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**PRIVATE
URBANISATION**



THE CITY AS A ZOO

Nowadays privatisation is often seen as a panacea for the problems of urban modernisation and development. Whether because of dissatisfaction with public services or because of shifts in politics or the economy, many cities turn to the private sector to aid in their development, and many private initiatives take the reins when the government weak. In particular in the developing world, the context of political instability, environmental risk, and socio-economic divide creates distinct spaces for the privatisation of services and public goods by new actors from the corporate sector and distinct civil society groups. The situation also produces a fertile ground for partnerships between governments and the private sector, so-called "Private Public Partnerships" or PPPs.

The articles in this issue of TRIALOG assert that partnerships between the public and private sectors have entered mainstream urban development practice, and that many variations of this are evolving to respond to different conditions and needs. The articles also reveal how the final results of such private modes of urban production and partnerships can be both positive and negative, complex, and constantly evolving. Each of the articles in this issue addresses questions of how privatisation impacts socio-spatial and urban development in the Global South. The focus ranges from the effects of the global metropolitan mainstream on younger generations, across the impact of PPPs on housing, slum redevelopment and infrastructure provision, and on to the strategies and responses of self-organised populations.

An overall conclusion is that albeit the process of private urbanisation often appears as the only viable mode of development, and while it engenders a high degree of innovation, the emerging space is not a city for all. In a system of opportunistic enclaves, public space is neglected: the city as a zoo (see the title page). Most often the negative effects are largest for the poor and excluded, who are either overlooked during the process of redevelopment or are seen simply as an obstacle to overcome in the quest towards a more attractive city. Nonetheless, the articles also reveal that the government remains a crucial element in the process and that there is a strong need to integrate social and environmental agendas into the modes of private urban development.

Spaces of global consumption have not only a strong impact on the affluent but also on the poor. Petra Kuppinger's article examines the relationship between global and local cultures in Cairo (Egypt) and, specifically, how younger generations from poor communities are navigating global spaces of exclusivity in Cairo, whether through technology, consumer goods, social practices, or fashion, and how this new consumer culture affects their own communities and neighbourhoods.

As privatisation strategies become popular, governments also seek to employ these tactics to eradicate slums. Since the Indian government supplements their efforts of moving towards slum-free cities with

private investments and through Public Private Partnerships, Banashree Banerjee looks at important lessons learned. The schemes and initiatives analysed reveal the underlying policies and practices that continue to have a direct influence on creating an exclusive city.

The cooperation with PPPs in urban development has become an important strategy for many governments. Staying in India, Kiran Sandhu provides an overview of the country's attempt to modernise its malfunctioning infrastructure through PPPs. Her article reveals the enabling environment the Indian government has created, and also includes a look at PPP trends in infrastructure development as well as future challenges for all players involved.

The void of weak governance is often filled by bottom-up initiatives that privatise their urban space. For example, some communities in Africa are reacting in many creative ways to the lack of adequate public safety and security provision. Cecilia Andersson and Claude Meutchehe Ngomsu take a closer look at this, providing insight into the effectiveness of these practices and their ability to promote human rights and sustainable urbanisation.

Some private developers do attempt to reach the lower-income segments. Florian Steinberg takes a look at the dimensions of privately driven housing in Manila in the Philippines. He finds that the developers today attract a varying degree of socio-economic classes. However, many issues remain to be addressed in order for the private sector to more successfully reach out to lower-income families and the urban poor.

Neoliberalism is far from being outdated. Peter Gotsch provides a theoretical foundation for the theme of this journal by elaborating on the concept of neoliberalism in relation to private urbanisation. He maintains that the neoliberal mode today is characterised by combination of a distinct rational management, new technologies, and the irrational behaviour of the stakeholders in the process. Private urbanisation with a neoliberal mindset appears to have a profound impact on urbanisation processes in the Global South, e.g. by reinforcing prevailing trends of exclusion, fragmentation and segregation. Nonetheless, much remains to be done to unravel the distinct modes of neoliberal production of spaces in the peripheries.

Peter Gotsch

Title page:
Free interpretation of the layout of the structure of the Latinos neighbourhood of the private town Bumi Serpong Damai (Jakarta).
(Gotsch, Grewe, Stahmer)

Private Urbanisation — The City as a Zoo

Volume Editor: Peter Gotsch

- 2 Editorial**
- 4 Exclusive inclusion**
Youth and neoliberal consumerism in Cairo
Petra Kuppinger
- 12 From informal settlements to prime real estate in Indian cities**
Banashree Banerjee
- 22 Public Private Partnerships in infrastructure development in India**
A retrospective overview
Kiran Sandhu
- 32 Citizen's contribution to public safety in Africa's Sub-Saharan cities**
Cecilia Andersson and Claude Meutchehe Ngomsi
- 42 For the rich and the poor**
Private sector housing in Metro Manila, the Philippines
Florian Steinberg
- 50 Neoliberalism**
The idea, the critique, and the spatial Implications
Peter Gotsch
- 57 Diskussion — Rapoport weiter denken**
Achim Schüßler
- 59 Discussion — Thinking beyond Rapoport**
Achim Schüßler
- 62 Book reviews / Neue Bücher**
- 64 Forthcoming events / Veranstaltungen**

EXCLUSIVE INCLUSION

YOUTH AND NEOLIBERAL CONSUMERISM IN CAIRO

△
Petra Kuppinger



Abstract

Rapid globalization and its concrete economic, social, cultural and spatial dynamics have dramatically changed Cairo's cityscape. Exclusive spaces of leisure and consumption have in recent years mushroomed in and around the city. Most of these spaces and services are off limits or unaffordable for the majority of Cairenes. Nonetheless, these changes and innovations have not by-passed these groups but created new needs, strategies, practices, and dreams among the urban poor, in particular among younger people. Based on ethnographic research, this article illustrates how some young lower class individuals navigate globalized spaces and contexts on the one hand, and on the other hand how they themselves help to more thoroughly globalize others. I argue that while excluded from most upscale globalized spaces, many young people actively participate in an

emerging global landscape of consumption and communication while simultaneously carrying the latter's tentacles into Cairo's back alleys. Young people negotiate and recreate spatialities and social contexts as they use and re-interpret global technologies, goods, practices and fashions. I illustrate how some young people celebrate a new consumerist universe that they at best can observe, but neither participate in nor greatly benefit from. I examine how others fall victim to consumerism and its glittery temptations. My inquiry is guided by the following questions: What exactly is the nature of some lower class youths' involvement and participation in globalized spaces, contexts and networks? Are they active participants? What are the economic characteristics of their globalized experiences? Are they powerless but happy by-standers? Or, are they victims?

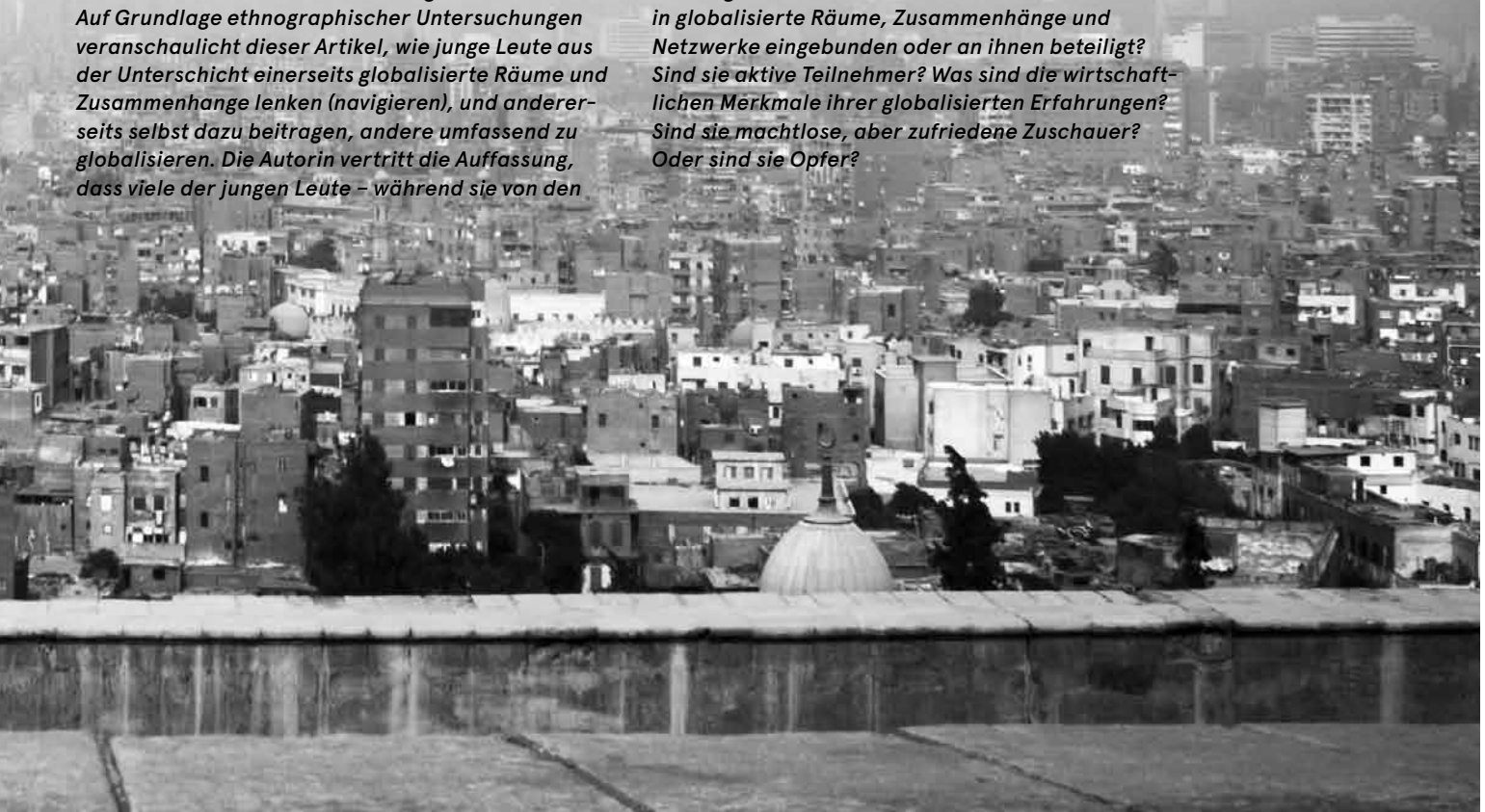
This article has been peer reviewed by two independent reviewers. A group of about 30 distinguished experts is engaged in TRIALOG's peer review process. All photographs are by the author unless otherwise noted.

Cairo
Photo: Rachel Brockley

Exklusive Einbeziehung Jugendliche und neoliberaler Konsum in Kairo

Die schnelle Globalisierung und die damit einhergehende wirtschaftliche, soziale, und räumliche Dynamik haben Kairos Stadtbild dramatisch verändert. Exklusive, auch im Wortsinn ausschließende Anlagen und Einrichtungen für Freizeit und Konsum schossen in den letzten Jahren quasi wie Pilze aus dem Boden und wuchern weiterhin in der Stadt und ihrer Peripherie. Meist sind diese Flächen oder Räumlichkeiten für die Mehrheit der Kairoer Bevölkerung tabu, unzugänglich und unerschwinglich. Dennoch lassen solche Veränderungen und Innovationen die ausgeschlossenen Gruppen nicht unberührt, sondern schaffen neue Bedürfnisse, Strategien, Praktiken und Wunschträume, insbesondere bei den Jüngeren unter ihnen. Auf Grundlage ethnographischer Untersuchungen veranschaulicht dieser Artikel, wie junge Leute aus der Unterschicht einerseits globalisierte Räume und Zusammenhänge lenken (navigieren), und andererseits selbst dazu beitragen, andere umfassend zu globalisieren. Die Autorin vertritt die Auffassung, dass viele der jungen Leute – während sie von den

meist hochpreisigen globalisierten Räumen ausgeschlossen sind, aktiv an einer zunehmend globalisierenden Landschaft der Kommunikation und des Konsums teilhaben und dadurch gleichzeitig deren Fangarme bis in die letzten Seitenstraßen und Hinterhöfe Kairos tragen. Junge Leute verhandeln und erschaffen Räumlichkeiten und soziale Zusammenhänge neu, indem sie globale Technologien, Waren, Praktiken und Moden an- bzw. verwenden und neu interpretieren. Der Beitrag illustriert, wie einige dieser jungen Leute ein neues Konsumenten-Universum feiern, das sie im besten Fall beobachten können, an dem sie aber nicht teilhaben können und von dem sie keinen Gewinn haben. Er untersucht, wie andere dem Konsum und seinen glitzernden Versuchungen zum Opfer fallen. Die Untersuchung umfasst folgende Fragestellungen: In welcher Art sind Jugendliche aus unteren Einkommensschichten in globalisierte Räume, Zusammenhänge und Netzwerke eingebunden oder an ihnen beteiligt? Sind sie aktive Teilnehmer? Was sind die wirtschaftlichen Merkmale ihrer globalisierten Erfahrungen? Sind sie machtlose, aber zufriedene Zuschauer? Oder sind sie Opfer?





Hotel pool

In Ramadan/October 2005 I was taking a late night stroll in Cairo with Sawsan, a young woman from a low-income community. Like most of her peers, Sawsan owned a cell phone, even though she struggled to maintain the phone and add minutes. But as she noted, even if one does not have minutes, one can still receive calls. As we walked through lively midnight streets, Sawsan kept checking her phone. After she did that several times, I asked her why, and she explained that she was waiting for a call from "somebody," which she did not want to receive at home within earshot of her family. Now I understood why she had asked me to accompany her on this walk. The expected call, resulting in a nice and short conversation, finally came after we had walked for more than an hour. Sawsan's cell phone allows her to momentarily transcend gender and space barriers, in that she can create a space for innocent conversations and a few moments of privacy which contrast with her home that is always populated with family and visitors and allows no such retreat.

Rapid globalization and its concrete economic, social, cultural and spatial dynamics have dramatically changed Cairo's cityscape and aspects of its residents' everyday lives and dreams (Abaza 2001, 2006; Ghannam 2002; Kuppinger 2006; Mitchell 1999). Gated communities, glitzy malls, restaurants, international fast food chains, luxurious hotels, movie theaters, satellite TV, internet access, cell phones, and most dramatically the creation of an entirely new upscale city (New Cairo) are notable signs of recent changes in the city (e.g. Abu-Lughod 2005; Bunt 2009; de Koning 2009; Denis 2006; Fakhreddine 2005; Kuppinger 2004, 2006a; Singerman and Amar 2006; Zayani 2005).¹ Most of these spaces and services are off limits or unaffordable for the majority of Cairenes.

Nonetheless, these changes and innovations have not by-passed these groups, but created new needs, strategies, practices, and dreams among the urban poor, in particular among younger people. The lives of most young Cairenes are globalized and connected to diverse global networks in a multitude of ways, yet these links and involvement of the poor differ from those of their upper class peers (de Koning 2009). Based on ethnographic research, I illustrate in this paper how some young lower class individuals navigate globalized spaces and contexts on the one hand, and how they themselves help to more thoroughly globalize others.² I argue that while excluded from most upscale globalized spaces, these young people actively participate in an emerging global landscape of consumption and communication, while simultaneously carrying the latter's tentacles deep into Cairo's alleys. Young people negotiate and recreate spatialities and social contexts as they use and re-interpret global technologies, goods, practices and fashions.³ Some youth, due to their powerless and poor

1.

For similar phenomena elsewhere, see e.g. Athique and Hill (2009) on consumerism in India, and Asiedu and Arku (2009) on gated communities in Ghana.

2.

For a similar phenomenon in Dakar, Senegal, see Scheld (2007).

3.

For transformations and dynamics of Muslim consumer cultures, see Pink (2009). See Newcomb (2006) and Sabry (2005) for the case of Morocco.

backgrounds, enter a global playing field to become spectators who are largely denied active participation, and worse still, some indeed become victims of wealthier and more powerful individuals or groups. I illustrate how some young people are caught in a paradox situation whereby they celebrate a new consumerist universe that they at best can observe, but neither participate in nor greatly benefit from. Recognizing malls and other glamorous spaces as signs of local or regional success, these young people take pride in them as citizens of their city, nation or the region.

My inquiry into the question of neoliberal consumerism in Cairo is guided by the following questions: What exactly is the nature of some lower class youths' involvement and participation in globalized spaces, contexts and networks? Are they active participants? What are the economic characteristics of their globalized experiences? Are they powerless but happy by-standers? Or, are they victims?

**Cell phones:
Symbol, connection and revolt**

Let us take another view at Sawsan and her cell phone (or "mobile" as it is called in Arabic). More than other items, the cell phone became the symbol of a new era in Egypt and beyond. Cell phones have conquered the Arab world in lightning speed, in part because of problems and long waits with landlines. This does, however, not account for the whole story. Cell phones are symbols and stand for their owners' connections or connectivity. Since the turn of the 21st century, ownership of cell phones has become pervasive in Cairo. Sellers of fruits and vegetables, taxi drivers, and most visibly young men and women of different class backgrounds carry and, very importantly, display their cell phones. Many of Sawsan's young friends, relatives and neighbours have cell phones, whether they are students, employed or unemployed. Even if they cannot make calls most of the time, they can still receive calls or convey messages via a system of ring tones.⁴ For young women like Sawsan, cell phones have the added advantage that they can talk to (male) friends away from the eyes and ears of family members. Cell phones create small and largely innocent spaces of gender transgression. Those who were young in the 1980s or 1990s might have played similar games with landlines, yet cell phones make phone flirting easier. While cell phones initially were symbols of connection and participation in a globalized world, they have long ceased to be real status symbols. Yet their (former) appeal as such still accounts for part of their success. The question poses itself: who benefits most from the use of cell phones? Individuals like Sawsan and her peers who pay for an illusion of glamour and connectivity, and who might talk a few sweet words with a distant, secret lover? These young people certainly get fun and benefits for themselves. However, beyond the (limited) "fun" value for users, cell phones are ingenious inroads of communication companies into the already stressed pockets of poor urban youth who pay what little they have for this symbol and illusion.



^ Upscale mall
^ Store display in a mall

4. Friends often use ring tone systems, whereby a number or patterns of ring tones means something (e.g. call me, I am coming, etc.).

Upscale mall >



Malls and fast food restaurants: Participants or spectators?

International fast food restaurants have dotted Cairo's cityscape for decades (e.g. Wimpy, Kentucky Fried Chicken). Yet starting in the early 1990s a globalized fast food revolution occurred in Cairo's upscale quarters. Pizza Hut, McDonald's and other franchises multiplied. Catering to the pocket books of Cairo's elite, ex-pats and tourists, these restaurants appeal to many lower class youth. One's sheer presence in these restaurants seems to promise participation in a glittery world. From these restaurants' inception, one could frequently encounter groups of lower class youth (males but also females) in their Embaba or Boulaq Al-Dakrou, huddled with four people over two Cokes enjoying their presence and participation in this dreamscape of consumption.

With the advent of malls, such excursions into the world of consumerism continued and intensified (Abaza 2006; Moustafa 2005). While fast food outlets are open to almost everybody who can afford the smallest soft drink there, the mall scenery is different. Upscale malls (e.g. First Mall or CityStars) have security personnel (and metal detectors), that deny access to those deemed out of place; that is those who are too poor-looking. Yet different malls aim at different clienteles. Mona Abaza (2006), for example, describes how the less classy downtown Bustan Mall became a favourite hang-out for lower class males.

When I asked Sawsan about Cairo's new malls, she proudly responded that "of course" she had been in the Arkadia Mall and that it was a great place. The Arkadia Mall, located on the Corniche, just north of the Egyptian Television Building, is a more popular and affordable mall. As one taxi driver noted, "this is the best mall. At the other malls they sell the same things but they inflate the prices." Most items at Arkadia are out of Sawsan's reach (some dresses/abayahs are over LE 300; more than Sawsan's monthly salary). Nonetheless, her presence in the Arkadia Mall, like the use of her cell phone, gives Sawsan a sense of pride, as well as participation in a prestigious and desirable world. Sawsan's excursions to places like the Arkadia Mall remain acts of spectatorship much more than participation. There is the illusion that being there somehow moves her into a different world, where she shares in its glitter, glamour and consumerism. Sawsan's spectatorship in the mall and the use of her chronically underfunded phone are sources of

pride for her, as her "of course" she had been in the Arkadia mall clearly indicates. By setting foot in the mall, by entering its spatiality, she symbolically alters her life and enlarges her spatiality to include the mall and its glitzy universe. Entering the Arkadia Mall, Sawsan enters a larger world that includes Cairo's upscale malls and indirectly those of Dubai that serve as the models for Cairo's palaces of consumption. What Rhoads and Chapelier said about Al Jazeera and other regional Arab TV stations (quoted in Berenger 2005:3), that they are perceived as "local" despite their Gulf production and regional appeal, similarly applies to individuals' views of various architectural and spatial achievements (e.g. Dubai's mall; Burj Al-Arab, Burj Dubai; see also Davidson 2009; Elsheshtawy 2004; Marchal 2005) as "local", as theirs, and thus as a source of pride. Sawsan and other lower class individuals find themselves in the paradox situation that they take pride in the very glitter and consumerism, celebrated in malls, from which they are ultimately excluded. Places like Arkadia, upscale malls, and to a lesser extent the glamour of the Gulf, and Dubai in particular, help to nurture regional citizens' pride as they bespeak the region's achievements in front of the world at large. In particular in this historical moment of increasing East/West or Islam/West divide, pride in local, national and regional achievements, regardless of their class-based and exclusive characteristics, seems to (momentarily?) override individuals' sense of exclusion and disadvantage. Regional mega-projects like the Burj Dubai or the Dubai ski-dome are the ultimate symbols and sources of a new regional pride. Participation in this context remains secondary. Being part of the region is enough to share in the pride.⁵

Agents of globalization and consumerism: Back in the alley

From their excursions to globalized spaces and consumerist landscapes and their virtual travels on the internet, lower class youth do not return empty-handed or uninspired. They might bring back the occasional piece of clothing or other items, but more importantly they gain ideas and images, many of which are quickly duplicated by local companies, stores, and individuals. Global western fashion, globalised Islamic fashions or pop music and other fads spread through back alleys. Some girls wear tight jeans and T-shirts (with or without hijabs), others (without hijabs) have coloured streaks in their

5. The relationship with Dubai is double-edged. While there are the achievements, there is also darker sides. The taxi driver quoted above also noted that Dubai was full of prostitutes and hence a dubious place to say the least. Several other people in Cairo made similar remarks about Dubai.

hair and the latest styles of manicures. Some young men wear their jeans low, with their boxer shorts showing. Others listen to global Islamic pop music icon, Sami Yusuf. Young girls compare their "French manicure," or fancy items for their trousseau. A small consumerist arms race is building up. While pride in material ownership is not new, new items, services and the consumption of events, experiences and presence in globalized spaces have been added to the list of desirable and prestigious items/categories.

Winners and/or losers: The other side of globalization

While Sawsan's globalised spectatorship was fun and entertaining and filled her with pride for her city, country, and possibly region, other young people's global integration is less benign. Poverty and powerlessness, coupled with newly formed dreams of global consumerism make some into victims of new links and connectivities. Theorists like Zygmunt Bauman (e.g. 1998, 2001, 2007) Saskia Sassen (1998) and Sharon Zukin (1995, 2010) have long worried about the destructive impact of globalization on lower class urban residents. They warn of increasing urban tension and resulting elite fears when lower class individuals and their communities are increasingly left to fend for themselves as elites withdraw into fortified residential communities and commercial spaces. Bauman talks about a "secession" of the elites (2007:78). Sawsan's mall going activities appear differently in this light, or as Bauman notes, "the lower-tier city dwellers are 'doomed to stay local'" (ibid:75) regardless of their brief visits to seemingly promising global spaces and dreamscapes.

One night I was sitting with Um Zaki and her daughter outside their door step in an alley of a low-in- come neighbourhood. Around 10:30pm Hanan and Samira, two cousins who lived in a different neighbourhood but had relatives in the alley came to visit. They soon joined us. Both had their cell phones with them. We started to chat. Within a few minutes Hanan said: "Did you know that Samira is engaged to a Kuwaiti man?" Um Zaki had heard the stories about this, but seemed less than enthusiastic. Samira pushed Hanan to show us her fiancée's picture. Hanan flipped open her phone and showed us his picture. Everybody made positive remarks. After a few minutes it became clear why Samira had been so keen on having Hanan show us her fiancée. Putting herself carefully in position, she



< Back alley in giza

disclosed that if everything went alright, Hanan's fiancée's brother would soon ask for her hand. She opened her phone and showed the brother's image. Showing off their potential Kuwaiti fiancées, Samira and Hanan situated themselves beyond the modest lifestyle of Cairene alleys. Their dreams of becoming wealthy by marriage and acquiring and becoming part of the glitter of the Gulf were reflected in their stories of their fiancées. These men were supposed to remove them from poor alleys and resituate them on the globalized landscape of Gulf consumerism.⁶

After Hanan and Samira had left, Um Zaki turned to me, put on a serious look and said: "Do you really believe that Kuwaitis will marry poor Egyptian girls? They are just playing with them. They give them some money for clothes and that is all. Look at the girls, their jeans and nail polish." After a short pause she said the simple phrase "beyimshu ma' al'arab" (they are going with the Arab) which indicated her disdain for the moral wrong-doings of these girls. In light of current events at the time of writing (February 2011), it is important to elaborate on winners of global connectivities. The ongoing revolt of anti-government and anti-Mubarak demonstrators on Cairo's central Midan Tahrir is the result of empowering features of this connectivity. Young Egyptians have in recent years in large numbers participated in electronically mediated debates, political activities and movements (see the April 7 youth movement, or the Kifaya movement; Bayat 2010:22, 245). The initial phase of the January 2011 demonstrations was mediated by the internet and cell phones. Understanding global political dynamics and the limited access to power for the disenfranchised, and here in particular the younger generations, the protestors used the one stage they still thoroughly owned: urban streets and spaces. It is in this shared space that the protestors in Cairo might find and strengthen their voices that have for too long be silenced, and reformulate their agendas that for too long had been diverted into unrealistic consumer dreamscapes.

6. The young women are not the only ones who are excluded while being included. For examples of victimization/exploitation, see Ali (2010), Parker (2005), Khalaf (2010), and Fattah (2006).

7. There are other platforms, like e.g. globalized Islamic movements or consumerism.



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"Barbie, Razanne, and Fulla: A Global Tale of Culture, Economy and Religion." In *Muslim Societies in the Age of Mass Consumption*. J. Pink (ed.; 2009).

