungen Nyantara, Kimara und Mbezi Louis an der Peripherie wurden im Rahmen einer Fallstudie untersucht. Die Ergebnisse belegen, dass diese Gruppierungen ein vielversprechendes Potential für das sozialverträgliche Landmanagement in den Randlagen von Dar Es Salaam bilden. Der Autor empfiehlt daher geeignete Verzahnungen von formellen Institutionen und informellen Gruppen mit dem Ziel effektiver Bodenverwaltung und Siedlungsentwicklung an der Peripherie von Dar Es Salaam.*

## Introduction

In the near absence of formal land management institutions in the peri-urban zones, social institutions have stepped in to fill in the gap. Thus, in view of the dwindling public capacity and unprecedented rapidly growing influx of immigrants in the peri-urban zones, the informal system which is pioneered by the local communities, groups, and even individuals is increasingly becoming the vehicle through which land is parcelled and transacted, land uses are distributed and transacted, tenure security enhanced and development control enforced (Kombe and Kreibich, 1997 and 1999; Oestereich, 1998 and 2000; and Lupala, 2002). This, however, is done in collaboration with some grassroots institutions of the public system, namely, sub-ward governments, primary courts and even the police. Attempts of the public system to intervene meet strong resistance from the local communities whose interests are put at stake, bringing the role of the public system near to a collapse.

In pursuing this study, therefore, more emphasis was given to the existing phenomena that explain the driving forces for land development in the peri-urban zone than to a strict application of the Western propounded theories that are less relevant to the Dar es Salaam context. In fact, even the land market theory showed some discrepancies after confronting the reality on the ground.

A case study method was adapted to investigate the role played by socially grafted institutions in informally managed land development in selected peri-urban settlements of Nyantira, Mbezi Luis and Kimara. As a contribution to

acknowledge, this work has generated several examples to explain the workable institutional arrangements based on subsisting social institutions. The study has confirmed its proposition that there are potentials among social institutions which, if harnessed, could enhance the efficiency of land management in the peri-urban zone.

## Conceptual Framework

Studies conducted by Kimani (1972) in Nairobi, Asabere (1981) and Bobo (1987) in Accra (as in Kombe 1995:19) and Van den Berg (1984) in Lusaka are compatible with the land-rent model, whereas, the works of Sada (1972) and Okpala (1979) in Lagos and Xavier (1996) in Masaka disapprove it. Subsequently, it was established that the most relevant variables in studying the capacity of the social institutions in peri-urban land management include the type of institution, instruments, guiding norms and linkages, as well as the degree of autonomy and the incentives attached (Figure 1).

Different types of social institutions have diverse impacts on informal peri-urban land management, and hence the capacity. Chaane (1996:19), addressing the type of social institutions in the peri-urban zones of Maseru, notes that some traditional institutions in collaboration with landowners have immense influence on parcelling and allocating land outside of the legal administrative framework. Commenting on the peri-urban zones of Namibian towns, Kauahita (1996:30) argues that the significance of social institutions cannot be overlooked. Tuts (1999:3) and Burian (2000:2), drawing from experiences of small cities in Kenya, Morocco, Vietnam and Tanzania,

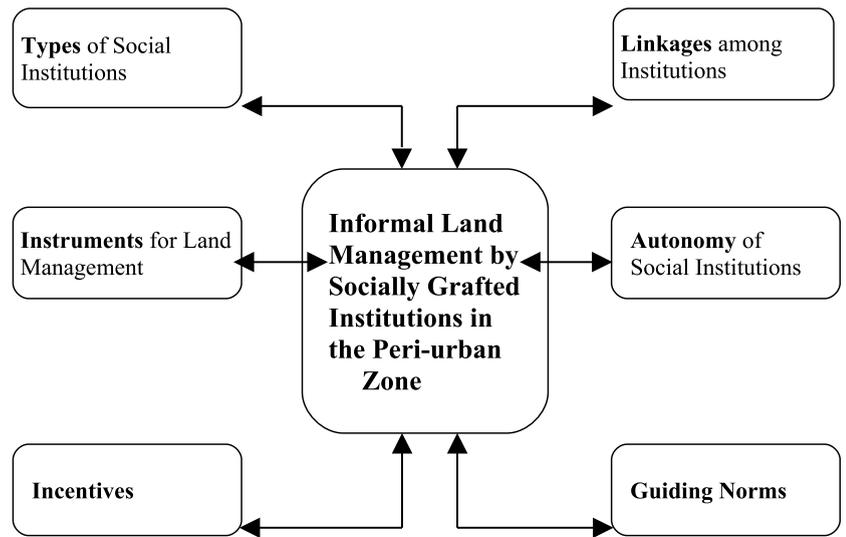
respectively, argue the importance of starting from local experiences of social institutions in policy dialogue.

With respect to informal land management instruments, Section 57 parts (g) and (h) of the 1999 Land Act in Tanzania encourage the initiatives of the local institutions in managing land development in the peri-urban zones. In the near absence of formal instruments, the study investigated the role of the informal but social instruments in managing peri-urban land development.

Regarding the locally developed norms, Lynch (1981:214) argues that land use development, for instance, may be allocated and secured by numerous physical means such as trees and stones. Besides physical landmarks, symbolic barriers and pathways can be used to administer control. He further argues that there must be laws or norms on the rights of ownership and common understandings about group territory and personal space. Some traditional societies have been able to control their space rather easily since they possess a large body of custom with regard to the land. It is yet possible to create stable, evolving customs and norms for the control of space development. Kauahita (1996) also notes that some of the traditional institutions are capable of arbitrating land disputes in the peri-urban zones of Namibian towns.

Understanding how formal land management institutions are linked to social institutions in informal land management in peri-urban zones is as critical as assessing their degree of autonomy in doing so (Rakodi, 1999). Indeed, the linkages among key actors in informal land management are crucial in order to optimise the designation of land for communal uses such as roads, cemeteries, primary schools and playgrounds. According to Ortiz (2000:14), although advances should be made towards sovereignty, organised and participative societies are crucial in reducing transaction costs.

In a real-life situation, it is unthinkable that an institution will shoulder a responsibility in informal land management without clear incentives or speculated benefits. It was therefore important to study the type of incentives for social institutions engaged in peri-urban informal land manage-



ment with a view to understanding how social institutions could be sustainably integrated with formal institutions.

▲ Figure 1: Conceptualising the capacity of informal land management by social institutions

### Empirical Analysis

The empirical analysis is limited to five research variables, namely: Type and number of social institutions; instruments for land management; the guiding norms; institutional linkages and the degree of autonomy; and incentives for social institutions to engage in peri-urban land management.

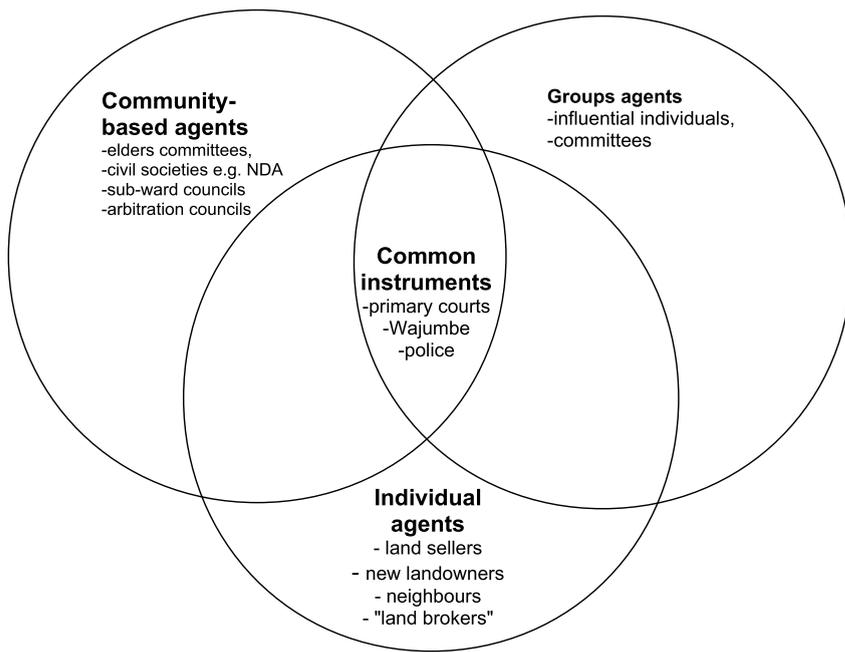
### Types of social institutions and their capacities

The study established three distinct social institutions that initiate land parcelling and distribution of land uses, facilitate land transactions, effect registration, enhance security of tenure, resolve disputes and ensure land use development control in peri-urban areas. These are (Table 1):

- Local community, that is, community-based arrangements.
- Small groups of 3 to 5 actors with specific common interest in the process.
- Individuals acting in own capacity largely because they have decided to subdivide and sell out the land parcels they have been holding or owning.

Type of social institution	Major strengths	Major weaknesses	Major opportunities
<b>Local community</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- land parcelling</li> <li>- distribution of land uses</li> <li>- acquisition of land for community services</li> <li>- land transactions</li> <li>- land registration supported by local skills</li> <li>- enhancing tenure security</li> <li>- formulating norms</li> <li>- resolving land disputes</li> <li>- controlling land development</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- unreliable documentation</li> <li>- biased information sharing on land markets</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- high credibility from the local formal institutions, the land buyers and indigenous people</li> <li>- high legitimacy to achieve donor support through formally institutionalised local institutions i.e. associations</li> </ul>
<b>Groups</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- sound approach in land use distribution</li> <li>- land transactions</li> <li>- efficient land registration</li> <li>- enhancing tenure security</li> <li>- resolving land disputes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- limited accountability</li> <li>- biased selection of land buyers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- knowledgeable local individuals</li> <li>- institutionalised incentives and commonality in interest</li> <li>- mixed household economic levels, high chances for crosssubsidisation</li> </ul>
<b>Individuals</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- hastened land delivery</li> <li>- offering high chances for the poor to access land</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- poor distribution of land for community services</li> <li>- less networked with adjoining land agents</li> <li>- less accountable</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- the fastest way of land delivery for the majority poor</li> </ul>

◀ Table 1: Socially grafted institutions and observed capacity in land management (Source: Own surveys)



▲ Figure 2: Instruments used by the three types of agents in land management

Overall, these institutions are potentials in guiding peri-urban land development (Table 1).

### Instruments for informal land management

Different instruments are used in different areas of the peri-urban zones to guide land parceling, transactions and development (Figure 2). Social institutions such as the sub-ward governments, primary courts and even the police play a major role across the three case studies in the local agreements, for instance, in enforcing contracts in land transactions, protecting land reserved for roads and enhancing tenure security.

These instruments do not only enhance the reliability of land supply to the urban poor and poor immigrant households, but they also offer a window of opportunity for responsive paradigm of land management in the peri-urban zone.

### The guiding norms

It was important to investigate the guiding norms of different land agents because they underline the rules of the game and they form the operational and decision-making framework on how land is transacted, developed and controlled. It was revealed that the background and culture of the local communities influence the rules of the game (norms) in peri-urban land management (Table 2). The social trust, especially on the traditional institutional instruments in place, was found to be the cornerstone of effective enforcement in land development control.

Nyantira is pioneering the evolution of customs and norms for the control of space development by integrating the traditional norms with pre-conceived ideas of what a settlement should be in terms of land development. However, in Mbezi, where ethnicity is rather mixed, and in Kimara, land development was driven by land markets that often did not conform to the interests of the larger community.

### Institutional linkages and autonomy

One of the most conspicuous findings with respect to institutional interactions is that the linkages are initiated by the socially grafted informal land management institutions. These linkages are both vertical and horizontal, and their strength varies from one case study to another, largely depending on the speculated benefits (Table 3). Apparently, vertical linkages do not go beyond the sub-ward governments. In fact, even the land dispute arbitration issues rarely go beyond the primary courts, if referred by the Sub-Ward Dispute Arbitration Councils.

Weak linkages were found among the key land management agents at the upper levels, but strong linkages have been forged between land-managing social institutions and the formal institutions at the local level. The horizontal linkages tend to diminish with the diminishing collective nature of the land agents. Thus, community-based land management institutions tend to be less egoistic than

▶ Table 2: The guiding norms pioneered by social institutions

Nyantira	Mbezi	Kimara
<b>Guiding norms</b>		
Linked to common socio-cultural background - Social trust - Compulsory general fortnightly meetings - Community contribution for purchasing land for community services - Protecting land for community services - Individual plot boundary marking	- Partly shared job contracts - Participation in protection of road reserves	No specific norms
<b>Type of social institution</b>		
Community-based	Private individuals selling land	Private individuals selling land
<b>Institutional linkages and autonomy</b>		
<b>Strong linkages with</b> Sub-ward government, indigenous elders, Ardhi University and the police <b>Very weak linkages with</b> Dar es Salaam City Council (DCC) and Ministry of Lands Housing and Human Settlements Development ( MLHHS)D <b>Autonomy</b> Very autonomous in decision-making	<b>Strong informal linkages with</b> Sub-ward chairman <b>Very weak linkages with</b> adjoining land management agents <b>Autonomy</b> Very autonomous in decision-making	- Formerly supported by the President - Recently the sub-ward government became more institutionalised <b>Strong linkages with</b> Wajumbe, Kimara primary court and Association of Kimara Business Operators <b>Very weak linkages with</b> The DCC and the MLHHS <b>Autonomy</b> Semi-autonomous, also receives orders from the DCC

▶ Table 3: Established institutional linkage and autonomy of social institution (Source: Own surveys)

the small groups or individuals. Thus, unless the benefits are made apparent, any intervention is likely to meet resistance from the groups and individual land agents.

On the other hand, the local formal institutions like ward and sub-ward governments are faced with deficiency as well as lack of legitimacy to intervene in land management. These institutions claim 15% of the land prices for every transaction and do not encompass land matters.

### Incentives to social institutions

Meaningful participation in any activity is enticed by perceived benefits that individuals or the social institution see in it. Although the long-term objectives of land management by the local community – such as land reserve for public uses, optimal use of land and secured land tenure – seem to be clear and appreciated, the land sellers may have egoistic endeavours. The incentives for socially grafted institutions involved in land management include parting with 10-15 percent of the land lot price on transfer; a handshake ranging from TShs 10,000 (US Dollars 10) to TShs 20,000 (US Dollars 20); buying one of the plots at a concessional price and sometimes a mere win of respect from the society.

### Towards Effective Role of Social Institutions in Peri-urban Land Management

In view of the emerging findings, an attempt has been made to direct the way forward. The peri-urban zone of Dar es Salaam has heterogeneous types of social institutions, each operating under a different context. Thus, formulation of Land Management and Networking Committees (LaMaNeCos), has to accommodate this reality.

Creating enabling regulatory instruments ensures that the activities of the grassroots land-managing agents and the local formal institutions will be favourably treated by government. This type of recognition can be received by the social institutions as an incentive in forging cooperation with the formal land management system.

Recognising socially developed guiding norms on land management is not only a strategy that will empower the social institutions, but will enhance accountability and develop a sense of ownership for their plans. Furthermore, clarity in the organisational structure of social institutions involved in land delivery is crucial for a successful integrated land management and particularly on the information flow in the land markets.

Networked and linked institutions across levels are central in inhibiting transaction costs. The aim should be to realise a combination of bottom-up and top-down approaches and institute dialogues with a view to complementing institutional capacities. Furthermore, a checked degree of autonomy of social institutions is an important strategy for inhibiting abuse of mandate some social institutions may fall trap of.

The incentive for the social institutions involved in peri-urban land management ought to be recognised, streamlined and regulated in order to institute justice and efficiency in peri-urban land markets. The established provisions should form the entry points for further dialogues.

Some of these proposals have been piloted successfully in the peri-urban zones of Vijayawanda in India (Barnashree, 1993), Namibia (Kauahita, 1996), Lesotho (Chaane, 1996) and Indonesia (Archer, 1992).

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### Dr. Aldo Lupala

is a Senior Lecturer and Head of the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at Ardhi University, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. He has widely published in the area of informal peri-urban land management and the governance of urban land development in the context of developing countries.

aldolupala@yahoo.com

# Unravelling the Potentials of Rural-Urban Linkages and Livelihood Enhancement

Analysis of rural-urban linkages and livelihoods, Mlandizi-Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Nimrod S. Mushi

*Die Verknüpfung zwischen Metropole und Umland durch dichte Personen-, Finanz-, Informations- und Warenströme begründet eine unbestreitbare gegenseitige Abhängigkeit. Der Artikel präsentiert einige Ergebnisse der Erforschung von Stadt-Land-Verknüpfungen und von Existenzgrundlagen im Einzugsbereich von Dar Es Salaam. Die wichtigste Erkenntnis war, dass diese rural-urbanen Wechselbeziehungen ausschlaggebend sind für die Verbesserung der Haushaltseinkommen. Diese sind auch verbunden mit der Änderung der Grundbesitzverhältnisse, der gezielten Umstellung auf ertragreiche Agrarprodukte, mit denen sich pro Hektar Anbaufläche hohe Erlöse erzielen lassen, sowie zusätzlichen Beschäftigungsverhältnissen außerhalb des Agrarsektors, die sich für die Mehrheit von einer ergänzenden Überlebensstrategie zur Haupt-Einkommensquelle entwickelt haben.*

*Statt der früher üblichen großen Farmen in den Händen weniger, besitzen jetzt viele Familien kleine Felder, durch deren Bewirtschaftung sie ein Zusatzeinkommen erzielen.*

*Die engen Verzahnungen zwischen Stadt und Umland müssen analysiert und verstanden werden, um langfristig eine positive Entwicklung der Region fördern zu können. Dabei ist insbesondere sicherzustellen, dass die rasanten Entwicklungen an der Peripherie, also an den Grenzen der Zuständigkeitsbereiche von Stadtverwaltung und Ministerium für ländliche Entwicklung, ausreichend beachtet werden, um sie langfristig steuern zu können.*

## Introduction

Rural-urban linkages in literature are divided into two broad categories: spatial linkages and sectoral linkages. Spatial linkages are flows of agricultural commodities from rural to urban markets and, in the opposite direction, flows of manufactured and imported goods from urban areas to rural settlements. Flows of information on markets as well as price fluctuations between urban and rural areas are also other types of rural-urban linkages. The flow of goods and services involves the transfer of income, people and capital from one place to another among households dispersed in the settlements (McGee 1987; Rabinovitch 1999; Douglass 1998). Sectoral linkages include forward and backward linkages between agriculture and manufacturing services – for instance, the production of agricultural inputs in urban areas such as fertilisers and farm implements and the existence of processing industries in rural areas (Baker 1995; Satterthwaite and Tacoli 2002, Mushi 2003, UNHABITAT 1996).

Livelihoods thinking dates back to the work of Robert Chambers in the mid-1980s and was further developed by Chambers and Conway in the early 1990s. Chambers and DFID define livelihoods as comprising the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living (Chambers, 1997). Thus, the sustainability of livelihoods is a function of how members utilise these assets to meet their needs without the compromising of future generations. This is

usually manifested in the coping and adaptive strategies pursued by men and women (Tacoli 1998; Carney 1998).

## The research issue and methods

Urban and rural areas are closely linked, each contributing to the other symbiotically, which needs to be considered in development planning (Baker 1995; Brigs and Mwamfupe 2000). The absence of rural development policies that recognise and seek to take advantage of the positive aspects of rural-urban linkages in the impact regions of many metropolitans in developing countries is a constraint to rural and urban development (Mwamfupe 1994; Kamete 1998). This policy vacuum requires empirical evidence to unveil how such deficiencies have affected the rural-urban linkages and, in turn, the livelihoods of both rural and urban people (Rabinovitch 1999; Douglas 1998).

The quality and intensity of livelihoods changes of the people in the impact region, and the quality of rural-urban linkages, is the major concern of this paper. The key concepts that have elsewhere contributed to the reinforcement of weak rural-urban linkages are: infrastructure, demographic, economic, and institutional linkages. The socio-economic conceptual categories will be discussed in the next section so as to examine how they contribute positively or negatively to rural and urban livelihoods.

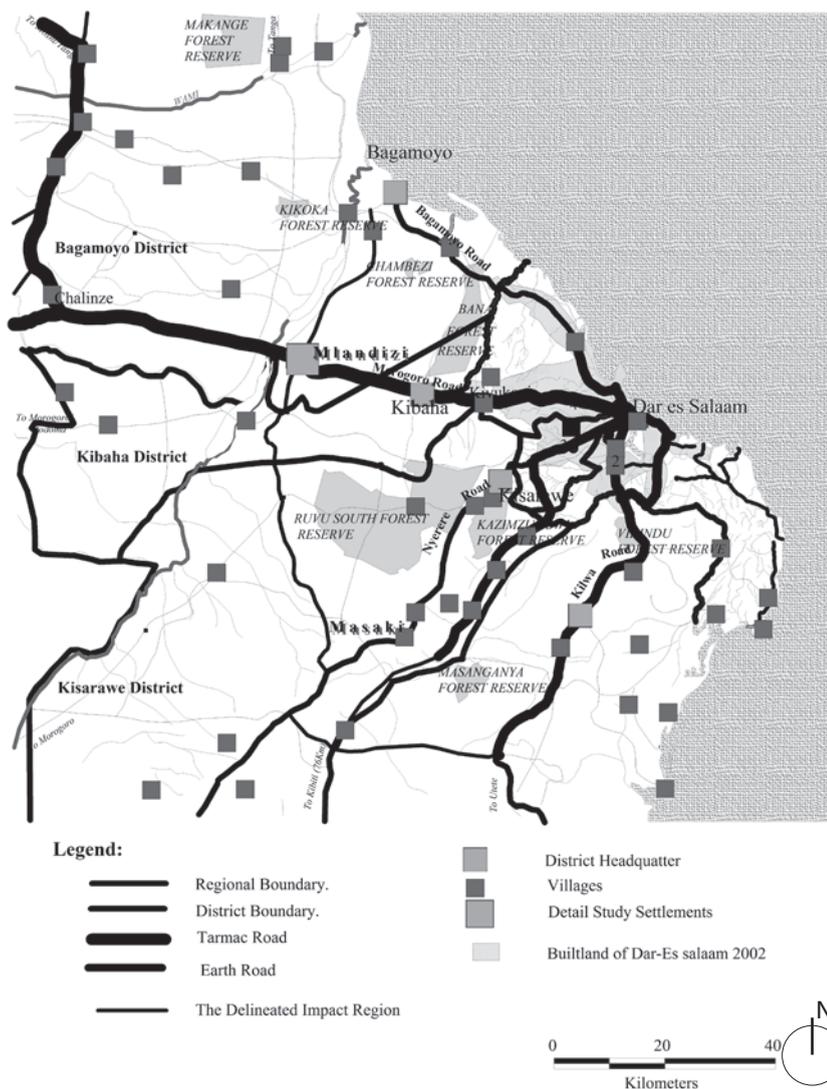
A case study of Mlandizi Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, was used to answer the research questions and explain how the commodity chain (as a unit of analysis) affects the livelihoods positively or negatively. This study engages the commodity chain and participatory methodology tools such as mobility matrixes, Venn diagrams and small-scale household surveys. All the tools were put to practise in the commodity chain analysis from the production stage in rural areas to the consumption stage in urban areas. The combination of tools helped the initial mapping of the diverse linkages, while focus-group discussions provided a simplified account of the reasons behind the patterns identified. Other stakeholders interviewed included transporting agents, commissioned agents, and itinerant traders. Moreover, key informants provided useful information on policies and practises that could not be obtained from the semi-structured interviews.

### Property ownership and livelihoods in Mlandizi

Mlandizi-Dar es Salaam is one of the corridors leading from the city of Dar es Salaam. Mlandizi village is located along Morogoro Road, 67 kilometres to the west of metropolitan Dar es Salaam, in the Kibaha District (Map 1). Economic linkages in this case are explained as the assets a household has in terms of land ownership, houses, and their use in carrying out different activities. Thus, the economy at the household level will be measured by looking at the assets people have (such as land, housing and cash flow) which play a vital role in the rural and urban household livelihoods. The second important economic component is the number and range of activities performed as well as the capability of the poor households to diversify their labour force to carry out these activities. Thus, the households' ability to reduce vulnerability depends on the ability to transform these assets (land, labour and housing) into food and income.

All the households interviewed practise agriculture, but more than half of them also engage in more than one activity. The average size of a farm in the Ruvu "hamlet" ranges between 2 to 12 acres. 83% of the respondents in tomato farming were not from indigenous households, suggesting that people who engage in commercial tomato farming are from other parts of the country. The size of the farm and the type of agriculture practised are important determinants in whether farmers operate commercially or at a subsistence level. 30% of the farmers own between 2-3 acres of land, whilst 58% of them own more than five acres of land.