"Pyramids and Alleys: Global Dynamics and Local Strategies in Giza." In *Cairo Cosmopolitan*: D. Singerman and P. Amar (eds.; 2006);

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Conclusion

The impact of globalization on Cairo's lower class youth is multi-layered.⁷ Satellite television, internet access, cell phones, and globalized spaces of consumption like fast food chains or malls altered the life worlds and dreamscapes of (especially) young people.

Many young people are deeply entrenched in the world of consumerism. They are knowledgeable about places, services and products but unable to afford most of them. They enter globalized spaces as spectators, who despite their exclusion from participation, take pride in these spaces as they are seen as signs of urban, national and regional success in the face of western hegemony. From an economic perspective, and this becomes particularly clear in the context of cell phones, lower class youths and their dreams of participation in the glitzy world of consumerism are exploited by companies who cash in on these dreams, milking the youth for their scarce resources.

Inspired by globalized products, fashion, trends and services, these youth in turn familiarize their peers and the older generations with them and establish them in alleys and homes. Regardless of their relative exclusion, some individuals become local agents of globalizing transformations and economies.

Yet in their dreams and struggles for glitz and glamour, some disregard their vulnerable position and are victimized by better situated, more powerful and wealthy individuals. This, of course, has always been the case, but the availability of modern communication such as cell phones has shrunk time/space and possibly intensified the victimization of weaker individuals. It is an illusion for a lower class female in Egypt to believe that a wealthy Kuwaiti male will marry her. That she carries his/her cell phone, and that she can show off his picture might make this young man look more real. Yet her marriage and entry into a consumerist dreamscape

unfortunately remains fictitious, as globalization continues to be an uneven game. For better or for worse, by 2009 neither Hanan nor Samira had married their Kuwaiti dream spouses. Access to the internet, satellite TV and cell phones have in recent years opened new avenues of political debate and engagement for many young Egyptians. On blogs and on facebook, new debates and political agendas were formulated and starting in late January 2011 put to test on the streets of Cairo.

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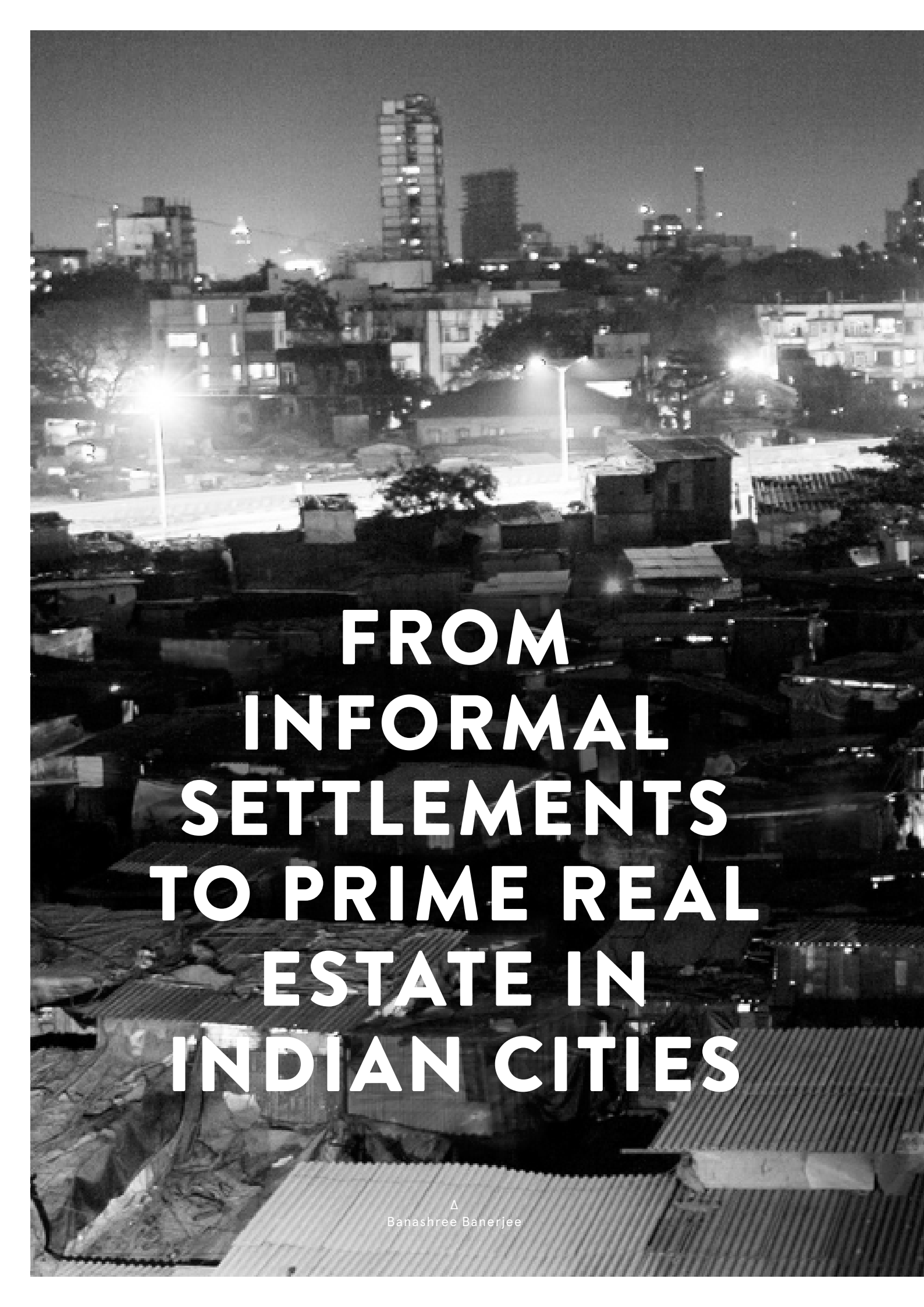
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**FROM
INFORMAL
SETTLEMENTS
TO PRIME REAL
ESTATE IN
INDIAN CITIES**

△
Banashree Banerjee



Abstract

As the Indian government explicitly orients its policies towards encouraging private investment to supplement their efforts towards the goal of slum-free cities, lessons need to be drawn from the variety of schemes and initiatives already developed and established in selected cities. By looking more critically at the circumstances under which these schemes and initiatives have been implemented, as well as at the results they have shown thus far, the benefits and drawbacks of the private sector's role in slum redevelopment can be better analyzed. Projects in Mumbai, Delhi, and Ahmedabad are revealed to be fraught with uncertainty ranging from the miscounting of slum dwellers and the long term

cost of high-rise slum redevelopments, to market volatility and the oversight of involving the slum dwellers in a participatory manner. This article questions the initial optimism of the growing real estate sector focusing on slum redevelopment, as well as the viability of integrating slum dwellers into each city's urban infrastructure while at the same time attracting private investors and developers during a time of global and local market fluctuation. It also raises the question of the contradictory nature of attempting to create an inclusive city without addressing inequitable urban policies and practices that have historically led to the creation of an exclusive city.

This article has been peer reviewed by two independent reviewers. A group of about 30 distinguished experts is engaged in TRIALOG's peer review process. All photographs are by the author unless otherwise noted.

Mahim, Mumbai
Photo: Ben Lepley

Von informellen Siedlungen zu Premiumimmobilien in indischen Städten

Um „Städte ohne Slums“ zu erzielen richtet die indische Regierung ihre Politik seit einigen Jahren vermehrt auf die Förderung privater Investitionen aus. Eine Anzahl von Projekten wurde bereits umgesetzt und daraus sollen nun Erkenntnisse gezogen werden. Der Artikel wirft einen kritischen Blick auf die Umstände, unter denen diese Programme und Initiativen verwirklicht wurden und diskutiert anhand der bisher vorliegenden Ergebnisse Stärken und Schwächen des privaten Sektors als Akteur der Slumsanierung. Es stellte sich z.B. heraus, dass Projekte in Mumbai, Delhi und Ahmedabad mit erheblichen Risiken behaftet sind, da hier Statistiken über das Profil der Bewohner meist geschönt wurden, da Folgekosten von

Hochhäusern keine Berücksichtigung fanden, marktbedingte Wertschwankungen vernachlässigt wurden und vor allem die Zielgruppe der Slumbewohner so gut wie nicht in die Planungen einbezogen war. Insofern hinterfragt dieser Artikel den anfänglichen Optimismus des wachsenden Immobiliensektors, der sich auf Slum-Sanierung konzentriert. Er zweifelt an der Durchführbarkeit des Ansatzes, Slumbewohner in die gebaute Infrastruktur der jeweiligen Stadt zu integrieren und dabei gleichzeitig – in Zeiten globaler und lokaler Marktschwankungen – private Investoren und Projektentwickler anzuziehen. Darüber hinaus wird die Widersprüchlichkeit der Versuche thematisiert, eine integrative Stadtentwicklung anzustreben, ohne auf Policies und Praktiken einzuwirken, welche in der Vergangenheit zu einer geteilten Stadt führten.

Changing roles for the private sector in global and inclusive cities

In the last decade urban policy and practice in India have changed radically from a basic needs approach to a transformation approach that seeks to create global cities while at the same time making them inclusive. This shift is seen in Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), the national programme which makes huge public fund allocations for city infrastructure as well as housing redevelopment for the poor in India's most important cities. The shift is also seen in new roles for non-state actors in urban infrastructure and housing for the poor. An attempt is being made to carve out space for the poor in public redevelopment projects as well as market based development. This is different from the earlier practice of regularising down market informal settlements and providing them with basic services. The new approaches essentially seek to capture some of the wealth production in cities for the poor, using a combination of regulations and incentives. They capitalise on profits made by developers from high land values to cross-subsidise housing for the poor.

While mandatory reservation of a portion of the land for the poor in private housing projects is practiced in several Indian states, the most demanding challenge is to involve real estate firms in redeveloping slums. Nevertheless the involvement of the private sector in redeveloping slums has emerged as a significant symbol of hope. At the national level the National Housing and Habitat Policy of 2007 advocates partnership with the private sector for slum redevelopment. The latest national programme, Rajiv Gandhi Awas Yojna (RAY) has the ambitious target of making urban India 'slum free' in five years. The RAY guidelines bank heavily on public private partnerships and participation of the private sector.¹ There is optimism that the growing urban real estate sector, which is currently worth US\$ 16 billion, will deliver (Times of India 2010), but experience shows that it is not easy to corner a share of this market for slum redevelopment. This view is elaborated in this paper by three examples from Indian cities. Of the three cases discussed in this paper, Mumbai is the foremost and by far the most well known. In the last two decades the city has created new policies and practices, entrenched in new

institutions to encourage the private sector to redevelop slums. Delhi, the national capital, has drawn on its land bank to provide public housing on a large scale in the past. Now it is initiating partnerships with real estate firms for re-housing 85,000 slum families. The Ahmedabad case is different but typical of the present trend of rehabilitating slum dwellers affected by mega urban projects such as water front development, special economic zones, luxury housing and business districts. The following sections discuss how, under what circumstances and with what result, the private sector is participating in slum redevelopment in the three cities and what are the prospects of such participation.

Mumbai: Dharavi redevelopment plan

65% of Mumbai's population of 12.4 million² lives in informal settlements. The city attracted worldwide attention in 2004 when the Government invited private developers to redevelop Dharavi, an informal settlement in the centre of the city. Dharavi is a densely packed hub of activity with anything between 700,000 and a million residents, more than 5000 businesses and industries, several markets, schools, dispensaries and thousands of home based economic activities, all in an area of about 212 hectares. The Government's Dharavi Redevelopment Plan (DRP), to be implemented by the Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA), has been called the "Opportunity of the Millennium" (ICICI 2009) and is very much part of the proposed makeover of Mumbai to a global city (Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai, 2005).

The main aim of the scheme is to improve the living conditions of the residents of Dharavi and integrate them with the city's infrastructure in a way that attracts private investment. The DRP proposed the division of the slum into five sectors, each to be developed by private real estate firms selected through an international competitive bidding process. The developers were expected to construct multi-storeyed apartment buildings and infrastructure to accommodate all eligible Dharavi residents (57,000 households in the DRP) free of cost and to rehabilitate non-polluting economic activities. In addition, developers were required to

1. Land, housing and urban development are listed as state subjects in the Constitution of India, implying that each of the states of the union government can have its own policy and legislation. The central government prepares model acts and policies to advise the states. It also provides funding to cities through the state governments for particular priority programmes. This division of responsibilities and powers results in varied responses to national policy and makes space for local initiatives.

2. Census of India (2011), Provisional Population Tables

maintain the buildings for 15 years and provide temporary housing during the construction period (ICICI 2009; Patel et al. 2009). In the DRP the cost of redevelopment was pinned at Rs 92.5 billion³ in 2004. The large costs were to be met by selling 35% of the land for profitable uses such as commercial, institutional and high end residential development. The remaining area would then be used to rehabilitate the existing residents. In order to encourage private builders to venture into the difficult area of slum rehabilitation the permissible Floor Space Index (FSI) of Dharavi was increased from the original 1.3 to 4.0. The strategy allowed for intensive development and increased space for sale in the market. By modest estimates builders were expected to make a total of Rs 140.0 billion from the sale component, resulting in a profit of Rs 47.5 billion. Thus the crux of the financial viability of the DRP was the possibility for developers of making significant profits, given the high value of land in Mumbai and particularly in that part of the city.

(SRS) for 16 years using these principles. Under the scheme private builders who enter into an agreement with slum dwellers' co-operative housing societies to build housing for them become eligible for an incentive FSI.⁶ This can be used on the plot within the permissible FSI in the area after housing all the co-operative members and converted to Transferrable Development Rights (TDR) for building in other designated areas of the city or trading in the market. High land values ensure sufficient profits for developers and land owners even after providing slum dwellers with rehabilitation tenements of 26 square meters free of cost (SRA 1997). Private sector participation has provided a way to fulfil the political promise of free houses for slum families of Mumbai without spending any public money. It can be reliably estimated that so far about 250,000 slum families have received access to formal housing in their original locations, about 85,000 families have been accommodated in permanent housing in resettlement areas and another 20,000 are in transit camps awaiting completion of their houses.

3. Indian Rupees (Rs) 43.7 = US\$ 1.0 in 2004
4. Those residing in the settlement from before the cut off date of 01/01/1995 are eligible. For PAPs under MUTP and MUIP the cut off date is 01/01/2000.
5. Non-tenable slums are those which are at environmental risk or are on land required for essential city services.
6. FSI or Floor Space Index indicates the ratio of the permissible built up area on a plot. It is also known as Floor Area Ratio (FAR).



According to SRA the city as a whole would also gain from DRP: firstly, it was proposed that selected bidders would pay a premium to the government, which would be used for improving civic services in the city; secondly, DRP proposals would open up centrally located slum lands for badly needed recreation, educational, cultural and health facilities for Mumbai's citizens (SRA 2007).

For all its win-win features DRP was announced in 2004 as a high profile priority initiative with great hopes for everyone. The idea of DRP is attributed to Mukesh Mehta, a New York based planner, whose relentless campaign for selling the concept started in 1995 (Down to Earth 2007). That same year a new government came into power in Maharashtra state with the electoral promise of providing free houses for 800,000 slum families in Mumbai and the SRA was set up as an independent organisation under the provision of the Slum Rehabilitation Act (SRA) with the Chief Minister of Maharashtra as its chairman. The Act provides for cross-subsidising the cost of housing for eligible slum and pavement dwellers⁴ using an incentive system of tradable land development rights to draw in market finance, private developers and landowners. The priority is to redevelop housing on slum lands but also undertake resettlement of non-tenable slums.⁵ The SRA has been implementing the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme

In spite of its successes SRS has a number of drawbacks. It is only feasible in areas that can generate enough profits to offset the costs of redevelopment houses. Slums in areas of lower land value and insides of a large slum like Dharavi remain quite untouched. Moreover it results in patchy plot by plot redevelopment which is problematic from the planning point of view as well as for upgrading city infrastructure to accommodate higher plot level densities. Another issue is that the patchy high density development also continues in the TDR receiving areas, without accompanying improvement in services. The large number of court cases and petitions from residents in these areas is witness to the unpopularity of the piecemeal approach (JVPD 2000). Finally, redevelopment is very much dependent on the vagaries of the real estate market. For instance, the downturn of the market from 1996 to 2000 resulted in a drastic slow-down of implementation, meaning the figures of housing construction, impressive in themselves, are hardly sufficient to fulfil the election promise made 16 years ago and upheld by subsequent governments.

< Dharavi showing DRP roads and sectors (source: Slum Rehabilitation Authority)

^ Dharavi slum and redevelopment housing (photo: B. Banerjee)

The Dharavi Redevelopment Plan was designed to overcome the shortcomings of the SRS and move further ahead in proposing a regeneration of the entire urban fabric by 2013. But seven years down the line the implementation had still not begun and the government was forced to reconsider its strategy of implementing the plan with the direct intervention of real estate firms. In retrospect, even though the government tried to produce a viable solution, it was continuously pressured by developers and consultants, weighed down by citizens' dissent, hampered by lack of experience in developing solutions at such a large scale, and coping with party politics (Patel et al. 2009). The head of the Dharavi Redevelopment Project was experienced in involving private developers for slum redevelopment as part of SRA, but DRP proved to be a new experience altogether in terms of scale and complexity.

Starting trouble was on account of two fundamental issues. First of all, the initial enthusiasm of the market got watered down by the world-wide recession and fall in property prices. Of the 14 firms who bid for the project in 2006, 7 withdrew, leaving only 7 in the fray.⁷ In the meantime civil society groups and Dharavi residents' organisations started raising questions about the soundness of the proposal. The main contention was that the project had been prepared without adequate information. Estimates of population as well as economic enterprises were outdated and not based on reality; site conditions had not been taken into consideration, especially water logged areas and drainage; and the knowledge of land ownership and claims was hazy (Down to Earth 2007). As a result of the activism, the project administration agreed in 2007 to commission a detailed population, housing and economic enterprise survey of Dharavi. The survey was expected to provide valuable information for planning as well as to support residents to get their entitlements. The process of ascertaining details of land ownership was also undertaken (Patel 2008).

The other result of the activism has been the institutionalisation of civil society participation in the planning process. A voluntary group, Concerned Citizens for Dharavi, consisting of NGO representatives, retired senior civil servants, prominent Mumbai architects and faculty from a local architecture school, were appointed as an advisory group to assist the Head of DRP (Patel 2008), who maintained that, "Public-private partnerships in a project like Dharavi, where there are multiple stakeholders of the land, are challenging...In Dharavi's case, its people are the most important stakeholders... keeping their views out of the projects would be going wrong." (Nandy, 2010). Greater participation of civil society and community-based groups in the planning process led to a number of amendments to the project framework. Many of the recommendations have been incorporated as official adjustments to planning standards and resettlement benefits. Some of these include increase in dwelling size from 26 to 30 sq metres, more space in residential buildings for informal economic enterprises, more space between buildings and lower building heights of rehabilitation housing (Patel et al. 2008, 2009).

But then, these initiatives threw up new challenges. Firstly, incorporating the recommendations in the DRP meant that some of the bid conditions had to be changed, making the proposition less attractive for developers than before. Secondly, the results of the survey in one sector showed that the population count was higher than that indicated in the DRP and that 67% of the residents would not qualify for homes under the DRP, being tenants or arriving after the official cut off date. Many of the new-comers have bought shacks of 12-15 sq metres after the project was announced at rates as high as Rs 150-200 thousand. The survey results in other sectors are also expected to be similar (Rao 2009). It was clear that the redevelopment could not take place leaving out such large numbers. This kept the project in a state of uncertainty for several months until the Maharashtra Government took a decision in May 2011 to give up the approach of redevelopment by private developers as no satisfactory bid had been received in response to the international tender. Subsequently the development of Sector 5 was assigned to the public sector Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority (MHADA), which invited bids from Project Management Consultants for planning, designing and project management for the redevelopment. However, the response has been very poor (Gadpale 2012).

The big vision of Dharavi's redevelopment generated demand from developers. The vision was underpinned by global capital, high land values, Mumbai's reinvention, a progressive government, market demand and inclusive development. But the initiative was on shaky ground because of the volatility of global capital markets and local land markets. Furthermore, the information and analytical disadvantage of the proposal led to delays and loss of credibility of the government's market led approach. At the same time, Mumbai is seen to have pioneered the process of meaningful private sector participation in slum redevelopment and demonstrated that by simply changing the rules of the city development game it is possible for slum dwellers to be provided with formal housing free of cost on the land occupied by them. Indeed, most large and medium sized cities in India are generally aware of Mumbai's efforts, and some of them would like to create similar programmes.

7. The withdrawing firms included the defunct Lehman Brothers Holdings Inc. and Dubai's Limitless Holdings along with their Indian partners (Nandy 2010).



Delhi learning from Mumbai

The initiative to involve private developers in slum redevelopment in Delhi needs to be seen as a deliberate strategy to bring in the private sector into housing and infrastructure and to give priority to redevelopment and densification over green field development. Prior to the mid-nineties the process of planned development was envisaged as a public sector led activity with very little private sector participation. Creation of a public land bank using the policy of large scale land acquisition and development was expected to facilitate planned and inclusive development. The Delhi Development Authority (DDA) was created to undertake development and to manage public land reserves using profit-generating land uses to cross subsidise housing for the poor. However, the pace of implementation could not meet the demands of a rapidly expanding metropolis, and among other problems, slums and squatter settlements proliferated, though large resettlement programmes could be carried out thanks to the land bank.

Still, 25% of metropolitan Delhi's population of 16.75 million⁸ lives in slums. Considering the scarcity of land and the unpopularity of resettlement projects for the disruption they cause to livelihood and social linkages, redevelopment is considered a suitable, but expensive, option. Hence it made sense for the DDA to consider negotiating with the private sector to invest in slum redevelopment in exchange for access to public land in central locations for profit.

Before starting to involve the private sector in slum redevelopment, a high level delegation headed by Tejinder Khanna, the Chairman of DDA and Lt. Governor of Delhi, visited Mumbai for extensive talks with the Maharashtra Government and visits to slum redevelopment sites. The delegation was impressed by the fact that no financial expenditure had been made by the government for permanent housing and transit accommodation. In mid-2008 the DDA announced its intention to partner with private firms to redevelop 21 slum clusters located on DDA land with about 85,000 dwellings. The scheme was part of the redevelopment plan of the city aiming to achieve higher densities and move towards a

[^] Image of Future Dharavi after redevelopment (www.skyscrapercity.com)

8. Census of India (2011) Provisional population tables

slum-free city. The first slum redevelopment project on a public private partnership (PPP) model took off in October 2009 with technical proposals being invited from real estate firms to redevelop Kathputli Colony, a three decade old upgraded slum on DDA land consisting of 2,800 surveyed households. Kathputli Colony is well known for its traditional performers, puppeteers and artisans, and its poor housing conditions have attracted considerable media attention and promises of housing improvement by politicians.

Unfortunately, of the eight firms who met the technical qualification criteria, seven backed out because of the cash crunch faced by most real estate firms during the market slowdown in 2009 (India Today 2009). As a result the development licence was awarded to the remaining firm of Raheja Developers Ltd, one of the leading real estate developers in the country, at the bid amount of Rs 61.1 million (USD 1.4 million) for the total land area of 5.22 hectares. The qualifying firm is required to construct 2,800 homes of 30 sq. metres each for the existing slum households in 10-storey blocks complete with services and hand them over to DDA free of cost. The firm is also expected to provide transit housing on land provided by DDA for the two years during which the project is under construction. The developers will be permitted to build 10% houses for sale in the market. In addition, the higher density of housing for slum dwellers will leave about a hectare of slum land for the development of luxury housing for sale. The entire redevelopment is likely to cost three to four billion rupees (\$60 million to \$80 million).

So, as in Mumbai, here too the developer's profits from the sale of prime space are expected to cross-subsidise slum dwellers' houses and leave a profit margin which is large enough to absorb the political risks and uncertainties of building for slum dwellers. Evidence from private development in the vicinity of the site shows that the apartment prices are as high as Rs 67,000/ sq m (USD 1500/ sq m) of built space, and the market value of one hectare of land is at least 12 times the total bid value of Rs. 61.1 million. Still, the developers estimated that the project is worth Rs 5 billion and they will barely break even (Economic Times 2009).

In the meantime, as in Mumbai, uncertainties began to surface. Firstly, finding a site close to the slum for transit accommodation has become problematic.⁹ Secondly, as in Mumbai, there was a dispute about the number of residents in Kathputli Colony, even though DDA worked with slum organisations and NGOs to agree on the numbers at the time of the survey in 2008. A second, and more thorough, survey carried out in 2010 found that the number of eligible families was about 3500. Biometric identity cards are being prepared to fix this number. The additional 700 families to be housed would add to the costs of rehabilitation and leave less space for sale. The developers negotiated with DDA for a revision of development control measures so that their profit margin is not compromised. Finally, Rahejas have been permitted to construct the tallest building in Delhi in Kathputli Colony. The Raheja Phoenix will be a 54-storey tower with a high-end residential complex having 170 apartments with about 30,000 square meters saleable area and a commercial complex having approx. 28,000 square meters saleable area (Lahiri 2012).

9. The first proposal of transit camp on cleared industrial land could not materialise as the land was in the meantime bought by a developer. The second proposal also had to be dropped because residents' welfare associations of surrounding areas strongly opposed the transit camp on the site, which had recently been cleared of encroachment for a much needed park and community centre (magicbricks.com, 2009). The third site on unused land of a sports complex was also opposed by a local NGO but the petition was quashed by the court and transit houses are being built on it.



Map of Delhi showing Kathputli Colony (Map by Gotsch) >

Image of redeveloped Kathputli Colony with Phoenix Towers in the foreground (source: www.rahejabuilders.com/pr-phoenix.asp) >>



Main street Kathputli Colony (photo: B. Banerjee)



Transit housing under construction >> (photo: B. Banerjee)

Doubts are being raised about the co-existence of wealthy families with street performers, considering the opposition of middle class residents to even a transit camp. Doubts are also being raised by NGOs about the suitability of multi-storeyed housing for street performers. But interviews in Kathputli Colony by the author show that residents are not averse to moving into high rise apartments, which are in many cases smaller than their slum houses. For them mobility and safety are more important than the house itself, considering their livelihood requirements.¹⁰ For this reason the leaders had readily agreed to the initial proposal placed before them by the project partners. The residents know that high rise living will pose a number of challenges for them, but they have not come together to discuss these. Neither DDA nor the developers have broached the subject of recurring costs of services and operation and maintenance of common facilities or who will bear them.¹¹

It will be critical for DDA to ensure that the community is consulted and involved and that the residents' welfare is not subsumed by market considerations. This would require the organisation to switch from its long standing role as planner and builder to a partner working with slum dwellers and the private sector. Institutional reorientation would be critical to scale up such initiatives. A more fundamental question in the case of Delhi is why private developers need to be involved in the first place, unless the purpose is to make central lands available to them. A clearer alternative seems to be for public institutions to cross subsidise slum redevelopment using the provisions of the Land Policy. The creation of the Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board¹² in 2010 is seen as a good opportunity to more easily facilitate city wide slum redevelopment and upgrading, learning from and building on past experience.

Ahmedabad: Sabarmati riverfront development

Unlike the Mumbai and Delhi examples, The Sabarmati Riverfront Development Project (SRDP) in Ahmedabad is not an exclusive slum redevelopment project but an initiative by the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) to develop the Sabarmati riverfront. Ahmedabad is the fastest growing city in India, with a metropolitan population of 5.5 million in 2011. An estimated 20% of this population consists of slum dwellers, many of them living along the Sabarmati River.

It has long been acknowledged that appropriate development of the riverfront can turn the river into a major asset, which can improve the quality of environment and life in Ahmedabad and improve the efficiency of its infrastructure. The Rs.15 billion (USD 15 million) SRDP currently being implemented includes walkway and road development along the river, promenades, gardens and parks, golf course, water sports facilities, river training works and sewage treatment plants. The project assures safe and permanent housing with secure tenure and infrastructure services to affected slum dwellers, who now live in life threatening conditions along the

river bed. It is proposed to relocate them within 2-3 km of the present location so as not to disrupt livelihoods (AMC 1997; Umarji 2007).

The project has been planned on a self financing model on public land. In May 1997, AMC established a special purpose vehicle, the Sabarmati River Front Development Corporation Limited (SRFDCL), to carry out the project. Technical assistance for planning and implementation is provided by Environment Planning Collaborative (epc), a local firm. The project has been planned on the self-financing model. Of the total 168 hectares of land reclaimed, 85 per cent will be used by AMC for public use and the remaining 15% will be leased out to private developers for a new business district, retail commerce, and luxury housing. The revenue from this 15% is expected to cover the cost of the project, including slum rehabilitation, implemented by SRFDCL (Nandy 2010).



10. The original settlers were puppeteers from the state of Rajasthan, but over the years groups of craftsmen and street performers from other regions of the country have also joined. About 20 years ago a theatre person helped them to establish their own organisation and get performance contracts, which they now manage independently and have even toured other countries. They travel to different places to perform and sometimes return late at night. For this Kathputli Colony is perfectly located in the Shadipur area of West Delhi on a well lit main road, between a metro station and a bus terminus.

11. The observations are based on discussions with DDA field staff and NGOs working in Kathputli Colony and interviews with community leaders as part of the author's ongoing research on private sector involvement in low income housing in Indian cities.

12. dedicated to shelter, social and economic development of the poor

< Ahmedabad map showing slums (source: Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation)

As in Dharavi, counting of slum dwellers is the bone of contention in Ahmedabad as well. When Gujarat state government transferred land to AMC in 2003 it assumed that the number of slum households to be rehabilitated remained unchanged from 1997, when the plan was approved. However, a survey commissioned by SRFDCL to update the figures in 2003 found that the number of slum households along the river bank had increased from 10,000 to 14,555 and those to be rehabilitated from 4,400 to 5,964. Activists working with the Riverfront Dwellers' Association insisted that the project underestimates the number requiring rehabilitation, a charge that the project denied. After initial relocations in 2005, the resettlement issue has been taken to court several times on account of underestimation, disruption of livelihoods, and distant location of some of the resettlement sites. Even though this process has delayed the project, it has resulted in more acceptable rehabilitation targets. In its latest order of 5 July 2011 the Gujarat High Court has advanced the cut off date for eligibility for resettlement from 2002 to 2007 and ordered AMC to provide housing for 10,283 families.



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Unlike the Mumbai and Delhi examples, SRFDCL is using a combination of grants and loans to implement the project. The rehabilitation component is funded through federal and state government grants from JNNURM and loans from Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO). The loans are supposed to be amortised with part of the amount raised from land leases to the private sector. The Sabarmati Riverfront Development Project is now expected to be completed by mid-2012. The project has faced a number of delays because of floods, earthquakes, technical problems, and obtaining environmental clearance. The contentious slum rehabilitation issue caused the worst delays in slum re-housing and also other works proposed to be located on original slum sites. In conclusion

The three examples clearly demonstrate that however well considered the technical and managerial aspects may be, these projects are fraught with uncertainty. They are placed in complex and fluid urban land markets, and are also subject to social and political forces which make claims to city space. For the same reason well intentioned policies for making cities globally competitive and at the same time inclusive are likely to be difficult to realise.

Even the technical solutions adopted raise important questions. There seems to be a tacit acceptance of high rise housing for rehabilitating slum dwellers as a means to achieve high densities and make slum land available to developers. Most slum dwellers also seem to accept this solution if that is the only way of continuing to live in the same place. But it has to be borne in mind that 65% of Mumbai's population, the slum dwellers, occupy only 12.5% of city land (Down to Earth 2007). With schemes like SRA and DRP this ratio will go down further. It needs to be debated whether this is what a slum free city means. Likewise, the essential costs of high rise living – running lifts, pumping water, removing garbage – may be unaffordable for the poorest and environmental conditions of rehabilitation housing may remain very poor.¹³ So it is possible that the poor have to pay a lot for living in free houses. This opens up the need to revisit work done in the past showing that very high densities are possible with walk up housing as alternatives to high rise (Cf. Arif: 267). Again, the notion of housing as separate from work place in these projects is very different from the reality of Indian cities, in which the close work-home relationship is a necessary socio-economic strategy, a point that all three cases are forced to consider in order to move ahead.

There is also the dilemma of counting slum dwellers. While it has always been difficult to fix numbers in the constantly changing environment of slums, numbers are critical to establish claims and benefits. The examples demonstrate that the notion of a cut off date in the past for establishing eligibility for resettlement housing is problematic, especially when the lapsed time between project conception and implementation is large. Remarkably, in all three examples the controversy around numbers has become a major hurdle in implementation, bringing to the surface the lack of rigour and transparency in the planning process even though the stakes are very high for all parties. While public institutions

tend to revise projects to accommodate increased numbers, private developers are reluctant to do so at the cost of their profit. This has perhaps led to the unanimity in government, private sector and NGO priority for building up to date slum information.¹⁴

In addition to this, the institutional terrain of special purpose vehicles and para-statal organisations which are mandated to manage mega projects and land as real estate are sidelining local government as well as concerns of slum residents. Then again, these concerns have entered the decision-making arena in different and forceful ways making a case for including slum dwellers in the first place. Certainly, civil society groups had considerable influence on the final outcomes in Mumbai and Ahmedabad and can be expected to grow in influence on other cities in demanding a fair deal for the poor. How far slum redevelopment undertaken by private sector players benefits the poor will depend on the negotiating power of civil society as well as public institutions. In any case public institutions will have to walk the tight rope between commercial interests and ensuring better conditions of living and livelihood for the poor.

As Indian government policy is now explicitly oriented towards harnessing private investment to supplement the government's efforts for moving towards the goal of slum-free cities, lessons need to be drawn from the initiatives already taken up. While it is true that the three cases presented show budget neutral ways of providing secure housing for slum dwellers, the tactics seem to be confined to a context of high property values and great demand for city land. The private sector may only be prepared to undertake slum redevelopment in large cities, where land prices are high and where land in desired locations is occupied by informal settlements. Paradoxically, profitability provides the opportunities as it sets the limits. It is understandable that market based approaches work best when real estate is booming and property values are high: conditions which go against equity and inclusion of the poor. Additionally, however effective the approaches may be, they do very little to change historically inequitable land use policies and regulatory frameworks, which are responsible for exclusion of the poor in the first place.

13. This was one of the findings from the end of project evaluation of Mumbai Pavement Dwellers Urban Renewal Mission carried out by the author for Homeless International in June 2011

14. The RAY programme has a significant budget for GIS based mapping and survey of slums.

Acronyms and abbreviations

AMC	- Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation
DDA	- Delhi Development Authority
DRP	- Dharavi Redevelopment Plan/Project
FSI	- Floor Space Index
HUDCO	- Housing and Urban Development Corporation
MHADA	- Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority
PPP	- Public Private Participation
SRA	- Slum Rehabilitation Authority/ Act
SRS	- Slum Rehabilitation Scheme
TDR	- Transfer of Development Rights
RAY	- Rajiv Avas Yojana (National Programme for Slum Free Cities)
JNNURM	- Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission
SRFDCL	- Sabarmati River Front Development Corporation Limited

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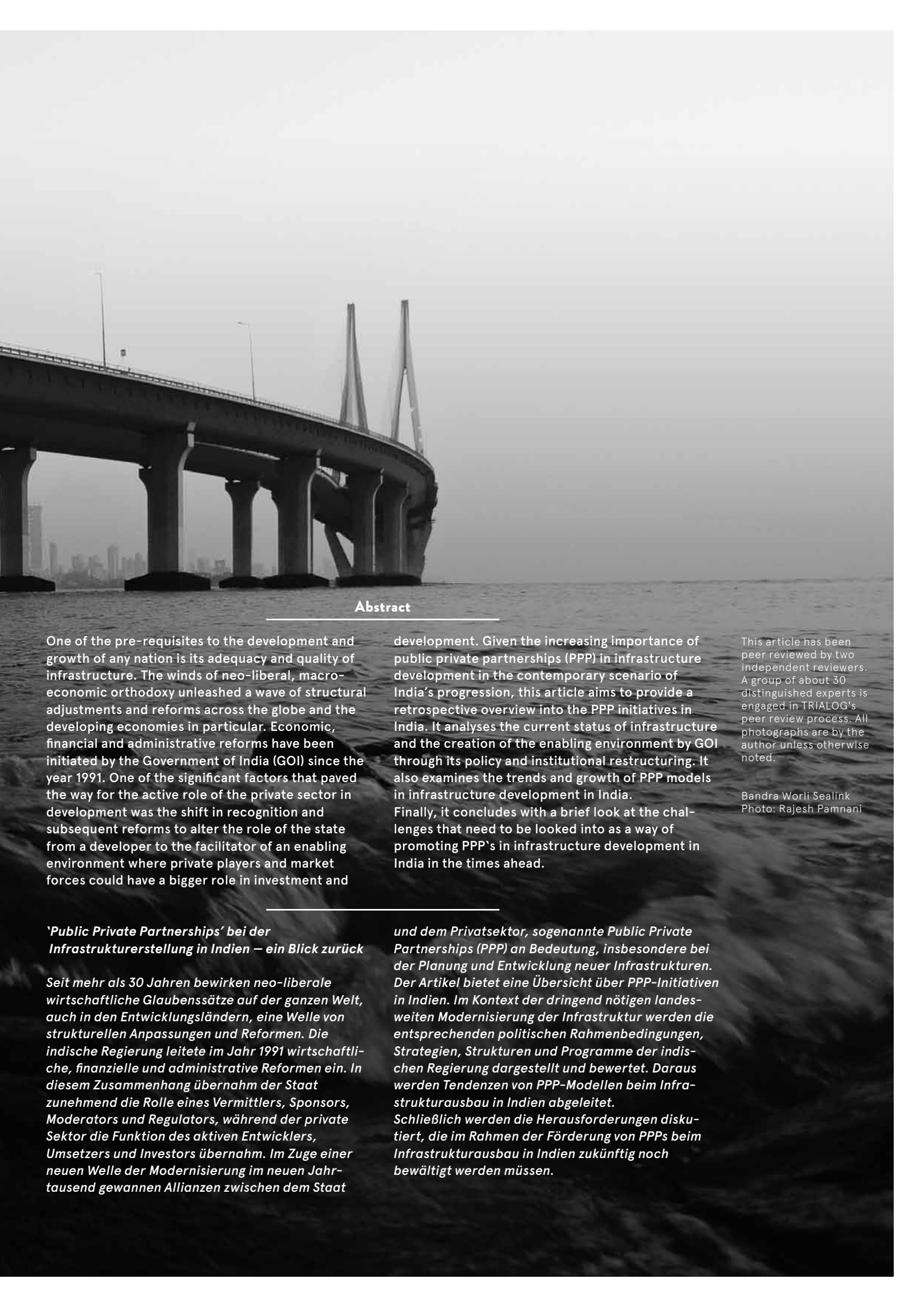
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PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS IN INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

A RETROSPECTIVE OVERVIEW

△
Kiran Sandhu



Abstract

One of the pre-requisites to the development and growth of any nation is its adequacy and quality of infrastructure. The winds of neo-liberal, macro-economic orthodoxy unleashed a wave of structural adjustments and reforms across the globe and the developing economies in particular. Economic, financial and administrative reforms have been initiated by the Government of India (GOI) since the year 1991. One of the significant factors that paved the way for the active role of the private sector in development was the shift in recognition and subsequent reforms to alter the role of the state from a developer to the facilitator of an enabling environment where private players and market forces could have a bigger role in investment and

development. Given the increasing importance of public private partnerships (PPP) in infrastructure development in the contemporary scenario of India's progression, this article aims to provide a retrospective overview into the PPP initiatives in India. It analyses the current status of infrastructure and the creation of the enabling environment by GOI through its policy and institutional restructuring. It also examines the trends and growth of PPP models in infrastructure development in India. Finally, it concludes with a brief look at the challenges that need to be looked into as a way of promoting PPP's in infrastructure development in India in the times ahead.

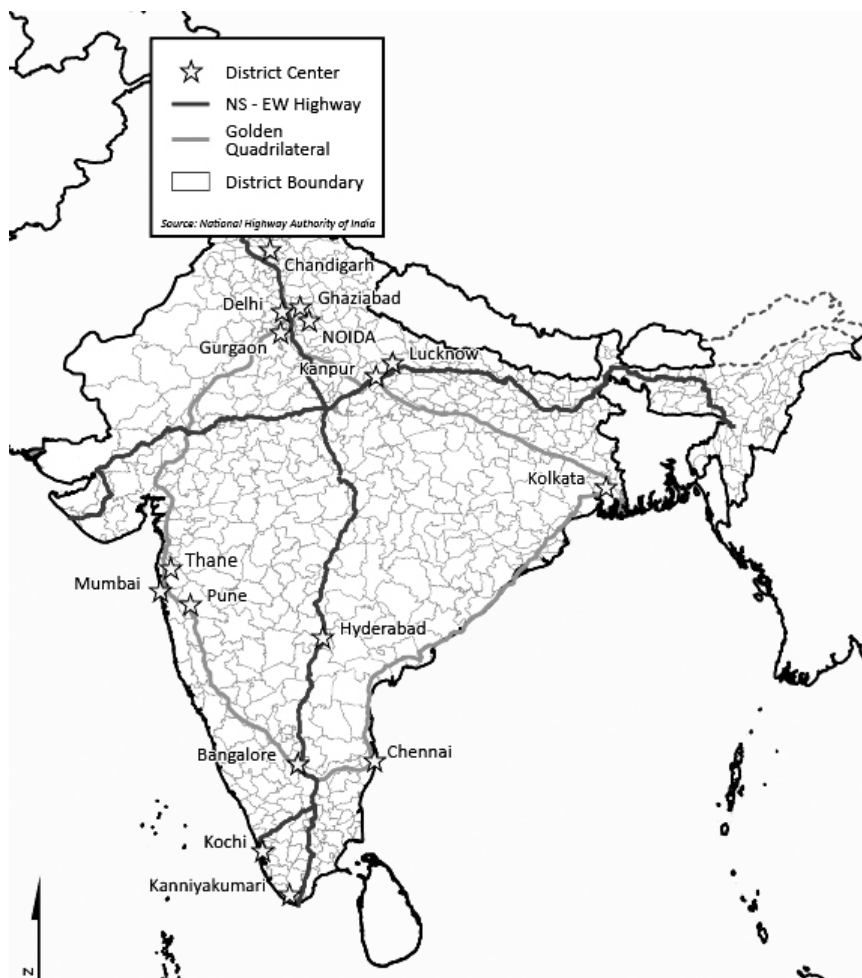
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Bandra Worli Sealink
Photo: Rajesh Pamnani

'Public Private Partnerships' bei der Infrastrukturerstellung in Indien – ein Blick zurück

Seit mehr als 30 Jahren bewirken neo-liberale wirtschaftliche Glaubenssätze auf der ganzen Welt, auch in den Entwicklungsländern, eine Welle von strukturellen Anpassungen und Reformen. Die indische Regierung leitete im Jahr 1991 wirtschaftliche, finanzielle und administrative Reformen ein. In diesem Zusammenhang übernahm der Staat zunehmend die Rolle eines Vermittlers, Sponsors, Moderators und Regulators, während der private Sektor die Funktion des aktiven Entwicklers, Umsetzers und Investors übernahm. Im Zuge einer neuen Welle der Modernisierung im neuen Jahrtausend gewannen Allianzen zwischen dem Staat

und dem Privatsektor, sogenannte Public Private Partnerships (PPP) an Bedeutung, insbesondere bei der Planung und Entwicklung neuer Infrastrukturen. Der Artikel bietet eine Übersicht über PPP-Initiativen in Indien. Im Kontext der dringend nötigen landesweiten Modernisierung der Infrastruktur werden die entsprechenden politischen Rahmenbedingungen, Strategien, Strukturen und Programme der indischen Regierung dargestellt und bewertet. Daraus werden Tendenzen von PPP-Modellen beim Infrastrukturausbau in Indien abgeleitet. Schließlich werden die Herausforderungen diskutiert, die im Rahmen der Förderung von PPPs beim Infrastrukturausbau in Indien zukünftig noch bewältigt werden müssen.



Golden quadrilateral
(Source: National Highway
Authority of India)

Prologue

The world's urban population continues to grow faster than the total population of the world. The proportion of the population that is urban is expected to rise to 61% by 2030. Almost all the growth of the world's total population between 2000 and 2030 is expected to be absorbed by the urban areas of the developing countries (United Nations 2008). The unrelenting urbanization accompanied with persistent globalization is posing grim challenges in provision of infrastructure in the developing world. It goes without saying that infrastructure bottlenecks are the main impediments hampering the progress of the developing world economies. Given the inadequate performances of the public sector institutions and in the wake of the implementation of urban reforms agenda¹, many governments have initiated a move towards privatization of infrastructure development traditionally regarded as the domain of public sector institutions.

The last decade of the twentieth century, therefore, has witnessed the adoption of the neoliberal economic orthodoxy that led to structural adjustments and reforms amongst the world economies². The Government of India (GOI) has embarked on Economic, financial and administrative reforms in the year 1991³. One of the significant factors was the paradigm shift to adjust the role of the state from a developer to the facilitator while private players and market forces could play a wider role in investment and development. The reforms created the fostering environment for the initiation of public private partnerships (PPP) in infrastructure development in the post liberalization scenario in India. However despite achieving impressive growth rates since the early 1990s, India's infrastructure continues to remain a serious issue (Lakshmanan 2008, GOI 2008, Harris and Tadimalla 2008, World Bank 2006). Thus, the PPP initiatives that started with faltering steps during the initiation years have slowly but steadily moved forward and found applications in different sectors. They are now largely recognized as essential in the GOI's agenda for infrastructure acceleration and development. With at least a decade and a half's experience of the development and use of the PPP models⁴ in infrastructure development in India, more so in the decade beginning from 2001 onwards, it can be aptly said that while PPP's might have met with a varying degree of success (and there might still be road blocks and barriers in their progression and result delivery), they are certainly here to stay.

1. Under the neo-liberal economic paradigms, donor institutions such as the World Bank emphasized institutional, financial and regulatory reforms by the public sector to enable the private sector to play a major role in urban infrastructure development and provisions.

2. Cf. to the article of Peter Gotsch in this volume

3. The reforms were the outcome of a balance of payment crisis that led to the shift to liberalization policies and adoption of reform packages, pushed forward by the IMF and initiated by the Current Prime Minister of India Dr Manmohan Singh who was then the Finance Minister.

4. It may however be mentioned here that some of the early ppp experiences in India can be traced back to the nineteenth century notably The Great Indian Peninsular Company operating between Bombay and Thane in 1853 the Bombay Tramway Company running tramway services in Bombay (1874), and the power generation and distribution companies in Bombay and Calcutta operating in the beginning of the 20th century (GOI&ADB 2006).

Status of India's infrastructure and challenges

According to Capvent and IDFC⁵ (2008), if India were to have an Achilles heel, it would have to be its infrastructure. It is a grim reality that despite maintaining an impressive growth rate and being the country with the fourth highest GDP⁶ in the world (GOI&ADB 2006), India's infrastructure continues to be the stumbling block⁷ and lags behind when compared with other fast growing economies such as China and Brazil (Lakshmanan 2008).

Also to be borne in mind is the Indian demographic scene wherein as per the 2001 Census of India, out of the total population of 1028.6 million, 286.1 million lived in urban areas (i.e. 27.8% of the total population). The decadal growth (1991-2001) of urban population was 31.2%, and it is projected that by 2030, 40% of population in the country would be urban. The rapid march towards urbanization is clearly evident and though the concerns related with urbanization are enormous, research (Vaidya 2009,) also points out that there is a positive correlation between urbanization and per capita income growth. However, in order to capitalize upon the positive benefits from urbanization it becomes essential to promote productive activities that can generate external economies. It is also imperative to have the mechanism in place to effectively mitigate the negative outfalls of fast economic progression⁸ by focusing upon infrastructural augmentations and its equitable access so that the benefits of economic growth can filter to all levels of income hierarchy and especially the poor (ibid, 2009). Infrastructure can keep pace with the current rate of India's urbanization only if the investments in the same are scaled up significantly from the current level of 5% of the GDP to a minimum of 9% during the eleventh Plan period (GOI 2006). This can only happen if the private sector is harnessed effectively into contributing a significant proportion of investment towards infrastructure development.

Table 1 highlights the gaps in vital national physical infrastructure required for growth and sustenance of the Indian economy. India's physical network in terms of roads, railways, airports and ports continues to suffer from low capacity, low coverage, and low quality. 40% of India villages still do not have access to all-weather roads. Airport and seaport infrastructure and train corridors are also highly strained under capacity constraints. The power scenario is also equally alarming wherein over 40% of India's population, mostly rural, does not have access to electricity. Despite the increase in installed generation capacity, shortages in normal and peak energy demand have been around 8% and 12% on an average between 2000 and 2004¹². Less than 20% of India's enormous hydroelectric potential has been tapped. Transmission and distribution losses remain very high, at around 40%, as compared to other developing countries, where they are less than 10%. In terms of irrigation the infrastructure for storage is also inadequate as a consequence of vast surface water potential that remains untapped, affecting crop and agriculture productivity of the nation (GOI 2007). While the telecom sector has scripted a success story, there are still impediments¹³ (Lakshmanan 2008) to be overcome in order to achieve the full potential of this sector.

The Expert Group on Infrastructure attempted the first estimation of the investments required for infrastructure development (India Infrastructure Development Report 1996). It was estimated that in order to develop appropriate infrastructure the investments in infrastructure should be stepped up from 5.5% of GDP in 1995-96 to 8.5% of the GDP in 2005-2006. However the actual investment in infrastructure hovered just around 5% of the GDP by the end of the tenth Plan period (2002-2007). Subsequent to it the eleventh Plan places the investment requirement at about US \$ 515 billion by the end of the plan period (2012), which is higher

5. Infrastructure Development Finance Company

6. Based upon purchasing power parity.

7. The lack of infrastructure in fact is listed as one of the major constraints in India's ability to achieve 9-10% growth in GDP, the rate which is required to make a significant difference to improving the living conditions and achieve equitable growth in the next decade (GOI 2008).

8. The negative outfalls such as city congestion, unsustainable transport systems, spiralling land and housing prices, etc.

9. The Golden Quadrilateral is a highway project managed by the national Highway Authority of India connecting Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata and Chennai forming a quadrilateral. It consists of building 5,846 km of four/six lane highways at the cost of US\$ 12.315 billion. Till Feb 2010 5,766 km of the project had been completed.

10. Greenfield refers to a project that lacks any significant constraint imposed by prior works on that site, for e.g. new factories, power plants, airports in Greenfield/ vacant lands.

11. CAD refers to Command Area Development Programme launched by GOI in 1974-75 with the main purpose of improving the utilization of irrigation potential and optimizing agriculture productivity. The project is now implemented by the state governments under the name of CADWM (Command Area Development and Water Management) Programme since 2004.

12. India's average electricity consumption of 359 kWh in 1996-2000 was far behind other countries such as China (717 kWh) and Malaysia (2378kWh). (GOI&ADB, 2006).

13. Issues such as allocation of spectrums, tariff rationalization and the challenge of mass coverage in rural areas are some of the impediments in the telecom sector.

Table 1. India's infrastructure deficit and eleventh Plan targets (2007-2012)
(Source: Eleventh Five Year Plan Document, Planning Commission, Government of India)

Infrastructure sector	Deficit	Eleventh Plan targets
Roads/Highways	65,590 km of national highways comprise of only 2% of the network. It carries 40% of the total road traffic. Only 12% of the national highway is four laned, 50% is two laned and 38% is single laned.	6 lane about 6,500 km in the golden quadrilateral project ⁹ , 4 lane 6,736 km north-south to east west, 4 lane 20,000kms, 2 lane 20,000 km, 1,000 km highway
Ports	Inadequate berths and poor rail/road connectivity	New capacity; 485 million metric tonnes in major ports, 345 million metric tonnes in minor ports
Airports	Inadequate runways; aircraft handling capacity, parking space and terminal buildings.	Modernize 4 metro and 35 non-metro airports, 3 greenfield ¹⁰ in North East, 7 other Greenfield airports
Railways	Old technology; saturated routes, slow speeds (freight: 22 kmph; passengers: 50 kmph);	10,300 km of new rail line, 10,000 km gauge conversion, modernize 21 stations, dedicated freight corridors
Power	11% peaking deficit, 7% energy shortage, 40% transmission and distribution losses, absence of viable competition	Add 78,000 megawatt. Access to all rural households
Irrigation	1123 billion cubic meters utilizable water resources, yet near crisis in per capita availability and storage, only 43% of the net sown area irrigated	Develop 16 million hectares major and minor works, 10.25 million hectares CAD ¹¹ , 2.18 million hectares flood control.
Telecom/Information Technology	Only 18% of market accessed, obsolete hardware; acute human resource shortage	Reach 600 million subscribers, 200 million in rural areas, 20 million broadband, 40 million internet

then 136.4% of the anticipated investment in the tenth Plan and would mean about 9% of the GDP. Based upon the above it can be gauged that infrastructure development by itself is a herculean task and beyond the capability of the government to meet this challenge by itself. Private investment and application of various models of the PPP appear to be the only viable option to develop and maintain infrastructure in order to continue India's growth momentum.