These results suggest that a majority of farmers in Mlandizi operate at subsistence level, and that the size of local farms is decreasing because indigenous farmers willingly sell some of their land to new landowners, especially within a radius of five kilometres around the village centre. As a result, the land ownership structure is changing, albeit slowly. The ability of women to access land in the village is no longer wholly determined by their relationship to men, or as daughters or wives, but through allocation, renting and buying. Thus, it is concluded that access to land is important to all people, but land ownership with the right to sell and use the produce from it without interruption is even more important. Consequently, the positive change in land-ownership patterns and household livelihoods are also enhanced in the village. This is possible because more and more people are engaged in commercial farming and non-farming activities.



### Economic relevance of tomato cultivation

Box 1 "Because of the fall of cashew nut price; it is easy to get credit from the urban traders; it pays quickly; there is a ready market (Dar es Salaam, Chalinze, Kibaha, and travellers); there is plenty of water here; and I do not depend on tomato alone".

Map 1: Road network in the impact region

In order to be economically viable, tomato fruit should provide an income higher than the other alternative crops such as cashew nuts and okra. Farmers who possess irrigation farming skills are not by and large the poorest

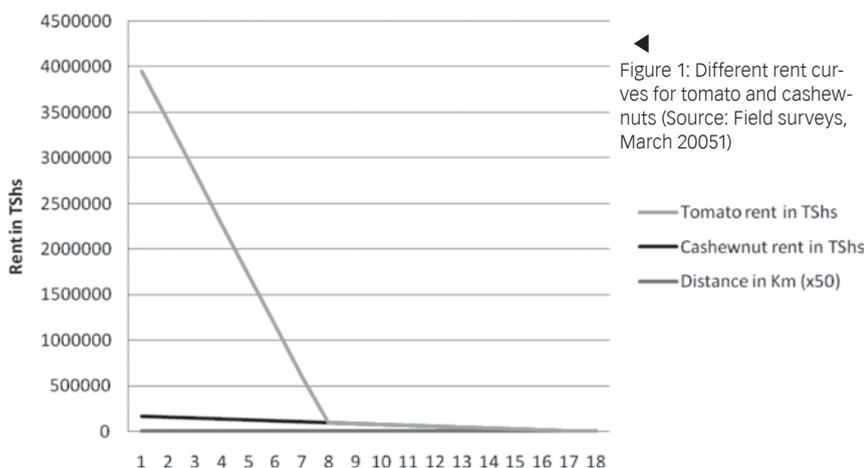


Figure 1: Different rent curves for tomato and cashew-nuts (Source: Field surveys, March 20051)

and are already nurturing towards economic optimisation. These farmers will only start farming a crop if it pays more than the other alternative crops. Thus, in order to understand the economic impact and per-hectare value of the products, two main crops grown in the area (i.e., the cashew nut and tomato) were studied and compared. A discourse with the farmers as to why they chose the tomato as their main commercial crop went is found in Box 1. The land rent is determined by subtracting the payment of other production factors from the production revenues. Thus, quality rents accrue on land of above-average quality since the difference between the value of production and labour costs is higher than on lower-quality land. The assumption is that the tomato and cashew nut have only one central market in Dar es Salaam and farmers buy all their inputs at constant prices. Figure 1 presents the results of location rents of the two competitive products. Interpretation of the graph provides the following results:

- Tomato production close to the market place results in significantly higher rent compared to cashew nut production.
- With increasing distance to the market, the rent for tomato production R1 (Fig. 1) decreases faster than the rent for cashew nut production R2. The reason is that tomato production leads to much higher yields compared to cashew nut production that increases significantly due to transport costs per hectare.
- At a distance of 350 kilometres the rent for tomato production becomes zero, while that of cashew nuts becomes zero at the distance of 850 kilometres.

From an economic perspective the product with the highest rent under the given conditions should be cultivated. Going by the results, up to a distance of 350 km, tomatoes should be cultivated. At a distance between 351 km and 850 km cashew nut cultivation is more profitable (K1-K3). Due to the immobility of land and the resulting transport costs, the distance to the market has repercussions on farm organisation and production composition. However, from an economic point of view, tomatoes can be profitably cultivated only up to 350 km from the market; this is not what is happening between Dar es Salaam and its impact region. The market receives tomato from as far as 700 kilometres from the Mbeya, Tanga, Kilimanjaro, Arusha and Iringa regions.

The result seems to suggest that more factors other than distance from the market need to be considered in deciding the economic relevance of the crop. These include: distance of the farms from paved roads; quality of road and access to the farms; size of plots; seasonality; and informal institutional relationships between the farmers and the

Box 2. I buy one carton of tomatoes at Tandale at a price between TShs. 5,000 and TShs. 6,000 and transport it using a pushcart to Sinza for TShs. 1,000. These cartons have different weights, sometimes 25 kilograms or 30 kilograms of tomatoes of various sizes. I sell the big and good tomatoes for TShs. 400 a kilogram and the medium-sized ones for TShs. 300 a kilogram. On average, I get between TShs. 10,000 and TShs. 12,000 a carton, which I sell for three days.

urban traders. Furthermore, it appears that it is suitable and economically viable for farmers to switch to commercial tomato farming because the per-hectare income earned from tomato farming is far higher than that earned from cashew nut cultivation. Cashew nut farming on commercial basis requires more acreage: approx. 3 hectares are needed to earn the same income as from one hectare of tomatoes. In addition, the changing land-ownership structure from large farms to small lots is a perfect motivation for enhanced rural-urban linkages and livelihoods. The changes provide an introduction of high-value crop farming that triggers increased per-hectare land value in the villages. This in turn affects the competence of farmers to participate in rural-urban linkages so as to enhance their livelihoods.

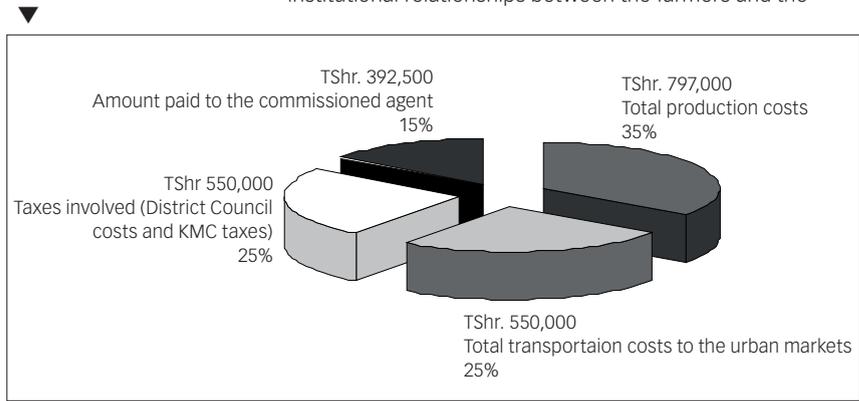
#### Composition of tomato farming and trading costs

Respondents were asked to identify their last completed transaction, including all the costs incurred between purchase or production and the sale of the consignment. Up to 13 types of costs were identified. Production costs were found to be the dominant one in tomato production, whereas transportation and taxes were second. This can be attributed to high cost of the inputs.

The itinerant traders are the main buyers of the crops of Mlandizi farmers. They sell to commissioned agents in the Dar es Salaam urban markets or supply institutions. To transport their purchases from Mlandizi to the Dar es Salaam urban markets, they hire trucks. The tomato chain culminates when consumers in the urban areas purchase their daily needs from their respective neighbourhood markets. One retail trader in Sinza had this to comment Box 2:

The time spent by the commissioned agent to earn a gross income of TShs. 1,180,000 is roughly three months, whilst the farmer spends more than six months to earn TShs. 856,250. This suggests that the commissioned agent earns more than the farmer per hectare and in a shorter time span, as calculated from one hectare of tomato production (Figure 2). This is possible since the commissioned agent is able to conduct profitable operations of a riskier and more capital intensive composition such as large storage warehouses for the produce bought from many farmers. Besides, the trust that has been cultivated between the farmers and the commissioned agent enable them to operate without paying cash in advance. Even if the figures are not accurate to the last cent, the fact that there is such a great difference in the income earnings and time involved is enough evidence to state that the farmers are disadvantaged. In addition, from the whole analysis, the commissioned agent pays no taxes apart from the annual registration fees he pays to the market authorities.

Figure 2: The composition of the costs of tomato production and trade (Source: Field surveys, March 2005)



## Diversification at household level

Household income at Mlandizi is diversified and dependent on several income sources, namely the sale of agricultural produce, employment, running a kiosk, or food vending (mama lishe). A typical farmer's season starts by planting maize, okra and rice from January to February and harvesting maize and okra from February-April. During May and June, maize and tomato seedlings are planted, whilst in June-July okra and rice are harvested. In August-September, okra (second round) and tomatoes are harvested and in October-November, maize and okra are planted again. Many households deal with tomato and okra as their main cash crops. A dialogue with different farmers produced similar results. 55% of the respondents stated that they engage in different types of activities and their initial capital was acquired from tomato farming, while 30% do multiple activities related to tomato farming only. Two types of diversification processes can be identified in the tomato farming business. Firstly, the multiple uses of the product in the tomato chain, while the second is the division of labour at household level. Discussions with the farmers also revealed that intercropping and year-round farming are the strategies used by farmers to maintain a smooth life during slack periods. As a result, their incomes have increased as seen from the assets owned by newcomers in contrast to those of the indigenous farmers. Both men and women are active participants in tomato farming.

Secondly, the division of labour that takes place at household level, and different members of the family are engaged in different activities in the tomato chain. This can be seen as a coping strategy and is very popular in the study area. The incomes so derived are not pooled together, but there are common agreements at household level that demand everyone's contributions to the day's meal depending on one's willingness.

The findings reveal that throughout the year households are engaged in some form of agricultural activity. At the individual level, diversification exists in the sense that the individual undertakes several tertiary activities. At the household level, women play an important role when they are employed as teachers, extension officers and police but also engage in trading activities. The latter role is essential in the sense that trading activities in Mlandizi are undergoing rapid growth. These activities have had such positive effects on the livelihoods of the people that now more youths are participating in non-farm activities. These activities can be seen by observing the number of youths partaking in non-farm activities (75%) such as operating kiosks, restaurants, shoe shiners and labourers.

## Conclusions and recommendations

### Land-owning structures, land value and livelihoods

An introduction of high-value crop farming has triggered increased land value per hectare of land in the villages. The change of land-ownership structures from large farms to small lots is an ideal motivation for enhanced rural-urban linkages and livelihoods (Douglass 1998). This has resulted in the increased capacity of the farmers to participate in rural-urban linkages and enhanced livelihoods.



Diversification and livelihoods

▲  
Mlandizi tomato farming  
(Source Author)

The increased participation of farmers in both commercial farming and non-farm activities evidently constitutes an improvement of their livelihoods. For instance, the increase of income from farming kick-starts the growth of sectoral linkages between agriculture and manufacturing services, whereas the production and supply of agricultural inputs in urban areas such as fertilisers and farm implements, and establishment of processing industries in rural areas, increases demands for labour. These processes create dynamics with a lot of multiplier effects. The sectoral shifts occurring from agriculture to services provision creates non-farm employment opportunities that lead to a decrease in emigration rates as a result of the increased income levels and enhanced livelihoods (Mangizwa 1993, Liviga et al. 1998; Evans et al. 1991).

More than two-thirds of households in the impact region have diversified their economic development patterns away from agriculture due to employment opportunities. Since the non-farm activities pay more, agriculture has tended to become a secondary subsistence activity when other income-earning alternatives are in full swing. Yet, agriculture is a fallback activity when other activities are not paying. Such a trend should be viewed positive because it involves higher incomes accruing from the non-farm activities (Mushi et al. 2000; Mwamfupe 1994).

### Regional planning

The machinery for regional development planning at the city level or by the respective local authority is weak or non-existence. For instance, at the time of this study there was no evidence that either the Ministry of Lands and Human Settlements or the City Authorities were aware



Mlandizi tomato farming  
(Source Author)

of the current changes in land use taking place along the arterial roads. Most efforts have concentrated on urban planning and management, completely disregarding the processes outside the city and town boundaries.

In order to address the densification of the impact region and further improve people's livelihoods that cut across regional or district boundaries, there is a need to formulate joint planning areas involving the affected districts/regions. For instance, the stretch between Dar es Salaam-Mlandizi-Chalinze may include local planners from the Kinondoni and Kibaha Districts who will formulate a functional economic region with identifiable development problems (Briggs and Mwamfupe 2000). Thus, the two districts should pool together resources for the solution of the problems. N.B. Formulation of such teams at the ministerial level – such as the Kagera Basin Development Authority and the Uhuru Corridor Development Plan – have proven futile and have not delivered the needed results, probably because of the top-down approach. Thus, the host districts have to take the lead by coordinating their own district activities.

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## Nimrod S. Mushi

Dr., is a lecturer in the department of Regional Development Planning at Ardhi University. Before joining Ardhi University Mushi worked with the City Council of Dar es Salaam as a senior planner. He holds an Advanced Diploma in Urban and Rural Planning; Post Graduate Diploma in Regional Economic Development Planning; MSc Project Planning and Management and a PhD. in Spatial Development Planning.

mushi@aru.ac.tz

# Urban renewal and crime prevention: negative externalities of informal settlements upgrading

The case of Mnazi Mmoja, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Gabriela de Freitas Barbosa

*Dieser Artikel analysiert den Einfluss von Initiativen und Maßnahmen zur Aufwertung informeller Siedlungen auf die städtische Gewalt und lokale Kriminalitätsrate. Am Beispiel von Mnazi Mmoje, einer irregulären Siedlung in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, wird aufgezeigt, in wie viel Einfluss Veränderungen der örtlichen Infrastruktur auf den Grundstücksmarkt und das Verhalten der Bewohner des Viertels haben, und wie leicht diese Veränderungen zum Anstieg der Kriminalität führen, die wiederum das soziale Gefüge und soziale Netzwerke beeinträchtigt. Die Autorin empfiehlt abschließend, besonders konfliktive Bereiche der (informellen) Siedlungen zu „Zonen besonderen sozialen Interesses“ nach Brasilianischem Vorbild zu erklären, in denen unter Einbeziehung der Bevölkerung speziell zugeschnittene Regularien, Planungen und Festlegungen der Nutzung zum Zuge kommen können mit dem Ziel, die Kriminalität einzudämmen und soziale Stabilität in den betroffenen Vierteln zu erzielen.*

## Informal Settlements and Urban Violence

Land tenure insecurity, natural disasters, urban violence and crime are among the main problems faced by low-income populations around the globe. The UN-Habitat has dedicated a full volume of its Global Report on Human Settlements to these topics and how safety and security could be enhanced (UN-Habitat 2007). Sub-Saharan African cities are among the poorest in the world, where slum areas have increased substantially in recent years, with a negligible rate of slum improvement in most places (UN-Habitat 2003). Although poverty is no longer considered the predominant cause of violence, the social inequality generally present in urban areas has proven to have a strong influence on the increase of crime as well as on the living conditions of the urban poor. This can increase the potential for the emergence of conflict, crime and violence (Moser 2004).

While all social classes are affected by insecurity, research shows that it affects the poor more intensely. Statistics show that those communities where a high proportion of the population is excluded from society have higher levels of crime. Inequality and exclusion exacerbate insecurity and fear of crime, which perpetuates a cycle of poverty and vulnerability (UN-Habitat 2006). Moreover, inequalities in opportunities lead to differences in perspectives, perceptions and willingness to abide by rules that may appear unjust, especially to the poorest groups living in urban areas (UN-Habitat 2007).

Informal settlements are commonly prone to occurrences of crime and violence. Narrow roads and footpaths, lack of basic infrastructures (such as street lighting), and abandoned public spaces are common to almost all informal areas. Crime and violence are social practices,

based in social relations which are mediated by urban form. Controls over land use, the design of the urban space, and public access to urban places can indeed contribute to safety and danger (Dovey 1998). The inexistence of social services such as police posts, health centres and schools contribute to keeping low-income populations apart from the formal city. These issues, coupled with high unemployment rates and the lack of opportunities, especially for the youth, largely contribute to increase violence levels in poor urban areas (Koonings 2007).

Upgrading of informal settlements through the provision of basic infrastructure and land titling is viewed as one of the most important aspects to improve the living conditions of the urban poor. This can have varied positive impacts in the reduction of urban crime and violence. The UN-Habitat (2007) stresses the importance of the systematic inclusion of crime and violence among the issues to be analysed when assessing urban development policies and proposals. However, many have ignored some of the negative externalities derived from informal settlement upgrading.

## Crime in Dar es Salaam

According to Stavrou and O’Riordan (2003), social exclusion and a lack of support systems characterise most of the urban environments where Tanzanian citizens live. Rapid urban growth linked to rural-urban migration, urbanisation of poverty, and a large number of refugees from the neighbouring countries that join internal migrants in informal and under-serviced settlements are some of the main causes of increasing crime rates in Tanzanian urban areas. High rates of unemployment, especially among youth, and

an informal sector that responds to almost 80% of the local employment posts (DCC 1999, cited in Kyessi 2002) have also contributed to the rising crime statistics in the city.

Dar es Salaam is considered a leading city in Tanzania, and according to a study conducted in 1997 (Mtani 2005), 25% of all reported crimes in the country happen there. Two victimisation surveys conducted in the city in March 2000 showed that nearly two-thirds of the interviewed people felt unsafe in their residential areas after dark (Robertshaw et al 2000). Another study, conducted in 2003, showed that perceptions about crime affected the activities and behaviour of the people, as approximately 77% of the surveyed population said their behaviour had changed during recent years because of crime (Stavrou and O’Riordan 2003).

### **The Community Upgrading Infrastructure Programme (CIUP) in Dar es Salaam and Mnazi Mmoja**

The Community Upgrading Infrastructure Programme (CIUP) was a “demand driven” programme established under the Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project (SDP) aiming to improve the living and economic conditions of the communities in Dar es Salaam. The main objective of the CIUP was to improve access to basic infrastructure and services in unplanned and under-serviced areas of the city. Thirty-one

communities, comprising of about 330,000 people and covering 20% of the unplanned areas of Dar es Salaam (URT 2004), were expected to benefit from the CIUP.

The Mnazi Mmoja sub-ward was established around 1945 and, since then, has experienced rapid urbanisation. The settlement is located in the Manzese ward, known to be the largest low-income informal area in Dar es Salaam city in terms of population and area. During the 1970s, Manzese was notorious for its lawlessness and thus earned itself the name of ‘Soweto’, reflecting the image of the South African black township where violence was rife (Kironde 1995). Mnazi Mmoja straddles Morogoro Road, which links Dar es Salaam to the west part of Tanzania (see Figure 1), and in 2000 it had a total population of 9,189 inhabitants (NBS 2002). Social infrastructure in the settlement is inexistent, with the local population making use of the services provided in the neighbouring areas. The only existing crime prevention initiative is a ‘sungusungu’ (community policing group) initiated in 2006 and composed of local residents.

In 2004, the CIUP selected the settlement as one of the areas to be upgraded during the first phase. Through a participatory process, residents were asked to identify their needs and to rank them in order of priority. The results were as follows: (i) improve drainage to prevent road deterioration; (ii) establish and sustain an adequate solid waste collection service; (iii) improve the local road network to improve accessibility; (iv) improve the sanitation services; (v) provide street lights. As a result, CIUP project activities included the construction of a storm water drainage system, upgrading of main roads and provision of street lighting (see Figures 2 and 3).

### **Research Questions and Methodology**

The main objective of this article was to examine how informal settlement upgrading initiatives can, directly or indirectly, influence urban violence and crime levels, as well as erode existing crime prevention initiatives. The main questions guiding this research were:

- What are the main externalities deriving from informal settlement upgrading initiatives?
- How do these externalities relate to crime rates and crime prevention in informal settlements?
- What could be done to reduce the influence of negative externalities in the daily life of the residents of informal settlements?

In order to answer the research questions, the informal settlement of Mnazi Mmoja, in the city of Dar es Salaam, was selected, based on its socioeconomic characteristics, crime rates, and the pre-existence of crime prevention schemes. A set of semi-structured interviews was conducted with key informants, including community and religious leaders, residents, city planners and authorities in the field of crime prevention.

### **Key Findings**

It was found that 85% of the interviewees believe that infrastructure improvements such as road upgrading, street lighting and water provision have contributed largely to increase safety and security in Mnazi Mmoja, helping to

Fig. 1 Mnazi Mmoja aerial view (Source: Adapted from URT 2004)



reduce crime rates and to prevent new events of crime and violence. According to residents, the upgrading of roads and the consequent improved accessibility made it easier for people to locate themselves within the settlement, thus improving the sense of security. However, due to the lack of urban land development control, many new constructions have encroached upon the existing footpaths, thus reducing the accessibility to the inner areas of the settlement and creating crime hot spots. Likewise, the street lighting no longer works since the municipality did not pay bills.

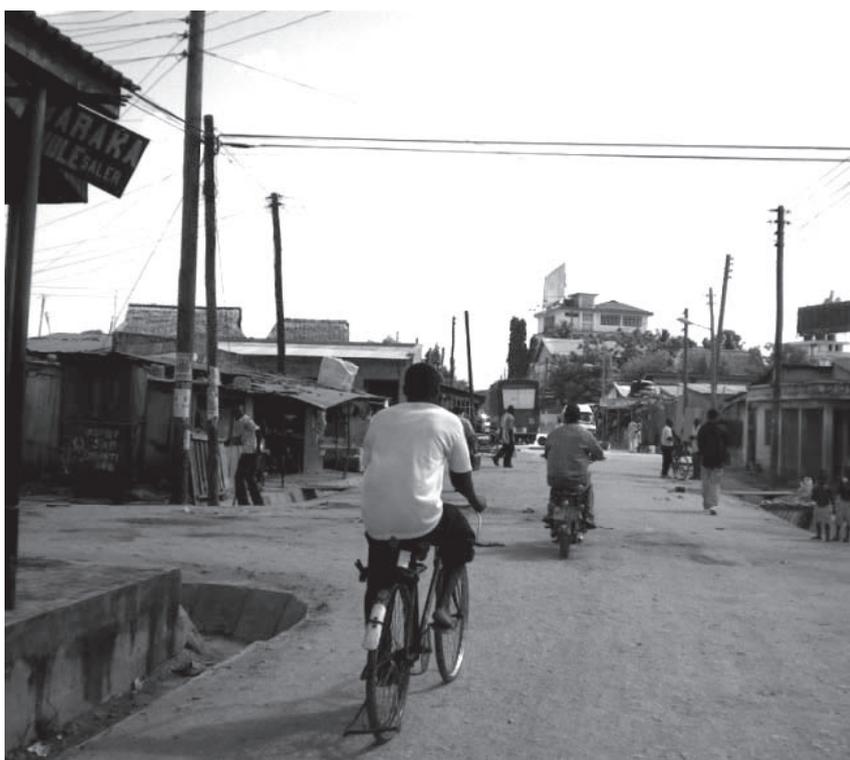
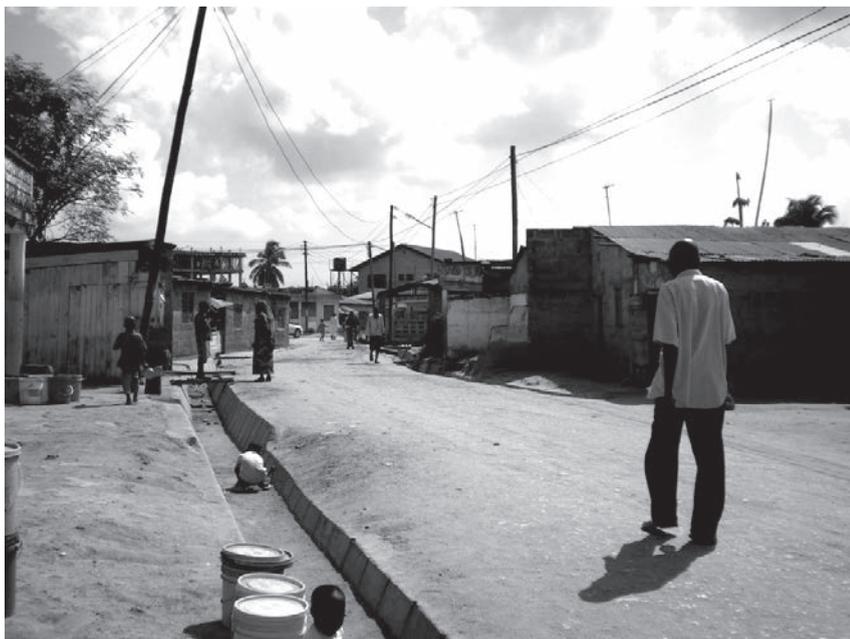
Since the infrastructure improvements, especially the upgrading of roads, the area has been subject to massive investments in property development. Many of the former traditional Swahili houses have been replaced by multi-storey buildings, with some of the residential houses being converted into bars and guest houses. The development of multi-storey buildings between the single-storey residential houses has brought some inconveniences to residents, as most of the houses have unroofed, outside pit latrines and showering areas. Residents complain of the loss of privacy since they can now be easily observed by those people in the higher floors of the new buildings.

This 'verticalisation' is also responsible for a gentrification process in the settlement, and the increasing population density also leads to the over-utilisation of the available infrastructure services. The new buildings are used mainly as hotels, guest houses and shops. The abundance of hotels and guest houses, coupled with the increasing number of pubs and local breweries, is viewed by residents as one of the main causes for the increase in crime in the settlement. The combination of low-income families with little access to formal employment and an increased number of guest houses has helped to increase prostitution levels in the area. As a result, the number of school dropouts has risen and, according to residents, at present most of the young ladies are engaging in prostitution.

The resulting increase in land values in an area that is highly envisaged for commercial uses is promoting a gradual shift in land uses which, combined with the above-mentioned gentrification process, is causing a 'market-driven eviction', with locals selling their plots and moving out of the settlement. This has largely contributed to erode social capital in the area since it brings about a high turnover of residents. As a result, trust among residents is missing, which has affected the work of the 'sungusungu' group (see fig. 4).

59% People do not trust each other	41% People trust each other
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Tanzanian urban planners still view safety and security as issues more related to the occupation of hazardous areas than to crime and violence and therefore do not consider the latter as important aspects to be tackled during the formulation of development plans. Citizens are not aware of the relations between urban planning and crime opportunities, and it should be the urban planners' role to explain it. As demonstrated by the rank of priorities defined for the CIUP Project, improvements such as road upgrading and street lighting, which have proven to contribute to the reduction of crime opportunities and thus helped to decrease crime levels, are among the last to be considered when defining the main actions for upgrading informal settlements.



## Conclusions and Recommendations

The provision of basic services and infrastructure can improve the quality of life of citizens, especially in unplanned and poor urban settlements. However, lack of maintenance can turn public facilities such as sports fields, schools and parks into deteriorated and vandalised crime-prone areas. Moreover, lack of maintenance of basic infrastructure components such as street lighting may accentuate incidences of crime; it also represents a waste of public money since the poles and lamps in place tend to deteriorate when not used. Enforcement of laws and urban land-use development control in informal areas are also required to restrain road encroachments and the deterioration of public spaces.

Whilst increases in land values can provide opportunities for land owners to make some good money off their

▲ Fig. 2 and 3: Upgraded roads with drainage channels in Mnazi Mmoja (Source: Author field research)

◀ Fig. 4: Trust among Residents (Source: Author field research – semi-structure interviews with Mnazi Mmoja residents)



▲ Kids and Violence-sw (photo: Kosta Mathéy)

plots, orientation and capacity building are missing; in many cases, instead of improving their lives, these people become trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty by selling their plots and moving to other informal settlements where they lack the bonding social capital needed to survive. In a low-income settlement where job opportunities are missing and most of the youth is idle and without a decent way to make a living, the increase in safety and the shift in land use to an increasing number of hotels, bars and guest houses have contributed to augment prostitution in the area. Although the Tanzanian law does not consider prostitution a crime, it has deeply disturbed the lives of residents. According to residents, women of all ages are engaging in prostitution, mainly due to low-income and unemployment, which causes young girls to drop out of school and pursue a dangerous activity that exposes them to violence and crime.

Urban control tools that help to prevent real estate market pressures and land speculation in informal settlements subject to upgrading projects are required. Community participation should be part of the formulation of development strategies in order to clarify the importance of settlement planning in crime and urban violence prevention. Some international best practices have proven that it is possible to improve the living conditions and land tenure security of informal settlement dwellers while protecting them from market pressures. In Brazil, participatory urban planning has been used since the mid-1980s, combined with a series of urban planning and control tools such as the creation of Special Interest Social Zones (ZEIS). These are usually informal settlements selected according to specific criteria such as, among others, the possibility of land tenure regularisation and the predominance of residential uses. To each ZEIS a specific urban plan is elaborated that may have different urban parameters than those established in the city's land-use regulations. Mechanisms such as plot-size limitations are provided to avoid land speculation. Plots cannot be grouped and land titles cannot be transferred or commercialised.

#### Gabriela de Freitas Barbosa

is a private consultant dealing with urban planning, informal settlements upgrading and crime prevention through environmental design. She holds a Bachelor in Architecture and Urban Planning and a M.Sc. in Urban and Regional Planning and Management. She has worked for the private and public sectors as an architect and urban planner and is currently pursuing a PhD at the TU-Dortmund.

[grazy2202@gmail.com](mailto:grazy2202@gmail.com)

The definition of ZEIS aims at the inclusion of those groups of the city's population that are traditionally segregated due to their incapability of using urban soil due to formal regulations through the creation of mechanisms that enable the introduction of basic urban infrastructure in those areas where it was absent, thus improving quality of life. It also helps to regulate land markets and reduce disparities in services and prices while increasing the stock of land for the low-income groups.

Experiences have shown that the definition of an area as a ZEIS can help to reduce the number of conflicts related to land property, as well as influence the institutional recognition of community participation in the formulation and implementation of urban policies. It also contributes to the consolidation of changes in patterns of urban interventions in slum areas, to the provision of necessary social and community infrastructure in these areas, and to a remarkable improvement in both the social networks and the awareness of the poor populations regarding their rights to the city (Moraes undated).

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# Renewable Energy Policy Issues in Human Settlements

## The Case of Tanzania

Livin H. Moshia

*Dieser Artikel beleuchtet die Energiepolitik in Tansania, indem Stärken und Schwächen sowohl ehemaliger als auch gegenwärtiger Energiepolitik in tansanischen Siedlungen aufgezeigt werden. Derzeit wird Tansanias Bevölkerung auf 38 Millionen geschätzt, von denen weniger als 30 % Stadtbewohner sind. 70% der Stadtbevölkerung lebt in unterversorgten Siedlungen ohne Infrastruktur wie Wasser- und Stromversorgung, Mit elektrischem Strom werden 37 % der Stadtbewohner und nur 2% der Landbewohner versorgt. Die in Tansania genutzten Energieträger sind Wasserkraft, Kohle, Erdgas, Biomasse und importiertes Öl. Nur 10 % der Bevölkerung wird durch das öffentliche Stromnetz versorgt, was die Nutzung alternativer Energiequellen wie Solar- und Windenergie oder Biomasse erforderlich macht. Nahezu 80 % der Tansanier verfügen über eine sehr geringe Kaufkraft und können sich nur Holzkohle zum Kochen und Kerosin für die Beleuchtung leisten. Vor dem beschriebenen Hintergrund werden verschiedene Ansätze, diese Defizite in der Energieversorgung zu beheben, diskutiert. Der Artikel schließt mit Empfehlungen zu Erneuerbaren Energien, Energieeffizienz und Energiespeichermöglichkeiten um Defizite in der Stromversorgung abzufedern.*

### Introduction

Tanzania's demographic trends have been documented in four population censuses that were conducted in 1967, 1978, 1988 and 2002. The 1967 census reported a total population of 12.3 million, and according to the 2002 census the country's total population increased to 33.5 million (URT<sup>1</sup> 2003a). At present (2009), Tanzania's population is estimated to be over 38 million.

The population of Tanzania is still predominantly rural despite the fact that the proportion of urban residents has been continually increasing. The proportion of urban residents was just 6% in 1967, 8% in 1988, and 23% in 2002; it is now (2009) estimated to be 30%.

Studies conducted in 1995 indicate that 70% of the urban population lives in unplanned and unserviced settlements (URT 2000:5). Most of the housing in these areas does not conform to building regulations as both land tenure and basic services such as electricity and water are lacking. The national Human Settlement Development Policy (URT 2000:26) gives an impressive promise that: Areas in urban centres that are earmarked for development shall be provided with infrastructure and social services including electricity and water before they are allocated to developers as required in the Land Policy in Tanzania. This promise has been difficult to fulfil, as the experience gained from the recently launched 20,000-plot project in Dar-es-Salaam (in which all plots are issued to applicants who paid for serviced plots) has shown. The promise has not been achieved to date.

The Household Budget Survey 2000/2001 (URT 2002:160) shows households in rural areas in Tanzania that were living in modern houses built of modern materials (industrial products such as cement and iron), the use of the materials was at average 13% for floors, 17% for walls and only 31% for roofs. In urban housing, the use of the modern materials was 71% for floors, 45% for walls and 88% for roofs in 2001. Whereas there is no real shortage of housing in rural settlement settings, the qualitative dimension of these houses with regards to meeting the basic requirement of minimum standards as defined by the World Health Organisation (WHO) remains debatable. This is due to the fact that 60% of the households depend on water wells for their water supply while 13% have communal taps, 5.8% are connected to water pipes, and 21.2 % use other means including direct sourcing from rivers. Similarly, only 0.3% are connected to a sewer (URT 2000:9).

The National Construction Industry Policy (URT 2003c:28) gives the following commendable directives on human settlements:

- a) The government and private sector shall co-operate in supporting the development of sustainable human settlements,
- b) Promote the optimum use of low cost and local building materials, innovative technologies and practices,
- c) Facilitate self-help initiative and informal sector activities for adequate shelter delivery, particularly through provision of building design, construction practice guidelines,
- d) Ensure that the design, construction and refurbishment of buildings shall take into account the special needs of the aged and disabled.

**1**  
URT acronym for the United Republic of Tanzania

However, the National Construction Policy could have nonetheless gone further towards giving implementation strategies and the inclusion of energy policy issues in Tanzania.

According to the Tanzanian national energy policy, agriculture is a major economic sector and accounts for about 50% of the GDP and over 60% of the export earnings. According to URT (2005: 2), thirty-six percent of Tanzanians were living below the poverty line (earning and living in less than 1 USD per day) in 2000/01, which places Tanzania among poorest countries in the world. Over 80% of the population has very low purchasing power and depends mainly on wood fuel for cooking and kerosene for lighting, both of which have negative consequences to the environment and the quality of life, especially for the rural poor (URT 2003b:5).

Measure	Dar-es-Salaam	Other Urban	Rural Areas	Total Mainland Tanzania
Any electricity HBS 1991/92	51.4	21.7	2.6	8.5
Electricity grid HBS 2000/01	58.9	29.7	2.0	10.0
Solar electricity HBS 2000/01	1.3	1.7	1.6	1.6

▲  
Table 1: Percentage of Households with Electricity in Tanzania (Source: URT 2002)

Table 1 shows that only 10% of Tanzanian households were connected with the national power grid and only 1.6% were using solar electricity in 2001. Promotion of renewable energy is therefore a policy issue so as to sensitise the society to use renewables.

### Energy Outlook in Tanzania

Tanzania and the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa mostly depend on traditional biomass. North Africa is heavily dependent on oil and South Africa depends on coal (Karekezi, et al 2002:17). In 2000, Tanzania's total area of 945,000 km<sup>2</sup> was only partially served by the 220KV transmission network of only 2,605 kilometres (Mwihava et. al 2004:5). Main energy sources in Tanzania include hydro, coal, natural gas, biomass and imported petroleum. Karekezi (2005: 163) indicates that in Tanzania, biomass use accounts for over 90% of energy consumption, while petroleum and hydro electricity account for about 8% and 1.2% respectively. The remaining 0.8% comes from coal and renewable energies including solar thermal, photovoltaic, geothermal and wind mills. The energy usage in households in Tanzania is as tabulated in Table 2.

Table 2: Distribution of Households Energy; Sources for Lighting and Cooking (Source: URT 2002: 48)

Energy Use	Energy Source	Percentage (%)	Total (%)
Lighting	National Grid Electricity	9.2	100
	Solar Electricity	0.6	
	Gas	0.2	
	Paraffin	83.9	
	Candles	0.4	
Cooking	Firewood and Others	5.7	100
	National Grid Electricity	0.9	
	Solar Electricity	0.9	
	Industrial Gas	0.3	
	Bio-Gas	0.1	
	Paraffin	5.0	
	Coal	0.1	
	Charcoal	14.2	
Firewood	78.5		
Others	0.1	100	
Running cars and other motors	Petroleum		100

eration of electricity will increase from that of 2,540 GWh in 2000 to 11,548 GWh by 2026 (Mwihava, et al 2004: 8). Commercial energy sources (petroleum and electricity) account for about 8% and 1.2% respectively of the primary energy used. URT (2003b: 38-39) indicates that electricity needs to be available for economic activities in rural areas, rural townships and trading centres. Rural electrification is, therefore, a case of long-term national interest and a prerequisite for balanced socio-economic growth for all in Tanzania.

### Renewable Energy Technologies in Tanzania

Renewable energy technologies that are currently in use in Tanzania include micro/mini-hydroelectric (produced by small-scale developers), biomass, solar thermal, photovoltaic (PV), geothermal and windmills (Mwihava, et al 2004:3). Table 3 highlights renewable energy technologies in various African countries where biomass dominates. The energy policy in Tanzania aims to reduce dependence on hydro sources and increase utilisation of indigenous resources such as natural gas, coal and renewable energy in the medium to long term.

Experience shows that the introduction and access of any renewable energy technology is to a large extent dependent on the existing policy framework. Government policies are important because of their ability to create awareness and an enabling environment for mobilising resources and for encouraging private sector investment. Regrettably, most African governments do not have well-defined policies on renewable energy. As a result, development of renewable energy is undertaken by non-governmental organisations without much guidance from the government.

### Biomass, Solar and Wind Energy in Tanzania

The biomass percentage of the total energy consumption for countries such as Ethiopia, Tanzania and Uganda is over 90%, which signals a tremendous environmental degradation! Quantitative research for nine countries south of the Sahara shows that the biomass percentage of the total energy for seven countries is above 50% for their total energy consumption.

Solar energy is the second renewable energy source which can be used to supplement the national source of the power grid. Solar energy can be broadly categorised into solar photovoltaic (PV) technologies, which convert the sunshine into electricity energy, and solar thermal technologies, which use the sun's energy directly for heating, cooking, drying, etc. Solar energy is the best-known renewable energy technology in Africa (Karekezi, et al 1997: 21). Solar energy electricity forms a major part of the solution for energy generation because of sunshine availability in Tanzania, but it is not commonly used because of the high capital investment required for implementation.

Thirdly, wind is a potential energy source in Tanzania. Unfortunately, this source, though in abundance, has to date been only minimally tapped. Currently, wind energy is used to pump water for irrigation and to meet domestic and livestock water needs. Approximately 129 windmills had been installed in Tanzania by 1996, but 40% of them are now (2009) out of order. However, a very limited

Country	Improved Household Stoves	Biogas Units	PV Units	PV Installed Capacity (kWp)	Wind Pumps	Baggase Production (,000 Tonnes) (1997-2000)	Generation Potential GWh/Year	Biomass as % of Total Energy Consumption - 2002
Angola				10		65		64.20
Botswana	1,500	215	5,700	1,500	200	250		38.20
Eritrea	50,000	5	2,000	400	10			69.60
Ethiopia	45,000	1,000	5,000	1,200	200	410	150.33	91.60
Kenya	3,136,739	1,100	20,000	4,000	360	1,800	530.33	68.00
Madagascar						313	144.77	
Malawi	3,700		900	40		575	250.80	
Mauritius				8		1,800	586.67	
Mozambique				100	50	165		84.90
Namibia		10		446	30,000			15.60
South Africa	1,250,000		150,000	11,000	300,000	13,953	2,720.00	16.00
Sudan	28,000		500		12	1,755	643.50	75.20
Swaziland			1,000	50		1,092		
Tanzania	54,000	1,000	No data	300	58	429	100.83	90.70
Uganda	52,000	10	3,000	152	13	615	173.43	95.00
Zambia	4,082	18	5,000	400	100	489		78.20
Zimbabwe	20,880	200	84,500	1,476	650	1,476	686.40	70.20

number of attempts have been made to install wind turbines for electricity generation in Tanzania. It is, however, important to mention that after many years of experience in several countries in the developed world (especially Europe), the efficiency of wind turbines is in doubt, as is its contribution percentage to the main power grids.

### Energy Efficiency and Energy Conservation

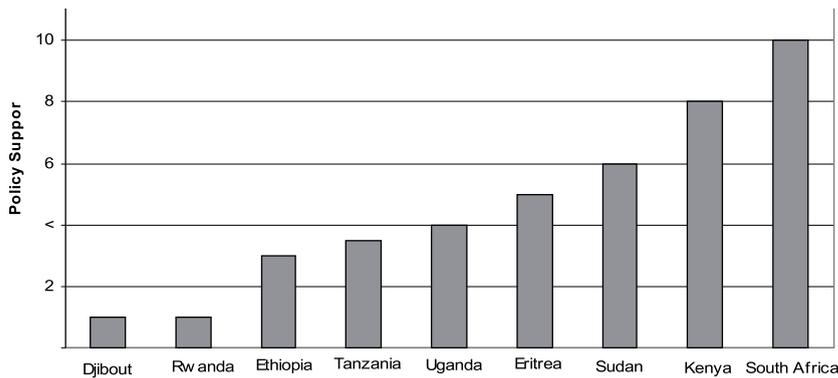
Energy efficiency is defined as the reduction of energy used for a given energy service with issues of cost and environmental consideration. Energy efficiency involves the

use of technology that requires less energy to perform the same function or that requires the same energy to perform more functions. An energy-saving 18W bulb that uses less energy to produce the same amount of light as a 100W bulb or a charcoal stove that uses less charcoal to cook the same food are good examples of energy efficiency.. The decision of replacing a 100W bulb with an energy-saving 18W bulb is an example of energy conservation. The challenge of meeting the energy demand in a situation of limited financial resources is in most cases attributed to the inefficient use of energy. By choosing energy-efficient products, you can reduce energy bills by up to 30%.

▲ Table 3: Estimated Renewable Energy Technologies Disseminated in East and South African Countries (Source: AFREPREN 2005: 55)



◀ Use of Solar Panels as Electrification Energy Source at the Health Centre of the University of Dar es Salaam. Source Author 2007



▲  
Figure 1: Policy Support for Renewables and Energy Efficiency (Source: Karekezi et al 2005: 39)

### Key to figure 1

0-3: Low priority, no specific mention of renewables in the national energy policy document  
 4-6: Renewables are supported and mentioned in the national energy policy document, but in general statements with no specific targets.  
 7-10: High priority with stated specific targets in the national energy policy document, with significant budgetary allocations for renewables.

Energy-efficient architectural design solutions could minimise the use of air conditioners (ACs) to achieve human thermal comfort in buildings. Natural air ventilation achieved from a well-articulated building design in a hot-humid climate such as Dar-es-Salaam (with average temperatures of 30°C and relative humidity of 75%) can be considered as an energy-efficient measure and can substantially reduce energy consumption in buildings. Architectural specifications for external facades using glass materials for building aesthetics that restrict natural air ventilation in buildings should be avoided in Dar-es-Salaam. Electricity is an important design aspect for architects to achieve a functional and aesthetically impressive building. Walls and roofs can be solarised. Architects have the duty of promoting various concepts of energy-efficient buildings in terms of design, technology and materials.

### Renewable Energy Policy Statement in Tanzania

In 1992, the first National Energy Policy in Tanzania was formulated. It was later revised (in 2003) to put in consideration the need for the following:

- To have affordable and reliable energy supplies in the whole country;
- To reform the market for energy services and establish an adequate institutional framework that facilitates investment, expansion of services, efficient pricing mechanisms and other financial incentives;
- To enhance the development and utilisation of indigenous and renewable resources and technologies;
- To adequately take into account environmental considerations for all energy activities;
- To increase energy efficiency and conservation in all sectors; and
- To increase energy education and build gender-balanced capacities in energy planning, implementation and monitoring (URT 2003b).

Karekezi et al (2005) indicate the national policy support for renewable energy of nine African countries using scaled histograms (see Figure 1). South Africa is ranked the highest in energy support and Djibout the lowest. The scale used in this figure shows that Tanzania ranks among the lower half of South Africa when it comes to policy support for renewable energy. The national energy policy in Tanzania must do the following:

- Introduce appropriate rural energy development, financial, legal and administrative institutions.
- Establish norms, codes of practice, guidelines and standards for renewable energy technologies, and

- facilitate the creation of an enabling environment for sustainable development of renewable energy sources.
- Promote efficient biomass conversion and end-use technologies in order to save resources, reduce the rate of deforestation and land degradation, and minimise threats on climate change.
- Ensure inclusion of environmental considerations in all renewable energy planning and implementation, and enhance co-operation with other relevant stakeholders.
- Support research and development in renewable energy technologies.

Generally, the Tanzanian National Energy Policy satisfactorily captures the need and importance of renewable energy in the national development. However, what is needed now is the appropriate and realistic strategising of the implementation frameworks of the envisaged policy goals.

### Conclusion

It is important for the world countries – especially the developing ones – to comprehensively formulate realistic energy policies. The Tanzanian energy policy, for example, correctly stipulates that there is a need to create a legal framework for renewable energy development and to establish an institutional structure and mechanisms to address the technical, social and financial barriers hampering the dissemination of renewable energy technologies. Biomass, particularly wood fuel, should be conserved through efficient conversion and end-use technologies that could be complemented further by tree growing at households and beyond. Lessons can be learnt from countries such as Kenya and South Africa, where the extensive use of renewable energy technologies such as improved household stoves and photovoltaic has resulted in less use of biomass (see Table 2) and, in turn, reduced environmental degradation.

There is a need to improve energy provision to the rural population, especially to reduce the rural woman's burden of having to look for fuel-woods across long distances. The reversal of deforestation, when energy efficiency principles are promoted in cooking and lighting, should also always be encouraged. Charcoal stoves that use less charcoal to cook the same food, and energy-saving bulbs that use less energy to produce the same amount of light, should be promoted. Strategies for poverty reduction in rural areas should, however, be given high priority. This could, for instance, include deliberate national efforts to extend and improve agricultural technologies and rural infrastructural services such as roads, water and electricity supply.

Improvement of energy efficiency at the household level in both urban and rural human settlements has enormous potential benefits for society. Measures to achieve energy efficiency include, for instance: purchasing energy-efficient equipment; turning off all tools, lights, and portable appliances not in use; not switching on appliances until they are to be used; enabling the available energy-saving features in electrical appliances such as copiers, computers and printers; reducing the frequency of boiling tea/coffee water using electric kettles through the use of thermos flasks; using split-unit air conditioners (where there is an absolute need of ACs) as they are more energy efficient than the window type; maximising the use of natural ventilation; and

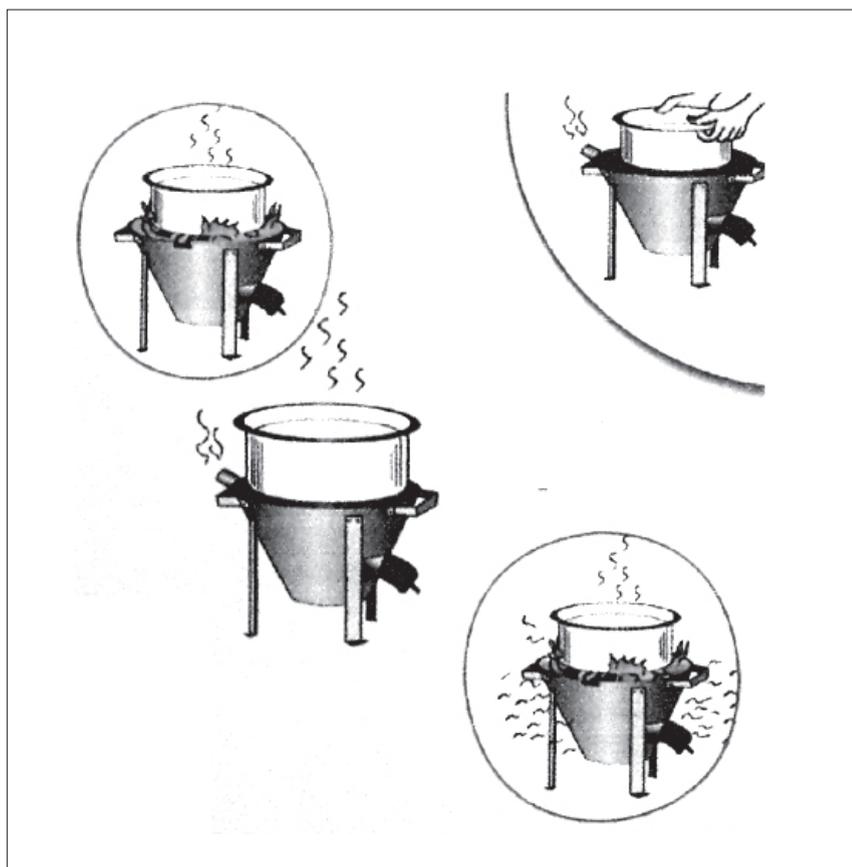
keeping the temperature of refrigerators between +3°C and +5°C and of freezers between -15°C and -18°C because every degree lower requires 5% more energy. A deliberate national campaign on energy efficiency should be launched using the political arenas, mass media and fliers. The educational system should include energy efficiency discourses in curricula from primary schools to tertiary levels.

Developing world governments must establish rural energy agencies and funds with an aim of promoting renewable energy technologies because they are more affordable and accessible to the rural dwellers than the national power grids. Feasible implementation strategies are therefore needed to attain this goal. Members of Parliaments (MPs) and other politicians should be aggressively for and sensitive to the use of renewables and ask for the inclusion of renewables in the national annual budgets. Governmental institutions should, as much as possible, be pioneers of energy-efficient organs through energy-efficient building designs and the use of energy-efficient equipment and principles.