Impetus to public private partnerships: The government's initiatives to strengthen institutional frameworks

In its bid to attract private sector investment in the infrastructure development process and create a conducive environment for PPPs¹⁴, the Government of India initiated several measures in its institutional, financial and economic framework as a part of the reform agenda pursued since 1991. The first generation of liberalization reforms included the implementation of the 74th constitutional amendment in 1992 that aimed at decentralizing of power and strengthening the urban local bodies administratively and financially to be able to augment internal funding and attract external capital from private sources and aid/financing institutions. The second generation of reforms around 2003 was more directly oriented towards creating and strengthening the foundations of PPPs in the country. The federal Model Municipal Law (MML) of 2003 aimed to guide States to enact municipal legislations and provide the legislative framework for implementation of the GOI urban sector reform agenda.

In August 2004, the GOI constituted the Committee on Infrastructure (CoI) under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister of India and with the objective of initiating policies that would ensure creation of world-class infrastructure. Since its inception the CoI has been giving direction to the entire policy framework for accelerating growth in infrastructure sectors through PPPs and in this context several institutional, procedural and regulatory reforms have been undertaken.

Based upon the experiences of the PPPs to date, the GOI realized that many infrastructure projects also involve externalities that are not adequately captured by the profits of the project sponsors (GOI 2010). Therefore the GOI initiated a Viability Gap Funding (VGF) scheme in 2006 with the objective of raising the financial viability of infrastructure

projects, which are justified by their rate of economic returns but do not pass the threshold of financial returns. Up to 40% of the financing needs of such projects could be met through the VGFs¹⁵. An internal ministerial Empowered Committee has been established for conducting appraisals for availing the VGF grant.

In 2009 the Cabinet Committee on Infrastructure (CCI) was constituted to review and approve infrastructure related policies and projects and to decide upon financial, institutional and legal measures to stimulate investment flows into the infrastructure sectors. To simplify and streamline the approval and appraisal process for PPP projects, a Public Private Partnership Appraisal Committee (PPPAC) has been founded. A PPP cell in the Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance and a PPP appraisal unit (PPPAU) under the planning commission have also been established to conduct appraisal studies and propose procedural and structural improvements for enhancing the PPP performances. The India Infrastructure Finance Company Limited (IIFCL) has been set up as a non-banking company for providing long-term loans for financing infrastructure projects that may involve long gestation periods. The IIFCL can provide financial assistance up to 20% of the project costs through direct lending to the project handling companies and also by refinancing banks and financial institutions. In addition to this the Central Ministry of Finance has created the India Infrastructure Project Development Fund (IIPDF) for supporting the development of reliable PPP projects¹⁶. Other fiscal incentives such as tax holidays have also been initiated by GOI such as a 100% exemption on income tax for eligible infrastructure projects for a ten year time period. In order to streamline the PPP formulation and operational procedure, detailed model concession agreements have been prepared for all major infrastructure sectors by the planning commission.

In context of the sectoral level framework, central level regulatory agencies such as the National Highway Authority of India (NHAI), Rail Vikas Nigam Limited, Telecom Regulatory Authority of India and Central Electricity Regulatory Commission have been set up with specified roles and functions¹⁷ to enhance the work and growth of PPPs in the sectoral perspective.

Regarding the state level perspectives on PPP development and applications, there is an inter-state variation. Some states such as Punjab, Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat have come out with legislation

14.

In terms of definition, the Planning Commission of India states that "the ppp is a mode of implementing government programmes/schemes in partnership with the private sector. It provides the opportunity for the private sector participation in financing, designing, construction, operation and maintenance of public sector programme and projects" (Lakshmanan 2008: 41).

15.

The 40% break up comprises of a grant assistance of up to 20% of capital costs by the central government to ppp projects undertaken by any central ministry, state government, statutory entity or local body. In addition to this a grant of up to 20% of the project costs can be provided by the sponsoring ministry, state government or project authority.

16.

The IIPDF would assist up to 75% of the project development costs. The assistance from IIPDF would ordinarily be in the form of an interest free loan. On successful completion of the bidding process, the project development expenditure would be recovered from the winning company.

17.

Such as developing and modifying model concession agreements.

Street conditions in Hyderabad (Photo: Peter Gotsch)



to give impetus to infrastructure development and PPP applications. For example, The Punjab Infrastructure (Development and Regulation) Act 2002 clearly defines the type of infrastructure projects and the mechanism for ensuring their development in the state. The states with legislation have set up specialized infrastructure development boards to oversee the applications of the provisions of the legislation. There are also examples from states such as Karnataka, Rajasthan, West Bengal and Uttaranchal which have not passed legislation but have set up a sectoral facilitation mechanism to develop and regulate the development of infrastructure through PPP models. For example the Rajasthan Project Development Corporation (PDCOR) is a joint venture between the Government of the state of Rajasthan and the Infrastructure Leasing and Finance Services Limited (IL&FS), a private company which plays the role of facilitating private investment in infrastructure.

The eleventh Five Year Plan targets at least 30% of financing of infrastructure needs to be met from the private sector and therefore stresses upon the creation of a supportive investor-friendly environment including bankable projects that could attract private funding. The above write-up demonstrates that the GOI has maintained a steady pace of initiatives, reforms and measures encouraging the application of the PPP models. While there have been significant differences between state governments in terms of establishing procedures and mechanisms for PPP operations, there is a growing recognition amongst state governments of the benefits of the PPP strategy (GOI 2010). Accordingly, the number of states across the country implementing reforms is constantly growing.

PPP initiatives in India

Since the initiation of the reforms by the GOI, the process of development of Infrastructure through PPP model has been on the roll. In addition, private participation gained momentum by the corporatization of Public Sector Undertakings such as the Gas Authority of India Limited, the Oil and Natural Gas Commission, and Indian Oil Corporation (Lakshmanan 2008). According to the Public-Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility (PPIAF) (World Bank 2010), most of the infrastructure projects with private participation have been management/lease contracts, concession, and divestiture or Greenfield projects¹⁸. Within these categories the maximum investment was attracted by the Greenfield based PPPs followed by concession based sub type of PPP models in infrastructure development in the country (ibid, 2010).

Table 2 shows the bi-annual and sector wise number of PPPs beginning from the early 1990s, the initiation of liberalization policies. In the first decade from 1990 to 2000, PPP models were few in number. Numbers have increased steadily till 2008. The largest number of projects has been in the transport sector amounting to 53.11% of the total followed by energy which comprised 33.53%. Notably, PPP in infrastructure development in India has gained momentum only in the second half of the ongoing decade (Lakshmanan 2008)¹⁹. This can also be

Table 2: Number of PPP Projects in India (By sectors 1990-2008)
(Source: Compiled from World Bank PPIAF database on India, 2010)

Year of financial closure	Energy	Telecom	Transport	Water & Sewerage	Total
1990-92	3	0	1	0	4
1992-94	4	4	1	0	9
1994-96	12	16	4	0	32
1996-98	9	6	14	0	29
1998-00	16	0	14	1	31
2000-02	6	8	12	1	27
2002-04	15	0	23	1	39
2004-06	19	0	66	1	86
2006-08	29	0	44	7	80
Total	113	34	179	11	337
% share	33.53	10.08	53.11	3.26	100

Table 3: Total Investments in PPP projects in India in US \$ Million (By Sectors, 1992 - 2008)
(Source: Compiled and computed from World Bank PPIAF database on India, 2010)

Financial Investment	Energy	Telecom	Transport	Water & Sewerage	Total	Growth in %
1990-92	627	0	2	0	628	
1992-94	1,362	97	125	0	1,584	152.22
1994-96	2,561	1,912	182	0	4,655	193.87
1996-98	2,036	4,500	701	0	7,237	55.46
1998-00	4,454	1,727	497	0	6,678	-7.72
2000-02	621	8,090	1,058	2	9,771	46.31
2002-04	4,979	5,699	1,667	111	12,456	27.47
2004-06	6,220	13,472	11,155	0	30,847	147.64
2006-08	23,008	17,432	9,380	218	50,038	62.21
Total	45,868	52,929	24,767	331	123,895	
% share	37.021	42.720	19.990	0.267	100	

attributed to the fact that the institutional and legal frameworks for PPP operations have largely come up only since 2003-04 onwards.

Table 3 indicates the sector wise and total distribution and the growth of investments into the PPP projects. There has been a rapid growth in terms of the percent increase of investments. Baring the year 2000 where a negative growth trend of investment was witnessed primarily due to negative externalities, all other years have shown a double or triple digit positive growth in investment in the PPP projects. Sector wise it's the telecom sector that has received the highest investment to date, holding a current share of 42.72% followed by the energy sector at 37.02% and transport sector at 19.99% respectively. With the GOI efforts to scale up the pace and investments, it appears likely that the volume of investment will increase in times ahead.

Table 4 indicates the PPP projects both under implementation and in the process of development at centre and state levels. Combining the projects under implementation and in pipeline, the road sector takes a major share of 59.67% of the total projects followed by the rail and the port sector respectively. In terms of investment, again the road

18. In management and lease contracts the private player takes over the management of a state owned enterprise for a fixed period while ownership and investment decisions remain with the state. In concession the private player takes over the management of a state owned enterprise for a given period of time during which it also assumes significant investment risks. In Greenfield a private player builds and operates a new facility for a fixed period as specified in the contract. In case of divestiture, the private player can buy an equity stake in a state owned enterprise through sale or public offering.

19. In particular when compared to other emerging market economies such as Brazil and China.

Table 4: Total Number of PPP projects under implementation and in pipeline in national and state sectors, 2009 (Source: Compiled and computed from Compendium of PPP Projects in Infrastructure, Planning Commission, GOI, 2010)

Sector	Projects under implementation		Projects in pipeline		Total			
	No. of projects	Project Cost (US \$ Million)	No. of projects	Project Cost (US \$ Million)	No. of projects	%	Project Cost (US \$ Million)	%
Central level								
National Highways	64	8906.811	81	16223.781	145	59.67	25130.592	55.34
Major Ports	13	2233.344	29	3924.344	42	17.28	6157.688	13.56
Airports	2	3990.437			2	0.82	3990.437	8.78
Railways	4	1002.444	50	9126.554	54	22.22	10128.998	22.30
Total	83	16133.036	160	29274.679	243	100	45407.715	100
State Level								
Roads	69	12934.863	86	8390.607	155	33.62	21325.47	31.89
Ports	37	10955.053	18	3705.451	55	11.93	14660.504	21.92
Airports	1	106.259	13	875.571	14	3.03	981.830	1.46
Railways	1	106.259	3	66.305	4	0.86	172.564	0.25
Power	8	6033.79	34	13182.871	42	9.11	19216.661	28.74
Urban Infrastructure	74	4194.666	67	741.366	141	30.58	4936.032	7.38
Miscellaneous sectors	19	776.326	31	4788.864	50	10.84	5565.19	8.32
Total	209	35,107.216	252	31751.035	461	100	66858.251	100
Grand Total (centre + state)	292	51,240.251	412	80025.715	704		131265.96	

sector leads at 55.34% and is followed by the rail sector at 22.30%. Energy and telecom sector are not having any projects at the moment at centre level and therefore not indicated. At state level again the road sector leads in terms of number comprising of both implementation and projects in pipeline with the share of 33.62% followed by the urban infrastructure projects at 30.58%. In terms of investment, the sector that attracted maximum investment at state level was again roads at 31.89% followed by power at 28.74%. From the table it can be gauged that the road sector currently seems to be the chief attraction for PPP projects and one of the reasons is the development of well streamlined and implemented guidelines and model concession agreements regulated by the National Highway Authority of India. The miscellaneous sector refers to the social sector. It may be said that the PPPs in this sector are still in nascent stage of development and in this context guidelines and concession agreements are being framed to attract increasing private players and investments into the social sectors as well.

In terms of the PPP scenario at state level it may be said that many states have also ventured into undertaking PPP models to develop infrastructure in the states on the patterns followed at the central level. According to GOI (2010), the states leading in PPP projects in infrastructure are Andhra Pradesh followed by Rajasthan and Gujarat and Maharashtra. States such as Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh have also been on the forefront in creating a conducive legislative and institutional framework to enhance the investment climate in these states and therefore have been more successful in attracting PPPs into various infrastructure development initiatives located within these states.

Major hurdles

The above analysis reveals that there has been a steady progress of the PPP model in infrastructure development. At the same time several challenges constrain the operation and development of the PPP models.

These challenges involve tariff settings and adjustments, transparency issues, regulatory independence or dispute over contractual provisions and risk sharing (Lakshmanan 2008). High degrees of economic externalities in the case of public infrastructure and the equally high risks involved in developing and operating the projects make it difficult to appropriate returns from their investments. The long gestation period of infrastructure projects require sustainable financial as well as operational capabilities. Therefore, there is reluctance in both the public and private sectors to absorb all the costs and assume all the risks of building and operating these assets alone. Since the private sector takes the risk of non-performance of assets and realizes its returns if the assets perform, the PPP process needs to involve a comprehensive risk appraisal as also clear cut risk allocation framework. There have been cases of project failures resulting from the lack of proper mechanisms for conducting project appraisals (GOI 2010). As such, projects have resulted in failing to reach



Hyderabad PPP projects from industrial and housing estates to the airport and the ring road. (Drawing: Peter Gotsch)

1. Cyberabad Development Authority
 2. HITECH-City
 3. Lanco Hills
 4. Outer Ring Road Phase 1
 5. Airport Development Authority
- : SEZ/IT-Park
□: Integrated Township

financial closures and hence their objectives while causing a loss of confidence to the private stakeholder in terms of security of investment and palpable gains.

A key impediment to successful implementation of projects in the Indian context has also been the absence of rigorous project preparation by the Government Organizations. One of the major challenges has been the inability to create credible and well structured projects where PPP initiatives could yield potential gains for all stakeholders. Many of the projects bid out by the government have been inadequately structured and were found to be unsuitable for PPP at a later stage (MOF&ADB 2006). Prefeasibility reports prepared by the public sector authorities have often been inadequate for the bidders to raise capital for funding the proposed project. Therefore inadequate project development has often resulted in inappropriately defined projects, lacunae in contractual documentation, poor bid responses, non fulfilment of obligations, delays in project completion, cost overruns, poor quality of the assets produced and poor levels of service.

This insufficient capacity of the public sector in matters related to formulating PPPs and operationalizing them poses a critical bottleneck towards achieving an overarching success in PPP deals and deliverables. The PPP approach is seen as an approach full of complexities in a multi-stakeholder institutional arrangement and thus requires specialized capacity building to conceptualize, evaluate, structure, and appraise the projects. The required skill sets include assessing financial projections and revenues, risk appraisal and allocation, and other areas related to contract monitoring, tariff adjustments, and dispute resolution. Going a step further the MOF& ADB, 2006 also emphasize the capacity building of the public sector for being sensitive to identifying and mitigating social and environmental impacts of the PPP project, operationalizing the

poverty reduction potential of the project, managing stakeholders and public support, making use of consultants, and ensuring strong political and community support.

Financing has also emerged as a key issue in the successful operation of PPPs. Private investment in India is highly dependent on commercial banks and financing institutions. The backdrop of the global meltdown, the increased interest rates as well as tightening of credit flows to the market by banks and financing institutions is likely to have an adverse impact on PPP operations (Harris and Tadimalla 2008). Also cost and time overruns due to factors such as litigation cases and delays in land acquisition or financial uncertainties lessen the credibility and reliability quotient of the PPPs. For example out of 491 central projects in PPP model, 231 projects witnessed delays in their execution due to various reasons until March 2008 (Lakshmanan 2008). Conflicts and disagreements amongst the stakeholders and arbitrary and ad-hocism in PPP policy intervention are also responsible for the collapse of PPPs and a major hindrance in their successful operation (ibid 2008; GOI&ADB 2006).

A further issue is the question of equitable access to infrastructure developed under the PPP model. PPP models may have serious ramifications upon matters of access and equity. These pose a serious question on the deliverable context of PPPs. Research points out that private sector participation may lead to exclusion of the poor from basic infrastructure, particularly urban infrastructure such as water and sanitation (Datta 2009). The experiences of PPPs particularly in the water delivery to the urban poor have shown negative impacts as the service tends to exclude poor areas (Van Dijk 2008). Indeed it seems that unless the public sector integrates a social agenda into the PPP model framework, the poor shall continue to be priced out of the infrastructure deliverables.



< Vision of ring road Hyderabad (Suma Developers, <https://sumashaila.com>)

Conclusions



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As per forecasts, the Indian economy is poised for a bull's run well into the coming decade. In order to maintain the pace of growth the infrastructure sector requires the biggest push forward. The PPP model for infrastructure development has gained significant momentum in the ongoing decade especially. Yet there is a need to refine and evolve it further in the interest of the country's overall development. While the GOI has undertaken upon itself the task of creating an enabling environment by continuously evolving, upgrading and putting mechanisms in place for ensuring the growth of successful PPP operations, it needs to go a long way before the full potential of PPPs can be achieved.

PPPs can accomplish their goals only if they are structured and planned in detail and are managed by expert teams. Flexibility for necessary improvisation based on the emerging experiences and lessons learned is also critical to the success of a PPP project in infrastructure development. New modes of capacity such as setting up appropriate framework for PPP initiation and implementation and training programmes for officials at various hierarchies of service to enable them to contribute to PPPs effectively must be built into the government at the central and, more particularly, state levels. Also the Government of India should come out with a clear policy on unsolicited proposals from the private players so that feasible projects brought in by the private sector may be considered under the PPP model.

Appropriately devised PPPs involve a rational division of roles and fair sharing of responsibilities, costs, and risks between the public and private sectors. In this context it is suggested that optimal, not maximum, assignment of risk is the principle that should be adopted in infrastructure projects based on PPP models (MOF&ADB 2006, GOI 2010). Risk control should be assigned to the partner best able to manage it. Commercial risk is better borne by the private sector partner, while regulatory risk is better resolved by government agencies.

Also given the variations in the formats, bidding procedures, agreements and overall execution of PPPs among the various states and public sector agencies in India, a need has been highlighted for standardized prequalification and bidding procedures and guidelines for ensuring efficiency, predictability, and ease of the approval process. Standardization would benefit potential sponsoring entities by clarifying the public sector approach and reduce the risk premium, which the private sector seeks (GOI 2010). In fact this issue has already been considered by the Government of India and a move has been made towards developing of practical guides and toolkits containing information related to bidding, agreements and other procedures in PPP based infrastructure projects.

While the Government of India seems to be serious in establishing sound systems and procedures to ensure the successful execution and operation of the PPP projects, the matters of social equity and inclusion of the poor remains a serious question to be answered. As mentioned earlier, the studies

undertaken in this area point at inadequacies and accessibility gaps regarding benefits of the PPP projects to the poor. In this context it is proposed that pre-project appraisals should include a social component that examines the likelihood of the project benefits reaching out to the disadvantaged sections. Post-project evaluation with a social component targeting the poor groups must also be conducted to examine the outreach of the project so that the experiences could be fed into revising the same or into a new project.

The potential of PPPs in the physical and social infrastructure sector in India is quite enormous, and this fact is now being recognized by both centre and state governments. The key to making PPP models work is to create a conducive environment where PPPs are seen as the way of attracting private capital into public welfare projects. At the same time generic issues such as transparency matters, risk distribution and access to the poor must be dealt with in interest of developing successful PPPs. Clear appraisal mechanisms should be in place for all infrastructure sectors before the execution of the projects so that the associated risks can be minimized. The private players also need to be assured of reasonable economic gains so as to enable them to effectively contribute in building social capital. Such a mechanism shall enable more private players to enter into the infrastructure development sector in partnership with the public agencies and become major stakeholders and contributors in the nation building process.



Example of a PPP streetsign in Hyderabad (Photo: Peter Gotsch)

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**CITIZEN'S
CONTRIBUTION
TO PUBLIC
SAFETY IN
AFRICA'S
SUB-SAHARAN
CITIES**

△

Cecilia Andersson and Claude Meutchehe Ngomsi



Abstract

Inadequate public safety is an inspiration for community action in many urban areas of the world and in particular in many African cities and towns. The purpose of this paper is to describe and compare a variety of community initiatives that make up for the inadequate provision of public security in low-income neighbourhoods in some African cities. In this vein the article discusses activities ranging from mob justice, as an informal and illegal public response to rising crime, to initiatives such as the neighbourhood watch

committees being implemented in, for example, Cameroon, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Burundi, Kenya, Tanzania, and Côte d'Ivoire. Through this discussion we identify a cycle of community-driven prevention operations and initiatives. Hence, the aim of this article is to contribute to analysis in the field of community-led security actions in Africa, and to the understanding of how these actions reduce urban crime, enhance safety and security of persons and goods, and promote sustainable urbanisation.

All photographs are by the author unless otherwise noted.

Amohoro Stadium, Kigali, before Football Match Rwanda vs. Burkina Faso, Photo: Graham Holliday

Der Beitrag von Bürgerinitiativen zur öffentlichen Sicherheit in afrikanischen Städten.

In zahlreichen Stadtregionen der Welt, besonders auch in afrikanischen Städten, ist unzureichende Sicherheit im öffentlichen Räumen ein Auslöser für eigene Gegenmaßnahmen der Bevölkerung. Der vorliegende Text beschreibt und vergleicht einige dieser Initiativen der Zivilbevölkerung aus ausgewählten afrikanischen Städten, in denen die öffentliche Hand scheinbar versagt hat. Die Modelle reichen von der Selbstjustiz als informelle und

illegitime Antwort auf zunehmende Kriminalität bis zu nachbarschaftlich organisierten Wachgruppen, wie sie beispielsweise in Kamerun, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Burundi, Kenia, Tansania und der Elfenbeinküste zu finden sind. Nachdem einzelne Vorsorge-Maßnahmen und Initiativen auf gemeinschaftlicher Ebene dargestellt werden, wird der Frage nachgegangen, inwieweit diese die städtische Sicherheit der Bewohner erhöhen und damit zur Förderung einer nachhaltigen Stadtentwicklung beitragen. Der Artikel schließt mit einer Diskussion von "lessons learnt".

Introduction

In the context of rising urbanisation, weak government, frequent conflicts and crises, widespread corruption and social frustration, high unemployment rates (especially of the youth), and predominantly unplanned urbanisation, crime has reached very high levels in many African cities since the early 1980s and has plunged citizens into fear and mistrust (UN-Habitat 2007a, Kessides 2006, The World Bank 2011).¹ Confidence levels in the efficiency of the justice system and the status of human rights are generally low (Heyns and Steffszyn 2006). Crime takes many forms: carjacking, theft, burglary, assault and mugging, drug trafficking, sexual harassment, rape, abuse of children, bribery, trafficking, gang-related violence, etc. (UN-Habitat 2007a, b). Crime and violence affects all social groups. Nonetheless, women, children, the elderly, the poor, minorities and migrants are the most vulnerable (UNIFEM 2010, GPEAN 2003). Spatial and environmental factors, such as the character and location of a neighbourhood, also matter a great deal (Brantingham 1994, Kessides 2006:20, Sahbaz and Hillier 2007). Women and girls living in informal settlements are particularly affected by the lack of adequate security, as well as by the inadequate provision of toilets and showers, which makes them more vulnerable to sexual harassment, rape and other forms of gender-based violence. What is unsettling is the apparent radicalisation of crimes and offenses in many instances: in some unstable environments characterised by extreme inequalities, post-war conditions, or merely rapid levels of transformation, thefts and burglaries tend to be accompanied by brutal inter-personal violence, with many offenders being very young and/or often taking violence to seemingly irrational levels (Shabangu 2007). This then draws further media attention and increasing levels of public fear, triggering ongoing societal divide and socio-spatial fragmentation, leaving the poor vulnerable, while the affluent segments of the population buy protective technologies and services from a growing private security market. This article describes and examines the efforts made by urban communities across Africa (south of the Sahara) to prevent violence and crime. The findings presented are the result of field observations by the authors in the countries mentioned above, literature reviews, and interviews with those involved directly in neighbourhood watch committees and those who document the community measures adopted. The text discusses spontaneous, illegal and abusive measures taken by community groups. This is followed by a look at the more-organised neighbourhood watch committees. The final section describes the main lessons learned from crime prevention initiatives being implemented by communities.

In many places, the absence of trust between citizens and the criminal justice system (especially between citizens and the police) has contributed to a public concern for safety. The direct experience of crimes, a general feeling of vulnerability, a legacy of tradition-based dispute resolution, and the mistrust in the efficiency of the state can catalyze radical crime-prevention reactions. Spontaneous lynching of, or mob-justice against, the real or hypothetical perpetrators occurs quite often in the African context, despite the fact that these actions are prohibited by law and contradict the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The same is true for the more-organised version of vigilantism. However, vigilante groups operate in a grey area and often display violent behaviour; they can become a significant source of violence and criminal activities (cf. Fourchard 2003, Pratten 2007, Ahluwalia 2007).

**Mob justice, an initiative against
the principles of human rights**

Illegal and punishable by law, mob justice continues to be a common practice in many African cities. The lynching of suspected perpetrators of crimes is a manifestation of mob justice. It stems from a unilateral mob decision for quick punishment of the alleged offender, who is not able to counter the allegations. Its purpose is to deter actions that contribute to criminal behaviour. This is underlined by the fact that in recent years numerous acts of mob justice, such as the notorious necklacings in South Africa's townships, were videotaped and published on public online portals. People who support the practice of mob justice often refer, as justification, to the lack of confidence between citizens and the justice system (Pratten 2007).² A frequent problem is that the members of the community who apprehend an offender often march the person into the police station without providing any evidence, and they also do not file an official complaint. Faced with this situation, the prosecution does not have the evidence to arrest and charge the individuals. For example, a policeman in the city of Douala, Cameroon, prepared the transfer file of an accused individual, which was submitted to the prosecution, but thereafter the accused was released by the court. Consequently, the lack of communication, and absence of a shared approach to security management among the stakeholders, creates a climate of mistrust between the public and the criminal justice system.

The government's reaction to mob justice

Vigilantism often results in the escalation of violence and terror within the concerned communities. The victims of mob justice in Africa face various forms of physical punishment, which can consist of severe and uncontrolled beatings, injection of deadly substances into the muscles (milk, cement mixed with water, oil, etc.), stabbing, branding the

1. In sub-Saharan Africa, recent trends in crime and security are difficult to measure over time. Data from the judicial system is in short supply and more often inaccessible to researchers and social workers. Victimisation surveys are rare. In many countries, the information is not released to the public and is reserved only for government agencies.

2. At a workshop organised to validate the strategy of preventing crime in Douala, Cameroon, in February 2004, 76% of the participants recognised that the main factors contributing to mob justice were the distrust between citizens and the criminal justice system, and the limited availability of public-safety services for residents in informal settlements. Walters T.T. Samah, a historian from the University of Yaoundé in Cameroon (2006), sees the erosion of state authority as the main cause of mob justice. Moreover, residents and police officers of the major cities in Cameroon, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Burundi, Kenya, Tanzania, and Cote d'Ivoire, when interviewed by the authors, observed a correlation between the increase in violent crimes and armed robbery and the rising instances of mob justice.

skin, hanging, dragging behind vehicles, stoning, spraying the body with acid, undressing, shaving the head, amputations, and burning.³

Often, acts of mob justice are reported in the media and the Internet, thus mobilising government authorities into making statements or taking action against this form of violence. In general, national and municipal governments in Africa condemn mob justice. For example, Cameroon's Head of State, Paul Biya, stated that "mob justice cannot and should not replace official security forces" (Biya 2006). Cameroon's government has repeatedly broadcasted news and advertisements in the media stating that mob justice is contrary to the idea of justice and human rights. Nonetheless, the government has taken little action to partner with the communities to strengthen local crime prevention and to promote victim assistance. The authorities are convinced that the perpetrators of mob justice commit these heinous crimes because of growing insecurity and a lack of awareness and education on human rights, but they rarely consider that, as authorities, they have a major responsibility in the development and escalation of the mob-justice phenomenon.

Indeed, very often the governments' attempts to create safer communities do not meet the expectations and needs of the people living in poor, informal neighbourhoods. Many dwellers of these settlements feel that this is the case because government officials do not live in the same social and environmental realities as those living in disadvantaged and under-served neighbourhoods. As one local resident in the New Bell neighbourhood of Douala stated: "They have guards to protect them and their families. The streets leading to their homes are lit and patrolled by private security companies. One should not only think of the human rights of the robbers, but also for the victims who are often abandoned by the authorities and cannot receive assistance in hospitals if they do not have any money." "We are left to ourselves," adds another resident of the Bépenda 'Petit Pays' district in Douala (cf. Meutchehe 2010).

Many interviews led by the authors revealed that the observations of the poor urban neighbourhoods of Douala are similar to the concerns raised in other major cities in sub-Saharan Africa where mob justice is common, and that, in general, the governmental understanding of the situation remains poor. When listening to the residents in informal settlements, it becomes apparent that the problem runs much deeper than what government officials believe. However, while vigilantism as prevention is a common phenomenon in trying to curb crime and violence in poor neighbourhoods, the crime prevention strategies of the poor are not simply reduced to vigilantism. This short analysis of popular justice-taking actions should not overshadow the more-controlled efforts, such as neighbourhood watch committees, that often operate in close collaboration with the police and local government administration.

Structured community crime prevention initiatives

In poor communities, there are numerous "peaceful" approaches to reduce crime and violence with socio-economic and cultural measures, and/or through the revitalisation of streets and public space in these settlements. Some poor neighbourhoods alter their public spaces in a way that deters crime, e.g. by closing streets, cutting trees and bushes, keeping their streets clean or even by providing their own lighting (see: figure 2). Other measures include the mainstreaming of traditional approaches and religious or moral values: in many places, the belief in witchcraft and spirits is used to protect certain communities from becoming victims of crime. Other direct and indirect strategies address the strengthening of social capital and social cohesion through joint community activities, and the mainstreaming of ethics and moral values. Such collective actions, whether intended or not, contribute to reducing vulnerabilities including violent crime. Most of the measures depend on social capital and mutual assistance, or "people as infrastructure" (Simone 2004), while others depend on financial means or informal credit mechanisms. The latter, sometimes referred to as "tontines" or "merry-go-rounds", can make significant impact on reducing crime and violence. Establishing neighbourhood watch groups by the residents themselves, or the hiring of vigilante groups, represent further strategies. The scholar Bruce Baker contextualised this concept as multi-choice policing and also as non-state policing, meaning that people apply a wide range of options based on their socio-economic and cultural status (Baker 2004).



3. In South Africa, the most popular form of vigilante action is "necklacing", in which a tyre containing petrol is burnt around the neck of a suspected offender, resulting in fatal injury to the suspect.

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Figure 1:
Vigilante group in Douala

Figure 2: Self-made lamp in a poor community in Douala, Cameroon

(Photos: Peter Gotsch)



4. Apparently, this is often a contradictory and contested process that may further fuel confrontations between different interest groups such as locals and immigrants, rich and poor, majorities and minorities.

5. The Tanzanian neighbourhood watch committee named "Sungusungu" is a remarkable example thriving with government support. Established by the Sukuma and Nyamwezi ethnic groups in 1981 to protect cattle and other property, the group derives its strength from several factors, including the Constitution of the United Republic's clarity on security matters and the roles of local authorities, as well as the Local Government Act No. 8 (1982) Sect. 51 (1) (a) and 54 (2) (b), the historical acceptance of defence groups established since independence in 1961 and earlier, and the Ward Executive Officers' Survey 2001. UN-Habitat (2004): Mid-term evaluation of neighbourhood watch in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania. Unpublished.

6. A victimisation survey is a regular household pool on the frequency of crime victimisation, as well as on the characteristics and consequences of victimisation. The survey focuses on gathering information on specific crimes, such as: assault, burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft, rape, and robbery.

The fundamental problem is that the activities of the main stakeholders – the communities and the governments – are rarely analysed to determine their role and effectiveness in the African urban context. Thus, local, national, and international organisations need to support research and an examination of all forms of crime prevention from all parts of society, and not only on the effectiveness of the criminal justice system and public administration. Important steps in this direction have been made by the team of the South African criminologist Clifford Shearing, who proposes to analyse the production of safety through the concept of nodal governance (Burris, Dragos and Shearing 2002).

Governments and neighbourhood watch committees

The people in sub-Saharan Africa generally reveal a remarkable spirit of informal self-help and volunteerism. Indeed, over the last ten years the authors have observed various government initiatives to maintain the contribution of inhabitants to crime prevention through community-oriented policing, neighbourhood watch groups, or proximity policing frameworks. Unfortunately, these initiatives tend to have a short life span. Our anecdotal evidence suggests that government powers are wary to support community initiatives in the long run, often for reasons of micro-politics. This is, for example, the case in countries such as Burkina Faso and Burundi, which avoid politicisation of the neighbourhood watch committees due to the history of socio-political revolution and "coup d'état", in which security committees were manipulated by politicians. The stigma is still present in the public's subconscious memory. Therefore, neighbourhood watch committees are identified as joint safety committees or local safety committees. The situation is almost similar in Tanzania, Cameroon and Kenya, where neighbourhood watch committees are also becoming more and more politicised. This trend certainly demonstrates the problem with neighbourhood watch committees: they can mutate into vigilante groups as they execute power and are likely to act for specific political ends. Consequently, a sustainable crime prevention mechanism through neighbourhood watch committees or neighbourhood safety initiatives relies on principles of good governance such as openness, equality, inclusion, neutrality, transparency, and participation.

Four fundamentals for establishing successful neighbourhood watch committees that have worked in many places need to be mentioned at this point:

1. Establishment through the local administrative heads/chiefs (on neighbourhood or sector level),
2. Involvement of the youth,
3. Cooperation with the private sector (e.g. traders and entrepreneurs), and finally
4. Support by the police and local authorities.

Usually a group of people of approximately the same age gather in a neighbourhood and decide to establish a neighbourhood committee tasked with reducing crime and improving the sense of security.⁴ The initiators justify the purpose of their commitment and also seek approval and support from the government. Such is the case of many of the neighbourhood watch committees in Cameroon, the community policing initiatives in Kenya, or the community police force in Nigeria and South Africa.⁵ In Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burkina Faso, the national police forces have supported the establishment of local safety committees or community policing initiatives to improve the governance of public safety. In these cases, decision makers defined the modalities and provided technical support in the foundation of the local safety committees with the objective to reduce crime and to increase public awareness. It is also the case in Burundi, where, since 2009, the city council of Bujumbura, in collaboration with UN-Habitat and the German Peace Service, has initiated the creation of a joint security committee (JSC, in French: CMS). This concept has been embedded in the national security agenda, and the national police is also using the same principle to set up community-led policing in the country. Today, the JSC is part of the governance of community safety and security, as illustrated in figure 3. Table 1 presents the vision and operational approach of the JMS in Bujumbura. Over ten years ago, UN organisations (in collaboration with local governments) started to investigate issues of urban safety and its governance in several countries. This was done by the means of victimisation surveys and other studies.⁶ These revealed, for example, that in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, more than four-fifths of the population are unaware of the existence of committees that specifically contribute to the reduction of insecurity. Only 12% of the residents participate in safety committee activities, and 7.4% of the population contribute irregularly to these initiatives (UN-Habitat 2006:70). In Douala, one of the objectives of the victimisation surveys, conducted by the government in collaboration with UN-Habitat and UNDP between 2003 and 2005, was to gauge the levels of crime as well as the responses by various organisations in the city and its neighbourhoods to reduce crime and the fear of crime.

Table 1: Vision and operational structure in Bujumbura
(Source: Meutchehe, 2013)

Items	Principles
Vision	To strengthen community participation in planning and implementing security priorities in close collaboration with municipalities in the context of consolidation of peace
Model	A pyramidal organisational model and approach to enhance citizen input and contribution to the implementation of community security actions in a proactive way.
Mechanism of implementation	Consideration of the post-conflict situation and the promotion of inclusive consolidation of civil peace
	Identification of problem, analysis and mapping of solution at the grassroots level with technical support of the municipality and technical and financial partners Development of community-led policing in remote areas where the JMS doesn't exist with the support of the national police

As of 2003, there were 115 neighbourhood watch committees established in the town of Douala.⁷ These generally covered specific sections of neighbourhoods. On average, there was one neighbourhood watch committee for every 14,090 inhabitants in the city. The respondents thought that membership in the community development associations increased the level of liveability and solidarity among citizens.

In general, 58% of respondents attested that no collective action was taken within their neighbourhood to reduce fear of crime. A fifth of respondents (20%) stated that development associations and youth organisations were engaged to combat crime (government of Cameroon, UN-Habitat, and UNDP 2004). 16% of the respondents were aware that people are willing to organise and mobilise neighbourhood watch committees in order to increase the surveillance of public spaces, people, and goods.

The direct crime prevention strategies comprise of: identification of hot spots, installation of public lighting, filling of potholes, weeding and grass cutting, construction of culverts, waste management and drainage cleaning. Also worth mentioning are the night patrols and identity controls by „night owls“ on the streets in the geographical area covered by the neighbourhood watch committees. Development committees served as important forums for consultation, planning, research, and implementation of crime prevention initiatives in urban neighbourhoods. The initiatives mainly covered social and environmental issues, of which the social issues included: mutual aid and assistance to vulnerable people, victim support, conflict mediation, and communication between inhabitants and the police. Moreover, other indirect means like organising sport events, sport opportunities for young people, cultural events, and building networks were regularly integrated.

Our field studies also revealed that residents can contribute to the actions of neighbourhood watch committees in different ways, such as participating in planning meetings or contributing financially or intellectually to the committee. In the first case, the members are present at the discussions and aid in the decision-making process, and they often also contribute with a fee to support the actions of the committees.⁸ Sometimes citizens participate by making their vehicles available for night patrols, as seen in some suburbs in the southwest of Nairobi (Ole Kasasi), Kenya. Here, citizens have also financially supported the extension of a police station (figure 6). Elsewhere, inhabitants with legal, technical, and/or mediation skills and knowledge participate in conflict resolution committees, or residents with electrical skills may contribute to the installation of new street lighting. In the Kinondoni municipality of Tanzania, free medical treatment by a medical doctor in the locality was offered to all Nlalakuwa „Sungusungu“ members who fell sick or were injured while on duty.

7. In the late 1990s, the city had more committees, but their numbers declined as a consequence of the "Operation Command", a large-scale initiative by the government of Cameroon.

8. In Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, monthly contributions between 1000 and 2000 Tanzania shillings (1 to 2 US dollars) are made depending on whether the giver is an individual or a business owner. In Douala, Cameroon, 70% of the respondents participate in the activities of the neighbourhood watch groups in their places and contribute between 1000 and 2000 CFA francs (2 to 4 US dollars) per household per month. Local elites, such as rich shop owners or affluent residents, may offer additional donations, but in general the contributions fluctuate depending on the extent of crime over the current year.

Figure 3: Police station built with contributions by the people of Ongata Rongai, Nairobi (Kenya) (© Meutchehe 2009)



9.
Author's interview with two main managers of the Ole Kasasi Project, August 2009

10.
The Ole Kasasi Project reported in 2009 that crime in the area had decreased between 70% and 80%, and the project has helped in conflict management between vehicle owners and residents staying near dusty roads.

11.
Training modules: understanding the concept of crime and insecurity at neighbourhood level, legal and organisational framework of NWC, building and sustaining relation with police, penal code and offences, mobilisation and sensitisation techniques, selection and oversight of members. These modules were provided by UN-Habitat-based project, the Douala Safer Cities Programme.

12.
They put forward four main reasons to support their view: 1) the lack of financial resources (35.6%), 2) dishonesty (34.2%), 3) lack of support from authorities (17.9%) and 4) incompetent managers and security guards (7.6%).

13.
"The CLEEN Foundation (formerly known as Centre for Law Enforcement Education) is non-governmental organisation established in January 1998 with the mission of promoting public safety, security and accessible justice through the strategies of empirical research, legislative advocacy, demonstration programmes and publications, in partnership with government and civil society." It is based on Lagos, Abuja, and Owerri, Nigeria. (See: <www.cleen.org/about.html>)

14.
The Peoples' Militia Laws (Miscellaneous Amendment) Act, (No. 9 of 1989).

Effectiveness of neighbourhood watch committees and their effects

According to leaders of the Ole Kasasi Community Policing Security and Welfare Project⁹ in Nairobi, several measures taken to mitigate crime have had positive effects in the neighbourhood. The majority of the community members have contributed to preventing crime and assisting security agencies. Often, neighbourhood watch committees promote respect and adherence to the laws, prevent corruption, discourage harassment and intimidation, and advise residents on matters of security and conflict mitigation. They may also promote controlled development (adherence to the building code).¹⁰

In Dar es Salaam, numerous achievements have been made, e.g. police tolerance of the patrolling of community groups and support of the „Sungusungu's" arresting of armed gangs. It was observed that some insecure areas where the „Sungusungu" were present experienced a relative increase in safety, and that particularly the women felt much safer when moving around in their neighbourhood during the evenings. In addition to this, petty crimes were reduced significantly, for example at the Ubungo bus terminal in the city, and the illegal distillation of „brew" (a local beer) had stopped.

At the same time, we observed that in Douala (Cameroon), neighbourhood watch committees have played a great role in the prevention of crime as well as in reducing the fear of crime. As part of the author's research (Meutchehe 2010), residents of areas with a neighbourhood watch committee reported that the frequency of offences decreased after actions were implemented by the community initiatives. Many crimes were prevented (or resolved) as offenders were identified and apprehended in a timely manner.

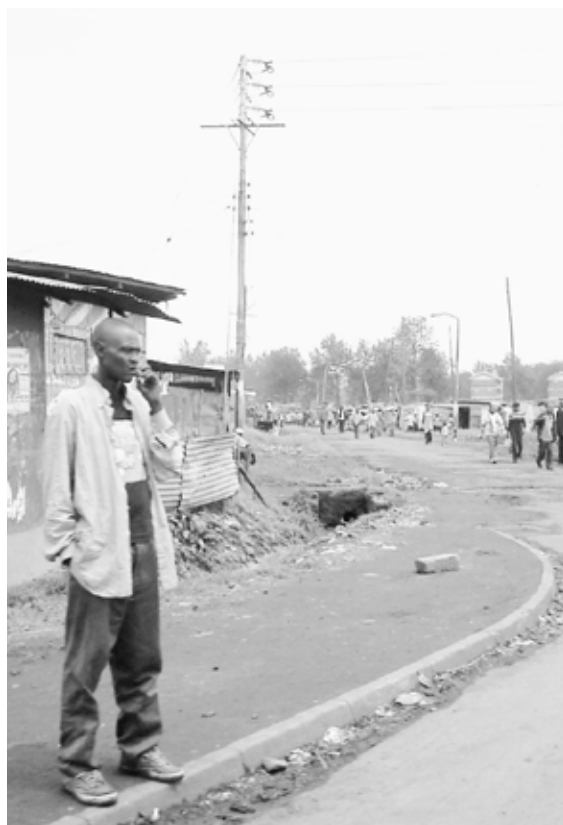


Figure 4:
Streetscene in Douala, Cameroon (Photo: Peter Gotsch)

In two neighbourhoods of Douala, Bonamoukouri and Cité de la Paix, a more systematic approach has been put in place to analyse crime patterns and to set up interventions with the aim to prevent crime and violence. The evaluations conducted in these two areas have shown the importance of knowledge-based crime prevention¹¹ at the community or neighbourhood level in urban spaces. In Bonamoukouri, the neighbourhood watch committee has been able to engage the private sector for a long-term partnership to protect shops and properties. In addition, many reluctant residents decided to join the initiative. As a result, crime levels have decreased by 70% after nine months of implementation, and the mechanism set to control financial contributions has improved transparency in the management of the financial and material resources of the committee.

Still, in spite of success stories such as those discussed above, the contribution of neighbourhood watch committees in crime prevention in urban Africa is not always well-appreciated. In the city of Douala, 40% of respondents to the security assessment say that neighbourhood watch committees are ineffective.¹² In most of the cities mentioned in this paper, the lack of consistent work methods and record keeping are factors that contribute to the discrediting of the neighbourhood watch committees. The low education of the neighbourhood watchguards and, thus, poor understanding of the technical requirements of crime prevention and conflict resolution affect the quality of operations. Moreover, wages as low as less than 20 US dollars per month (minimal salaries even in local standards) affect the motivation and working morale of many guards. This opens doors for corruption and bribes.

Our studies also illuminate that a further challenge to the sustainability of neighbourhood watch committees is a continuous engagement of the youth. Youngsters are more mobile and leave their neighbourhood schooling to work elsewhere; at the same time, they represent a major group of victims as well as perpetrators of violent crimes. To reduce misconduct of some members of „informal policing groups" (as watch committees are called in Nigeria), the local CLEEN foundation¹³ and the Police Command of the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) around Abuja in Nigeria have initiated public awareness campaigns. A handout, supported from the American Bar Association, presents codes of conduct for informal policing groups in the region. Likewise, in Tanzania, the Peoples Militia Act¹⁴ addresses the rights of the police constable and also regulates the role of the so-called „Sungusungu" as part of the local crime prevention initiatives. In other countries, there are tentative actions of governments to control and provide support to neighbourhood watch committees, but interventions are often not based on a needs assessment.

The 4-stage model of community crime prevention

There may be an inclination to believe that preventive arrangements such as the neighbourhood watch committees, as well as private safety services, can

reduce crime and violence levels to zero. We argue that this is an illusion that should be addressed and there is a need to adopt a more well-thought-out position founded on the parameters of objective crime prevention. For security guards on the job, it is important to properly instruct the residents, whatever their social status, about the strategies and measures of crime prevention, including the remaining risks and limitations. So the challenge lies in the development of a broad and collective consciousness focusing on crime reduction and a „culture of prevention“. To achieve a significant reduction of crime, the causal factors (such as youth unemployment, substance abuse, the prevalence of guns, or the role of an explosive critical mass of factors) should be discussed, understood and studied. Furthermore, the responsibilities of the stakeholders need to be carefully defined, practical and measurable actions carefully planned, appropriate financial and intellectual resources and monitoring methods well-defined, and feedback-, learning- and change-management processes devised. Certainly, the absence or lack of experience and knowledge in the planning, implementation, and evaluation principles of crime prevention initiatives explains much of the spontaneity, fragility, and short duration of civil society associations aiming at crime reduction in most cities in Africa. This is true not only for neighbourhood watch committees but also for state departments and national governments of public security. Our analysis of community crime prevention trends in urban neighbourhoods highlights the detrimental effect of insufficient knowledge on the changing participation and community actions for crime reduction.

Understanding the pattern of community crime prevention in order to enhance support for neighbourhood watch committees

In the majority of cities, when crime and violence is high and alarming, some members of the community attend meetings and provide moral and financial support to efforts in crime prevention. However, evidence suggests that their numbers drop as soon as the security situation improves and as the perception of security increases in an area. It seems that for the majority of inhabitants, providing money for crime prevention during a crisis is more important than paying to sustain the tranquillity gained thereafter.

To conceptualise our work that was discussed above and as part of our conclusions, we have developed the „cycle of crime prevention“ that describes the evolutionary dynamics of neighbourhood watch committees. The diagram illustrates four core phases of crime prevention (see figure 7). A first level (level 1) of prevention includes all actions taken within the family unit to guard against acts of delinquency. The second level (level 2) is characterised by spontaneous and „unorganised“ reactions of the population, such as mob justice. As observed, in alarming crisis situations such as serious crime incidences, inhabitants and local businesses often spontaneously create self-defence committees to react to and address feelings of insecurity. Because

coordination is lacking, leaders seek to bring together the heads of households to discuss the operational structures and the strategies of the committees. This is how the neighbourhood watch committees (level 3) are set up. As the pressure of rising crime and violence is increasingly felt, the local leaders and the heads of the vigilantes seek to legitimise their role and aim for support from the administration, the police, etc. (level 4). Notably, during level 4 certain neighbourhoods combine all measures simultaneously.

The circle continues while an increased sense of security emerges as the direct result of popular action. Unfortunately, this lowers the necessity to engage, leading to the loss of community solidarity and mutual engagement. The loss of social cohesion, sometimes paralleled by rising conflicts within the management body of the neighbourhood watch committees, results in a reduction of financial (and other) contributions from the residents. Accordingly, when the „social pact“ within the community is broken or undermined, the structures created are disbanded, thus providing an opening for criminal acts to resume. This is the beginning of a new cycle of crime prevention.

Elements to strengthen administration coaching of neighbourhood watch committees

During the Expert Group Meeting on Policing Urban Spaces held in Abuja (Nigeria) in September, 2009, the Tanzanian Inspector General of Police, Said Mwema, revealed that leaders have „the responsibility of finding solutions to the challenges that face communities“. According to him, major steps to strengthen the engagement of decision makers and public administration are to:

- Facilitate the development of a policy framework on involvement of the community in the policing function;
- Reinforce community policing awareness campaigns;
- Strengthen the capacity of the community to prevent and solve crime;
- Strengthen the capacity of the police to work with the community.

These key strategic orientations are valid for most of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa. If they were implemented by the government at all levels, it would foster effects on citizens' willingness to provide various forms of contribution to support public intervention in the field of security in cities and towns. The active participation of the youth in neighbourhood watch committees denotes their interest in preserving the quality of life in their social and spatial environment. This also shows their level of commitment to the principle of citizenship. The youth are not only or always the problem, as it appears in much of the literature, but are also part of the solution and must be consulted for sustainable responses to the governance of security at micro levels.

Conclusions

Neighbourhood watch committees, as a mechanism of local governance of security, are a response to the desire of the inhabitants to fill a void left by public security services. That common spirit of communities to help themselves through joint actions rarely receives adequate recognition or support from public authorities. Before creating organised neighbourhood watch committees, inhabitants often act in an unorganised manner – in many cases resulting in the lynching of suspected offenders. To be overcome, this illegal and inhumane practice needs to be better understood by all stakeholders. A culture of human rights and crime prevention needs to be established, while at the same time the awareness of the citizens for human rights needs to be increased, and the level of trust between the residents and the government bodies enhanced. Not least, the public bodies need to earn credibility, efficiency and trust. It has to be acknowledged that in sub-Saharan Africa, multi-choice policing and the management and governance of security by various stakeholders

is on the daily agenda, and therefore they are a realistic and efficient means to pursue. In this context the specific roles and responsibilities of urban actors in physical urban intervention, types of crime, and prosecution need further comprehension. The establishment of neighbourhood watch committees should not diminish the governments' duties and responsibilities of maintaining order and security for the citizens and goods as specified in the African constitutions. "The world is too dangerous to live in not because of the people who do evil, but because of the people who sit and let it happen." These words of Albert Einstein must be considered carefully in the context of the growing challenges facing urbanisation and sustainable human development in Africa and around the world. This article sought to reflect upon our research and the experiences made as part of our work for UN-Habitat over the last 10 years. While we aimed to outline the quality of neighbourhood watch committees as new urban actors, most of the dynamics and potentials of emerging governance of security by the communities need to be further analysed and understood.