Governmental multi-sectoral involvement for achieving energy-efficient environments in all developing countries, Tanzania in particular, should be encouraged and supported. Individual sectors should develop their respective policies in liaison with others so as to guide sustainable human settlements and energy-efficient habitation.

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▲ Improved Charcoal Stove.  
Source TATEDO

## Dr. Livin H. Mosh

Arch. Dr. Livin Mosh is a Practising Architect in Tanzania, a Senior Lecturer and the Dean of the School of Architecture and Design (SADE) at Ardhi University. He coordinates Promotion of Renewable Energy in Africa (PREA) Initiative with four African Universities and four European Universities. He is the Chairman of Heads of Architecture Departments in East African Countries. He holds Advanced Diploma in Architecture, Master Degree in Architecture and a Ph.D. in Architecture.

Lmosha@yahoo.com

# Microfinance of Housing in African Cities

## A Critical Review of Potential Risks and Side Effects

Beate Lohnert

*Der Artikel betrachtet kritisch die bisher kaum jemals in Frage gestellte, generelle Befürwortung und die Anwendung von Kleinkreditprogrammen ('Micro Finance') zur Finanzierung von Wohnungsbau- und Instandsetzung als Universal-Heilmittel gegen die defizitäre Wohnraumversorgung in den Städten des Südens. Insbesondere wird argumentiert, dass die Nutzung – genauer gesagt die Ausbeutung – sozialer Netzwerke zur Sicherung der Rückzahlungen nicht genügend betrachtet wurde. Insbesondere auf den afrikanischen Kontinent bezogen gibt es bis heute noch kaum zuverlässige Bestandsaufnahmen der positiven Ergebnisse von Kleinkreditprogrammen, und auch nicht über die Auswirkungen auf die Zielgruppe. Die Hoffnungen auf Verbesserung der Lebensbedingungen unterer Einkommensschichten beruhen im Wesentlichen auf der Annahme, die Resultate seien positiv.*

*Gegenwärtig kann die zunehmende Verbreitung des Konzepts der Wohnungsbau-Kleinkredite in Afrika südlich der Sahara beobachtet werden.*

*Diese Beitrag soll Micro Finance Ansätze nicht generell in Frage stellen, sondern zu einem kritischen hinterfragen der Einsatzbereiche und –Möglichkeiten beitragen, indem einige mögliche – unerwünschte – Nebeneffekte aufgezeigt werden.*

### Microfinance of housing in African towns: risks and side effects

In the wake of the year of microcredit proclaimed by the UN in 2005 and the award of the Nobel Prize to Mohamed Yunus and the Grameen Bank in 2006 microfinancing has gained even stronger attention in the field of development policy and is traded - it seems - meanwhile as the universal remedy for almost all problems of Africa, Asia and Latin America. All international organisations are obviously in agreement about the important role of microfinance concepts for reaching the Millennium Development Goals, above all for the reduction of poverty. At the same time critical voices emerge which point out problems above all in the concrete realisation of granting of credits and repayment practise. The paper wants to make a contribution to the critical discussion on the implementation of microfinance concepts for upgrading and creation of new housing in Africa and point in particular to the potential (undesirable) side effects. In spite of an almost unprecedented persistence of the microfinance idea in the development debate concepts of microfinance for housing are discussed and implemented in Africa for a relatively short while now.

#### Microfinancing - a success story?

In particular in connection with neoliberal politics the assignment of microloans for small and medium enterprises which have been implemented in Asia and Latin America already since the 1970s gained new attention. In general microfinance is seen as the supply of savings accounts, loans, assurances and other financial services which serve the special needs

and problems of the poor. In addition some microfinance institutions (MFI) also engage in trainings and activities which are aligned with the purpose of the loan. Thus many MFI which award loans for housing offer for example training courses on construction technology, material use and quality assurance. Microfinance institutions should support those parts of the population with financial services which are - on account of their poverty and lacking collaterals - not served by formal financial institutions. Thus the poorest parts of society should be enabled to help themselves.

The problem of lacking collaterals of poor people has been tackled by many MFIs through the assignment of group loans, which means that all members of a group are solidarily liable for the repayment of credits. In many cases this approach can be seen as one of the main reasons for the in the literature so often invoked success of microfinancing and it could in fact lower loan failure rates in some cases massively (Helms 2006).

Beside aims like „poverty reduction“ and „improvement of living conditions“ financial sustainability is one of the central objectives of any MFI (Copestake, Simanowitz & Knotts 2005: 1 f.). The concurrent achievement of these aims leads to a win-win situation whereby the MFI as well as the poor population can benefit. And it is exactly this logic which made the microfinance idea so popular in the last years.

Although microfinancing meanwhile has become part of the mainstream in development policy and practise, there are quite contradictory reports on the effects on the living conditions of the target groups. Increases

in income are described, e.g., by Khandker (2005) for Bangladesh, and Littlefield et al. (2003) assume that microfinancing can directly contribute to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. Greeley (2005: 50 ff.) in a comparison of several studies comes to the conclusion that microfinance programmes lead only to marginal material improvements. Chowdhury et al. (2004: 293) attest positive effects on health and education in some cases, but by no means on job and capital markets or even the broader economy. To sum up, it seems that microfinance programmes can have very different and also contradictory effects. To a large extent this seems to depend on the approaches, the quality of the services and the socio-cultural context of the beneficiaries. In spite of the wide range of effects and assessments of microfinancing most studies agree on the fact that the poorest population groups are hardly reached by microfinance services.

### Microfinancing in Africa South of the Sahara

Africa is regarded as a latecomer on the scene of modern microfinancing (Giesbert 2008: 3). Nevertheless a large number of various suppliers of microfinance services are operating here. In Sub-Saharan Africa we find non-commercial actors as well as commercial banks, state-led projects, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), cooperatives, locally based MFI (e.g., loan associations on village level) and informal institutions like saving associations (Giesbert 2008: 3). Many microfinance projects supported by NGOs or cooperatives build on traditional savings and loan associations or copy the Grameen Bank's approach. In spite of this variety the microfinance sector in Africa is - in comparison with Asia and Latin America - characterized by distinctive features: Credit amounts are lower, the profitability seems to be lesser and the proportion of women taking credits is higher than in other regions (Helms 2006: 10). Most studies on microfinance in Africa also identify considerable problems in the implementation of the programmes. For example Simtowe (2008: 156) reports on bad payment morale of defaulting debtors in Malawi, and the habit of defaulting debtors to apply for further loans at other institutions. In Niger the hardly co-ordinated activities of different MFIs led to a complete confusion as far as granting of credits and repayments is concerned. Large parts of the loans were never paid back which is assigned to the low incomes and the nominal chances for a sustainable improvement of the living conditions of the debtors (Verne 2007).

Although there are hardly any serious studies and evaluations of the effects of microfinancing on the target groups and its impulses for development, currently microfinance is mushrooming all over Sub-Saharan Africa.

### Microfinancing of housing

Shortly after the Grameen Bank started to implement specific microfinance programmes for housing in Bangladesh, international organisations like the World Bank and UN Habitat began to propagate microfinancing for housing as the silver bullet to achieve sustainable upgrading of private housing. This rather uncritical promotion is due to a generally optimistic position on microfinancing which again is characterized by the fact that mainly positive examples are cited.

Because microcredits for housing cover substantially higher amounts than loans for small enterprises, they are of great importance for MFIs. In addition, the duration of the repayment for a housing loan is longer and accordingly binds the customer for months and even years to the institution. Generally, also in the case of housing microfinance the MFIs focus on the assignment of group loans to secure the repayments by social pressure. Another strategy of the MFIs is to award microloans for housing only to customers or groups who have proven their trustworthiness already by the entire repayment of another loan.

The need for and the potential of microfinance concepts for housing are generally seen as tremendous (UN Habitat 2005: 102 ff.; Tomlinson 2007: 22). As a result of this positive perception entire city-wide upgrading measures are starting to be implemented with the help of microfinancing in Africa, as for example in Ghana and Tanzania (UN Habitat; Cities Alliance 2007) - probably because with microfinance the costs and risks are shouldered by the people themselves and in this way city-wide upgrading programmes turn into a cost-effective alternative for public authorities.

In sub-Saharan Africa - with the exception of South Africa (i. a. Lohnert 2002), „microfinance as a specific housing product is in its infancy and therefore only starting to be documented“ (Tomlinson 2007: iv). Still most studies refer to Asia and South America; case studies from Africa again are often restricted to South Africa.

### Instrumentalisation of social networks by microfinance institutions

To a large extent the success of the microfinance concept can be ascribed to the practice of group loans. In this context the social capital of poor households is often the only actual security which helps to prove their creditworthiness.

According to Bourdieu (1983: 190ff) all resources are subsumed under „social capital“ which can be mobilised on account of the affiliation to a group. The social capital of a person is on the one hand determined by the size of his/her social network and the quality of the relations, but also by the availability or accessibility of other types of capital (cultural, symbolic or financial). Social networks can play a part in the accumulation of financial capital. Through the development of obligations and expectations under the conditions of trust and reciprocity social capital itself attains the function of a credit or insurance.

The importance of social capital for everyday life and survival in Africa South of the Sahara is indisputable and has been documented in numerous studies. Also the role social networks play in processes of upgrading informal settlements in African towns and cities was described (i.a. Lohnert 2002; 2007). While in development politics and practice the positive aspects of social capital are dominating the discussion, at the same time an increasing number of studies point to the more negative impacts of social capital. During the last years negative effects of social processes in networks have been described impacting on both their members as well as the non-members (i. a. Lohnert 2007). The affiliation to a group always goes along with obligations - sometimes restrictions - which can lead to economic disadvantages

and can be perceived as repression. On the other hand refused access to and the exclusion from social networks are equally important variables of African livelihoods.

Smets and Bähre (2004: 229ff.) enjoin from the exploitation of social capital within microfinance projects and from using social capital as a powerful instrument to secure repayments as long as the effects of it on processes within social networks are not scrutinised and fully understood. Social capital is often the only capital base of poor households. That is why the case studies from India and South Africa by Smets and Bähre (2004) which prove how social networks can be endangered by micro financing projects have to be taken seriously. On the one hand, defaulting debtors who cannot repay their loans are endangered to be excluded from their respective networks and thus dispossessed of their last capital base which then again can lead to further impoverishment. On the other hand, the failure of microfinance projects can also destroy trust between partners in the long term.

### Dar es Salaam: the city-wide upgrading strategy

Dar es Salaam is the biggest town of Tanzania with approximately 3 million inhabitants. Growth rates between 4 to 4.7% (UN Habitat & Cities Alliance 2007: 4) classify the city as one of the fastest growing towns in Africa and as one of the future African megacities. Especially during the last decades the growing of the city took place predominately in the informal settlements. It is estimated that 70 to 80% of the residential units of Dar es Salaam have emerged informally (UN Habitat & Cities Alliance 2007: 3). In spite of numerous attempts like slum-clearance, public housing projects, or self-help housing projects the growth of the informal settlements could hardly be reduced. Continuous immigration has led to an enormous densification and a breakdown of infrastructural services in the settlements. Moreover, while structural adjustment and market liberalisation contributed to increasing cost of living, the prices of building materials have also strongly risen during the last years.

Infrastructural deficits, like insufficient water supply, lacking disposal services for garbage and sewage, precarious locations on river sides, gappy road systems or road nets, as well as the danger of flooding in the rainy seasons characterize the living conditions in these areas. Though the mostly single-level housing units are constructed mainly with durable materials, however, they are often in deficient conditions or only partly finished and usually overcrowded. Subletting is, like in all other African cities, a current practise and serves as a supplement to mainly informal sector income. The highly densified settlements close to the city centre are mostly inhabited by lower and lowest income groups, because nearby they find potential jobs or customers and transport costs can thus be limited to a minimum.

The quantitative housing deficit was estimated in 2000 at 600,000 residential units (Kombe & Kreibich 2000: 40). Since the insolvency of the Tanzania Housing Bank in 1995 no functioning formal system for housing financing exists. Up to now loans for housing can only be obtained from private banks whose conditions exclude large parts of the population, even the middle class (MLHSD 2007: 21ff). Moreover, many banks are indignant to award

loans for housing, because expropriations in the course of insolvency are hardly enforceable in Tanzania.

To improve the situation in Dar es Salaam, a city-wide strategy to upgrade all unplanned settlements till 2015 was just recently put into place under coordination of UN Habitat and the Cities Alliance. The activities of different actors, among others the city administration and its subunits, the Ministry of Land, Housing and Human Settlements Development (MLHSD), urban and semi-privatised suppliers of infrastructure, the World Bank, as well as international and local NGOs are supposed to be co-ordinated.

The scheme builds on three strategic elements: the assignment of formal land titles, the upgrading of infrastructure and the supply of microfinance services for housing. The assignment of secure land titles is seen as a precondition for the inhabitants to invest in housing. The upgrading of infrastructure takes place in cooperation with the World Bank within the scope of the Community Infrastructure Upgrading Programmes (CIUP). Six informal settlements were already equipped with basic infrastructure, like public wells, paved roads or street lighting. Currently the preparations are sped up for the upgrading of another eight informal settlements.

The third element of the city-wide upgrading strategy concentrates on housing. Besides institutional and juridical measures, like the lowering of construction standards or the minimum size for properties, the key element is to secure access to microfinance services. NGOs and Savings and Credit Cooperative Societies (SACCOS) should be strengthened and supported in their mandate to provide microfinance services for housing-related investments. To date there are mainly two actors in Dar es Salaam who explicitly engage in the field of microcredit for housing upgrading measures in informal settlements. Both rely on collective liability to secure their loans. In addition, both actors expect that prospective customers have already saved a certain amount of money through regular deposits which are used then as a partial security. With the advance of a credit the organisations offer trainings and consultation concerning financial questions and upgrading issues.

In addition, the formulation of a new Housing Policy by the MLHSD is currently under way. In a preliminary version (Nov. 2007) the development of customized microcredit schemes for housing has been formulated as a priority strategy of the government also at the national level (MLHSD 2007). Besides other microfinance suppliers, like private, regional or agricultural banks and numerous NGOs, 650 Savings and Credit Cooperative Societies (SACCOS) with 130,000 members have been reported in the year 2002 (Basu et al. 2004), while the Bank of Tanzania registered a number of 761 SACCOS with about 217,000 members for 2009. Many of these SACCOS did not only emerge in the course of economic liberalisation and the intervention of international developing agencies, but also on the basis of traditional, rotary „Upatu“ savings and credit rings.

As the whole program is just at the beginning of its implementation it is too early for an evaluation or assessment. However a few critical questions might be asked beforehand: Who has access to microcredit and who not? On which basis credit groups are formed, who is

included and who will be excluded? What happens in the case of default of single group-members? How are social networks affected by the practice of collective liability within the microcredit schemes? To which extent (if at all) will the lowest income groups benefit from microcredit offers? How are tenants affected by the program? These are only a few - yet decisive for a sustainable and low-risk outcome - issues to be addressed in this context.

By no means should the strategy of microfinance for housing be questioned in general. Rather a more differentiated discussion should be started to counter the tendency of an uncritical transference of the concept to Africa and in particular the exploitation of social networks as part of group loans. Because currently microfinance concepts for housing are just starting to be implemented on a larger scale in sub-Saharan Africa now is the time to document the effects of these projects and to question the outcomes critically. It is in particular important to closely observe which risks and (unintentional) side effects are going along with the practice of the microfinance assignment impacting on the survival of the marginalised population and their coexistence in the informal settlements of the towns in Africa. Special attention should be paid also to the question who the winners and losers are. Not least it is still unproven if microfinance – as propagated by the big developing agencies - really is the universal remedy for the housing crisis in Africa or rather just one possible way among many and adequate only for specific target groups.

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Woman in a Slum (photo: Kosta Mathéy)

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## Beate Lohnert

Prof. Dr. holds the chair of Development Studies in Geography at the University of Bayreuth/Germany. She is member of the Academic Committee of the Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies (BIGSAS) and chairs the Research Area on concepts and conflicts in development cooperation with Africa. Before joining the University of Bayreuth, she worked at the Universities of Freiburg, Osnabrueck, Stuttgart and Cape Town and at the Center for Advanced Training in Rural Development (SLE) at the Humboldt University in Berlin. She holds an M.A. in Geography, her PhD topic was on marginalized groups at the urban fringe in Mopti/Mail, her postdoc and further work is centered around urban development problems esp. housing in Africa. She has more than 20 years of research and applied experience in Africa South of the Sahara.

Beate.lohnert@uni-bayreuth.de  
<http://www.lsg.uni-bayreuth.de/de/index.html>

# Participatory Land Use Planning in Practice

## Experiences from Ethiopia and Kenya

Karin Gaesing

*Partizipative Landnutzungsplanung ist ein wichtiges Instrument, um lokale Landnutzung ebenso wie das Ressourcenmanagement zu verbessern und an veränderte wirtschaftliche und klimatische Bedingungen anzupassen. Dem Biosphären- und dem Erosionsschutz kommt in diesem Zusammenhang besondere Bedeutung zu. Darüber hinaus ermöglicht die Methode den Dialog zwischen Konfliktpartnern und kann als Sprungbrett für Selbsthilfeaktivitäten dienen. Beispiele aus Projekten in Äthiopien und Kenia zeigen Anwendung, Probleme und Potential der Methode in der Praxis.*

### Participatory Land Use Planning in Ethiopia

Participatory land use planning (PLUP) is an approach that provides a platform for discussion and negotiation of interests regarding the use and management of natural resources for all concerned stakeholders. PLUP provides a forum for the participation of communities in the analysis, planning and implementation for their own land-related activities. It can be defined as a “process for deciding about the best use of scarce land resources through negotiation between different interests aiming at equity, viability, conservation, sustainability and for implementation” (ZEL 1998: 47). The important aspect of this definition is that – contrary to conventional approaches to land use planning – it regards land use planning as an ongoing process of dialogue and negotiation between the different partners involved. It is not understood as a one-time exercise by a team of experts who elaborate land use plans and define the most suitable utilisation of the land, involving the concerned farmers, if

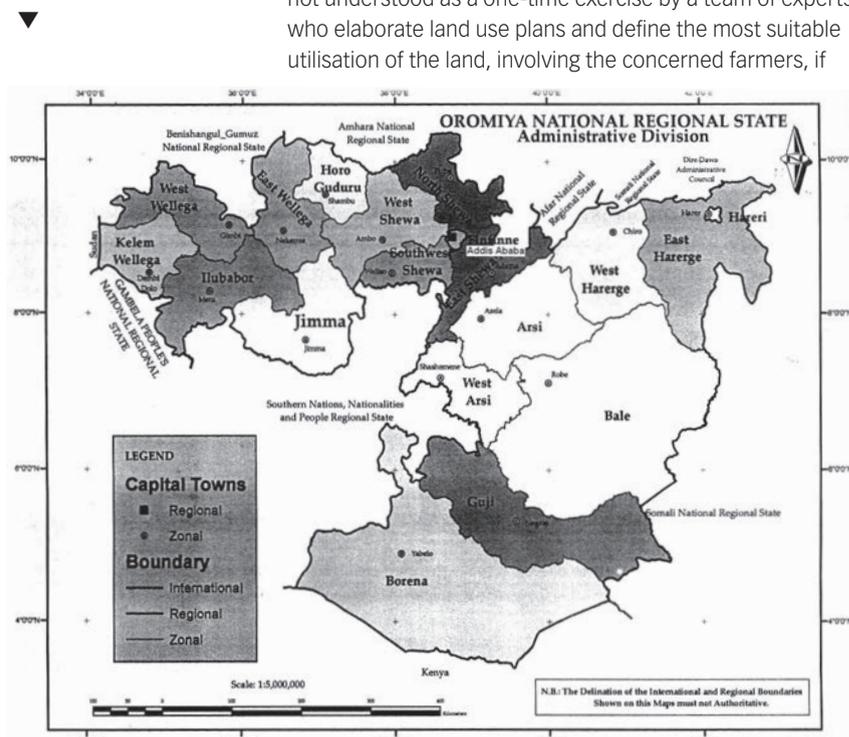
at all, as informants. It bears special significance in areas of conflicting forms of land use and around protected areas (Arbeitsgruppe Integrierte Landnutzungsplanung 1995).

Participatory approaches in land use planning and forest and natural resource management have been in practice and under test in numerous countries and by many development organisations and local institutions for years. However, rarely have the results of such efforts been compiled, scientifically followed, and analysed (see Alden Wiley 2002, Borrini-Feyerabend 2003, GTZ-LUPO 2003, LUPO 2003). This paper looks into the possibilities, potentials and challenges of PLUP in two different contexts: The implementation of PLUP in a project of land use planning and resource management in Ethiopia and the use of PLUP in the context of biodiversity conservation in Kenya.

In Ethiopia, resource management and soil erosion control have always been at the top of the agenda for development initiatives. Being a country with a mountainous structure with steep slopes, erosion problems are prominent in large parts of Ethiopia. In the past, the government tried to overcome soil erosion problems through centrally planned highland reclamation campaigns that operated with food-for-work campaigns on private as well as on communal lands. Although these initiatives covered large areas of the country, the success was limited. The same holds true for government initiated land use planning which mainly produced plans for the shelves which never entered the implementation phase (LUPO 2003).

These experiences led the regional government of Oromiya, the central and at the same time largest region of Ethiopia, to introduce the approach of participatory land use planning in the hope of creating more awareness for the need of sustainable resource management within the rural population and thus be more efficient in planning and implementation. The German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) assisted the Oromiya regional government in elaborating a PLUP approach that is adapted to the local conditions, trained their field staff in the method

Map 1: Oromiya Region and LUPO project area



and supported them in implementing the activities that were identified and prioritised by the communities.

The project 'Land Use Planning and Resource Management in Oromiya Region' (LUPO) started operation in 1997. In the relatively densely populated mountains around Addis Ababa (approximately 170 persons/km<sup>2</sup> [www.csa.gov.et]) the average farm size for a rural household is 1 ha. On this land, which is usually distributed over a couple of plots dispersed in the area around the homestead, the family grows mainly cereals, pulses and enset, a banana that is used as staple food. In addition to that, according to their wealth, the average farm family keeps a number of cattle, oxen for ploughing, sheep, goats, chicken and perhaps a donkey. The traditional way of cultivation leaves the land bare after harvest and thus allows the rain and winds to carry off a substantial part of the fertile top soil and confronts the farmers with degraded lands, constantly menaced by erosion problems. Erosion problems are aggravated by the fact that after harvest the cattle are left to roam around for free grazing.

In this context, LUPO conducted participatory land use planning (PLUP) workshops in pilot villages in the project area. The project trained a large number of staff of its local government partners in the methodology and thus enabled the partners to carry out PLUP workshops on their own. This approach permits a wide application of PLUP as a sustainable approach – even after departure of the project.

PLUP makes use of the philosophy and toolbox of participatory rural appraisal (PRA). Men and women from the village analyse their own situation with the help of a couple of selected interactive tools that stimulate the discussion as described below. Ideally, three facilitators each work with a group of people. One of the facilitators explains and moderates the discussion process, the second one assists and is responsible for the visualisation of the results, the third one takes note of interesting points of discussion, group dynamics and other relevant issues that may occur.

After two or three days of analysis, the facilitation team invites as many villagers as possible for a final workshop. The team presents the results of all the tools to the community. Hereafter, based on their own work, the community develops a community action plan that contains the planned activities which could solve the identified problems, their own contribution to the implementation, and the assistance they need as well as a tentative time schedule. Men and women discuss and work separately because the Oromo culture does not favour women to be outspoken in front of their husbands and male elders.

On the first day of PLUP, the villagers draw the map of their community. They use sticks, stones, leaves and other available material to create the map on the ground. They show the village borders, roads and footpaths, social infrastructure, springs, wells and rivers as well as forest areas and other features which they consider important. The interactive map allows them to depict past and present situation of the land use and natural resource situation in their community. The map also shows problematic areas with regard to soil erosion, soil degradation, conflicting land use and other issues relevant for planning. It is later used to identify areas of intervention and village development projects.



◀ Fig. 1: Typical homestead in rural Oromia (Source: Karin Gaesing)

Fig. 2: PLUP workshop in Oromia (Source: Karin Gaesing)



This exercise is followed by other PRA tools such as the

- Transect walk, which gives the facilitation team the chance to familiarise themselves with the area and to thoroughly discuss land use issues with community members. Team and villagers cut a line through the village that touches the most interesting features of the area and cross the village along that line. On the way they discuss predefined categories such as land use, soil type and quality, alternative income, infrastructure, problems etc.
- Seasonal calendar, which provides an overview of the labour requirements of the main crops cultivated in the village as well as of other important activities taking place within the year. In addition to that, information about gender division of labour and a ranking of activities according to workload can be done.
- Income and expenditure profile, which gives insight into the different sources of income of the villagers and at the same time into their expenses. Both income sources and expenditure items are ranked according to the share they have in the household. With this tool it is also possible to make a comparison between seasonal income and expenditure as well as compare the present situation in a village with the past situation.
- Venn diagram, which provides an overview of the different institutions and organisations prevalent in or important for the village and the importance they have for the villagers and their well-being.