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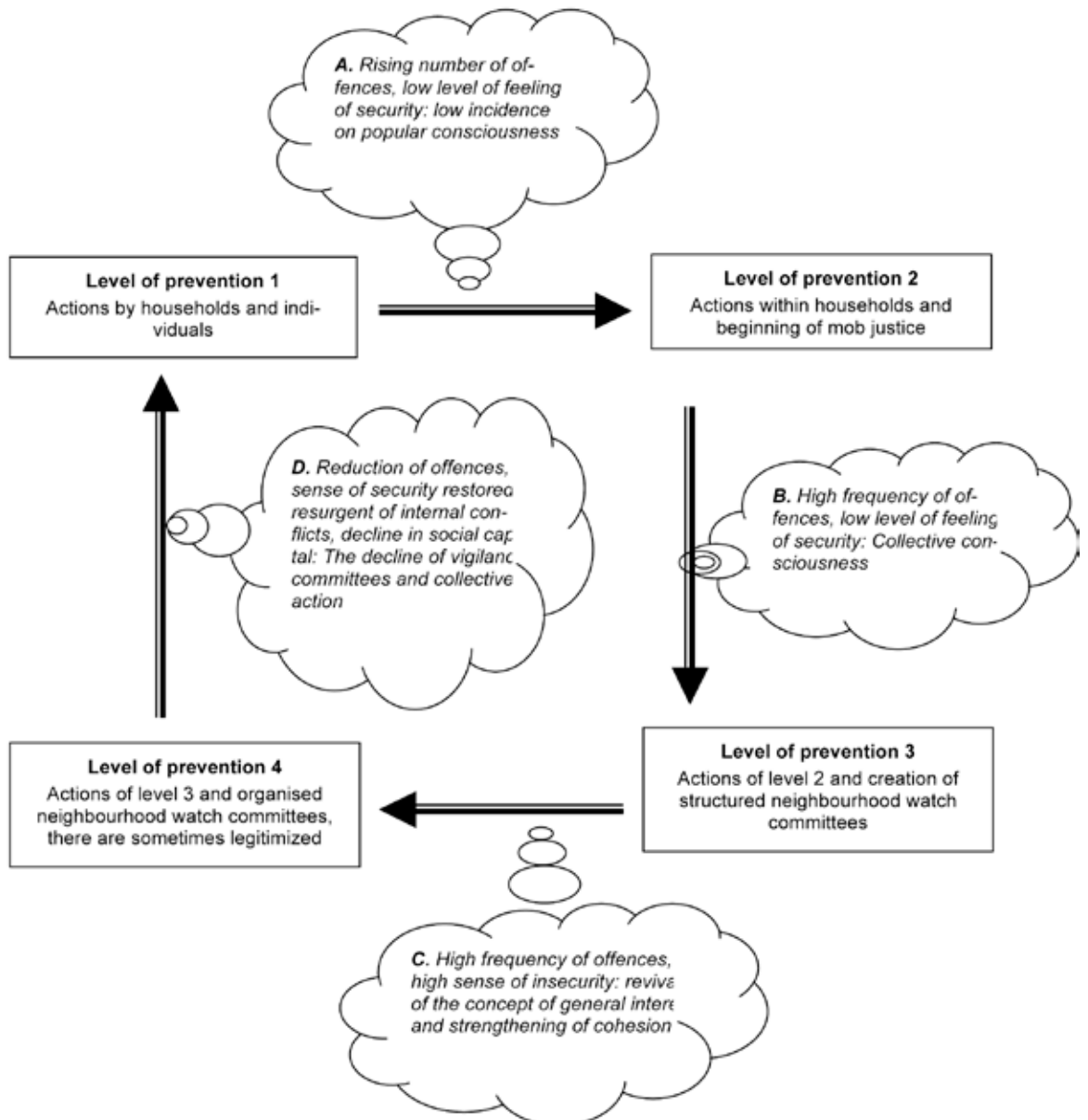


Figure 5: Four stage model of community driven crime prevention (Meutchehe 2010)



Figure 6: Flag of the Police, Community Relation Committee (PCRC) Kubwa, Gwagwalada Police Station in Abuja, Nigeria, 2009, © Meutchehe (2009)

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FOR THE RICH AND THE POOR

PRIVATE SECTOR HOUSING IN
METRO MANILA, THE PHILIPPINES

△
Florian Steinberg



Abstract

The Philippines is currently experiencing a real estate boom that is reaching out to customers in the up-market segments as well as to the lower social segments, mostly for lower middle class customers and returning Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW). This article explores the experience of Fort Bonifacio Global City in Taguig, a stylistically astonishing variety of high-rise developments that are already transforming the image of metropolitan Manila and presenting a first world city image to a globalizing world. On the lower end of the market one can encounter lower middle class residential schemes in metropolitan Manila that embody the urgency for densification and more urbanite living, which is being promoted on a grand scale. Further away from

the density and bustle of the metropolis, in the growing sprawl of the urban beltway to the south of metropolitan Manila, many private low-rise social housing schemes are coming up, servicing a growing industrial labour force that lives close to the newly industrializing hubs. The sprawling suburban municipality of Cavite is a good case in point, exhibiting the lower middle-class dream of suburban low-density living. However, since financing occurs through formal sector banks, the customers for the low cost housing schemes are required to be in formal employment. This means that the private sector has not managed to go down market to reach workers of the informal sector.

This article has been peer reviewed by two independent reviewers. A group of about 30 distinguished experts is engaged in TRIALOG's peer review process. All photographs are by the author unless otherwise noted.

Fort Bonifacio Global City, Manila. Foto: Louie John Qua

Für die Reichen und für die Armen – Privater Wohnbau im großstädtischen Manila

Die Philippinen erleben derzeit einen Immobilienboom. Dieser erreicht sowohl Kunden in den oberen Marktsegmenten als auch zunehmend in den unteren sozialen Schichten, ganz besonders jedoch die aus dem Ausland zurückkehrenden philippinischen „Übersee-Arbeiter“. Dieser Artikel beschreibt die Erfahrungen aus dem Projekt "Fort Bonifacio Global City" in Manilas Stadtteil Taguig. Dies ist eine Agglomeration von Hochhäusern in erstaunlicher stilistischer Vielfalt, die der Metropolregion jetzt schon ein anderes Image verschafft haben und Manila der übrigen Welt als "Erste-Welt"-Stadt präsentieren. Gerade im unteren Marktsegment sind derzeit in der Metropolregion von Manila Wohnformen der unteren Mittelschicht populär, welche die Notwendigkeit zu höherer Verdichtung und mehr urbanem Leben verkörpern. Weiter entfernt von der Enge und der Hektik der Großstadt, in

den wachsenden Ansiedlungen außerhalb des Stadtautobahnringes im Süden des großstädtischen Manila, entstehen zahlreiche große Projekte des privat finanzierten Sozialwohnungsbaus in niedrig-geschossiger Bauweise. Sie sollen die steigende Anzahl der industriellen Arbeitskräfte beherbergen, die in den nahe gelegenen neuen Industrie-Zentren beschäftigt sind. Die weiter wuchernde Vorstadt-Gemeinde Cavite ist ein gutes Beispiel, um die Verwirklichung des kleinbürgerlichen Traums vom Häuschen am Stadtrand zu zeigen. Da jedoch die Finanzierung durch formelle Banken erfolgt, sind die Niedrigkosten-Wohnvorhaben nur kreditwürdigen Kunden mit einem formellen Beschäftigungsverhältnis zugänglich. Das bedeutet, dass es im privaten Wohnungssektor nicht gelungen ist, die Hürden niedrig genug anzusetzen, um auch die Zielgruppe des informellen Sektors zu erreichen, also die Bevölkerungsschichten ohne feste Arbeitsverträge und regelmäßige Einkommen.



Introduction

The Philippines has a very long standing and prominent history of private urbanization, from the days of Spanish and American colonization. Much of modern Manila, like Makati city, was a pure private sector driven development (Lico 2008). Metro Manila is very much a tale of two cities: the formal city and the informal city of the squatters (Alcazaren 2011). While the plight of the squatters, some 550,000 families in Metro Manila in 2010, largely remains unattended, private sector initiatives are quickly pursuing the few remaining land resources in Metro Manila.¹ Currently, the country is experiencing a real estate boom which is reaching out to customers in the up-market segments as well as to the lower social segments through large scale low-cost and social housing projects. The up-market portion caters to rich Filipinos, internationally operating corporations, and expatriates, while the low-cost housing projects are designated for lower middle class customers and returning Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW), as they are called. This article will illustrate that the private sector continues to play an important and innovative role in urbanization in the Philippines, and interestingly this is not only for the high end market. Social housing and lower middle income housing demands are also covered through a stratified response. In recent years, the private sector has been able to deliver a much bigger share of housing production than government efforts, and given limited public sector resources it is likely to remain this way. The private sector in the Philippines is well organized to deal with different market segments and has been able to attract overseas income, remittances and savings of the big group of OFWs. The experience of private sector housing demonstrates that private developers can make a difference. They can contribute to the development of new quality standards, and they can contribute also substantially to social housing if favourable financial instruments are available. This article will provide a brief sketch of the private sector role in housing, and then it will present two case studies that will be illustrative of the current trends affecting both the well to do and those who need social housing.

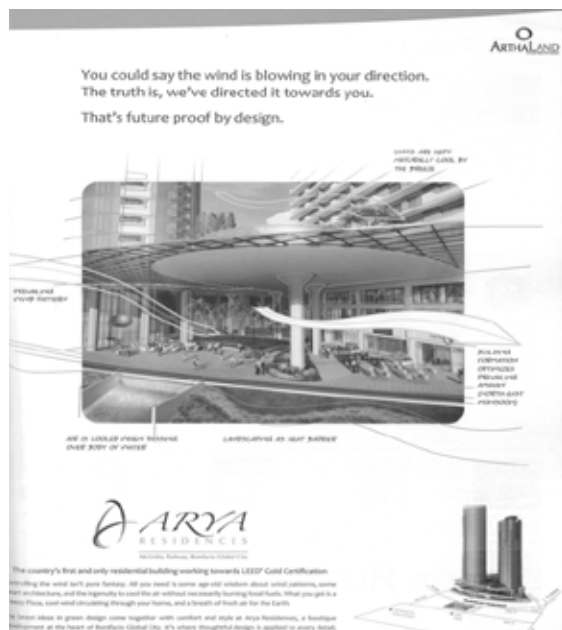
1. The corporate private sector's assistance to slum families under the "STEP-UP" project was a unique approach to poverty reduction (Steinberg 2011).

2. "Philippines is a catch, if you can", by A.F. McMillan, International Herald Tribune, 20 January 2006.

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4. <www.nscb.gov.ph/ncs/11thNCS/papers/invited%20papers/ips-15/03_Estimating%20Informal%20Settlers%20in%20the%20Philippines.pdf> (r.21.06.2014)

> Real Estate Advertisement for Manhattan Heights – "Green" and ecology have become attractive. (Source: Florian Steinberg)



The role of the private sector in urbanization

The Philippines is a country with a high level of urbanization with over 60% of the population of 90 million living in urban areas. Greater Metro Manila is a metropolitan region that includes approximately 33 million people if adjoining local governments, which functionally belong to Metro Manila, are being counted. The larger metropolitan regions of Metro Manila, Cebu and Davao, have seen a soaring activity of the private sector in the development of urban neighbourhoods (subdivisions) and higher density developments in the form of apartment buildings. In Metro Manila private urbanization has been linked to some of the richest families (the Ayala, the Araneta, and others) which have launched major development projects or even entire city centres. For instance, the early post-World War II evolution of the financial city of Makati, today Metro Manila's business and consumption centre, is largely attributed to land subdivisions and investments by the Ayala family. They own major prime real estate landmarks in Makati (including the conglomerates headquarters; the Glorietta and Green Belt commercial centres) and are responsible for tenders and sales of land in Makati. However, not far from Makati now rises the Fort Bonifacio Global City, as part of Taguig city, an amazing mixture of high-rise, high density developments which are already transforming the image of Metro Manila with their glitzy appearance and are presenting a First World city image to a globalizing world.

Due to global trends of foreign investors looking for new opportunities² and a growing number of retirees from overseas, as well as the remittances of the OFW, the private real estate sector in the Philippines is currently experiencing a boom. Real estate companies even market their products where the bulk of OFW work is, e.g. in Hong Kong, the Middle East, and in the United States.

Housing sector profile

The Philippines housing sector is marked by a long-term housing backlog which has been hovering around the level of 3 million units since the year 2000. In 2010, the official figure quoted was a backlog of 3.7 million housing units. Since the housing backlog in highly urbanized areas is most severe, many of the poor(er) families have few options other than squatting on public or private lands. In Metro Manila alone approximately 550,000 families live in informal settlements. Many of these are high-risk environments.

The government has response to housing with a mixed set of interventions. In the 1970s and 1980s, the official housing project for the urban poor in Tondo, Manila, was celebrated as one of the world's first major sites & services projects. The scheme was co-financed by the World Bank (Marulanda 2009). Around the same time, the National Housing Authority (NHA) promoted social housing estates. However, a shortage of government financing, and the low cost recovery ratio of the NHA (today at less than 50% for older loans), has led to the gradual phasing-out of the direct construction approach. In the 1990s, the Philippines government introduced

an innovative Community Mortgage Program (CMP) that was meant to help squatters to legally acquire privately owned land that they occupied illegally.⁵ Until today, the CMP has assisted some 100,000 squatter families countrywide, but the CMP is running out of funds and needs refinancing to keep up with demand. During 2004-2010, the CMP has funded 963 projects benefitting 109,000 families. During the same years, related to major transport projects of railway and expressway expansions, some 105,000 squatter families have been relocated by the NHA.⁶

The private sector plays an important role in the context as described above. Since 1978, the government has established the Home Development Mutual Fund (HDMF), which provides housing loans for 'social', 'economic' and 'middle income' housing. HDMF is open to workers and employees of the formal employment sector, and it can provide long-term financing at attractive interest rates of currently 6 or 7% annually. Many private sector real estate companies have developed housing projects that actually cater to the members of the HDMF. This represents an interesting and safe business platform for private real estate producers, and even NGO-like organizations such as "Freedom to Build", an awardee of UN-Habitat, have utilized this method of project financing. Since its inception, HDMF has helped 500,000 members – including middle-income members – to achieve their dream of owning a home. In 2001 HDMF was still funding 16,000 social housing units; in 2009 this figure had increased to 75,000 units.⁷

Since the mid-1990s and during the last decade (the 2000s), the private sector has built approximately 42,000 to 170,000 units of socialized and economic housing annually. The share of private sector activity has been about 45-65% of all formal housing constructed (Asian Development Bank 2001). Currently, it looks as if this share of private sector participation is going to go up substantially due to the enormous amounts of OFW remittances. However, lack of HDMF membership casts some doubts about OFWs being able to obtain HDMF loans.

Private sector housing in the Philippines

Numerous private firms, individuals, and associations are involved in housing and urban development in the Philippines. There is no doubt that increased private sector participation, particularly in Metro Manila, is required in order to scale-up the housing and urban development efforts required to bridge the growing gap between demand and supply. Two prominent organizations represent the interests of the private developers in the Philippines. The Chamber of Real Estate & Builders Associations, Inc. (CREBA)⁸, established in 1973, is the recognized umbrella organization of some 4,000 developers of land, housing subdivisions, condominiums, industrial estates, resorts, hotels and retirement facilities, home builders, brokers, building contractors, professionals in the fields of urban and environmental planning, architecture, engineering and real estate management, property appraisers, financial advisors, and suppliers of land

development and construction inputs nationwide. The CREBA Social Housing Foundation (CHSF), established in 1992, is the chamber's research and housing production arm. It aims to directly undertake socialized housing projects for deserving underprivileged families – either as developer, initiator, packager or administrator – utilizing contributions from its members, donations and grants. The second institution, the Subdivision and Housing Developers Association (SHDA), is the leading national organization of private subdivision and housing developers in the Philippines. The SHDA focuses on supporting the government's national shelter objectives by building more homes for the low- and middle-income markets. SHDA's active membership comprises 200 small, medium, large and publicly listed real estate companies and developers nationwide.

As early as the 1990s, policymakers recognized that the government alone would not be able to provide the housing and urban development requirements of the country's rapidly growing urban population. The also believed that better value and services were provided because of the responsiveness to end user requirements, innovative approaches, and management expertise of the private sector. Moreover it is the consensus that private sector involvement and innovation will be essential to eradicating the slums of Metro Manila and that strategies must be developed that incorporate fair land sharing and optimal land use principles as well as other appropriate incentives. In this regard, a key challenge will be finding and applying unconventional but cost-effective building materials and technologies to ensure the affordability of housing and urban development services and facilities to the targeted urban poor households. This trend suggests that partnerships between the public and private sectors can be entered into the mainstream of urban development practice and that many variations on this are evolving to respond to different conditions and needs.

The private building industry has realized that attractiveness for the bigger market will require

5. <www.bestpractices.org/learning/casebooks/hic2/philipp.pdf> (r.21.06.2014)
6. <www.hudcc.gov.ph/> (r.21.06.2014)
7. <www.pagibigfund.gov.ph/> (r.21.06.2014)
8. <www.creba.ph/> (r.21.06.2014)



< Real Estate Advertisement for Arya Residences – Climate-responsive design becomes fashionable. (Source: Florian Steinberg)

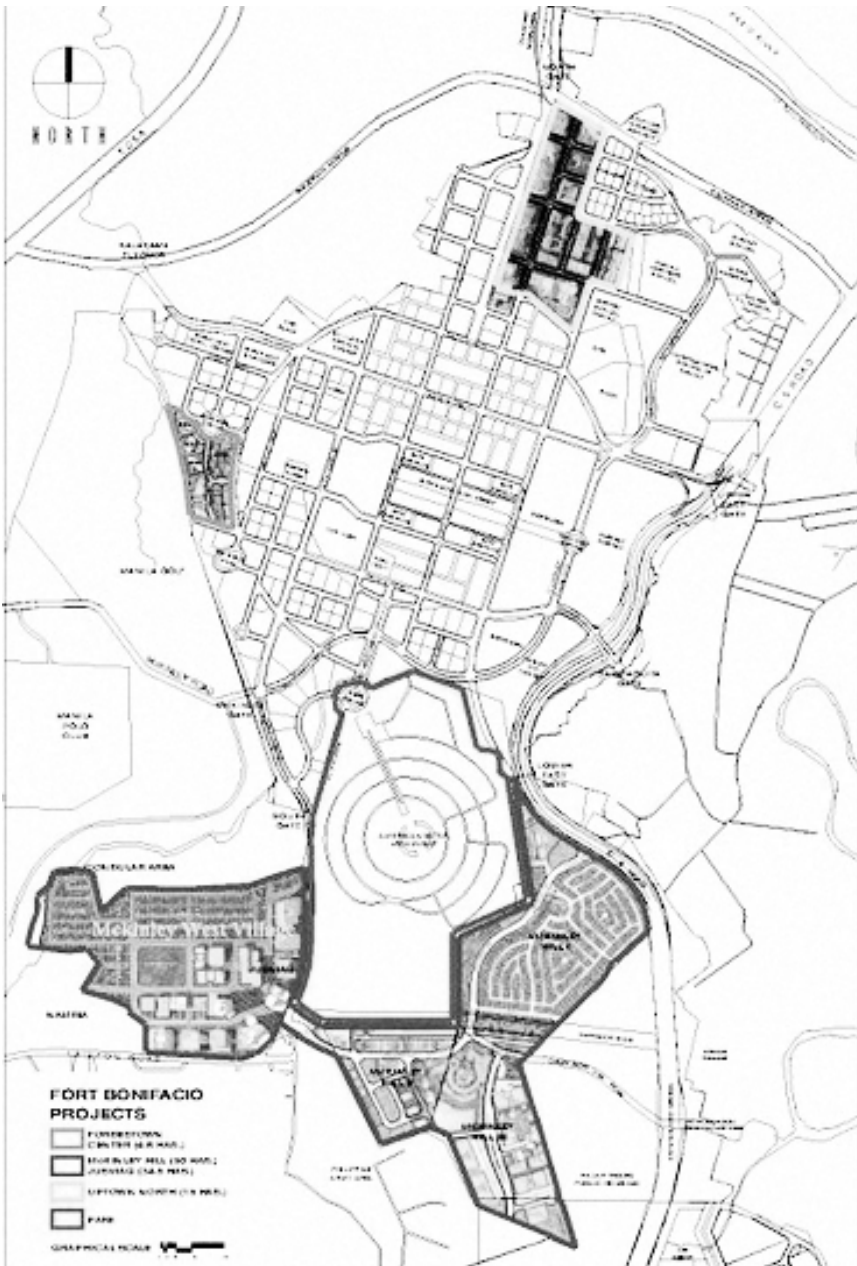


Fort Bonifacio Global City (BGC) - Aiming for high density (Source: Florian Steinberg)



Fort Bonifacio - High concentration of high-rise buildings. (Source: Florian Steinberg)

Bonifacio Global City - Master Plan area and recent extensions. (Source: Bases Conversion Development Authority, Manila)



intelligent design and quality, which can compete with Hong Kong, Singapore or other parts of the world. As the world economy recovers it looks like a winning formula, although there have been doubts that the housing bubble could become too big and expensive.

An interesting innovation was introduced shortly after the devastating Typhoons of 2009 that brought massive floods to Metro Manila. Circulo Verde started marketing "worry-free ... world class technologies which are working harmoniously with nature, making sure that ... living space is kept secure...". In order to become resistant to floods and resilient to extreme weather events, which in the Philippines are associated with impacts of climate change, the Circulo Verde company offered to its traumatized upscale customers in Marikina City (hard hit during the 2009 typhoons) the provision of perimeter retaining walls, elevated sites, smart drainage systems, above ground parking, back-pumping systems, and automated flood gates.⁹

The private sector has also tried to innovate by joining the latest international trends in energy efficiency (see Figures 1 and 2), green architecture, and community building. In Makati and Taguig's Fort Bonifacio Global City, the first examples of buildings which are certified as per the U.S. standards under the green building certification program LEED (Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design) have appeared recently. "Live well. Live right" is the slogan of Arthaland, the owner of the first residential LEED project.

Fort Bonifacio global city in Taguig, Metro Manila - for the high end market

Fort Bonifacio is a district in Taguig City, Metro Manila. The district is named after the main Philippine Army camp in Metro Manila, Fort Andres Bonifacio. In the recent years, Fort Bonifacio district has experienced commercial growth through the sale of military land by the Bases Conversion Development Authority (BCDA). Fort Bonifacio Global City (BGC) evolves on the basis of a master

plan intended to cover all the facilities and amenities needed for a modern, sustainable and green community with wide streets, green parks, and spacious and well-landscaped projects. In 1995, the City of Taguig and the BCDA launched an international competition to develop idle army land into "the country's most functional and technologically advanced urban centre".

Fort Bonifacio Global City's physical environment is comprised mainly of high rise residential and commercial buildings with pockets of medium-rise buildings for retail and commercial use. The Ayala Group will be putting up a science museum at the Bonifacio Global City to include art and culture. Fort Bonifacio is also home to several completed prestigious schools, shopping complexes, embassies, restaurants, and commercial and activity centres.

The development of the 26-square kilometre former military base that has been launched by the BGC development plan has had a significant impact on land prices, and Fort Bonifacio is likely to dethrone other business hubs in Metro Manila such as Ortigas and Makati. Lease rates in the district have been on a steady rise in the past few years, with most commercial office buildings reporting full occupancy. The Philippines real estate industry believes Fort Bonifacio has the potential to not only become a residence for the affluent, but also for managers, executives and foreign employees from the outsourcing industries, call centres and Information Technology industries. There are several upscale residential condominiums in the area, as well as office buildings mostly occupied by companies in the technology and business processing outsourcing (BPO) sector.

The prestigious Shangri-La hotel will open another branch in Fort Bonifacio, while the Philippine Stock Exchange (PSE) will set up a unified trading floor in Fort Bonifacio and vacate its offices at the Ayala Tower One in Makati and the PSE Tektite in Ortigas Center. In 2010, a 14-storey St. Luke's Medical Centre has opened, which provides world-class medical services. Fort Bonifacio will also become a site of the country's tallest building, the 66-storey skyscraper Federal Land Tower. Construction of the P20-billion project started late last year and, once finished, will strip Makati's 55-storey PBCom Tower of its title. Moreover several high-end luxury residential condominiums have been built in Fort Bonifacio by the country's biggest property developers.¹⁰ In addition to this, there are now a large amount of restaurants, fast food outlets, cafes, commercial and retail shops. The Taguig Coliseum and Convention Centre will be developed in Fort Bonifacio, which will soon rise on a commercial site of 35,000 square meters beside the big public market, and the Coliseum and Convention Centre will have a hotel, office building, serviced apartments, stores and restaurants. In addition, BGC hosts a number of international educational institutions like the International School Manila, British School Manila, and Manila Japanese School. Most of the international schools plan to relocate to the area.

As a consequence BGC is widely seen as a success story of the booming real industry in the country and as an important example of urban renewal.



However the commercial success of BGC has not come without creating envy. Neighbouring Makati City attempted in 2008 to claim parts of Taguig and BGC as its own, and the Supreme Court reverted intentions to stop Taguig from collecting taxes on land located in Fort Bonifacio.

BGC will be home to wealthy Filipino buyers and for expatriates, some of them renters, and some of them owners. Expatriates can purchase apartments through corporations – as long as 60% of the land remains Filipino owned. To attract customers, some of the developers offer condos at very low down payments, some even at zero percent interest. For many of these occupants, BGC represents a giant step in Metro Manila's new urban landscape. For some it personifies "Taking one's place at the Universe of High Life".

The Pamayanang Maliksi Social Housing Project, Cavite – for the lower end market

Several real estate construction companies have started to focus on the lowest market segment, the social housing sector.¹¹ In 2007, the Asian Development Bank-sponsored Loan 2063-PHI titled the Development of Poor Urban Communities Sector Project (DPUCSP), started to promote private sector built housing projects.

An example is the Pamayanang Maliksi Project in the Cavite Province (some 30 km south of Metro Manila). This is a priority project of the provincial government aims to reduce informal occupation in the Province. An estimated 4,834 units were constructed in five phases by RII, a private developer.¹² Of 53 hectares, 48 hectares were be allocated for housing. The units amounted to P400,000 (= US\$ 8,888). Notably the private builder provided all public amenities and infrastructure connections (like water supply, sewerage, electricity, public roads), community centres and schools, while the local government ensured site connections of the trunk infrastructure. Each cluster will have a village centre and commercial area, a market, a daycare centre, elementary and secondary schools, parks and playgrounds, waste material recovery facility, as well as 15-meter

Two Maridien. Alveo – Ayala Land's newest tower at the Bonifacio High Street. Fort Global City. (Source: Ayala Land, Manila)

10. Among these are the Essensa, Serendra, Pacific Plaza and Regent Parkway, Forbeswood Heights, Kensington and office buildings like Net Square, Bonifacio Technology Centre, HSBC Building, Hanjin Philippines' building, and the Singapore Chancery.

11. This had been pioneered by Freedom to Build in the 1980. Later RII Builders, Globe Asiatique Realty Holdings Corp., Ralff Realty and Vista Life – to mention a few – have followed into this market.

12. Currently, 1,113 units are completed, and 667 are occupied, while others are awaiting approval of their take-out loans from the Home Development Mutual Fund (HDMF), see Asian Development Bank 2011.

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 Pamayanang Maliksi Social
 Housing Project and school
 building – ready for
 occupancy.
 (Source: Florian Steinberg)

wide primary roads, 10-meter wide secondary roads, and 6.5-meter wide tertiary roads. The Province of Cavite contributed the land currently being developed while RII's primary role is to secure financing and develop the subproject. The ADB loan served as financing of the construction activities, while the homebuyers obtained housing loans from HDMF. In the process around 84,000 families/applicants have been screened for eligibility to obtain a housing unit. The target group for the Pamayanang Maliksi Social Housing Project were workers of the electronic industries in Cavite, and employees of the government sector, teachers and clerical staff. All of these had to be members of the Home Development Mutual Fund (HDMF), also known as Pag-IBIG, and had to apply for a loan in order to purchase their house and lot unit (Figure 1).



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 Pamayanang Maliksi Social
 Housing Project – during
 construction
 (Source: Florian Steinberg)

A key feature of the project is the takeout of homebuyers of RII Builders. After approval of HDMF loans, the beneficiaries can acquire their new homes. For the builders this means that with this mechanism they will be reimbursed quickly; there is a fast turnover of funds. The economic and financial analysis of the project indicates economical robustness. Thus it could be demonstrated that social housing is both economically and financially viable (Steinberg 2008).



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 Pamayanang Maliksi Social
 Housing Project –
 undergoing first
 modifications right after
 allocation.
 (Source: Florian Steinberg)

In spite of this, the limitation of the Pamayanang Maliksi Social Housing Project is that workers of the informal sector could not join, since they are not eligible for HDMF membership, and thus not creditworthy for cheap housing loans.