The way land use planning has been defined and handled in LUPO, it is not restricted to the use of land only but extends



medicinal plants, thatching grass and grazing area for cattle for their livelihood. The poorer the households are and the closer they are to the forest, the more they rely on 'free' forest resources for survival. Both sides, community members and foresters, affirmed that they welcomed the opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of the motives and constraints behind the actions of the other party. During the PLUP workshop they discussed solutions to the problem of forest degradation and loss of biodiversity as well as to livelihood needs (Becker et al. 2008, Kenea 2008).

The PLUP workshops in Kakamega revealed the necessity for the institutionalisation of an integrated multi-disciplinary planning approach. The administrative system in Kenya is highly sectoral. The problems identified in the PLUP, however, were of economic, social, cultural, ecological and political nature. Solutions covered many diverse aspects of life of the communities. Different government and non-government agencies should play a role in assisting communities in their development efforts. This requires a coordinating body which initiates PLUP workshops, manages them and steers the implementation of the planned activities.

### Lessons Learnt and Ways Ahead

Both cases presented offer a number of lessons that can be learnt regarding a transfer of PLUP to other East African countries and probably beyond.

Taking into account the effects that PLUP had in the two project contexts presented above, we can state that the method is useful beyond the objective of improving land use in a given geographical area. Its role as a communication facilitator is as essential as its role in land use planning. PLUP proved to be a tool that is able to initiate and strengthen self-help capacity and a spirit of ownership within a given community by facilitating a thorough situation analysis which is done by the community itself. Thereby it also provides a platform for dialogue between stakeholders in difficult and conflicting situations.

PLUP can be useful in any kind of ecological, economic or socio-cultural context. It needs local adaptation especially with regard to the local socio-cultural conditions. In the projects in Ethiopia and Kenya, the active participation of women was enhanced by having separate group discussions with men and women and by having female facilitators for the women's sessions. Mixed groups are appropriate where women are more outspoken in public. Meeting hours have to be adjusted to the male and female local working calendar. In addition to that, the introduction of PLUP necessitates an institutional environment where a certain continuity of staff is guaranteed, or cooperation with institutions that have a low staff turnover.

PLUP workshops result in the preparation of concrete action plans for a community and should be followed by the implementation of the planned activities as soon as possible. The high level of enthusiasm and commitment that is created by a PLUP workshop can turn to the negative if communities are left waiting for too long. Therefore, the institutionalisation of PLUP requires a secure flow of funds for implementation.



It is inefficient to deal with local communities in an isolated way. Solutions for their problems, e. g. the improvement of infrastructure, may require support from development initiatives outside their locality. The way ahead lies in embedding PLUP into a regional development planning approach. This can be achieved by systematically covering a pre-defined geographical or administrative region with community-level PLUP workshops and then integrating the resulting local-level plans into a regional or district development plan.

In the African context, climate change will be one of the major challenges for the future. PLUP can help to facilitate the necessary adaptations that especially African farmers have to make with regard to coping with a changing climate.

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▲  
Fig. 3: Mapping exercise in a PLUP workshop in Kakamega (Source: Karin Gaesing)

### Karin Gaesing

Dr. is currently coordinating a research project on 'Reconciling biodiversity conservation with human needs' for the Faculty of Spatial Planning of TU Dortmund University as part of the BIO-TA East Africa initiative. Previously she worked for GTZ and managed the Land Use Planning and Resource Management Project in Oromia Region in Ethiopia.

karin.gaesing@web.de

# Closing the Cycle of Local Public Service Provision – Ethiopia

## Enhancing Public Sector Capacity

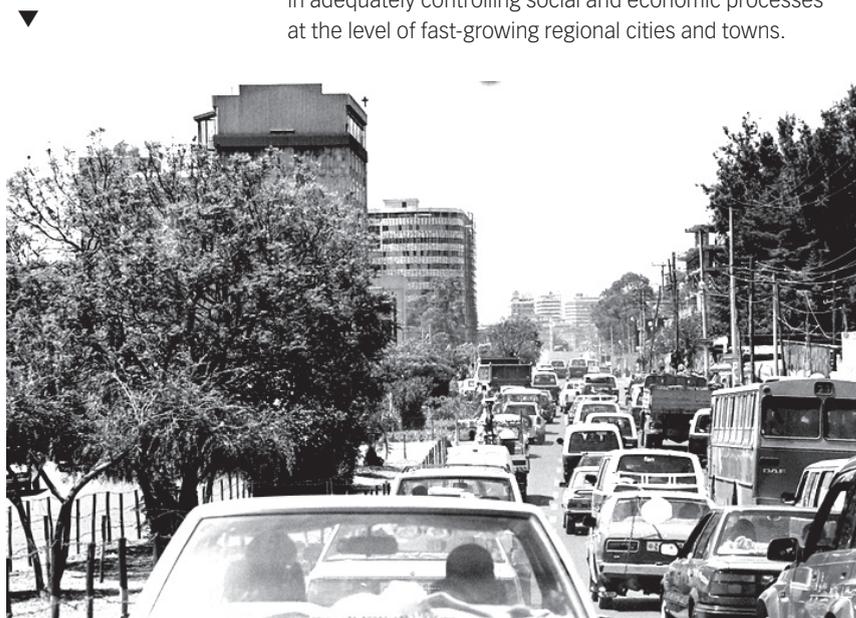
Damte Data, Alexandra Linden, Shumeye Tessema

*Angesichts der Herausforderungen einer schnell fortschreitenden Urbanisierung geraten Stadtverwaltungen und der öffentliche Dienst in Äthiopien zusehendes in Zugzwang, die Leistungen im städtischen Raum zu verbessern und auszubauen. In Zusammenarbeit mit einer Reihe bi- und multilateraler Geberorganisationen arbeitet die äthiopische Regierung auf nationaler, regionaler und lokaler Ebene an dem Entwurf und der Verlinkung angepasster technischer und finanzieller Aus- und Weiterbildungsmodulen für dezentralisierte lokale Verwaltung unter dem Schlaglicht der äthiopischen Urban Good Governance Reform. Die einzelnen Programmaktivitäten in den Bereichen Infrastrukturplanung und -instandhaltung, Städtische Einnahmen und Budgetierung, Stadtplanung, öffentliche und institutionelle Partizipation verfolgen das gemeinsame Ziel, den Kreis der Bereitstellung städtischer Dienstleistung zu schließen und einen verbesserten Service für den Bürger zu erreichen.*

### Introducing “Urban Highlights in Ethiopia”, November 2008

The Federal Republic of Ethiopia is currently in the course of defining and implementing a comprehensive urban management system at city level which places all important urban processes under one local authority only. Since the publication of the Federal Urban Planning Proclamation in May 2008, the legal mandate of fully owning the process of urban development has been officially transferred to the urban local governments (ULGs). Across the country city governments will eventually assume the responsibilities for urban data management, urban planning and financial management, as well as actual project implementation. However, the newly introduced decentralised system encounters a number of shortcomings in adequately controlling social and economic processes at the level of fast-growing regional cities and towns.

Figure 1: Traffic congestion in Addis Abeba (Source: Linden 2008)



Centuries marked by agricultural feudality and low attention to industrial development have bound major parts of the Ethiopian people to the rural grounds. Even today, according to the just-released 2007 census, over 80% of the country's population are estimated to live in rural areas (see Ethio-media.com 2008). However, the process of urbanisation is already in full swing. The average urban growth rate has surpassed 4% per annum while the urbanisation level is projected to reach 30% before 2020 (see United Nations 2004). The phenomenon itself is mainly fostered by strong rural-urban migration, thus transforming former rural centres into regional towns. Hence, ULGs are put on the verge of uncontrolled urban growth, environmental hazards, as well as the proliferation of informal settlements and urban poverty.

The process of urbanisation in Ethiopia features one particularly interesting aspect:

Even though cities are emerging as centres of economic growth, with 53% contribution to the national GDP (see World Bank 2007), poverty has been growing among the urban population while declining in the rural areas. In towns, an unemployment rates as high as 20% and inadequate basic infrastructure coverage have contributed essentially to aggravate impacts of poverty (see World Bank 2007). At the same time, public funds are mainly used to cover recurrent costs.

### Decentralisation and Urban Good Governance

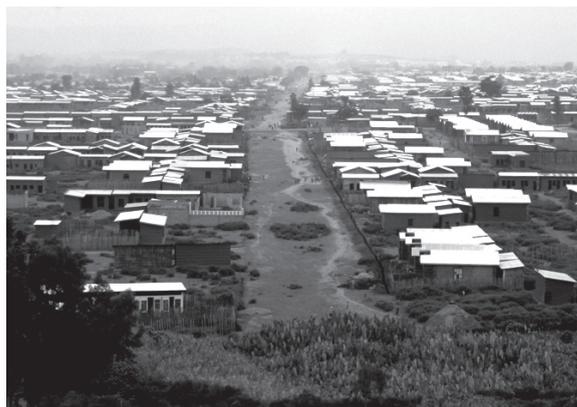
While Ethiopian municipalities had no role as independent authorities during the former centralised socialist regime, the current government bases its ruling structure on a decentralised system. Paying attention to the urbanisation process, the Ethiopian government introduced local urban governments in the year 2000, followed by a gradual fiscal decentralisation from 2003 onwards. However, only after the dilemmas of the urban centres became

awkwardly evident in the course of the 2005 elections was a national urban development policy attended to the tasks of reducing urban poverty, strengthening local urban authorities and augmenting decentralised service delivery.

Further, the Ethiopian government instigated the Urban Good Governance Reform in 2006 in order to comprehensively address the increasing role of cities and local governments in the nation-wide decentralisation process. The Reform has been conceptualised in seven packages, covering the areas of land administration, participation, infrastructure, human resource development, urban planning, financial management, and law & justice. At ULG level, the implementation of the Reform aims at improved public service provision in the light of transparency, accountability, social equality, efficiency, ... in short, good governance.

### Supporting the Urban Sector

The efforts of the Ethiopian government in regard to a sound urban development have been supported from the early start through donor-funded assistance. The launch was marked by a series of analytical studies on the urban sector within the World Bank financed project "Capacity Building for Decentralised Service Delivery" (CBDS). The research revealed mal-functioning urban land markets, insufficient and badly managed infrastructure, shortages of affordable housing for lower income groups, inefficient top-down planning, inadequate management of municipal finances and low urban management and governance practice (see World Bank 2007).



The CBDS studies concentrated on a group of 18 reform cities<sup>1</sup> in four regions as well as Dire Dawa and Harar. The established contact to these ULGs and the baseline analysis conducted has proven to be a fertile ground for future design and implementation of donor-financed assistance in promoting urban good governance, such as on the technical side the GTZ<sup>2</sup> Urban Governance and Decentralisation Programme. GTZ supports 19 ULGs (CBDS plus Addis Ababa), four regional ministries as well as the Federal Ministry of Works and Urban Development in the areas of urban planning, participation, infrastructure and municipal finance.

On the financial side, two infrastructure funds are engaged in actually making improved public service provision foremost tangible to Ethiopia's urban population. The KfW<sup>3</sup> financed Urban Development Fund has been operative in 11 out of the 18 CBDS cities. Out of an overall budget of EUR 18 M, thirty-three municipal infrastructure projects have received funding so far.

**Box 1:** The Urban Governance and Decentralisation Programme (GTZ UGDP) contributes to Ethiopia's process of decentralisation, including the transfer of power to regional and local governments under the flashlight of fast urbanisation.

The UGDP is implemented by the Ethiopian Ministry of Works and Urban Development, together with four regional states, 18 secondary cities and Ethiopia's capital Addis Ababa. The Ethiopian authorities are jointly supported by GTZ, KfW and CIM on behalf of the German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development.

The programme aims to enhance urban good governance and improve urban services for citizens. It includes municipal capacity building as well as regional and national policy advice to:

- Improve the participation of citizens in urban development,
- Ensure the city governments' transparency and accountability,
- Increase the city governments' capacities for financial management and revenue generation, and
- Improve urban service and infrastructure delivery.

In November 2008, the official launch of the World Bank's Urban Local Government Development Project marked the start of a new phase of an institutionalised form of fiscal transfers for funding municipal services, thus contributing to the predictability of ULG service delivery. For the first time in Ethiopian urban history, cities are entitled to access an institutionalised infrastructure fund. The Bank's loan of USD 150 M to the federal state will be accessible by 18 CBDS city governments in form of infrastructure grants.

### Linking Single Efforts

The assistance provided sets out to build the capacity of the public administration to innovatively respond to the challenges of urban development. This is done by linking the single packages of the Urban Good Governance

**Box 2:** The Urban Development Fund (UDF), a bilateral financial cooperation programme between the German and Ethiopian governments, executed through KfW, has been implemented since August 2004 in order to contribute to improved service delivery and infrastructure provision. The UDF's first phase of a total budget of EUR18 M incorporates 11 urban local governments in Oromia, Amhara, Tigray, the southern nations, as well as the Dire Dawa city administration.

Infrastructure investments such as e.g. market areas, solid waste management systems, storm water drainage, sanitary and sewerage facilities are eligible for UDF co-financing. The UDF Team under the Urban Development Capacity Building Office provides support to the ongoing decentralisation process by fostering democratic decision making, operation and maintenance of infrastructure, empowerment of local stakeholders and governments in managing infrastructure, as well as promotion of good governance principles.

**1** Reform cities operate administratively based on the twofold system of municipal, i.e. infrastructure and service provision financed out of local revenue, and state functions, i.e. schools and health facilities furnished through an annual State Block Grant.

**2** GTZ – Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, technical branch of the German bilateral cooperation.

**3** KfW – Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau, financial branch of the German bilateral cooperation.

◀ Figure 2: Proliferating new urban developments in the regional capital of Awassa (Source: Linden 2008)

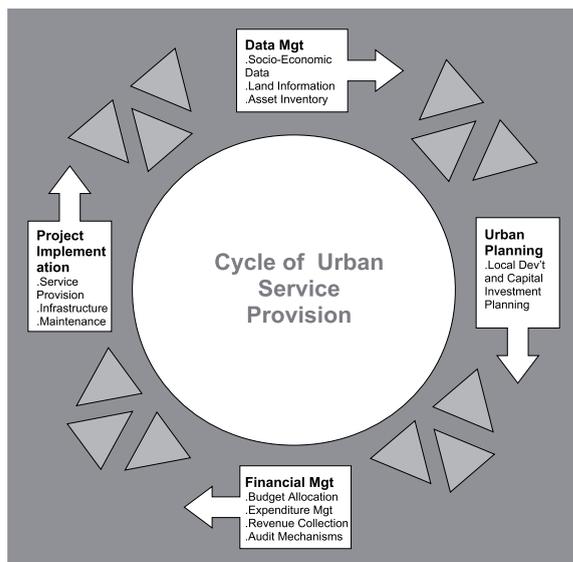


Figure 3. Cycle of urban service provision (Source: Linden, GTZ/CIM UGDP, Awassa.)



Figure 4: Citizens prioritising their needs in the secondary city of Wolayta Sodo (Source: Data 2008)

Reform as well as efforts from various financial, technical and personal support programmes. Subsequently, continuous effort is taken to leave behind the times of uncoordinated donor activities detached from national development policies. Hence, with regard to the cycle of local public service provision, formerly single capacity building efforts are closely linked to each other:

- Starting off from collecting, analysing and managing urban data;
- Proceeding to participatory, needs-based and implementation-oriented urban planning;
- In connection to an efficient and transparent financial management; and
- Concluding with actual, time-bound project implementation and management.

In the context of aiming to effectively close the cycle of local public service provision, main support activities are currently concentrated on four Urban Good Governance Reform packages at local and regional level:

- Urban planning and management, building cities capacities as well as an institutional framework for spatial planning, data management and participative planning;
- Urban infrastructure, encouraging transparent and participative budgeting for capital investment, project implementation and future maintenance through improved organisational structures at city level;
- Municipal finance, aiming at establishing an efficient expenditure management at city level, increasing cities' capacity of revenue collection and operating a transparent audit system; and
- Participation as a cross-cutting issue for public empow-

Box 3: The Urban Local Government Development Project (ULGDP) is a continuation of the World Bank's support of Ethiopia's urban governance reform since the early 2000s.

The ULGDP establishes a specific purpose grant as an additional component to the government's fiscal architecture of predictable resource transfers to the urban sector. The grant is incentive-driven and performance-based. It is designed to support urban local governments to plan, deliver and sustain priority infrastructure and services and contribute to the implementation of the government's Urban Development and Urban Good Governance Programmes.

Currently 18 cities are eligible for the grant.

Priority will be given to infrastructure projects that promote local economic development and create jobs. The project became effective in November 2008 and has a timeframe of 3-6 years.

Source: FDRE, Ministry of Works and Urban Development (2008): Urban Local Government Development Project, Operational Manual, 2nd Draft

erment, enhancing the institutionalised involvement of local communities within the process of defining, delivering and controlling public service provision.

### Making the Cycle Turn

Urban centres are currently growing without guidance from either a comprehensive urban planning system or a strong public authority. Scarce resources at local level, in terms of municipal revenue as well as manpower, are inefficiently used. Hence, many areas in need of support could be cited here. Special focus will be given, though, to the challenge of transforming former mere-executing administrative bodies of a centralistic past into modern local authorities and, accordingly, making the cycle of local public service provision turn.

'Standing up against the odds' might be an adequate expression to describe daily affairs at municipal level. High staff turnover and low pay rates put enormous constraints on the public sector's human resource development. Further, the continuous absorption of staff within internal reform processes, meetings and day-to-day affairs drain the professional workforce away from urgent institutional restructuring and decision making.

In this context the regional teams of the GTZ Urban Governance and Decentralisation Programme, composed of one GTZ and one GTZ/CIM<sup>4</sup> advisor in urban planning and participation as well as one municipal finance consultant, are involved in providing technical assistance to local and regional government bodies. One field of work is concerned with ensuring cities' access to the World Bank Infrastructure Fund. This covers support starting from the preparation of asset management plans, which are composed of an inventory of municipal assets and maintenance plans. For the first time, local authorities become aware of the existence and maintenance needs of their assets and overall creditworthiness.

#### 4

CIM-Centrum fuer Internationale Migration und Entwicklung, a cooperation between GTZ and the German Agency of Labour Affairs for the exchange of integrated experts within the German bilateral cooperation.

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<http://ethiopia.com/aurora/9185.html>, Ethiopia's population soars to near 77 million: Preliminary Census 2007, 04 Dec 2008

The asset management database immediately feeds into the piloting of municipal capital investment plans. Public bodies are forced to be strategic about infrastructure decisions, transparent in regard to budgets, and foremost participative on prioritising public spending choices. Along with the support to cities in capital investment comes the technical assistance in enhancing urban planning. City authorities are encouraged to embrace their mandate in regard to structural and local development plan preparation.

Local bodies had been reduced to mere executors of national development strategies, bound to national plan preparation and centrally organised service provision. Over the decades, many cities have outgrown their original master plans and find themselves facing rapid urban development with neither the ability nor experience of setting up local strategies. Under the guidance of the regional ministries, cities are currently introduced to:

- Collecting their primary spatial and socio-economic information;
- Identifying fields of urgently required action;
- Coming up with their own development visions;
- Building the capacity of their staff by thematic as well as technical training;
- Strengthening the structural set up of their newly created urban planning units; and
- Closely engaging with their urban population and civil society groups as reliable partners in urban development.

These efforts aim at the production of city base maps, structural plans and local development plans which reflect the needs, available resources and actual implementation capacities of the respective city.

Cities shall be increasingly aware on wisely using their scarce resources. Beyond the field of manpower and community ownership, mainly cost-awareness shall be increased. Trainings are provided by the regional ministries with support of the GTZ Decentralisation Programme to establish transparent budget allocation at city level, participative prioritisation of projects and regular internal and external audits.

Based on a thorough financial management, regular municipal expenditures together with special infrastructure funds shall boost ULGs' efficient engagement. Cities shall coordinate new infrastructure investments, systematically operate and maintain assets, and last but not least, provide reliable and demand-driven services to their clients. In the section of infrastructure provision, particularly the KfW Urban Development Fund has exposed city officials to transparent and accountable procurement methods and made assistance available in effectively implementing infrastructure projects. Despite of many bottlenecks, KfW is currently successfully tendering a third round of infrastructure projects in its target cities.

The urban scene of demand-driven infrastructure and adequate development strategies also allows for the introduction of new technologies. Labour intensive and relying on local materials, the emerging sector of cobblestone road construction is slowly extending to Ethiopia's secondary cities. Based on an initiative of the Ethiopian

government, chiselling and paving training is conducted for large numbers of urban unemployed. This training is conducted through the Ethiopian-German Engineering Capacity Building Programme and co-financed by the regional states and engaged ULGs. The GTZ Decentralisation Team has facilitated the roll-out from regional capitals to secondary cities through awareness creation, technical information and linking of relevant stakeholders. Finally, the availability of World Bank funds for future cobblestone road implementation could also be ensured. And from January 2009 onwards, a first KfW Urban Development Fund site will be paved with cobblestone, thus replacing the formerly intended asphalt grounds by a job-creating, foreign-currency-saving and environmentally friendly approach.

Making a long story short, first steps have been successfully taken in addressing the obstacles and gaps within the cycle of local service provision. However, many bottlenecks still persist at local level due to low implementation capacities and a low commitment and political will.

Problems encountered range, for example, from limited technical capacity and high staff turnover to city officials' unavailability due to extensive meetings, as well as almost habitual delaying in taking action and finalising tasks.



Despite of the odds, the strategic approach of linking tailor-made support modules for local governments holds the promise of eventually closing and smoothly turning the cycle of public service provision, hereby genuinely addressing the capacity, manpower and technical shortcomings of ULGs.

Starting from spring 2009 onwards, further programme support from the French bilateral cooperation is planned to introduce transparent urban land development, administration and information systems. Their input will be warmly welcomed within the group of national and international programmes and agencies working together for a sound urban development in Ethiopia.

Figure 5: Application of the cobblestone technology in Awassa road construction (Source: Linden 2008)



#### Alexandra Linden

Dipl.-Ing. Architecture, Urban and Regional Planning  
After her studies in Germany and Italy, Alexandra has worked on a number of urban development consultancies for the public and private sector, NGOs, bilateral and international organisations in Germany and abroad. Currently she is engaged as GTZ-CIM Urban Planning and Management Expert at the Southern Nations Bureau of Works and Urban Development in Awassa, Ethiopia; Working in cooperation with the GTZ Urban Governance and Decentralisation Programme (UGDP).  
alexinvenezia@gmx.de

#### Damte Data

MSc Regional Development Planning and Management  
Following Damte's studies in Ethiopia and Germany he was engaged in an NGO Community Development Programme before taking on his current position as GTZ UGDP Urban Planning and Participation Expert, Southern Nations, Ethiopia.

#### Shumeye Tessema

B.A. Economics. After finalizing his Advisor task in the Ethiopian Finance Reform, implemented by Harvard University and financed by USAID/DSA, Shumeye joined the GTZ UGDP as a Gopa Finance Advisor, Southern Nations, Ethiopia.

# Bole Summit Suburb in Addis Ababa

Kosta Mathéy

*Im Auftrag der nationalen Wohnungsbaubehörde Ethiopiens HDPO und der GTZ International Services entwickelte der Autor den Bebauungsplan für ein Stadterweiterungsgebiet mit ca. 100.000 Einwohnern ca 6 km westlich des jetzigen Zentrums von Addis Ababa. Die Herausforderung bestand darin, unter Verwendung der institutionell eingeführten, fünfgeschossigen ‚walk-up‘ Haustypen ein Wohnumfeld zu schaffen, das einer künftigen Verslumung dieser Großsiedlung entgegenwirkt. Das Ziel wurde verfolgt durch Mischung der Bebauung mit individuell geplanten Einfamilienhäusern, Einbeziehung der bestehenden informellen Bebauung mit Möglichkeit der späteren Sanierung und Transformation, Aufteilung des Geländes in fünf Quartiere mit jeweils eigenständiger Identität und Gewerbeachsen für Kleinunternehmer, ein an das stark profilierte Gelände angepasstes städtebauliches Layout, den Erdgeschosswohnungen zugerndete und privat nutzbare Gärten, Urban Forestry für die verbleibenden öffentlichen Freiflächen und ein Fussgängerrechtliches Wegesystem. Das Projekt befindet sich gegenwärtig in der Ausführungsphase.*

## Introduction

Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia, has about 3.5 million inhabitants today and, with a yearly population increase of 8%, expects to have 5 million by 2015. About 90% of the city's residents live in informal settlements and suffer overcrowding, and 50% of dwellings only have earth floors. In an attempt to face this critical situation, the Ethiopian government has resorted to state-built mass housing programmes – locally known as condominium housing. This can be seen as a remarkable move considering that this kind of programme, popular with many countries in the South during the 1960s and 1970s, had been criticised by people such as John Turner and others and had largely disappeared from the picture thereafter. However, since then neither the commonly favoured private-sector delivery of housing nor the many internationally supported slum-upgrading projects could impede a worsening of housing conditions worldwide. Therefore, the revival of state mass housing projects in Ethiopia deserves attention and calls for deeper analysis.

In fact, the Addis Ababa condominium programme, which has delivered over 5,000 units over the last five years, has changed in comparison to typical projects of its kind from the 1970s. Housing tenure is now individual ownership, not rented, and access is regulated through a lottery system which frustrates attempts of nepotism and corruption. Even if a considerable proportion of beneficiaries of the scheme belong to the middle class, the entire programme is supposed to be self-financing and does not divert funds originally targeted for assisting the poorest. House prices are extremely low due to an intelligent optimisation of design, construction technology and financing. The four to five storey housing typology incorporates elements (i.e. the roofing construction) that are pre-fabricated by small local enterprises and thus also creates employment locally.

There is criticism, too. The walk-up flats, designed by a German expert, do not match the living custom of most inhabitants who are used to living on the ground floor and spend a large amount of time outside around the building and not within it. The flats do not provide conditions for income-generating activities (i.e., gardening etc). Service blocks for collective use in between the blocks are not appropriated by the residents due to unclear ownership issues. A significant number of flats are not lived in by their legal owners but are sublet on the market and provide a comfortable income to the initial beneficiary of the programme. However, so far there seems to be almost unlimited demand for the flats and the programme still reaches more low-income residents than any other housing programme in the country.

In view of the overall success of the programme, the government intends to scale up the programme and to build condominium housing in several ‚city-sized‘ settlements in the periphery of Addis. One of the projected sites is Bole Summit, a 250-ha-large site about 6 km east of Addis

Figure 1: Condominium mass housing project in central Addis Ababa, 2008. (photo Kosta Mathéy)



International Airport and not too far from the second Addis city centre planned for the future. Of the initially planned 200,000 inhabitants for this area only half of the number could realistically be accommodated due to the topographic situation, which includes an attractive river valley. However, even a possible concentration of 1,000 five-storey housing blocks on a single site understandably caused some concern with both the housing authority and the GTZ International Services organisation, who was asked to be the developer of a section of the future project. It was feared that the new settlement would turn into a modern slum very soon, and that the high concentration of people living in this kind of housing might imply a social risk. Therefore, GTZ supported the housing agency to engage a small design team from the Darmstadt University<sup>1</sup> of Technology to think about alternatives to the master plan previously prepared on behalf of the Ethiopian government.

A first analysis of the preliminary plan revealed a repetition of almost all typical points of criticism inherent to the housing schemes in the South from the 1960s and 1970s. These can be summarised in 9 points:

- Urban and architectural monotony
- Ignorance of contour lines
- Car-oriented circulation planning
- Mono-functional land use: Dormitory town
- Planning considerations stop at the site limits; no linkage with neighbouring environment
- Same plan for ground and upper floor flats
- Ample public open space apparently without design and management plan
- Limitation to one single target group leads to ghettoisation
- Existing informal houses are being ignored and residents displaced or relocated

With this analysis at hand, advisable corrections to the plan were relatively easy to design. Let us discuss the points one by one.

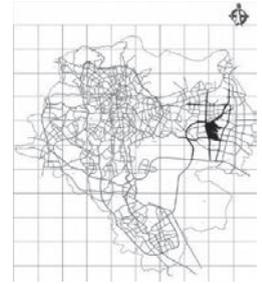
### Urban and architectural monotony

Large social housing projects tend to be of a standard design, often designed by the institution's in-house architects. This practice aims at better and quicker project implementation, cost reductions for architectural services, and avoidance of having to deal with personal preferences of the occupants when it comes to housing distribution. In the Bole Summit project, the number of possible house types was reduced to four and all 20,000 units were repetitively assembled in one typical compound combination. Whereas there was no possibility to redesign

the standard house design due to the projected start of construction within four weeks, the urban layout plan was completely redesigned and geared towards creating five different neighbourhoods with individual characteristics, thus permitting increased identification of the residents with their dwelling, house and quarter<sup>5</sup>.

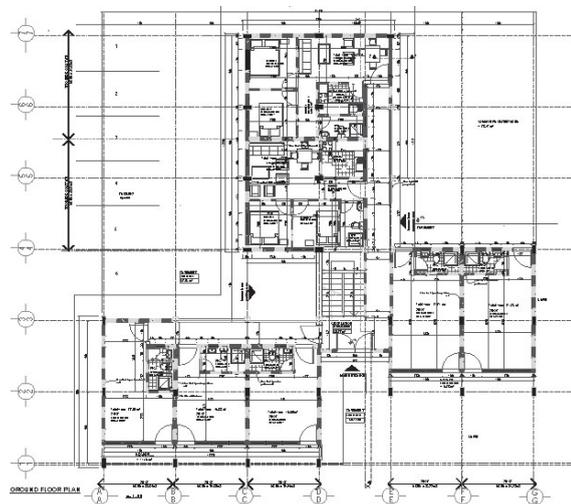
### Ignorance of contour lines

It is quite common in countries without a sound tradition in urban design at the universities that urban master plans are designed using a two-dimensional site plan only. Very often, the different agencies involved in the urban planning



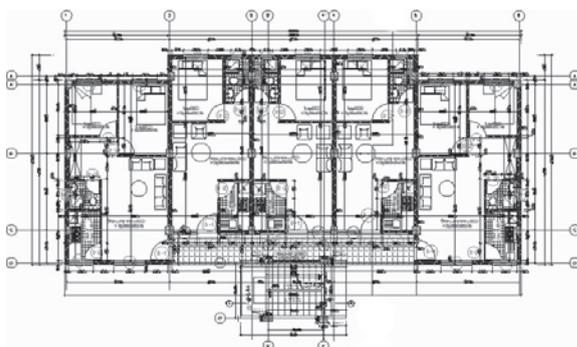
▲ Site location for Bole Summit Project 6 km East of the airport and close to the planned secondary centre for Greater Addis. (plan by HRDO)

1 Prof. Dr. Kosta Mathéy and Dipl.-Ing. Anna Sobcek



▲ Figure 2: Preliminary site layout provided by a local consultant. (plan by HRDO)

▲ Figure 3: Two of the four (and very similar) public housing blocks foreseen for the Bole summit project. (plan by HRDO)



have no smooth mechanisms to exchange information (if any even exists) regarding the property cadastre and topographic plan with contour lines, or to produce plan overlays quickly. This habit of drawing up physical master plans on a two dimensional base map not only increases construction costs of housing and infrastructure by at least 30% (for levelling out construction sites, sewage pumps, extra stairs), but also leads to a circulation pattern inappropriate for pedestrians and bicycles because of unnecessary slopes and stairs. For example, in the previously prepared master plan, a roundabout was foreseen for a site with a 26-meter difference in altitude from one end to the other. The new plan, on the other hand, attempts to orientate almost all housing blocks in parallel with the contour lines, and to seek the greatest distance between contour lines for foot paths and cycling lanes to avoid steep slopes. But also other streets were arranged in a soft and steady slope in order to allow for optimal rainwater drainage and sewerage lines. These design principles, primarily based on economic and circulation considerations, also contributed to the creation of neighbourhoods with their own design characteristics that respond to the site topography much as traditional settlements do, too.

### Car-oriented circulation planning

Due to some probably mystical law, urban designers tend to start a settlement layout by designing the road network. This may be because they go to the site by car anyway, or because conventional street maps primarily show only the roads. However, at least in Ethiopia, considerably more than 90% of circulation is done on foot, and we know that pedestrians not only always prefer the shortest connection between two points but may also choose a detour to avoid steep slopes or to pass points of interest (maybe to increase the likelihood of meeting friends on the way). On the other hand, to a car driver, a detour of a few hundred metres does not matter at all since velocity is more important. The two different behavioural patterns also imply different preferable mobility trajectories for the different user groups. Therefore, instead of the originally planned grid-iron circulation system for Bole Summit, a predominantly tree-shaped footpath pattern was now introduced with the most important axis in the middle of each neighbourhood, whereas car access was mostly by looping roads from the neighbourhood fringe.

### Mono-functional land use as dormitory town

The concept of 100,000 people evenly dispersed over 130 ha of urbanised land without any concentration of public life certainly seems like a nightmare to most people. Even if some of the houses may have shops on the ground

floor, nobody will walk around the entire settlement for window shopping or comparing offers. Also, the absence of work places – most of them still within the informal economy in Ethiopia – implies high costs in terms of time and expenses to reach locations where they have a chance to earn some income. If realised as in the original plan, this would have lowered the use value of a residence in the Bole Summit project. The new alternative plan proposes a very large number of small commercial spaces along the central spine of each of the five neighbourhoods in Bole Summit. These commercial kiosks, which are used both for production and trade, can be found all over Addis Ababa along the main roads and provide both an important share of income as well as supply opportunities for the ordinary population. Each of the commercial spines of the five neighbourhoods, featuring a pedestrian avenue in the middle and road access for deliveries from behind, corresponds to the topography of the site and, due to the different types of kiosks, paving and overall shape, also provides a unique neighbourhood identity.

### Planning considerations stop at the site limits; no linkage with neighbouring environment

In many countries, the building on an urban plot is considered a piece of art (or kitsch in some cases) independent from its neighbours; the concept of 'townscape' is often not taken into account. In the same way, in some cases urban designers only think within the borders of the site at hand and do not even show the given surroundings in their presentation drawings. In the case of Bole Summit, the site provided was surrounded (and crossed) by a rectangular trunk road system – which in some cases would even be impossible to realise because of the topography. On the other hand, the north-western corner of the site is limited by two important commuter roads – one of them leading directly to the airport – which offer an obvious potential for commercial office and shopping mall use. Even when acknowledging



Figure 4: Commercial Spine in Sector Tree takes up an established pattern of small window shops selling day-to-day household supplies. (photo and rendering by Klaus Wölfling)



Figure 5: New proposed layout plan with five sectors offering a distinct identity each of them and respecting the topographic conditions as shown by the contour lines. (plan by Kosta Mathéy)





▲ Figure 6: Trees add considerable value to public space in the exposed climate of Ethiopia (photo by Silvia Matuk)

Figure 8: Trees add considerable value to public space in the exposed climate of Ethiopia (plan by Kosta Mathéy)



that these opportunities do not correspond to the consumer needs of most of the future residents of Bole Summit, such a development would provide a large number of formal-sector employment opportunities – something missing in the new development. Therefore, a new commercial area – to be developed by private investors – was reserved in the new plan.

### Same plan for ground and upper floor flats

In a hot climate people do not like to stay inside a house all the time – especially in a dwelling which is very small. In traditional houses you can walk into the courtyard or onto the street, while in a flat the balcony provides a very limited alternative that is at least better than nothing. In rented apartment buildings, ground-floor dwellings tend to be less popular because of reduced illumination, fear of burglaries and possible rising dampness. Direct access to and from outside and the private use of the open space in front is usually denied as the land is commonly owned. The ample open space around the buildings, prescribed by building regulations on the minimum distance to the neighbouring building, is badly maintained because nobody feels responsible for it and because of the incurred costs to the municipality (or whoever owns the land.) This seems to be a universal problem in walk-up blocks of flats.

A better alternative would be to provide a right of use for the land immediately in front to the families who live in the ground-floor flats. They can not only put the land to recreational or agricultural use, but also reduce the cost of maintenance for common space for the benefit of all. In the course of several conversations with the Ethiopian Housing Authority (HRDO) the permission for the private use of the

immediate space around the blocks of flats was agreed upon, particularly as it is an existing clandestine practice in some of the already finished inner-city condominium flats. Ground-floor flats will be provided with a French window instead of the regular one to facilitate garden use.

### Ample public open space apparently without design and management plan

Not all open land can or should be dedicated for private use. It is needed for circulation, children's playing, and the recreation of by-passers and neighbours living in the upper floors. In order to avoid negligence, uncontrolled car parking and to provide shading, the ideal and most aesthetic and economic solution is to plant trees in these areas. There are a number of famous examples of mass housing projects that gain their attraction and immense acceptance by residents because of their situation within a forest-like landscape (such as, among others, the Tapiola suburb in Helsinki or Las Arboledas in Havana). It is recommended to plant at least one tree per family, which can be realised in the context of a big inauguration party. Thereafter, each family will be responsible for taking care (watering) of 'their' tree.

### Limitation to one single target group leads to ghettoisation

Even if the distribution of housing units through a lottery system assures a certain population mix among the residents, the limited size and low standard of the flats inhibits the presence of higher income residents in the area. This effect can be avoided as the landscape, especially along the river valley, is relatively beautiful and attractive to all income



groups and professions. Furthermore, if a certain percentage of better-situated families were to live in Bole Summit, the poorer neighbours without other sources of income could benefit from possible employment opportunities in domestic services, child care, cooking, cleaning, gardening etc. It is therefore being proposed that certain areas of Bole Summit – especially on the fringe areas where access is easier by car – should be reserved and sold to private families, or developed for family housing. This proposal was absolutely acceptable to the housing authority as there is a market for such housing in the area, and the income from the sale of plots may be used for cross subsidy of other collective expenses for the general benefit of the zone.

### **Existing informal houses are being ignored and residents displaced or relocated**

At present, a minor part of the Bole Summit site is occupied by a group of farmer families, who naturally do not have any legal documents providing a right of occupancy. The Ethiopian Master Plan envisaged the eviction and relocation of the farmers to the extreme end of the site – a potential location for the upper-market private family homes. It would, of course, be more economical and socially less disruptive to leave the farmers where they are instead of paying compensation and resettlement. It would also support the government's declared intention to launch upgrading programmes for existing low-income settlements. If the farmers were left on their present sites, a likely scenario could be that, with the help of developers, they might build and rent/sell housing themselves. Such development should not be criticised, as it complements the government's efforts to increase the overall number of

housing units produced in the area. Architecturally, individually developed housing in between the standard blocks would provide certain diversity in the typologies used and, furthermore, transmit the image of a less artificially created town. This represents a good example of a win-win strategy.

### **Conclusions**

The overall acceptance of the proposed improvements indicates the interest of the Ethiopian Housing Authority to provide the best possible solution to a burning issue. An alternative urban plan for the future Bole Summit estate was produced by the German support team of the TUD within a span of 6 weeks, and on-site construction began immediately. Unfortunately, the early start of the raining season and the global financial crisis has delayed the completion of the scheme so far, but the intention to continue construction as soon as possible is strong.

In the meantime, a student group from the TUD dedicated a semester design project for a neighbouring site across the river – Bole Lemi. In this exercise, the next necessary step in the Ethiopian condominium housing programme could be addressed: providing culturally more appealing dwellings. Alternative housing typologies were sought and found in the form of expandable two-storey houses, and they achieve the same building densities in a more advanced stage. It is planned to incorporate some prototypes of this alternative technology already in the realisation of the Bole Summit project, which will be completed first. This will allow the practical testing of cost implications and acceptability of the new typologies.

▲  
Figure 7: Informally built farmers huts are being left in between of new condominium housing blocks and will contribute to architectural variety in the process of self-propelled urban renewal initiatives. (photo by Kosta Mathéy)

#### **Dr. Kosta Mathéy**

ist Leiter des Fachgebiets Planen und Bauen in au-Bereuropäischen Regionen (PAR) an der TU Darmstadt und Mitbegründer von TRIA-LOG.

[www.par-darmstadt.de](http://www.par-darmstadt.de)

# Bole Lemi Housing Addis Ababa

Franziska Marcus, Carolin Metz, Moritz Reinhold

**1**  
This article presents the results of an urban design project at the department of planning and building in the developing world at the Technical University of Darmstadt, Germany. Supervisor: Masoomeh Mostaan.



▲  
Figure 1: Superior infrastructure network: The trade road is the most important connection within the site. It serves as feeder road and main trading spine within the area. The residential road follows one contour line and serves as distributor to the residential quarters. The pedestrian shortcuts double as green corridors and access to recreational green zones. (concept by the students)

Figure 2: The Neighborhood Centers are the public open spaces in the residential zones. (plan by the students)



The student design project<sup>1</sup> for the Ethiopian condominium housing project evolved from the neighbouring Bole Summit housing project described in the preceding article. The objective of this student project was to develop a new and culturally more appropriate housing typology for condominium housing and to test the applicability and obtainable densities on a difficult terrain. The site was suggested by the Ethiopian Housing Authority HRDO since it was already earmarked for the next project to be built after completion of the Bole Summit scheme.

The design concept focuses on responding to the needs of the numerous urban poor who are the ones who suffer most from the prevailing housing shortage. The 200 ha site was divided into living quarters, each with a central open neighbourhood square. The quarters avoid the anonymity normally prevailing in big cities and offer the residents both high quality indoor and outdoor living space. The individual quarters are separated by green corridors that lead down to the valley that separates the site from Bole Summit. They contain so called "Green

Paths" providing a short pedestrian link between the central square at the top of the hill and the residential quarters.

Only two access roads serve the whole area. The shorter main traders' road, which concentrates smaller formal and informal economic activities, leads towards a main 'Mercato' and office area on the top of the northern plateau. The second 'residential' road follows a central contour line and can be easily used by pedestrians or cyclists; it serves as distributor for the individual quarters across the entire site. At the intersections with the 'Green Paths' there are small squares for shops selling basic supplies. Since over 80% of the population have neither a car nor access to public transportation, the pedestrian network within the area is of high importance.

The maintenance of open space is an important factor in preserving a positive image of the settlement. Therefore, public areas are of reduced size and are either surrounded by publicly and commercially used land or lined with family residences. Most of the remaining space should become private gardens that can be used for cultivation or even as areas for the production of smaller goods.

Aiming at a total population of approximately 60,000 inhabitants, the additional provision of larger areas for commercial use or small scale industries is crucial. These are located along the highways and also serve as a buffer zone around the residential areas. The attractive area in the middle of the plateau is earmarked for offices and cultural use.

Individual house units are available in different-sized core units ranging from about 30 square metres and upwards. These units can be progressively extended to more than 250 square metres. At the maximum 3-storey stage of completion, the achievable densities are equivalent to conventional 5-storey condominium blocks.



▲ Figure 3: The section illustrates well the preponderance of private garden green over public circulation areas. (section by the students)



◀ Figure 4: The central plateau gathers the market, the church, the mosque, offices and multi storey housing. (masterplan by the students)



◀ Figure 5: Neighbourhood square (rendering by the students)

Franziska Marcus, Carolin Metz und Moritz Reinhold

are students of architecture at the Technical University of Darmstadt, Germany.

reinhold@architecs.de  
marcus@architecs.de

# Neue Bücher / Book Reviews

## Architektur

**Marcel Vellinga; Paul Oliver; Alexander Bridge. Atlas of Vernacular Architecture of the World. 150 S. ISBN 2007. 2007. Routledge, Abington.**

Auch nach vielen Jahren seit Erscheinen ist Paul Olivers Enclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World das vollständigste und kompetenteste Werk über anonyme Architektur. Zwei der drei Bände sind geografisch gegliedert, der dritte nach Bautypen. Natürlich sind auch diese geographisch verortet, und damit bleibt die Aufteilung auf verschiedene Bände hinterfragbar. Abgesehen von diesen beiden Ordnungsregeln sind natürlich noch unzählige andere Ordnungskriterien zwischen Prototypen bestimmter Architekturen möglich, wie z.B. Klima, Material, Baukonstruktion, die Form der Bauhülle, Ornamentik etc. Genau solche überschneidenden Gemeinsamkeiten filtert der hier vorliegende Atlas auf Weltkarten-Maßstab heraus. Interessant ist es beispielsweise zu vergleichen, wo überall sonnengetrocknete Lehmziegel verbaut werden und welche Wege die Verbreitung dieses Baumaterials geschichtlich gegangen ist; wo überall Hofhäuser bewohnt werden und worin sie sich unterscheiden; oder festzustellen, dass mehrstöckige Wohngebäude traditionell nur in einem sehr kleinen Teil des Globus bekannt waren. Wo überall wurden, zum Beispiel, Außenwände von Wohnhäusern bemalt?

Dutzende verschiedener Charakteristika von Wohngebäuden werden auf genauso vielen Weltkarten dokumentiert: eine beachtenswerte Forschungs- und Dokumentationsleistung. Tagelang könnte man die Dokumentation studieren – allein der Zweck der Übung ist mir noch nicht ganz klar geworden. Diese Frage zu stellen, ist angesichts des umfangreichen Dokumentationsmaterials sicher unangemessen

*Kosta Mathéy*

**Lindsay Asquith; Marcel Vellinga. Vernacular Architecture in the Twenty-First Century. Tehory, Education and Practice. 294 S. ISBN 0-415-35795-0. 2006. Taylor & Francis, London.**

Den Begriff ‚Vernacular Architecture‘ verbindet die meisten mit traditionellen, heute nicht mehr

verwendeten Bauformen. Deswegen klingt der Titel dieses Buches paradox. Die fünfzehn Autoren, die ihre Beiträge ursprünglich als Hommage verfassten an Paul Oliver (der ein Nachwort besteuerte), sind fast ausnahmslos als ausgewiesene Fachkollegen in der Thematik bekannt und vermitteln mit ihren Texten explizit wie implizit, dass die ‚vernakuläre Architektur‘ heute und auch in der Zukunft eine Berechtigung in Baukultur und Ausbildung behält. Wenn man den Begriff ‚vernakuläre Architektur‘ als kulturell bestimmte und nutzergeleitet entstandene Bauweise interpretiert, wird sie heute weltweit durch ca. 90% aller bestehenden Wohngebäude repräsentiert. Manche Autoren vertreten sogar die Ansicht, dass wir zur Rettung der lokalen Baukulturen die Prinzipien vernakulären Bauens wiederentdecken und aktualisieren müssen. Zu den Autoren zählen u.a. Howard Davis, Ian Davis; Ronald Lewcock, Isaac A Meir, Suha Özkan; Geoffrey Payne; Amos Rappoport; Susan Roaf – um nur einige zu nennen.

Der Band ist in drei Abschnitte gegliedert. Der erste ist mit ‚The Vernacular Process‘ überschrieben. Beschrieben werden Bautraditionen zur Errichtung von Sukkahs in Israel, Heuschöber in Pennsylvania, Buden aus Recycling-Materialien in Houston, aber auch die Gesellenausbildung in der Lehmbau-Tradition Malis oder die zyklischen Baurituale irischer Nomaden. Einen verbindenden Text über Mutationen und Vermischungen als dynamischer Prozess in der vernakulären Architektur trägt Vellinga als einer der Herausgeber bei.

Learning from the Vernacular steht über dem zweiten Buchteil, welcher das wiedererwachende Interesse an bewährten Bautraditionen angesichts der Armut und Kurzlebigkeit moderner Bauwerke analysiert. Stimmt es, dass vernakuläre Bauten ein Optimum in ökologischer und kulturellen Anforderungen erfüllen? Wie resistent ist vernakuläre Baukultur gegenüber internationalen Hilfsmaßnahmen nach Katastrophen, gegenüber Kommodifizierung und Globalisierung? Zusammenfassend kann festgestellt werden, dass die Stärke der vernakulären Architektur in ihren multidisziplinären und multifunktionalen Qualitäten liegt, die bei kontemporären Bauten in der Regel fehlen.

Eher abstrakten Überlegungen über das Wesen von Vernacular Architecture ist der dritte Abschnitt ‚Understanding the Vernacular‘ gewidmet. Rappoport zieht den ‚model systems‘ aus der Biologie-Forschung heran als Ansatz, die künftige Entwicklung von autochthoner Architektur zu steuern. Lewcock dagegen setzt auf ‚mental models‘ und ‚generative concepts‘, um der Natur von Vernacular Architecture näher zu kommen. Gibt es funktionale Prinzipien oder sind es instinktive Entscheidungen von Menschen, die ähnliche Bauformen in unterschiedlichen Epochen oder auf verschiedenen Kontinenten generieren? Meir und Roaf weisen nach, dass vernakuläre Bauten auch einem Mythos unterliegen und in der Literatur – oder in Kopien – absolut mißverstanden werden können. Daraus leitet sich dann in zwei weiteren Beiträgen die naheliegende Frage nach dem ob und wie der Vermittlung dieser Thematik in der Architekturausbildung ab.

In seinem Nachwort gibt Paul Oliver u.a. zu bedenken, dass der Globalisierungsprozess die Vielfalt

lokaler Kulturen wie auch deren Ausdruck in gebauter Form nivellieren wird. Jede Aktion bewirkt aber auch eine Gegenreaktion, weswegen das Neuerwachen lokaler Architekturen eine absehbare Entwicklung sein kann.