The fund flow under this exemplary private sector-led socialized housing project demonstrates the complexities that are required for the private sector to come in. The project demonstrated that the private sector would only engage if its role can be short-lived and a fast return of its investment is ensured. A fast and efficient take-out mechanism of loans to individual homebuyers, for instance through HDMF, is essential for this modality. In essence, upon occupancy of housing units by the beneficiaries, there will be full payment of the units handed over. This signifies a fast-track approach that does not entail years of loan administration by the private investor.

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 Pamayanang Maliksi Social
 Housing Project –
 land use plan.
 (Source: Florian Steinberg)

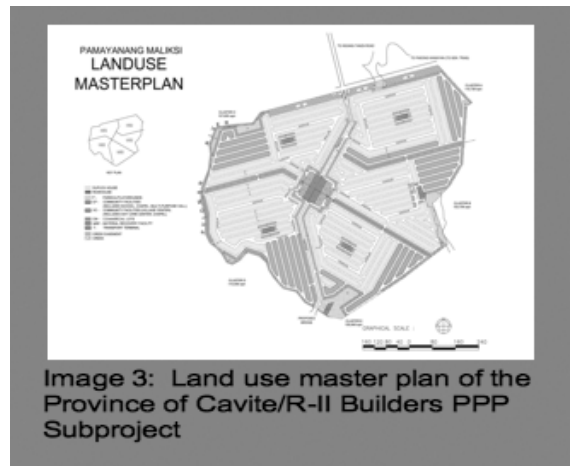


Image 3: Land use master plan of the Province of Cavite/R-II Builders PPP Subproject

Lessons

The experiences from housing provision by the private sector in the Philippines illustrate the capacity of the sector to address vastly different market segments and to address local as well as global customers. The housing investments by OFWs capture assets that otherwise might go into other areas of consumption. Some real estate developers offer financing¹³, while private banks have supplemented these efforts with (moderately priced) housing loans. The private real estate sector has demonstrated that it can manage to deliver access to land where the public sector has failed, and that it can seek out retirement dollars of expatriates and the rich alike. The high-end market seems to be flourishing, and as much as the global economy functions, it will prevail on the back of remittances and expatriate investments.

Private sector investments in housing for the lower end market have been much slower and significantly smaller in numbers. Since financing for this stratum is limited to the HDMF, the bulk of the local work force, working in the informal sectors of economy, does not have access. The success of the private sector in the social housing sector is to some extent related to the existence of the home saving mutual fund (HDMF), which provides cheap housing loans to workers and employees of the formal sector. Thus, the private sector has not yet been able to capture the vast subsector of families living in informal settlements. This challenge will remain as long as these financing institutions do not open up to the poorer segments of society. As Alcazaren (2011) has pointed out, two thirds of the population could afford socialized housing if there were an adequate and accessible mechanism.

The overall experience of the private sector in housing in the Philippines demonstrates a success story for the upper market, while it remains a continuous struggle to successfully reach out to low income families. So far, there is no sustainable and inclusive system in place that could cater to the urban poor. However, the private sector has developed some strategies which will require further refinement in the future.

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13. For instance Ayalaland under its 'Homestarter Bond' scheme. More information available through sbcapital@securitybank.com.ph (r.21.06.2014)



NEOLIBERALISM

THE IDEA, THE CRITIQUE, AND THE SPATIAL IMPLICATIONS

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Peter Gotsch

Abstract

This overview aims to provide a better understanding of neoliberalism as an economic theory as well as an ideological and political doctrine. Likewise it aims to contribute to a better appreciation of the societal and spatial impacts of this economic mode. The neoliberal economy of the informational age emerges as a contradictory system: it is driven by a combination of ultra-rationalist organisational principles (along Max Weber's lines), with new technologies, and with an apparent 'irrationality' on the part of the stakeholders driving the process. The portrayals by colleagues from the Global South of peripheral cities underline the assumption that the effects of neoliberal practices in the South are more dramatic and extreme than in the North. The forces of economic liberalisation seem to have an easier play in postcolonial environments, which are characterised by unsettling growth and socio-demographic change and which tend to be governed

by elite regimes. Indeed, the observations of most of the local scholars speak for the fact that the import of supermodern (or ultra rational) practices from the North in many instances reinforces existing contradictions and leads to super segregation and super fragmentation.

An important conclusion presented is the observation that the global suburb in the South emerges as the paradigmatic urban space of the 21st century. The article also reaffirms that most of the models we have of contemporary cities are still concentrated in the West, and produced by Western scholars, notably in the US and Europe. While studies of (and from) third world cities exist, they remain isolated and fragmented. As a result, the question of how neoliberalism operates in the periphery remains open, and much of the language that would make up a theory of the neoliberal city is still missing.

This article has been peer reviewed by two independent reviewers. A group of about 30 distinguished experts is engaged in TRIALOG's peer review process. All photographs are by the author unless otherwise noted.

Photo: Petras Gagilas

Neoliberalismus – Idee, Kritik und räumliche Implikationen

Der vorliegende Text möchte zu einem besseren Verständnis des Neoliberalismus als Wirtschaftsmodell und ideologischem politischen Modell beitragen sowie die sozialen und räumlichen Implikationen dieses Konzepts diskutieren. Die neoliberale Wirtschaft des 21. Jahrhunderts entsteht als widersprüchliches System: sie basiert auf einer Kombination von ultra-rationalistischen Organisationsprinzipien, neuen Technologien sowie einer scheinbaren Irrationalität der die Prozesse steuernden Schlüsselakteure. Die Auseinandersetzung mit peripheren Städten bekräftigt die Annahme, dass die Auswirkungen neoliberaler Praxis im globalen Süden extremer sind als im globalen Norden. Das macht die Peripherien des globalen Südens zum paradigmatischen Stadtraum des 21. Jahrhunderts und zu privilegierten Orten, um die neoliberale Stadt zu untersuchen. Die Kräfte ökonomischer Liberalisierung scheinen in postkolonialen Umgebungen ein leichteres Spiel zu haben, denn diese Gebiete sind häufig durch ungesteuertes und dynamisches

Wachstum, durch extremen soziodemographischen Wandel sowie die Kontrolle durch einzelne Elitegruppen gekennzeichnet. In der Tat bekräftigen die Beobachtungen lokaler Kollegen, dass die Einfuhr supermoderner (und ultra-rationaler) Praktiken aus dem globalen Norden bereits bestehende Brüche vielerorts verstärkt und wahrscheinlich zu neuen Formen der 'Supersegregation' und 'Superfragmentierung' führt.

Der vorliegende Artikel stellt fest, dass die meisten der heute existierenden Stadttheorien sich nach wie vor auf den globalen Norden konzentrieren und von westlichen Experten, vorwiegend aus den USA und aus Mitteleuropa, produziert werden. Zahlreiche Studien über und aus der 'Dritten Welt' existieren zwar, diese sind aber in der Regel isoliert und fragmentiert. In den meisten Fällen wissen die Autoren auch nichts von vergleichbaren Beobachtungen ihrer Kollegen aus anderen Regionen. So bleibt die Frage offen, wie der Neoliberalismus wirklich in den Peripherien operiert. Ein Großteil des Vokabulars, das wir für eine Theorie der neoliberalen Stadt brauchen, wird immer noch vermisst.

The concept of neoliberalism

The concept of neoliberalism penetrates the ideological rationales of contemporary economic and political systems. As much as globalisation was a buzzword of the 1990's, neoliberalism became a catchphrase in the first decade of the new millennium. The term experienced a boom as an analogy for exploitative economic globalisation along unfettered markets. It is both a school of thought as well as a critique of the ideology of this school.

As a school of thought neoliberalism dates back to new liberal economic ideas and policies that thrived in several economic schools from the 1930s to the 1960s and beyond. It is an early-twentieth-century political philosophy. The term was coined in 1938 by the German sociologist and economist Alexander Rüstow and refers to a redefinition of classical liberalism, affected by the neoclassical economics. Neoliberal thinking became famous as a paradigm of several economic schools, such as the Freiburg School, the London School of Economics, and the Chicago School. The term became passé in the 1960s when Keynesianism became popular (cf. Wilke, 2003). Central protagonists of the concept are economic scholars such as Friedrich von Hayek and Milton Friedman.

The economic theories and models developed by the Chicago School and its alumni provided the conceptual and ideological basis, as well as (in some instances) the manpower, for a new era of privatisation, liberalisation and deregulation worldwide. As an example, 25 Chilean alumni of the school – the so called "Chicago Boys" – were instrumental in the economic reforms in Chile under General Pinochet in 1973. In addition to this, concepts relating to neoliberalism largely influenced the economic reforms of the Reagan (1981-1989) and Thatcher (1979-1990) eras (sometimes also referred to as 'Thatcherism' and 'Reaganomics'), and have become the maxim of international organisations such as the World Bank, the IMF and the OECD.

The success of this new doctrine was triggered by a combination of various push and pull factors. According to David Harvey (2005:16), "The capitalist world stumbled towards neoliberalisation as the answer through a series of gyrations and chaotic experiences that really only converged as a new orthodoxy of what became known as the 'Washington Consensus' in the 1990's." Generally neoliberalism is seen as a strategic response to the global recession in the late 1970s (cf. Brenner 2002). Other causes relate to ongoing bureaucratisation, a crisis of the Keynesian welfare state, the 1973 oil crisis, numerous regional debt crises, or the 1974 deregulation of international financial trade. For Hackworth (2007: 9), neoliberalism "is an ideological rejection of egalitarian liberalism in general and the Keynesian welfare state in particular, combined with a selective return to the ideas of classical liberalism, most strongly articulated by Hayek (1944, 1960) and Friedman (1984, 1962)".

It was the 1989 ending of the Cold War in particular that implied a major boost of neoliberal thought. John Williamson (1989), in what later would be coined the Washington Consensus, developed a list of 10 general recommendations for how Keynesian types of states should be reformed. Here the state comes forth as an element of control that must provide the essential legal and physical security, while the economy emerges as the major player generating development. The strategic agenda includes formulae such as legal security for property rights, public spending reforms (from supply side to demand side), privatisation of state enterprises, deregulation of hitherto restricted markets, market-based interest rates and exchange rates, and liberalisation of trade systems and foreign investments.

These days, foundations and think tanks play a major role in promoting neoliberal thought. The US-based American Heritage Foundation, for example, seeks to "formulate and promote conservative public policies based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values, and a strong national defence". It also actively pushes for privatisation, deregulation, cuts in social spending, and pre-emptive military strikes (cf. www.heritage.org/about, r12.07.2009). At the same time other organisations such as the Cato Institute demonstrate that neoliberalism is a novel crosscutting paradigm that can not be clearly linked to traditional distinctions of right or left (www.cato.org, r12.07.2009).

The ideological core of neoliberalism is based on classical liberalist values such as the amplification of individual freedom and happiness, private property, and a free market economy with as few regulations as possible. David Harvey defines neoliberalism as something that is "in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade [... and] it emphasises the significance of contractual relations in the market place". (Harvey 2005: 2, 16)

While Lefebvre (1984) has critically described the increasing commoditisation of the globe and all its aspects as a trend, the proponents of neoliberalism would see this as a postulation. The neoliberal concept believes that the scarcity of goods could be prevented, or even overcome, if all recourses are efficiently tapped and utilised. An important prerequisite for this are global and free markets, while the other is a privatisation of all public resources such land, water and genes. Accordingly, neoliberal scholars such as Friedrich von Hayek are known for their critique of paternalistic and developmentalist states and centrally-steered economies (1960: *The Constitution of Liberty*). Likewise, Milton Friedman is known for his opposition to the socialisation of natural monopolies and as a proponent of flexible currency exchange (1962: *Capitalism and Freedom*).

Neoliberal critique

Even more than a politic-economic concept and ideology, neoliberalism is also a critical notion sceptical of globalisation and economic internationalisation. Its proponents come from a variety of political, disciplinary, and geographic backgrounds. They are united by the critique of the negative effects of an unbounded economic globalisation which goes along with a hegemony of international corporations, an increasing loss of state sovereignty, novel forms of atomisation and objectification of labour, the worldwide exploitation of inequality, the privatisation of public space and communal resources, the degradation of local cultures and communitarian values, and/or the rising levels of environmental degradation by unfettered excavation of resources.

Some of the most significant critiques have been put forth by Pierre Bourdieu (1998: *The Essence of Neoliberalism*), Noam Chomsky (1998: *Profit over People: Neoliberalism and Global Order*), Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2001: *Empire. Globalization as a New Roman Order, Awaiting Its Early Christians*), David Harvey (2005: *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*), and Richard Sennett (2006: *The Culture of the New Capitalism*). Erminia Maricato (2005: *Globalization and Urban Policy on the Periphery of Capitalism*) represents a critical voice from emerging economies, while Steven Slaughter (2005: *Liberty beyond Neo-Liberalism: a Republican Critique of Liberal Governance in a Globalising Age*) represents a critical viewpoint from the conservative, Republican side.

Yet, the critique of capitalism is older. Patrick Geddes (1911:58), for example, refers to the industrial capitalist system as a Paleotechnic order that must be overcome by a Neotechnic era, and he specifically points to the slum as being among the essential 'achievements' of the Industrial (Paleotechnic) Age.

The critics assert that neoliberalism is a project that fosters socio-economic polarisation, that promotes inequalities, and that undermines solidarity. For David Harvey (2005: 16), the "redistributive effects and increasing social inequality have in fact been such a persistent feature of neoliberalisation as to be regarded as structural to the whole project". When characterising neoliberalism as "a programme for destroying collective structures which may impede the pure market logic" Pierre Bourdieu regards the alienation of economy and society as the core of the problem (Bourdieu 1998).

Crucially, this "logic of contemporary markets [...] constructing, in reality, an economic system conforming to its description in pure theory [...] and a sort of logical machine that presents itself as a chain of constraints regulating economic agents" (ibidem) can be seen as an advanced stage of formal rationalisation, according to Max Weber's narratives of rationalisation.¹

The critique of neoliberalism reflects the real-world effects that the practice has on the ground: "[...] the world is there, with the immediately visible effects of the implementation of the great neoliberal utopia" (cf. Bourdieu 1998). Critics such as Bourdieu, as well as Harvey, unmask the political and ideological face of neoliberalism. Harvey (2005: 18) describes neoliberalism as a "global capitalist class power restoration project", while Bourdieu (1998) stresses the aspect of a technocratic and rationalist utopia. "What if, in reality, this economic order were no more than the implementation of a utopia – the utopia of neoliberalism – thus converted into a political problem? One that, with the aid of the economic theory that it proclaims, succeeds in conceiving of itself as the scientific description of reality?"

Consequently for its critics, neoliberalism emerges as an economic and political project aimed at reconfiguring class and power relations in society. "Neoliberalisation has not been very effective in revitalising the global capital accumulation, but it has succeeded remarkably well in restoring, or in some instances ... creating, the power of an economic elite (Harvey, 2005: 19)." The "utopia of a pure and perfect market [...] draws its social power from the political and economic power of those whose interests it expresses". "The doctrine is maintained by those agents who dominate economic relationships: big politics, international corporations, and beyond all the world of international financial institutions and money markets." Notably the "movement [...] is made possible by politics, such as action towards financial deregulation" (Prasad, 2006). The role of private capital is expanded through the state while the state maintains a critical role in enabling and reinforcing the system, as politicians are among the central actors of implementation (ibidem).

1. After all, it seems that neoliberalism in the informational age leads to a new order. Today the introduction of novel technologies and electronic spaces engenders a condition of ultra-rationalisation. This system resembles more an organic and evolutionary order a la Darwin than a mechanistic world of machines, characterised by "the struggle of all against all at all levels of the hierarchy [...] with the cult of the winner" (also cf. Gotsch 1995).

Neoliberal space

Today we still lack concepts that conceptualise the specific effects of neoliberal doctrines on space and urban form. Only a few models directly conceptualise the impact of neoliberalism on space and cities. These include Neil Brenner and Nick Theodore's (2002: *Cities and the Geographies of Actually Existing Neoliberalism*) and James Hackworth's (2007: *The Neoliberal City: Governance, Ideology, and Development*). Brenner and Theodore attest that today cities and regions are more than mere passive recipients of trends. In contrast, they argue that the transformation of space into an economic good has transformed cities into significant motors of neoliberal capital accumulation. Urban environments become the battleground for diverse experiments: place marketing campaigns, private infrastructure schemes, public private partnerships, superblock developments, regional terminals, deregulated investment zones, enclaves for elite consumption, or standardised urban typologies. (Gotsch 2007). (cf. to the articles of Steinberg, Sandhu and Benerjee in this volume.)

While Hackworth's perspective remains bound to the old core of the North American city as the 'soft spot' of neoliberalism, the efforts of Brunner and Theodore, as well as their colleagues from the Global South, such as Kiran Sandhu (2006), or Erminia Maricato et al (2005), focus on spaces and policies. The most important contribution shared by all accounts is the portrayal of an ideological and political dimension of space. Indeed, this is something most studies on contemporary space still miss today. On the other hand, the narratives as examined in this paragraph tend to focus on spaces and processes, leaving out places and typologies.

Indeed, we find that a theory of neoliberal space has not been established yet. What is also missing is a deeper examination of the very places and typologies, which in return may lead to a better understanding of the entire 'species' of neoliberal space.

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Peripheral urban landscape with megastructure by I.M. Pei, Cyberabad, Hyderabad, India (Photos: Peter Gotsch)

Peripheral urban landscape with Technology Center in Navi Mumbai, India



Spaces of globalisation

There are several narratives that examine the condition of contemporary space without being openly grounded to the terminology of neoliberal critique. The 'materialist' gaze of scholars such as John Friedman (1984), Saskia Sassen (1989: *The Global City*), Dorothy Massey (1985: *Spatial Divisions of Labour*), or Manuel Castells (1989: *The Informational City*) explores the interrelationships of economic globalisation and spatial restructuring and diagnoses that the new economic era is leading to new spatial constellations between the centre and periphery on global, national and regional scales: forces such as homogenisation, fragmentation, and polarisation penetrate all spatial scales, while the national level loses significance, the regional level becomes more important, and the urban fabric undergoes a major restructuring. Peter Marcuse and Ronald von Kempen (2000: *Globalising Cities: A New Spatial Order*) study the reconfiguration of inner city neighbourhoods by global elites. Roger Simmonds and Gary Hack (2000: *Global City Regions*), among others, explore the arrival of the polynuclear metropolitan region on an international scale and introduce the notion of global city regions, while Patsy Healey (2001: 205) introduces the terminology of the extended urban region.

A number of cultural and ethnographic bottom-up narratives complement the materialist top-down gaze on space in the era of neoliberal globalisation. Most of these draw the role of personal imagination, and the interpretation of cities as symbolic landscapes. Notably, Marc Augé (1995: *Non-lieu*) explores the nature of new forms of abstract space (malls, terminals, virtual domains, hotel rooms, or highways) under the label of the 'non-place'. These emerge as super modern and ultra-rational domains of 'solitary contractuality', as opposed to the places of habitus.

Furthermore, the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1996: *Modernity at Large*) teaches us that individual imagination is not only relevant in the context of a multipolar urban region, but also highly essential within a complex, asymmetric and multicultural global space. Appadurai also maintains that we must not only take into account individual, but also social, imagination in order to understand the 'making' of contemporary space.



View on the periphery

Several scholars from the North as well as the South explore the production of contemporary space in the global peripheries, thus adding another dimension to the global perspective. Notably Robert Fishman who has discovered the 'global suburb' as the paradigmatic place of modernisation in the peripheries, by shifting his investigation to suburbs abroad (2002: *Global Suburbs*). Indeed Gotsch (2010) expands this notion and presumes that peripheries of the peripheries are among the most significant localities of modernisation in a global context.

Anthony King and his peers (2002: *Spaces of Global Cultures*) confirm the strategic relevance of peripheral modernisation and discuss the specific significance of 'suprurbs' and 'globurbs' in the age of a global modernisation (as opposed to the colonial modernisation).²

It is Terry McGee who, as early as 1991 (*The Extended Metropolis*), has pointed to the emanation of the Desakota region as a unique indigenous form of Southeast Asian (sub-) urbanisation. In addition, Peter Rimmer and Howard Dick discuss the emergence of a new species of new towns in the region by the end of the 1990s (1998: *Beyond the Third World City*).

Yet Fishman and King fail to portray the specific ideological and political dimension of spatial production. This point is emphasised by several local scholars from the South such as Erminia Maricato (2005: *Globalisation and Urban Policy on the Periphery of Capitalism*), Flavio Villaca (2001: *Espaço Intra-urbano no Brasil*), Teresa Caldeira (2000: *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation and Citizenship in São Paulo*), Kiran Sandhu (2005: *Transformation, or Transgression? Impact of Neo-Urbanism Paraphrenelia on an Infant Metropolis in the Developing World*). Their portrayals of peripheral cities underline the assumption that the effects of neoliberal practices in the South are more dramatic and extreme than in the North. The forces of economic liberalisation seem to have an easier play in postcolonial environments, which are characterised by unsettling growth and socio-demographic change and which tend to be governed by elite regimes. Indeed, the observations of most of the local scholars speak for the fact that the import of super-modern (or ultra-rational) practices from the North in many instances reinforces existing contradictions and leads to super-segregation and super-fragmentation. Globurbs and Suprurbs, for example, become an element of an enclavic and insular urbanism.

Finally, the typologies and mechanisms described above comply with a model of a contemporary space, one which is generated by the principles of advanced economic rationalisation (along the lines of Max Weber's formal rationalisation), in combination with the self-reproducing impulse of global and

local elite regimes. Contemporary neoliberal space is based on a trend towards collective individualisation and consumer-oriented lifestyles, and is produced by the imagination of globally operating private corporate representatives, in combination with the dreams of the new bourgeois. This neoliberal space is an iconographic and contractual domain that is driven by the logic of codes and symbols. Its 'solitary individuality' (cf. Augé 1995) rationalises (i.e. it subjects) individual behaviour and excludes social imagination. Indeed, the term 'indigenous supermodernity' (ibidem) is a good label to describe the situation. Can this supermodernity be adapted and appropriated by traditional forms of community and publicity?

Arrival at the 'indigenous supermodernisation in the peripheries of the peripheries'

An important conclusion of the context presented above is the observation that the global suburb in the South emerges as the paradigmatic urban space of the 21st century. Indeed, if we combine the concepts presented we arrive at the bulky but fundamental notion of an 'indigenous supermodernisation in the peripheries of the peripheries'. Hence, the examination of the conceptual context affirms that the novel typologies of globurbs and suprurbs – or as we say "NeoTowns" – in the South are among the most radical and unfettered representations of privately driven urbanism. However, the observation can be made that a large amount of the models are still concentrated in the West, and produced by Western scholars, notably the US and Europe. While studies of (and from) third world cities exist, they remain isolated and fragmented. As a result, the question of how neoliberalism operates in the periphery remains open, and much of the language that would make up a theory of the neoliberal city is still missing.

2. It is also significant that King and his peers propagate a new methodology as they investigate the production of contemporary space along a multi-stakeholder approach. They also employ a plura-disciplinary perspective, in particular a combination of postcolonial and cultural studies.



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Urban 'landscape of surprise' in a gated community in Bumi Serpong Damai, Jakarta, Indonesia (Photo: Peter Gotsch)



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RAPOPORT WEITER DENKEN

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Achim Schübler

Amos Rapoport gebührt große Anerkennung für die jahrzehntelange, systematische Arbeit, die er in seinem Vortrag "designing for people - some implications" zusammenfasst (Rapoport 2011, abgedruckt in TRIALOG 106). Er nennt wichtige Fehler, die im Laufe der letzten 50 Jahre all denen unterlaufen sind, die sich der umfassenden Aufgabe 'designing for people' verschrieben haben: Dass Architekten dabei 'self satisfaction' betreiben (Rapoport 2011: 11), dass Geschmack, Vermutung und Vorurteil zu oft wissenschaftliche Evidenz ersetzen und dass, will man Probleme durch Umweltdesign lösen, es zunächst darauf ankommt, die wirklichen Probleme (zusammen mit den Nutzern) zu identifizieren (Rapoport 2011: 24). Gleichzeitig gibt er richtigerweise zu bedenken, dass 'user' keine 'homogeneous group' bilden (Rapoport 2011: 5), dass jede Situation einmalig ist und neue, eigene Probleme stellt und dass Forschungsergebnisse auf dem Gebiet 'environment and behaviour' nicht ohne weiteres übertragbar bzw. wiederholbar sind (lack of replication, Rapoport 2011: 7). Alle, die selbstkritisch die Entwicklung von Stadtplanung (oder dem, was man jeweils dafür hielt) miterlebt haben und gleichwohl in ihrer täglichen Arbeit mit Planung und Entwurf konkret befasst sind, werden verstehen, warum Amos Rapoport sich einerseits auf über 31 Seiten abmüht, eine wissenschaftliche Grundlage für Gestaltung von Umwelt (nicht nur der gebauten) einzufordern und andererseits gleichzeitig eingestehen muss, dass 'Wissenschaft' hier nur sehr eingeschränkt möglich ist und auf erhebliche Schwierigkeiten stößt. Neben allen diesbezüglichen Erwägungen und Problematisierungen ist der output - z.B. in Form einer Matrix (verständlich für Laien), oder einer methodischen Rangordnung von Prioritäten oder übergeordneter Evidenzen - mager. Amos Rapoport bleibt einer Vorstellung verhaftet, welche Design auf das Herstellen von Plänen beschränkt. Er sieht nicht die Aufgaben des handelnden Planers, der Design nicht for, sondern with the people versteht. Da Amos Rapoport aber einen hohen wissenschaftlichen Anspruch erhebt, rege ich eine Diskussion an mit dem Ziel „Rapoport weiterdenken“. Sie sollte sich zunächst um die Klärung folgender Fragen bemühen:

- reicht es aus, 'designing for people' als gesellschaftsdienliche Wohltat zu postulieren, der es lediglich an ausreichender 'Wissenschaftlichkeit' fehlt, um wie gewünscht zu wirken?
- gibt es eindeutige Maßstäbe für 'better environment' im Sinne von sozialen Evidenzen? Genügt es z.B., Environment „A“ durch Environment „B“ zu ersetzen, um - überspitzt formuliert - Menschheitsprobleme wie Armut, gesellschaftliche Ungerechtigkeit, ökonomische Abhängigkeit, politische Unfreiheit etc. zu lösen?
- anhand welcher, gelungener Beispiele ließe sich die Wirkung von mehr Wissenschaftlichkeit im Design überprüfen? Gibt es Projekte oder bewährte Methoden, auf denen sich erfolgreich, d.h. im Sinne laufender Verbesserung durch Kritik und Selbstkritik, aufbauen lässt?
- welcher Art sollten die theoretischen Grundlagen sein, welche Ingenieure und Architekten benötigen, wenn sie für anonyme Nutzer (people) planen?