*Kosta Mathéy*

**Kai Vöckler: Prishtina is Everywhere. 222 S. ISBN 90-77966-501. 2008. Ideabooks, Amsterdam.**

Das Kosovo hat sich in den vergangenen 10 Jahren rasant, aber vollkommen ungeplant urbanisiert. Jeder baut, wo und wie er bzw. sie will. Diese Praxis generiert phantastische Auswüchse and Architektur-Kitsch, worüber das Schweizer Architekturmuseum in Basel Anfang 2009 eine Ausstellung veranstaltete. Das vorliegende Buch von Kai Vöckler entstand anlässlich dieser Ausstellung, enthält aber auch Hintergrundtexte, die in einer Ausstellung keine Beachtung finden würden. Nach einer historischen Einführung über die Entstehung des Kosovo werden Momentaufnahmen einer architektonischen Bestandsaufnahme in Prishtina dokumentiert, einschließlich eines Fotokatalogs von rund 60 Seiten. Es folgen Ergebnisse eines bautypologischen Planungsworkshops in Prishtina vom Dezember 2006 und einige Interviews mit Bewohnern. Der Workshop folgte einer nicht weiter begründeten ‚RSVP-Methode‘, die das Gewicht auf unverbindliche ‚Events‘ statt zielgerichtete Planung zu legen scheint. Dieser Methode angemessen ist auch die unübersichtliche, oder zumindest sehr gewöhnungsbedürftige Struktur und das Layout des Buches, das impressionistische Eindrücke vermittelt, aber wenig hilfreich ist, gezielt bestimmte Informationen abzurufen. Also eher ein Kunstobjekt als eine wissenschaftliche Auseinandersetzung mit der Materie.

*Kosta Mathéy*

**Alain Borie; Pierre Micheloni: Pierre Pinon. Forme et Déformation des Objets architecturaux et urbains. 200 S., ISBN 2-86364-33638-9. 2006; €14,-. Collection Eupalinos, Editions Parenthèses, 72, Cours Julien, F-13006 Marseille.**

Die drei Autoren, heute Professoren an verschiedenen Pariser Architekturschulen, schrieben dieses Buch ursprünglich 1978 in einer Epoche, in der die sozialen Aspekte der Gebäude an erster Stelle diskutiert wurden und die Form eine, wenn überhaupt, untergeordnete Rolle spielte. 30 Jahre später hat sich das Pendel zurück bewegt und eine Publikation des damals zurückgewiesenen Manuskripts ermöglicht. Waren die Autoren, die sich damals ausschließlich auf morphologische Fragestellungen konzentrierten, Avantgardisten oder nur konservativ? Die Metapher des Pendels ist insofern nicht ganz zutreffend, als heute die Festlegung zwischen richtig und falsch kaum noch relevant ist nach dem Motto ‚anything goes‘. Dennoch sollte immerhin jede vertretene Position gut begründet sein, und diese Qualität erfüllt die vorliegende Untersuchung wie kaum eine andere Gestaltungslehre zum räumlichen Entwerfen.

Das in dem Buch vorgestellte Grundargument der Autoren besagt, dass die rein geometrischen



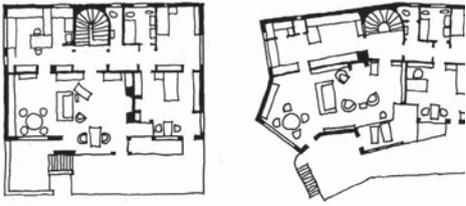


Fig. 218 : Projet pour une maison d'habitation, 1935 (H. Härring).

und rational entwickelten Formen der Architektur und Stadtplanung in der räumlichen Umsetzung ihre Spannung erst mittels der Deformierung ihrer einst starren Form entwickeln. Sie weisen diese Regel an spontanen Raumnutzungen wie auch an Werken anerkannt talentierter Architekten nach und zeichnen Grundregeln möglicher Deformationsmöglichkeiten nach.

*Kosta Mathéy*

## Stadtentwicklung

**Arthur E. Smiles. The Geography of Towns. 160 S. ISBN 0-202-30996-5. 2008. Aldine Transaction, London.**

Der Autor, der 1911-1984 lebte, veröffentlichte das hier vorliegende Buch ursprünglich 1953. Es handelt sich damit um eines der ersten Bücher über die Form und Genese von Städten, eine aus heutiger Sicht sehr pauschale Beschreibung antiker und moderner Städte, ihre Einbindung in die Landschaft, unterschiedliche Stadtviertel und den Beginn ihrer Überwucherung des Umlandes. Ein empirischer oder auch nur bibliografischer Nachweis der vertretenen Theorien wird nicht gesucht und das Literaturverzeichnis ist zwar analog zu den Kapiteln des Werkes aufgeteilt, aber versteht sich als reine Empfehlung zum Weiterlesen ohne die Mühe von Verweise im eigenen Text. Ein Museumsstück sozusagen.

*Kosta Mathéy*

**Shaftoe, Henry: Convivial Urban Spaces – Creating Effective Public Spaces, ISBN 978-1-84407-388-7, Earthscan, London 2008, GPL 39.95 (earthinfo@earthscan.co.uk).**

Seit Christopher Alexanders und Gordon Cullens Arbeiten zum Stadtraum der 1960er und 1970er Jahre hat es wenige gute Publikationen zum Thema der Qualität öffentlicher Räume gegeben. Shaftoes Buch ist eine willkommene Ausnahme, und zeigt uns erneut den Wert und die Bedeutung des gestalteten Aussenraumes, der Plätze, Fusswege und Strassen, Parks und Sitzgelegenheiten im Aussenraum. Seine Beispiele sind hauptsächlich aus Grossbritannien, Spanien, Deutschland und Italien, aber es gibt Andeutungen zu Städten des mittleren Orients. Den Autor interessiert die Dimension des Zusammenlebens und der Kommunikation der Menschen, und wie Aussenraumqualität dazu beitragen kann. Seine Fallstudien belegen, welchen Wert gutes Design bei der Erreichung des Zieles einer kommunikativen und kommunikationsfördernden Atmosphäre haben kann. Und es geht ihm nicht alleine um die Dimension der Gestaltung, sondern auch um Unterhalt und öffentliche Pflege dieser Stadträume, die sowohl den Gemeinschaftssinn von Nachbarschaften als auch Öffentlichkeit fördern können. Attraktiv illustriert. Im Schlusskapitel gibt es eine Reihe von interessanten und praktischen Tips, die von Gestaltungsregeln bis

zu Managementthemen und psychologischen Aspekten reichen. Einfach empfehlenswert! Ähnliche Arbeiten wünscht man sich demnächst auch aus der Sicht der internationalen, nicht-westlichen Baukultur, besonders in einem Jahr, in dem von UN-Habitat die Harmonie in den Städten zum weltweiten Thema des Habitat-Tages gemacht wurde.

*Florian Steinberg*

**Catharine Ward Thomson; Penny Travlou (eds). Open Space: People Space. 199 S. ISBN 0-415-41534-7. 2007. GBP 35,-. Taylor & Francis, Abington.**

Open Space wird von den Herausgeberinnen in diesem Band exklusiv als Green Space verstanden,



A wayfinding signage model.

und unter dem Fokus ‚Inclusion‘ und ‚Exclusion‘ betrachtet. Das ist, als Thema eines Buches zur Grünflächenplanung, ein neuer Ansatz und mit durchwegs relevanten Beiträgen untermauert. Anders als die großformatige Aufmachung vermuten lässt, bewegen sich die Kapitel eher auf einer theoretisch-abstrakten Ebene, auch wenn jeweils ganz konkrete Projekte als Beispiel gezeigt werden. Aber es handelt sich eben um kein ‚how-to-do‘ Buch, und das ist in diesem Fall gut so.

Der erste Abschnitt des Bandes beginnt mit einem Aufsatz von Jan Gehl, dem Autor des Standardwerks ‚Life between Buildings. Using Public Space‘ (siehe Rezension in TRIALOG 95, S. 58) und betrachtet den sich verändernden Stellenwert des öffentlichen Raums im historischen Kontext. Ebenfalls historisch begründet ist der darauf folgende Beitrag über Grünanlagen als öffentlicher Beitrag zur Volksgesundheit, während der nächste Aufsatz die Frage unter-

sucht, was Menschen motiviert, öffentliche Grünanlagen aufzusuchen. Abschnitt Zwei steht unter der Überschrift der ‚Exclusion‘ und sammelt Beiträge über die Nutzung von Freiräumen durch ethnische Minoritäten, über die Privatisierung der ländlichen Landschaftsräume in Europa und über Freiraum-Enklaven für Kinder und Jugendliche. Abschnitt Drei steht zwar über der Überschrift der Gestaltung öffentlicher Räume, betrachtet diesen Aspekt aber wiederum durch die Inclusions/Exclusions-Brille. Es geht um Kriterien einer nutzergerechten Beschreibung, um die Parkgestaltung nach Analyse von Nutzerverhalten, die z.B. mittels GIS ermittelt werden können, oder um Heilgärten mit Orientierungshilfen für Alzheimer-Patienten. Die drei Kapitel des Schlußabschnitts verfolgen die Frage nach der besten Meßbarkeit der Nutzerqualität von Freiflächen.

*Kosta Mathéy*

**Frank Eckardt; Kathrin Wildner (eds). Public Istanbul – Spaces and Spheres of the Urban. 352 S. ISBN. 3-89942-865-0. 2008. Transcript Verlag, Bielefeld.**

Die Bauhaus Universität Weimar veranstaltete im Jahr 2007 ein Symposium zum Thema ‚öffentlicher Raum in Istanbul‘, deren Beiträge in diesem Band veröffentlicht sind. Als disziplinäre Eckpunkte waren sozio-ökonomische Fragmentierung, ethnografisch-künstlerische Raumerfahrung, Stadtplanung und Stadtimage definiert. Das Buch selbst beschränkt sich dagegen auf zwei Leitthemen, die in getrennten Abschnitten von den beiden Herausgebern betreut und mit eigenen Einleitungen versehen wurden. Frank Eckardt, Professor für Stadtsoziologie in Weimar, überschreibt den ersten und umfangreicheren Teil mit ‚Contested Spaces‘. Er enthält neun sozialräumliche Analysen – in der Mehrzahl zusammengesetzt aus einer theoretischen Herleitung und Fallstudien zu konkreten Lokalitäten in und um Istanbul herum. Der zweite Teil, unter der Regie von Kathrin Wildner, Professorin für Anthropologie an der Europäischen Universität in Frankfurt/Oder, ist mit ‚Experiencing Istanbul‘ überschrieben. Fast alle dieser Beiträge befassen sich mit Migration bzw. Migranten in Istanbul und aus Istanbul.

Der Band enthält viele interessant zu lesende Beiträge und zeigt auf, wer gerade zu welchem Thema gearbeitet hat. Nur wenige Leser werden sich animi-



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 93 (2/07) **Imposing European Urban Structures**  
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 87 (4/05) **Violence and Insecurity in Cities**  
 86 (3/05) **Lehre und Forschung 2**  
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 84 (1/05) **Orte Bauen**  
 83 (4/04) **Entlang der Seidenstraße**  
 82 (3/04) **Urban Mobility**  
 81 (2/04) **Micro Governance**  
 80 (1/04) **Neo-liberal Urbanity**  
 79 (4/03) **Tourism and Development**  
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 77 (2/03) **Infrastruktur und Entsorgung**  
 76 (1/03) **Stadt und Wüste**  
 75 (4/02) **New Settlements**  
 74 (3/02) **Urban Land Managements**  
 73 (2/02) **Disaster Relief - Katastrophenhilfe**  
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 70 (3/01) **Peripheries**  
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 68 (1/01) **China**  
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ert fühlen, alle Aufsätze von Anfang bis Ende lesen, was auch nicht Zweck eines Sammelbandes sein sollte.

Kosta Mathéy

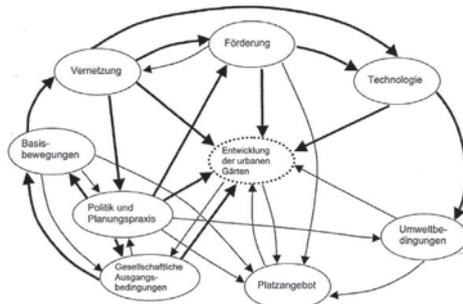
**Bruno De Meulder; Kelly Shennon. Water Urbanisms. UFO1. 119 S. ISBN 908-5066-729. 2008. Boom/Sun, Amsterdam (www.uitgeverijboom.nl, Bezug: Postbus NL-7940 AK Meppel).**



Bertuzzi; Nazrul; Nest; Shafi. Smooth and Striated. City and Water. Dhaka / Berlin. 99 S. ISBN 300 003516 0. 2008. Habitat Forum Berlin (Baerwaldtrasse 51, D-10961)

Stadt am Wasser hat Hochkonjunktur. Beide Veröffentlichungen, jeweils im universitären Umfeld entstanden, erschienen gleichzeitig und beschäftigen sich mit europäischen wie fernen Städten am Wasser im Vergleich. Der belgische Band enthält eine Anthologie von zumeist studentischen Entwürfen (Wettbewerbsbeiträge, Diplomarbeiten etc.) begleitet von mehr oder weniger ausführlichen Hintergrundtexten und Erläuterungen. Dieser Band gliedert sich in drei Teile. Den Auftakt macht der Abschnitt ‚Water Urbanism‘ mit Beiträgen über Antwerpen, der Veneto-Region, niederländische Polder, Changde in China, La Plata in Argentinien und zu Wasserkulturen in Asien. Der zweite Abschnitt gilt vier regionalplanerischen Projekten im Mekong Delta in Vietnam. Der dritte und dünnste Teil (20 Seiten) wäre als Pottpourri aus Planungen von hier und dort zu bezeichnen, und streift Vorhaben in Belgien, Holland, Bangla Desch; Rumänien, Ghana, Taiwan, Brasilien und Chile.

Der zweite ‚Berlin-Dhaka‘ Band entstand als Ergebnis eines Seminars am Goethe-Institut in Dhaka, Bangla Desh. Verantwortlich zeichnen neben dem deutschen Kulturinstitut auch das Habitat Forum Berlin, die Kunsthochschule Weissenhof und die GTZ. Das Produkt wäre einerseits als gelungenes Photo-Essay zu interpretieren und ginge auch als Ausstellungskalender durch. Darüber hinaus finden sich aber auch eine Reihe fachlich informativer Essays zur Stadtentwicklung von Dhaka – eine Stadt, über die es sonst kaum kompetente Fachliteratur zu finden ist. Dass demgegenüber die Berlin Beiträge in der Menge zurückstehen, ist nicht nur höfliche Geste, sondern



auch inhaltlich durch die ohnehin vorhandene Schwemme an offizieller wie unabhängiger Literatur zu der Stadt begründet.

Kosta Mathéy

**Isabella Haidle; Christoph Arndt. Urbane Gärten in Buenos Aires. 204 Seiten, ISBN 3-7983-2053-6. 2007. ISR/TU Berlin (publikationen@isr.tu-berlin.de).**

Urban Farming hat, nicht nur in Buenos Aires, über die letzten ein oder zwei Dekaden einen massiven Aufschwung erfahren. Dennoch – und wegen der vielen unterschiedlichen anzutreffenden Praktiken – besteht noch ein großes Informationsdefizit über dieses Phänomen. Die hier besprochene Diplomarbeit an der HU Berlin hat dieses Manko zum Anlaß genommen, Erfahrungen mit städtischer Landwirtschaft in Buenos Aires zu untersuchen. Diese Stadt beherbergt mehr als 100.000 ‚Städtische Gärten‘ (was die Autoren als passendere Bezeichnung empfinden) und beschäftigt eine weit höhere Anzahl von Einwohnern. Die Autoren identifizieren sieben Arten von Gärten, und zwar

- Familiengärten (die bei Weitem üblichste Form von städtischer Landwirtschaft), die hauptsächlich der Aufstockung der familiären Nahrungsmittelressourcen dienen.
- Nachbarschaftsgärten, in denen die soziale Begegnung im Vordergrund steht
- ‚Piquetera‘-Gärten – als Einkommensquelle für Arbeitslose
- Comedor-Gärten, die öffentliche Suppenküchen beliefern
- Institutions-Gärten, die den Kantinen bestimmter Institutionen angegliedert sind,
- Demonstrations-Gärten, die von Förderinstitutionen betrieben werden,
- Kommerzeile Gärten, die gewinnorientiert arbeiten.

Genauso zahlreich wie die identifizierten Praktiken sind die Rahmenbedingungen, die als Anlaß für das Anwachsen der Bewegung benannt werden können. Verständlicherweise stehen materielle Bedürfnisse im Vordergrund, gefolgt von sozialen und politischen Motivationen. Andere und untergeordnete Faktoren schließen u.a. ökologische Überlegungen oder Gärten als Ort für Freizeitaktivitäten ein.

Ein weiteres interessantes Ergebnis der 3-monatigen Feldstudie ist die Analyse der Entwicklungsfaktoren und –Hemmnisse für die urbanen Gärten in Buenos Aires, von denen acht im Vordergrund stehen:

1. Begrenztes Flächenangebot, was z.B. die Praxis im Stadtzentrum extrem erschwert
2. Umweltbedingungen – insbesondere Bodenqualität und Regen, was sich jeoch in Grenzen technisch kompensieren läßt (Hydrokulturen, Wasser-Recycling, Bodenaustausch, Kompost)
3. Technologie-Einsatz, wobei sowohl physische und ‚weiche‘ Innovationen (Wissen) in Betracht gezogen werden können,
4. Gesellschaftliche Ausgangsbedingungen, wozu insbesondere die wirtschaftliche Situation im Lande zählt,
5. Basisbewegungen, d.h. politisch motivierte Initiativen gegen die genannten gesellschaftlichen Ausgangsbedingungen (Beispiel: Urban Agriculture Projekte für Arbeitslose)
6. Förderung, insbesondere in Form von finanziellen Anreizen und Training
7. Vernetzung zwischen den Produzenten – insbesondere zwischen den verschiedenen oben bezeichneten

neten Arten der städtischen Farmer.

Die Publikation ist gründlich recherchiert, erfüllt alle Anforderungen einer wissenschaftlichen Arbeit und vermittelt gleichzeitig ein Maximum an interessanter Primärforschung, wobei anstrengende Längen geschickt umschifft werden.

*Kosta Mathéy*

**Julia Richter. Urbanisierung der Favelas von Natal. Soziale Segregation und Aktionsräume in nordostbrasilianischen Städten. 315 S. ISBN 3-88559-090-3. 2008. Brasilienkunde Verlag, Mettingen (<http://www.brasilienkunde.de>)**

Diese an der Uni Kiel vorgelegte Dissertation untersucht Fragen der sozialräumlichen Segregation in der nordost-brasilianischen Stadt Natal. Während die Segregation unterschiedlicher Wohngebiete – in der Spanne von Favelas bis hin zu gated communities – als inzwischen bekannt vorausgesetzt werden sollte, ist die Segregation in den sogenannten Aktionsräumen (Freizeitgestaltung, Einzelhandel, Bildungseinrichtungen, medizinische Versorgung) bislang weniger erforscht. Julia Richter weist nach, dass auch im Fall der Aktionsräume in Natal die Segregation zunimmt, wobei die Sortierung z.B. mittels bequemer Kfz-Anfahrt und Verfügbarkeit von Parkplätzen aber auch Eintrittspreisen gesteuert wird. Die Forschungsergebnisse werden korrekt hergeleitet bzw. nachgewiesen und viele Primärdaten sind hierbei erstmalig publiziert.

*Kosta Mathéy*

## Gesellschaft und Entwicklung

**Kathryn Milum. Pathologies of Modern Space. 325 S. ISBN 0-415-95274-3, 2006, US\$ 40,-. Routledge, Abington and New York.**



Agoraphobia ist als psychische Störung bekannt, die sich als starkes Angstgefühl beim Überqueren großer Plätze bemerkbar macht. Das Krankheitsbild wurde zuerst in Berlin um 1870 beschrieben, aber bis heute von vielen Autoren, insbesondere Psychologen, auf eine Reihe unterschiedlicher Ursachen zurückgeführt – bis hin zur Diskussion, ob es sich nun um ödipale oder vor-ödipale Störungen handelt. Die Autorin beschreibt - nach den insgesamt 40 Seiten selbst verfassten Vorwortes, Danksagungen und Einleitung - verschiedene Krankheitsbilder, Erklärungen und Therapien von Agoraphobia. Sie identifiziert sieben Prototypen öffentlicher Leerräume wie die Haussmannschen Plätze, Schnellstraßen, Shopping Centres. Dabei stellt sie fest, dass in dem Diskurs um Agoraphobia die eigentlichen Raumdefizite als

Auslöser (oder Ursache?) des Leidens immer weniger berücksichtigt werden, obwohl sie isoliert betrachtet als Phänomen sicher außer Debatte stehen. Ihre Schlußfolgerung geht in die Richtung, statt pharmakologischer oder verhaltenstherapeutischer Behandlungen besser die räumlichen Qualitäten der modernen städtebaulichen Umwelt ins Visier zu nehmen – vermutlich nach dem Vorbild des New Urbanism. Obwohl, gerade für Amerika, mehr Aufmerksamkeit auf die Gestaltung des öffentlichen Raums zweifellos eine berechtigte Forderung ist, ist die beschriebene Gemütsstörung sicher nicht monokausal zu erklären, sondern hat vermutlich auch noch andere Ursachen. Als Kritik an dem Buch ist der irreführende Titel anzumerken. Selbst wenn Freiraumgestaltung in einem ursächlichen Zusammenhang mit Agoraphobie stehen sollte, liefert das Buch keinerlei Analyse der belastenden Stadträume, und noch viel weniger Hinweise zu ihrer Vermeidung.

*Kosta Mathéy*

**Mike Miles et al. Real Estate Development. Principles and Process. Fourth edition. 668 S., ISBN 0-87420-971-6. 2007. The Land Institute, Washington DC.**

Immobilien- und Projektentwicklung ist ein komplexes, potentiell sehr einträgliches, aber auch risikobehaftetes Geschäft, das von seinen Betreibern – wie das Vorwort ankündigt – ein dickes Fell abverlangt. Es ist ein Geschäft, das man studieren kann und wofür es Schulen und Kurse gibt und Bücher, wie das vorliegende. Dieses voluminöse Textbook mit seinen über 600 Seiten richtet sich an Studierende in den Fächern MBA, Stadtentwicklung, Architektur, Bauingenieurwesen und Jura. Es ist in 8 Teile gegliedert mit viel Text, einigen Tabellen und Beispiele in den „Boxes“.

Die Einleitung erläutert das Grundprinzip der Immobilienwirtschaft in acht Stufen, und zwar Projektfindung; dessen Präzisierung; die Machbarkeitsstudie; Vertragsgestaltung; Vertragsabschluss; Realisierungsphase; Fertigstellung und Übergabe; Facility Management. In Teil 2 wird die Geschichte der Immobilienwirtschaft in den USA seit der Kolonisierung vorgeführt - spannend wie ein Krimi, wenn man zwischen den Zeilen liest. Teil 3 ist dem Thema Finanzierung gewidmet, ohne die nach Meinung der Autoren der Rest des Buches überflüssig wäre. Teil 4, mit „Ideas“ überschrieben, klingt für Architekten zunächst interessant, da es hier um die Attraktivität des Projektes geht. Doch in der Immobilienbranche ist die Marktforschung wichtiger als Kreativität, was sich ja auch aus der obigen Kernaussage des Kapitels 3 ableiten lässt. Die beiden Teile 5 und 6 stellen die Interessen, Aufgaben und Stärken der öffentlichen Hand sowie des Privatsektors als potentielle Investoren gegenüber. Teil 8, „Make it happen“, befasst sich mit Vertragsgestaltung und Umweltschutz-Bestimmungen, während Teil 9, „Making it Work“, der Bewirtschaftung eines Projektes nach Fertigstellung gewidmet ist. Den Abschluss bilden drei und in den acht Stufen ausführlich nachgezeichnete Fallstudien.

Die gründliche Kenntnis der Materie, auch wenn sie trocken erscheint, kann keinem Planer und Architekten schaden. Es ist der Stoff, der an den Architekturschulen seit jeher ausgeblendet wird und was indirekt zur chronischen Arbeitslosigkeit ihrer Absolventen beiträgt. Vorzuwerfen wäre den vier Autoren, dass sie den Kontext der USA als Maß aller Dinge verstehen und die Welt jenseits der Nationalgrenzen ausblenden.

*Kosta Mathéy*

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**Werna, E., Keivani, R., and Murphy, D. (eds.): Corporate Social Responsibility and Urban Development – Lessons from the South. Palgrave/Macmillan, Basingstoke 2008, 245S., British Pounds 20 (Bezug: [www.palgrave.com](http://www.palgrave.com); [I.dunn@palgrave.com](mailto:I.dunn@palgrave.com))**

Diese Publikation ist einem Thema gewidmet, zu dem selten publiziert wird. Das Engagement der Privatwirtschaft bei der Schaffung von verbesserten städtischen Dienstleistungen, Infrastruktur und Nachbarschaften ist den Meisten nur als kommerzielle Operation bekannt. Viel weniger wissen wir von kostenlosen Beiträgen privater Firmen zur Stadtentwicklung. Diese Beiträge, heute bekannt als Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), werden von vielen Firmen zur Imagepflege der Firmen benutzt und als ein Beitrag zur Verbesserung des Lebensstandards oder der Wohlfahrt der Armen und Minderbemittelten. Einige Firmen haben ihre eigenen Stiftungen oder CSR-Abteilungen, andere nutzen NGOs und private Hilfsorganisationen (Lions Club; Rotary Club), um Ihre finanzielle Unterstützung an die richtigen Empfänger zu bringen. Es kann sich hier mitunter um interessante Projekte der Jugendarbeit, des Schulbaus, der Versorgung mit Gesundheits- und Sozialdiensten, um Straßenbau, Wasserver- und Abwasserentsorgung, um Förderung von Kleinbetrieben und Beschäftigungsmaßnahmen handeln. Auch Fälle von philanthropisch motiviertem Wohnungsbau gibt es, und sogar Verbesserungen in informellen Siedlungen. Wie uns die Philippine Business for Social Progress (PBSP) gezeigt hat (die leider in diesem Buch nicht vorgestellt wird), kann man sogar nachhaltige Slumsanierung, durch Kleinkredite und umfassende Community-Beteiligung in die Wege leiten.

Wie das Buch andeutet, sind die CSR Stadtprojekte noch selten, aber die diverse Organisationen der Vereinten Nationen (UN Volunteers; UN-Habitat; und UNDP) haben schon erfolgreich damit experimentiert, und planen das CSR Konzept auch in Zukunft anzuwenden. Zwar gibt es wohl mehr CSR Erfahrungen in reicheren und entwickelteren Ländern, doch, so meinen die Autoren, kann sich dies durchaus auch in den Ländern des Südens noch stärker herausbilden.

*Florian Steinberg*

**Andrej Holm (ed.). Revolution als Prozess. Selbstorganisation und Partizipation in Venezuela. 169 S. ISBN 3-89965-259-8. 2007. ca € 12,-. VSA Verlag, Hamburg.**

Die Politik Venezuelas wird in den internationalen Medien sehr selektiv rezipiert und meistens an der Person des Präsidenten Chavez festgemacht. Das ist insofern bedauerlich, als dieser Präsident ja von einer bequemen Mehrheit der Bevölkerung in einem demokratischen Verfahren gewählt und auch wiedergewählt wurde. Er ist sozusagen nur die Spitze des Eisbergs, was an revolutionären Umwälzungen inter-

national sichtbar wird. Die Reformen eines Präsidenten Chavez sind natürlich nicht denkbar ohne dass sie auf breiter Basis vorbereitet und umgesetzt würden. Diese Aufsatzsammlung, die im Rahmen einer von der Hans-Böckler-Stiftung geförderten Projektstudie 2005-2007 entstand, untersucht und dokumentiert die breiten gesellschaftlichen Verschiebungen, die sich in den vergangenen Jahren in verschiedenen Sektoren der venezolanischen Gesellschaft vollzogen haben. Diese gehen in vielen Aspekten viel weiter, als die öffentlichen Verlautbarungen des Präsidenten vermitteln. Gerade in der Stadtentwicklung und dem Urban Management beeindruckten Innovationen wie die Gründung von rund 6000 „Bodencomitees“ (Comités de Tierra Urbana), welche die Legalisierung von besetzten Grundstücken in den Squattersiedlungen in Caracas vorantreiben und anschließend die Sanierung der Quartiere organisieren. Ein anderes progressives Element sind die Stadteilräte (Consejos Comunales), die dezentral die Quartiere verwalten und dafür nach dem Modell der Bürgerhaushalte von Porto Alegre 20% des städtischen Verwaltungsbudgets zu Verfügung gestellt bekommen. Reformen in anderen Sektoren betreffen die Einführung von Elementen einer solidarischen Ökonomie in den Betrieben, freie Schulen nach dem pädagogischen Prinzip von Paulo Freire, Gesundheitsstationen, die nutzerzentrierte Kontrolle über die Medien...

Das erfreulich preiswerte Buch enthält außer der Einführung acht Kapitel jeweils relativ ausführlich auf einen Sektor bezogen. Die zugrundeliegende Untersuchung bezog sich nur auf den städtischen Kontext, obwohl auch in den ländlichen Regionen bemerkenswerte Reformen zu Verbesserung der Lebensbedingungen durchgesetzt werden konnten. Weiteres Material aus dem Projekt, das in dem Buch keinen Platz fand, ist im Netz unter [www.movimotor.net](http://www.movimotor.net) abrufbar.

*Kosta Mathéy*

**Carlos A. de Espriella Cristancho. Pro-Poor Planning. A Tool for Strategic Territorial Planning and a Conceptual Framework. 188 S. ISBN 91-97966-32-6. 2009. Thesis 5, Architecture & Built Environment, Lund University, Sweden. ([www.hdm.lth.de](http://www.hdm.lth.de)).**

Die Dissertationsschrift des Kolumbianers Carlos de Espriella besteht aus einer Kerndissertation mit einem Umfang von 90 Seiten und dem Nachdruck von zwei ausgewählten und bereits publizierten Aufsätzen als Bestandteil seiner kumulativen Promotion. Die Kern-Dissertation propagiert eine als „TSTP“ bezeichnete Methode der pro-poor Stadtentwicklung, die sich auf eine Kombination von Poverty Maps und Inequality Maps stützt. Der Text enthält eine Bewertung zum Stand der Forschung, Angaben zur Methode, Fallstudien zu zwei Nachbarschaften, in denen Research Seminars durchgeführt wurden und die Schlussfolgerungen. Letztere besagen, dass:

eine Überlagerung der beiden genannten Sozialkarten erlaubt, Gebiete mit besonderem Entwicklungsbedarf geografisch einzugrenzen;

Entwicklungsprojekte in einem Aktionsplan münden müssen, um ihre Wirkung zu erzielen; die Projekte stärker auf langfristigen Erfolg angelegt sein müssen;

die vorgeschlagene TSTP Methode gleichzeitig auf verschiedene Planungsphasen (Diagnose, Simulation, Entscheidungsfindung und Monitoring) anwendbar ist;

strukturelle Armut ist nicht auf einzelne Stadtgebiete begrenzt und daher mit der vorge-

schlagenen Methode nicht beseitigt werden kann; die Verfügbarkeit von verlässlichen statistischen wie kartographischen Daten in Ländern des Südens nicht gewährleistet ist.

Leider ist die vorgeschlagene TSTP Methode selbst nicht detailliert erläutert, sondern bestenfalls vage umschrieben. Auch die angeführte Webseite (<http://www.planning4equality.com/>) scheint nach Abgabe der Dissertation in Vergessenheit geraten zu sein und reagiert nicht auf Einlog-Versuche. Die Publikation ist für Außenstehende nicht sonderlich hilfreich.

*Kosta Mathéy*

**Christoph Woiwode. Communicating Urban Risks in India. A Study of Socio-Cultural Conditions in Two Low-Income Settlements and the Administrative Realities in Ahmedabad. 130 S. ISBN 3-921876-30-5. € 30,-. Entwicklungsethnologie 2007 (1), Verlag für Entwicklungspolitik, Saarbrücken.**

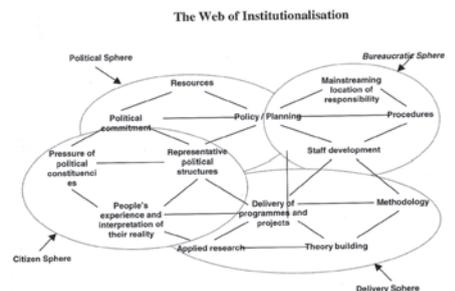
Rapide Urbanisierung bedingt u.a. die Konzentration von armen Bevölkerungsgruppen in risikobehafteten Slumgebieten, und Regierungen zeigen sich in der Regel wenig effizient in der Prävention gegen Gefahren in solchen Gegenden. Als Konsequenz muss die Initiative zur Vorsorge von der Bevölkerung selbst kommen, natürlich am Besten in produktiver Kooperation mit den zuständigen Behörden. Das ist leichter gesagt als getan, und nach Aussage von Christoph Woiwode, der die Frage am Beispiel zweier Nachbarschaften in Ahmedabad (Indien) im Rahmen seiner Doktorarbeit untersucht hat, eignen sich halbformelle Netzwerke einer Mehrzahl von Mittler-Organisationen als Katalysator in der Verfolgung des Ziels. Ein zentraler Aspekt für den Erfolg ist die Berücksichtigung des kulturellen Hintergrunds der Zielgruppe, welcher in einer multi-ethnischen Gesellschaft wie der indischen von Quartier zu Quartier, oder gar von Haus zu Haus variieren kann. Dort, wo traditionell z.B. Geister für Unbill von den Opfern verantwortlich gemacht werden, muss Risikiko- und Katastrophenvorsorge dies mit einbeziehen.

Die Veröffentlichung der an der DPU London vorgelegten Dissertation erfolgt in dieser Ausgabe der Zeitschrift Entwicklungsethnologie in stark gekürzter Form und wurde auf das Interessenfeld der spezifischen Leserschaft ausgerichtet. Das hat gleichzeitig den Vorteil, dass der Umfang hier nur 90 Seiten umfaßt – spannende Seiten übrigens.

*Kosta Mathéy*

**Ester van Steekelenburg (ed.). Elmina: Building on the Past to Create a Better Future. 144 S., ISBN 978-9068324730, 2008. € 24,50. KIT Publishers, Amsterdam ([www.kit.nl/publishers](http://www.kit.nl/publishers)).**

Die niederländische Regierung, bis 1872 Kolonialherr der afrikanischen Goldküste mit seinem skandalösen Sklavenhandel, übernahm im Jahr 2002



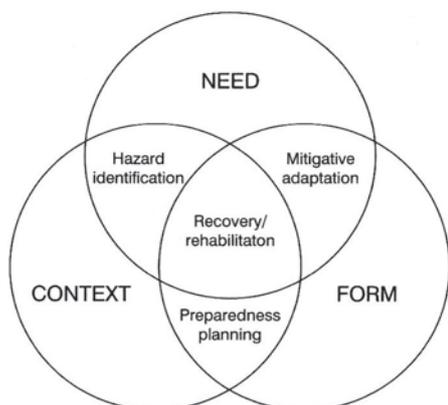
die Verantwortung für ein Sanierungsprojekt der ehemaligen ghanischen Hafenstadt ELMIRA wofür die EU einen Zuschuss von 2 Millionen Euro bewilligte. Damit wurden vor Ort nicht nur die Restaurierung von 10 Baukomplexen co-finanziert, sondern – noch wichtiger – ein integraler Entwicklungsplan mit den Ziel höherer Tourismuseinnahmen auf den Weg geschickt. Dieser Plan bezweckte eine Kombination von fünf miteinander verknüpften Entwicklungsachsen: Tourismus und Lokalökonomie; Infrastruktur für den Fischfang; Verbesserung der sanitären Infrastruktur, Erziehung und Gesundheit. Der handliche Band setzt sich zusammen aus Experten-Aufsätzen, Interviews mit lokalen Partnern und Anwohnern und einer Photodokumentation. Die Veröffentlichung vermittelt einen guten Überblick über die veranlassten Projekte, die Position der Bewohner und Lokalpolitiker und die bislang erzielten sekundären Erfolge.

*Kosta Mathéy*

## Umwelt

**Lee Boshier (ed.). Hazards and the built Environment. Attaining Built-in Resilience. 382 S., ISBN 0-415-42730-2. 2008. Taylor & Francis, Abington.**

Der Schutzes vor Katastrophen wird zunehmend eine wichtige Aufgabe in der Planung und Verwaltung von Städten und Siedlungen. Daher ist jede Neuerscheinung der Thematik willkommen, und die hier vorliegende Veröffentlichung behandelt ein breites Spektrum an Aspekten zu diesem Thema. Physische wie strategische Maßnahmen werden angesprochen und die Fallstudien umschließen ein weites geografisches Umfeld: Großbritannien, Italien, die Türkei, Indien, Nepal, Zentralasien, Vietnam, Indonesien, Peru und Neu Seeland. Zu den behandelten Gefahrenfällen zählen Erdbeben, Überschwemmungen, Bombenanschläge, Wirbelstürme, Erdbeben, Tsunamis, Bauschäden, Planungsfehler, informelle Besiedlung, mangelhafte Bauaufsicht und Korruption. Diese vom Herausgeber zusammengestellte Aufzählung spiegelt aber auch eine gewisse Beliebigkeit in der Auswahl und Zusammenstellung der Beiträge wieder. Da wird die Auswahl von überflutungsresistenten Bodenfliesen in England auf die gleiche Stufe gestellt wie der Tsunami vor Aceh oder Korruption als Faktor der geringen Erdbebenresistenz von Hochbauten in der Türkei oder Italien. Die Conclusions im abschließende Kapitel mit den ‚Conclusions‘ nimmt dann noch einmal bestimmte Aussagen aus den vorangegangenen Beiträgen auf, hätte aber auch ohne Existenz derselben geschrieben werden können, da sich die Empfehlungen im Großen und Ganzen mit dem decken, was heute als allgemein empfohlene Strategie der Katastrophenvorsorge angesehen kann.



A construct for designing in resilience

Die unterschiedliche Relevanz und Qualität der Kapitel impliziert aber auch, dass einige der Beiträge durchaus lesenswert sind und z.B. im Unterricht oder für Trainingszwecke empfohlen werden können. Dazu gehört z.B. die Darstellung einer nachhaltigen Prävention vor Hurrikan-Schäden in Vietnam, wofür 2008 der World Habitat Award verliehen wurde. Ebenso hervorgehoben werden muss der systematisch aufgebaute Aufsatz ‚Planning Ahead‘ von Christine Wamsler am Schluss des Buches.

*Kosta Mathéy*

**Wolfgang Berger, Claudia Lorenz-Ladener (Hrsg.). Kompost Toiletten – Sanitärsysteme ohne Wasser. 213 Seiten, ISBN 3-936896-16-9, 2008. Ökobuch Verlag Staufen. www.oekobuch.de.**

Ein Vorläuferband zu dieser Neuerscheinung kam beim gleichen Verlag 1992 heraus – damals ein Pionierwerk für Deutschland. Inzwischen hat sich viel getan: nicht nur die eher anekdotischen Ereignisse wie die Ernennung jedes 19. Novembers zum Welttoilettag durch die UN oder des 15. Oktober zum Händewaschtage, sondern vielmehr bemerkenswerte technische bzw. konstruktive Weiterentwicklungen von Trockentoiletten und die quantitativ erwähnenswerten Umsetzungen des Gedankens durch einige Regierungen oder Großunternehmen. Gründe für die Propagierung des Einsatzes von Trockentoiletten gibt es genug: 2,6 Milliarden Menschen bzw 40% der Weltbevölkerung haben immer noch keinen Zugang zu Toiletten und sind damit erheblichen Belästigungen und Gesundheitsrisiken ausgesetzt. Eine landesweite Versorgung mit konventionellen Toiletten ist finanziell illusorisch und häufig auch technisch nicht vertretbar, da für das Funktionieren von Kläranlagen eine bestimmte kritische Menge an Abwasser erforderlich ist. Das ist übrigens auch ein Problem in den sich entsiedelnden Regionen – beispielsweise in den neuen Bundesländern.

Die vorliegende Publikation beginnt mit einer spannenden Geschichtsschreibung von Trockenklos, gefolgt von einer Erklärung der biologischen Vergärungs- und Kompostierungsprozesse bei Urin, Fäkalien und anderen organischen Abfällen und der Erläuterung damit verbundener hygienischer Probleme. Auf ca 50 weiteren Seiten werden die neuen und bekannten Methoden und Systeme der Trockentoiletten vermittelt. Interessant sind auch weiter hinten im Buch die Anwendungsbeispiele, die bemerkenswerterweise nicht als Detail isoliert, sondern im Haus- oder gar Siedlungszusammenhang vorgestellt und analysiert werden. Eigene Kapitel sind Projekten in Entwicklungsländern und in Innerstädtischen Gebieten gewidmet. Abgesehen von den prinzipiellen Lösungsmöglichkeiten werden am Schluss auch konkrete, auf dem Markt erhältliche Systeme in Tabellen aufgelistet und gegenübergestellt.

*Kosta Mathéy*



## Impressum

Herausgeber von TRIALOG ist die Vereinigung zur wissenschaftlichen Erforschung des Planens und Bauens in Entwicklungsländern e. V.

Postadresse für Redaktion und Verein:  
TRIALOG, c/o PAR Planen und Bauen in  
außereuropäischen Regionen, TU Darmstadt  
El-Lissitzky-Straße 1, 64287 Darmstadt  
e-mail: Redaktion@trialog-journal.de

Vertrieb: Südost-Verlag Service GmbH (SVS)

ISSN Nr.: 0724-6234

V.i.S.d.P.: Kosta Mathéy

Redaktion: Wolfgang Scholz und Antje Wemhöner  
Satz / Layout: Julia-Kim Sieber  
Druck: E & B printware, Karlsruhe  
Buchrezensionen: Kosta Mathéy  
Titelbild: Wolfgang Scholz

Die in TRIALOG veröffentlichten Artikel repräsentieren nicht zwingend die Meinung der Herausgeberinnen und der Redaktion. Nachdruck ist mit Angabe der Quelle und Zusendung eines Belegexemplars gestattet. Artikel, Ankündigungen und Informationen bitten wir an die Adresse des Vereins oder an die regionalen Kontaktpersonen zu richten:  
Vorstand:

- Antje Wemhöner  
Zwingli-Str. 4, 10555 Berlin, Tel 030-39101525  
e-mail: A.Wemhoener@gmx.de
- Astrid Ley (Abonnements, Aktuelles)  
Habitat Unit, Straße des 17. Juni 135, 10623 Berlin,  
Tel. 030 – 314 21833,  
e-mail: astrid.ley@tu-berlin.de
- Klaus Teschner (Finanzen)  
Lochnerstr. 26, 52064 Aachen, Tel. 0179-2395619  
e-mail: teschner@habitants.de
- Kosta Mathéy (Buchrezensionen, Austauschabos)  
c/o PAR , El-Lissitzky-Straße 1, 64287 Darmstadt,  
Tel. 06151-163637, e-mail: KMathey@aol.com
- Peter Gotsch (Mitglieder)  
Gluckstr. 5, 76185 Karlsruhe  
e-mail: pg@glora.org

Korrespondenten:

- Wolfgang Scholz (Aktuelles)  
Ardhi University, School of Urban and Regional  
Planning; PO Box 35176 Dar es Salaam, Tanzania  
scholz.wolfgang skype in: 0231 1772 470  
e-mail: scholz.wolfgang@web.de
- Kathrin Golda-Pongratz  
Carrer de la Princesa 15, 1-2, 08003 Barcelona, E  
Tel. +34-93 269 1226, e-mail: kathrin@pongratz.org
- Jürgen Oestereich (internationale Zusammenarbeit)  
Am Dickelsbach 10, 40883 Ratingen  
Tel/Fax: 02102 – 60740, e-mail: JOestereich@aol.com
- Michael Peterek  
Eleonore-Sterlin-Str. 8, 60433 Frankfurt a.M.  
Tel. 069 – 53098328, e-mail: michael@peterek-ffm.de
- Hassan Ghaemi  
Carl-Ulrich-Str. 1, 64297 Darmstadt,  
Tel. 06151 – 963707, Fax: 06151 – 963709  
e-mail: hassan.ghaemi@ghaemi-architekten.de
- Gisind Budnick  
Heslacher Wand 35a, 70199 Stuttgart  
Tel. 0711 – 6071965, Fax: 0711 – 6400354  
e-mail: gb@gisind-budnick.de
- Hans Harms  
29 South Hill Park, London NW3 2ST, UK  
Tel. +44-207 435 3953953, e-mail: hharms02@aol.com
- Florian Steinberg  
c/o Asian Development Bank, 06 ADB Avenue  
Mandaluyong City, Manila, Philippines  
Tel. +632 6325581, e-mail: fsteinberg@adb.org

## Veranstaltungen / Forthcoming Events

**August 5 - 7, 2009 in Sydney, Australia**

The 2009 Housing Researchers Conference (combining for the first time the Asia Pacific Network of Housing Research [APNHR] Conference and the Australasian Housing Researchers Conference [AHRIC]). Organised by UNSW's City Futures Research Centre and Swinburne University's Cities Housing and Environment Program. Contact: Phone: (+61 2) 9385 7777, <m.schwensen@unsw.edu.au> [www.fbe.unsw.edu.au/cf/apnhr/](http://www.fbe.unsw.edu.au/cf/apnhr/)

**August 16 – 18, 2009 in Abbottabad, Pakistan**

3rd International Conference Environmentally Sustainable Development ESDev 2009. The conference is held alternate year to address global issues related to environment with particular reference to developing countries. Contact: Dr. Iftikhar A. Raja; [www.ciiit-atd.edu.pk/ESDev](http://www.ciiit-atd.edu.pk/ESDev)

**August 23 – 25, 2009 in Sao Paulo, Brazil**

2009 ISA-RC21 Sao Paulo Conference "Inequality, Inclusion and the Sense of Belonging". Organised by the International Sociological Association Research Committee 21: Sociology of Urban and Regional Development. Contact: <isasp2009@cebrap.org.br>, <ecmarq@uol.com.br> [www.centrodametropole.org.br/ISA2009/](http://www.centrodametropole.org.br/ISA2009/)

**August 26 – 28, 2009 in Manchester, UK**

Conference of the Royal Geographical Society-Institute of British Geographers: "The Right to Stay Put. Contesting Displacements in Urban Regeneration/Development Schemes", Organized by Chris Allen (Manchester Metropolitan University); Lee Crookes (University of Sheffield); Stuart Hodkinson (University of Leeds); Tom Slater (University of Edinburgh), Contact: <L.Crookes@sheffield.ac.uk>

**September 1-4, in Glasgow, Scotland**

ISA International Housing Conference: "Housing Assets, Housing People". Organised by the International Sociological Associations Group on Housing. Contact: Department of Urban Studies, 25 Bute Gardens, Glasgow G12 8RS, Scotland, UK, phone: (+44 14) 1330 2094, Fax: (+44 14) 1330 2095, <k.gibb@lbss.gla.ac.uk> [www.gla.ac.uk/urbanstudies](http://www.gla.ac.uk/urbanstudies)

**September 7 – 10, 2009 in Leipzig, Germany**

International Conference on „Megacities: Risk, Vulnerability and Sustainable development“. Organised by the „Risk-Habitat-Megacity Research Initiative“ at Helmholtz Association. Contact: F&U confirm, Permoserstr. 15, 04318 Leipzig, Germany. Phone: (+49 341) 235 2264, Fax: (+49 341) 235 2782, <megacity.2009@fu-confirm.de> [www.megacity-conference2009.ufz.de](http://www.megacity-conference2009.ufz.de)

**September 14 - 18, 2009 in La Habana, Cuba**

International conference "El territorio y los asentamientos humanos frente a los retos ambientales, sociales y economicos del siglo XXI." Organised by Convencion de Ordenamiento Territorial y Urbanismo. Contact: <eventos3@cbtevent.cbt.tur.cu> [www.cubatur.cu](http://www.cubatur.cu)

**September 28 to October 1, 2009 in Denizli, Turkey**

International Workshop on Urbanisation, Land Use, Land Degradation and Environment The event is structured into two main sections being "Workshop-I: Urbanisation, Land Use, Land Degradation" and "Workshop-II: Environment" to provide an international platform for exchanging information on several aspects of the issue. Contact: Ebru DULEKGURGEN; for more information: [www.ule2009.pau.edu.tr](http://www.ule2009.pau.edu.tr)

**October 15.-17, 2009 in Lisbon, Portugal**

RIPAM\_3: International Meeting on Architectural Heritage of the Mediterranean / CALL FOR PAPERS

Addressing all those involved in creating, protecting and safeguarding the architectural heritage related to Mediterranean Area and Culture; Contact: Maria Ferrugento Gonçalves [www.lis.ulusiada.pt/eventos/encontros/ripam3](http://www.lis.ulusiada.pt/eventos/encontros/ripam3)

**October 18.-22, 2009 in Porto, Portugal**

45th ISOCARP Congress: „Low Carbon Cities“. Organised by the International Society of City and Regional Planners, Contact: <isocarp@isocarp.org> Phone: (+31 70) 346 2654, Fax: (+31 70) 361 7909 [www.isocarp.org/](http://www.isocarp.org/)

**October 18.-22, 2009 in Istanbul, Turkey**

Revitalising Built Environments: Requalifying Old Places for New Uses; Contact: Dr. Goksenin Inalhan, Symposium Secretary; [www.culturespace2009.org](http://www.culturespace2009.org)

**October 29, 2009 in Aachen, Germany**

Neustart – die Zukunft der Stadplanung; Conference on the future of UrbanPlanning, addressing researchers as well as "practicioners"; organised by Lehrstuhl für Planungstheorie und Stadtentwicklung; RWTH Aachen (University); deadline for inscription September 30, 2009; information [www.pt.rwth-aachen.de/tagung09](http://www.pt.rwth-aachen.de/tagung09)