Im Folgenden möchte ich meine Kritik in sieben Punkten erläutern.

1. Welche Wissenschaft?

Ohne epistemologisch weit auszuholen, ist es zunächst ratsam, den Bereich von Wissenschaft einzugrenzen, der theoretische Grundlagen für Design bereit stellen kann (hier so zu verstehen, wie Rapoport es meint: "any change made by people to the physical environment is design" Rapoport 2011: 23). Dazu sollte man, ganz allgemein, den Bereich der Naturwissenschaften von dem der Gesellschaftswissenschaften unterscheiden; letztere folgen nicht mathematischen sondern historischen Regeln. Beide wiederum gliedern sich in Grundlagenforschung und angewandte Wissenschaften.

Der von Rapoport geltend gemachte Unterschied: "research is concerned with understanding the world... design is concerned with changing the world" (Rapoport 2011: 31) trifft insofern nicht den Punkt. Natürlich war Architektur, auch als Technologie, immer schon darauf angewiesen, die Welt kultur- und naturwissenschaftlich zunächst zu verstehen (vgl. den Beitrag von Kosta Mathéy im selben TRIALOG-Heft, Mathéy 2011). In der Anwendung erweist sich Baukunst allerdings als Hybridwissenschaft, die auf sehr unterschiedlichen Grundlagen aufbaut. Die geglückte Verbindung ganz verschiedener Grundlagen macht im Ergebnis ihre Eigenart bzw. ihren Erfolg aus. Konzentrieren wir uns zunächst auf die gesellschaftswissenschaftlichen Grundlagen: Design, wie auch Rapoport es versteht, gründet nicht auf unverrückbarem Sachwissen, mit dem 'zahme' Probleme nach systemtheoretischer Methode gelöst werden könnten, sondern auf instrumentellem Wissen, d.h. auf Rezepten, Techniken und Methoden, die eben nicht naturwissenschaftlich belegbar, sondern wesentlich historisch definiert sind, weil sie unabsehbaren Veränderungen ihres Gegenstands - der jeweiligen Gesellschaft lebendiger Menschen - unterliegen. Mit jeder neuen Situation entstehen neue Datenmengen. Jene Methoden sind folglich manipulierbar, denn sie beeinflussen Entscheidungen, die „durch die Eigenart der Entscheidungssituation gekennzeichnet (sind), und nicht durch die (Eigenart) des Objekts der Entscheidung“ (Rittel 1992: 233). Die damit zwangsläufig entstehenden ‚böartigen‘ Probleme können nur sehr bedingt mit Methoden gelöst werden, die aus den Naturwissenschaften zu übernehmen wären. Dies ist ein erster kritischer Punkt. Seit Horst Rittel (1967) wissen wir, dass die wesentlichen Planungsprobleme ‚böartig‘ sind und nicht, wie z.B. eine Schachaufgabe, am grünen Tisch oder im isolierten Labor gelöst werden können (Rittel 1992: 43). (Man könnte alle weiteren Ausführungen zu dem Thema mit dem Hinweis auf die 10 Eigenschaften von böartigen Problemen abschließen (Rittel 1992: 44 ff.).)

2. Behaviorismus

Als Ausgangs- und Bezugspunkt der Thesen (und Forderungen) von Amos Rapoport erscheint die Theorie eines psychologischen Behaviorismus, der nach dem Vorbild der Verhaltensforschung bei Tieren gewisse Regelmäßigkeiten im Verhältnis von Umwelt, bzw. Umgebung, und menschlichem Verhalten sucht (Environment-Behaviour Studies - EBS). Dafür werden, vereinfacht, Profile bestimmter Umgebungen erstellt, die mit überprüfbareren Profilen bestimmter Rollen, bzw. Erwartungen, abgeglichen werden (Rapoport 2011: 9). Ziel einer analytischen Auswertung dieses systematischen Abgleichs sind Aussagen in der Form, dass eine Profilkombination (environment) U x,y,z, mit einem Profil

(behaviour) Verhalten V c,b,a zusammengeht. Was den offenbar ernst gemeinten Hinweis: "animals seem to fare much better" (Rapoport 2011: 29) angeht (als Beleg werden vorbildlich designte Zoogebäude herangezogen), kann man nur mit Popper antworten, der falsche Homologien sanft kritisiert: Sie seien „...einer der Gründe, warum der dogmatische Behaviorismus, kurz gesagt, verblödet ist“ (Popper 1996: 135):

Die meines Erachtens falsche Indienstnahme von Wissenschaft ist mit ein Grund dafür, dass Amos Rapoport viel Zeit und Papier aufwendet darauf hinzuweisen, dass die Ergebnisse von EBS zwar wissenschaftlich gemeint sind, und zunächst auch so aussehen, es aber nicht wirklich sind und nicht sein können. Sein beharrliches Streben nach ‚science‘ wird also von zahlreichen Bedenken begleitet, welche ihn dazu zwingen, aufgestellte Hypothesen immer wieder einzuschränken oder ganz zurückzunehmen, bevor ein einziges Ergebnis auf dem Tisch liegt. Denn identische Versuchsanordnungen führen gleichwohl zu abweichenden Ergebnissen, die Resultate der Forschung sind nicht wiederholbar und auch nicht ohne weiteres übertragbar ("lack of replication,... conceptual unification and theory have been neglected", Rapoport 2011: 7).

Die immer wieder als Referenz herangezogene medizinische Forschung und Anwendung ist zwar aufschlussreich, aber grundsätzlich (s.o. unter Punkt 1.) nicht übertragbar auf das Forschungsfeld Stadt bzw. auf den Anwendungsbereich soziale Stadt- und Umweltgestaltung, weil sie weit mehr auf naturwissenschaftlichem als auf kulturwissenschaftlichem Boden steht. Leider kann oder will sich Amos Rapoport nicht aus der „Fußangel des ‚Szientismus‘“ befreien, der auf unzulässige Weise „naturwissenschaftliche Analogien auf soziale Phänomene“ überträgt, wie Rittel mit Bezug auf Popper so treffend formuliert. (Rittel 1992: 232)

3. Nutzergerechte Planung

Dennoch ist der Wunsch nachvollziehbar, Planung und Gestaltung für anonyme Nutzer (designing for people) auf theoretisch solide Füße zu stellen, und sicherlich kann intensives Literaturstudium (read analytically, Rapoport 2011: 32) dabei helfen, einige der Fußangeln in diesem Bereich zu erkennen. Die weiter führende Frage ist jedoch, ob, bzw. ab wann sich der Wunsch nicht selbst im Wege steht, indem er falsche Probleme identifiziert, bzw. die falschen Fragen stellt. Die Suche nach einer mündigen Architekturtheorie zieht sich ja durch alle ernsthaften Erörterungen und Beiträge der letzten Jahrzehnte und ist nachweislich nicht abgeschlossen. Billige Kritik an Künstler-Architekten, die sich selbst befriedigen ('self satisfaction', Rapoport 2011: 11), geht dabei am Ziel vorbei, bzw. bleibt im Vorfeld stecken. Will man sich nicht auf Kritik beschränken (was durchaus akzeptabel wäre, denn intelligente Kritik ist immer richtig), sondern eine Theorie entwickeln, muss sich diese beweisen, sie muss falsifizierbar sein. Das wiederum funktioniert auf Grund der drängenden Probleme in der fortlaufenden Arbeit nur anhand nachweislich ausgeführter Beispiele, z.B. von 'better environment'.

Wissenschaftlich neutrale Bewertungen kommen wiederholt zu dem ernüchternden Urteil, dass gut gemeinte Theorien (mit globalem Anspruch im Bereich better environment) nicht unbedingt eine entsprechende Anwendung in der Praxis nach sich ziehen. Schlimmer noch: Immer wenn die Gestaltung des öffentlichen Raums einer Theorie mit ‚wissenschaftlichem Anspruch‘ folgte, war das Ergebnis unbefriedigend, weil sich der menschheitsbeglückende Anspruch bald als Doktrin, wenn nicht als totalitäre Ideologie entpuppte. Die Nutzer verschwanden nämlich schnell im Hintergrund. Zum Glück steht Zeit immer auf Seiten der menschlichen Nutzer, sie ist der wahre Gegner jeder Doktrin. Zunächst muss man also aus historischen Prozessen lernen, wie man Fehler vermeiden kann. Wenn man darüber hinaus richtig erkennt, dass Nutzer keine ‚homogeneous group‘ (Rapoport 2011: 5) bilden, muss man historische Vorgaben, daraus resultierende semantische Bindungen, sowie individuelle Differenzen und Pluralismus akzeptieren, und das heißt z.B. auch: scheinbare

Unordnung, vermeintliches Chaos, und ggf. unübersichtliche Selbstorganisation. Guten öffentlichen Räume liegt durchaus ein schlüssiges, zumeist recht einfaches Konzept zu Grunde; dies gewinnt aber Gestalt (und auch sein spezielles Design) durch vielfältige Einzelheiten, durch Details, welche dem Pluralismus ihrer Nutzer Ausdruck verleihen. Was für diese selbstverständlich und wichtig ist, mag von zugereisten Design-Experten vielleicht als hoffnungslos unwissenschaftlich abgetan oder gänzlich ignoriert werden.

4. 'Better environment'

Die richtigen Fragen lauten also nicht: Was ist 'good design' oder 'better environment'?, sondern: ‚wozu dienen Umwelt, Umgebung oder Architektur, wozu dient Design?‘ Welche Rolle spielen sie im Leben der Menschen, was können sie bewirken? Environment ist als Begriff allemal zu flach und zu allgemein. Peter Gotsch macht dazu in seinem Beitrag „Was tun mit der geronnenen Mayonnaise?“ (Gotsch 2004) einige Angaben, nämlich, dass es z.B. bestimmte Plätze mit bestimmten Eigenschaften sind, die trotz, oder gerade wegen ihrer hohen Dichte den verschiedensten Nutzern das richtige 'environment' liefern:

„Die funktionierenden Stadträume zeichnen sich durch ihre Offenheit und Multifunktionalität aus. Temporäre Aneignung durch unterschiedliche Gruppen wird so ermöglicht... Das Phänomen der spontanen Selbstorganisation... Immer wieder trafen wir auf Formen der ‚privaten‘ und ‚informellen‘ Organisation zur Aufrechterhaltung der Qualitäten...“

Hier wird deutlich, was städtischer Raum, weniger als 'designed environment', sondern als Teil der Lebenswelt, bewirken soll. Die gebaute (oder ‚designte‘) Stadt (als Form, Zeichen und Raum) hat hier (u. a.) drei Aufgaben (issues): Sie soll die verschiedenen ‚Nutzer‘ zusammenbringen, indem sie ihnen einen akzeptablen Raum zur Verfügung stellt, zweitens soll sie ermöglichen, dass diese Nutzer sich räumlich erkennbar artikulieren können und drittens soll sie dafür sorgen, dass sich die verschiedenen Nutzer bei der „Aufrechterhaltung der Qualitäten“ so miteinander arrangieren, dass ein soziales Klima kultiviert wird, in dem niemand die Oberhand beansprucht. Ersteres (das Zusammenbringen) ist eine Qualität an sich, die beiden anderen Aufgaben (die issues Artikulieren und Arrangieren) vermitteln Qualitäten, die sich konsequenterweise auch in mehr oder weniger designed environment niederschlagen, - vor allem aber, diesem langfristig überhaupt einen Sinn geben. Die Frage 'good design' ist (wie so oft betont) keine Frage des Produkts, sondern stellt sich als Teil eines Prozesses, der über städtische Freiheit und Gleichheit zu einer geteilten Verantwortung aller für die Stadt und ihre Gestalt führt. Wenn dieser Prozess in Gang kommt und erfolgreich im Sinne der Nutzer verläuft, liefert er nebenbei als quasi selbstverständliches Ergebnis auch 'better design'. Was wir heute als qualitativvolles Design an zumeist historischen Bauten bewundern, war selten schön in dem Sinne gemeint, den wir heute hinein interpretieren, sondern hatte meist ganz praktischen Sinn, transzendierende Wirkung und soziale Bedeutung.

5. 'Behaviour setting'

Man muss darauf hinweisen, dass die Interpretation von Bedeutungen im Zusammenhang mit 'environment', heutzutage ganz wesentlich von der verwendeten Sprache abhängt. Insofern ist es riskant, es allein dem Englischen, als lingua franca der Wissenschaft zu überlassen, welche Begriffe und Ausdrücke semantisch eingesetzt werden dürfen. Anders als in den Naturwissenschaften, hat Sprache in den historischen (dazu zählen die sozialen) Wissenschaften einen eigenen Wert, denn sie beschreibt das jeweilige Verständnis der Menschen von ihrer Lebenswelt, und das heißt: sich selbst. Sprachphilosophie hat versucht, hier Missverständnisse aufzudecken. Das von Amos Rapoport verwendete 'place' soll z.B. dem Ausdruck für ‚Ort‘ oder ‚lieu‘ (franz.) entsprechen.

(Fortsetzung auf Seite 60)

THINKING BEYOND RAPOPORT

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Achim Schüßler

For over 50 years there has been a growing interest in defining the possible relationships between behaviour and environment in order to improve environmental design and make it respond to human needs and wishes. Amos Rapoport and his EBS (Environment-Behaviour Studies) Group have been leading this research and trying to put it on a scientific basis. However, as the world and concepts of city and environment have been continuously changing, the time has come to re-evaluate Rapoport. This paper proposes to develop his approach by commenting on social and historical factors.

1. What kind of science?

Approaches derived from the Natural Sciences, developing hypotheses by means of repeated testing, cannot easily be transferred to the study of design. Design is determined by history and its rules have to be analysed according to the strictures of the Social Sciences with their much wider field of study. Changing the world is not possible without understanding it! Most utopias have turned out to be wishful thinking, leaving dreadful non-places (un-topias). Planning aiming at perfection, trying to give the world a theoretically pure form, ran into the 'wicked problems' of political decision making, as described by H. Rittel as early as 1967.

2. Behaviourism

The 'scientific' approach of behaviourism has been widely discussed before. There is no deterministic link between a particular urban environment and a particular human behaviour. The question of how to generalise data from 'human behaviour' and the 'human mind' is yet unresolved. In any case there are multiple behaviours and many minds. Humans do not (always) behave like animals! A belief in behaviourism is in itself a restriction on further research, being constrained by its scientism. Social phenomena cannot be understood through analogies to Physics and Natural Sciences.

3. User-friendly planning

Though critiques of architects who claim to be artists often seem justified, they are not the only people prone to user-unfriendly design. Equally, theoretically well-founded approaches may be completely wrong in terms of responding to user's needs. Only time will show which approach gains long-term acceptance. As users generally are not a 'homogenous group', no general doctrine can satisfy them all. User-friendly concepts thus avoid mistakes by learning from experience how far overall design may go. They can only provide a framework which empowers the users to organise the details. The concepts should consequently be open to various ideas that come from non-experts.

4. Better environment

Rather than asking 'What is better design?' the question should be 'What is design good for?' Beyond drawing plans, design has a social function; urban design for example has three 'issues' that I would like to emphasise here: a. Bringing people together by offering places suitable for use as public space. b. Letting people use this space and articulate themselves. c. Cultivating a social climate that assures tolerance and equality among groups as well as individuals, on the basis of universal urban liberty. The main issue is thus creating a common responsibility for quality of life in an environment that is open to all. Once this process is running smoothly, better design follows as a matter of course. The perception of good environment transcends practical issues by acquiring social meaning and importance.

5. Behaviour setting

Reality being transformed into terms may arise the question of how language influences our thinking. English as the lingua franca of the scientific world finds its limits when defining cultural particularities. The way people see and express their world is linked to their language. Some terms are untranslatable. 'Lebenswelt' or 'Ort' (French: 'lieu') have no proper English equivalent. The word 'place' is unsatisfactory according to Rapoport. But 'setting' (his proposed substitute) forgets the historical meaning of place (genius loci). 'Rule systems' that place actors in a setting and make them behave, with no relation to a particular time and place, may seem seductive, but are unrealistic. From a Continental point of view, urban research has to understand the context of historical, economical and socio-geographical structures; structures that have been exposed to destruction and questions of reconstruction. Any *tabula rasa*-thinking is obsolete, because these textures of names, tracks and traces are to be respected. They definitely undermine any ambition of grid-planning and rather foster compromise-solutions. 'Keep up with research' could have two meanings. Does it serve progress or does it stand for cultural dominance? The question 'Who is planning?' hides the real question of power.

6. Diverse approaches to research

All the available information concerning our domain of interest, the built environment, must be taken into account, wherever it originates and whether or not it supports our position. The classical criteria of architectural theory need to be extended by modern criteria of hygiene, ecology, sustainability etc.. Each of these has links with design, demanding its rights and opening up a wide field for research. As a result, it is most important to elaborate a well-coordinated synthesis of all criteria in order to avoid conflicting aims. Conflict studies thus open up their own field of research. The work *Architects' Data [Basics of design] (Bauentwurfslehre)* by Ernst Neufert, published 60 years ago, provided universally valid answers to Rapoport's questions before they were even asked. The example given here (Jeddah) shows that human rights as articulated in buildings are not to every ruler's taste. The influence of historical and political conditions makes it clear that urban research is more than a simple theory of 'environmental design'.

7. No new mystifications

In Rapoport's own words, environment-behaviour-studies have not quite led to satisfactory research results. Though problems are part of the process of research, one should not pursue theories that do not work in reality; nor should one look for scapegoats (artists) if problems remain. Architect's skills, reduced to the core, are irreplaceable. On the other hand, Rapoport's proposal of 'translating Translational Research' - when used arbitrarily in defence of one's own theory - is to be avoided (because there is an almost infinite field of possible translations). It leads, rather than to science, to new mystification with poor evidence. It is more important to learn and explore our domain while exchanging our growing expertise through interdisciplinary cooperation and across countries: the motto of TRIALOG.

Coming back to design, basic and complementary research is still neglected - such as material research and physics, but also viable ways of self-organization, as well as moderating conflicts and creative coordination skills. The role of a modern architect is not to draw master plans; design comes into its own when it is not regarded as primordial. To remember what design is good for, I would propose a comparison: "Design is not how it looks; but how it works" (Rapoport 2011: 27) / "Design is how it sells" (Steve Jobs).

Es unterschlägt mit seiner Bedeutung von ‚Platz, Stelle‘ jedoch die historische Dimension des Ortes (vgl. ‚genius loci‘). Das führt dazu, dass die Begriffe place und entsprechend non-place (Nicht-Ort) sich wenig opportun erweisen und als ‚nichtwissenschaftlich‘ abgelehnt werden. Für Amos Rapoport erscheinen ‚place‘ oder ‚home‘ (Rapoport 2011: 30) als vage und verwirrend und sollten durch ‚setting‘ ersetzt werden, um Licht ins vermeintliche Dunkel zu bringen (‐turning mysteries into (solvable) problems‐). Tatsächlich reduziert ‚setting‘ den Ortsbegriff auf den austauschbaren ‚Schauplatz‘, auf die geschichtslose ‚räumliche Anordnung‘ im Sinne eines gut ausgeleuchteten ‚Bühnenbildes‘. Dies führt jedoch zurück in das grundsätzliche Dilemma von EBS, das menschliches Verhalten im Raum analysieren will – ohne soziokulturellen Hintergrund.

Das Konzept einer räumlichen Grammatik, welche versucht Regeln des Verhaltens (rule systems) losgelöst von Raum und Zeit, lediglich aus der Zuordnung (setting) von Kulisse und Akteuren zu destillieren, ist allerdings absurd.

Vor allem steht es in Widerspruch zu über 40 Jahren Stadtfor-schung diesseits des Atlantiks. Hier wurden gegebene Zusammenhänge von historischen, ökonomischen und räumlichen (geografischen) Strukturen – u.a. auf Grund der Erfahrungen aus Zerstörung und Wiederaufbau – in ein neues Licht gerückt. Die Wahrnehmung dieser Strukturen hat – gerade auch im außereuro-päischen Bereich – dem Respekt vor dem Ort und seiner Geschichte absolute Priorität gegenüber Eingriffen von außen eingeräumt. Ökologische Erkenntnisse und Einsichten taten ein Übriges, um von altem tabula rasa-Denken Abschied zu nehmen. Jede gestalterische Absicht, jede Veränderung des environments und jedes design muss sich mit ihrem Objekt auseinandersetzen – eben dem Ort, der sich durch Bezug (zum Leben und Arbeiten konkreter Menschen, zu Flora und Fauna), durch Identität und durch Geschichte auszeichnet (Marc Augé 1994).

Will man diese erkenntnisreichen Erfahrungen nicht aufgeben, sollten sich die betroffenen Planer der Diskussion stellen, inwie- weit die Forderung nach mehr Wissenschaftlichkeit im Design (keep up with research) tatsächliche Verbesserungen des planeri- schen Ansatzes bewirkt, oder ob nicht genau diese Forderung sie zum nützlichen Idioten einer kulturimperialistischen Ideologie macht, für die Raum eine gesichtslose und auszubeutende Ressource ist.

Die kritischen Fragen: wer plant? oder: wem gehört die Stadt? erinnern uns daran, dass Planen Ausüben von Macht im konkreten Fall ist, – eine dahinter stehende, allgemeine design-Theorie täte dies umso systematischer.

6. Verschiedene Forschungsansätze

Es ist deswegen hilfreich, zunächst (alle verfügbaren) Informatio- nen innerhalb der domain ‚gebaute Umwelt‘ zu sortieren und zu übertragen – auch und gerade wenn sie nicht die eigene Position stützen. Denn es gibt zahlreiche Aufgaben und Herausforderun- gen, die professionell gelöst werden müssen, weil sie von laienhaften Nutzern nicht erledigt werden können, beispielsweise durch Selbsthilfe oder Artikulation. Der vorurteilsfreie, vernetzte Zugang zu den verschiedenen Forschungsfeldern dieser Domäne könnte sich an den klassischen Kategorien der Architekturtheorie Vitruvs orientieren: Nutzung bzw. Nützlichkeit (utilitas), Haltbar- keit (stabilitas) und Ansehnlichkeit (vetustas). Diese ließen sich ergänzen durch Aspekte jüngerer Zeit, also die Optimierung von Bauten anhand der Kriterien Gesundheit, Hygiene, Umweltfreund- lichkeit (Landschaftsschutz, Schonung der Ressourcen) und Energieverbrauch (CO²-Bilanz). Jede einzelne Kategorie hat spezifischen Forschungsbedarf, besonders groß ist dieser aber im Hinblick auf ihre richtige Verknüpfung und die Vermeidung von Zielkonflikten.

Der Funktionalismus z.B. hat die Methoden optimaler Umsetzung von Nutzungsansprüchen an Bauten weitgehend erschöpft. Er hat auch die Bedürfnisse von Menschen, die sich in funktionsbestimmt gleichen Situationen funktionsgerecht gleich verhalten, baulich artikuliert, mittels funktionaler Gestaltung. Mit dem Einsatz von

technischen Apparaten werden z.B. Küchen oder Krankenhäuser von Bewegungsabläufen bestimmt, deren Optimierung sich modellhaft (model system) in Grund- und Aufriss abbilden lässt. Das Gleiche gilt für Fußballstadien oder Verkehrsbauten, also für Bahnhöfe oder Flughäfen: Hier verhalten sich die Nutzer auf Grund identischer Interessen gleich, sie folgen Abläufen, die sich schematisch festhalten lassen. Nicht zuletzt ist das ein Grund dafür, dass solche Bauten rings um den Erdkreis gleich aussehen. Vieles von dem, was Rapoport fordert, ist in der Entwurfslehre von Ernst Neufert (1973 / Erstaufgabe 1936) – nach mehr oder weniger wissenschaftlicher Erforschung – bereits festgehalten. Weltweit nutzen Architekten diese Entwurfsbibel und bewältigen damit Planungsaufgaben nach überprüfbar Standards. Als wir 1976 ein civic centre für Jeddah planten und sich der Auftraggeber bei der Erschließung des Krankenhauses mit der despotischen Erwartung einmischte, ‚natürlich‘ einen Hauptein- gang (für Männer), einen Nebeneingang (für Frauen) und einen Hintereingang, gleich neben der Entsorgung (für Schwangere, Wöchnerinnen und Behinderte) vorzusehen, war „der Neufert“ eine letzte, aber wirkungsvolle Argumentationshilfe, um diesen Unsinn abzuwenden.

Das Beispiel soll zeigen, wie richtig und wichtig die Erweiterung des wissenschaftlichen Horizonts und der theoretischen Grundla- gen ist, die weiter erforscht und gegen unreflektierte Praxis von ‚Umweltdesign‘ verteidigt werden sollten. Nicht zuletzt erwarten die Nutzer überall auf der Welt von Fachleuten für Bauen und Infrastruktur eindeutige Kenntnisse und ‚wasserdichte‘ Lösungen, vor allem – noch mal zusammengefasst – auf folgenden Gebieten:

- im konstruktiven Bereich (Nachhaltigkeit, Dauerhaftigkeit der Baustatik)
- im bauphysikalischen Bereich (Energie low- und high- tech, Materialforschung)
- im geologischen und hydrologischen Bereich (Bauingenieurwesen)
- im Sanitärwesen, Gesundheitsvorsorge, Klimaschutz im ökonomischen und ökologischen Bereich (systematisches Baumanagement, Kostensenkung, Umweltgerechtigkeit)
- im biologischen Bereich, hier ist Naturwissenschaft unerlässliche Grundlage, ebenso wie im ökologischen Landbau, in der Medizin und der Hygiene.

Die Disziplinen Landvermessung und Verkehrs- bzw. Stadtplanung haben in Regionen mit starkem Wachstum nach wie vor ihre Berechtigung, wenn auch unter geänderten Vorzeichen. Das Beispiel Baltimore (Rapoport 2011: 39) zeugt umso mehr von der erschütternden Naivität früherer Zeiten, nicht nur, weil es mit science nichts zu tun hat. Die Entscheidung, eine Entlastungs- straße nicht schnurgerade durch Wohnviertel gelegt zu haben, darf sich möglicherweise in solchen Ländern ‚wissenschaftlich begründet‘ nennen, wo man gewohnt ist, Verkehrsstraßen und Grenzen am geometrischen Raster von Längen- und Breitengera- den auszurichten – einfach, weil es nichts Vorangehendes zu berücksichtigen gab. Dass man Straßen kurvenförmig um Nachbar- schaften herumlegen kann, dass man vielfältige Hindernisse respektiert, ist in Regionen mit etwas längerer Stadtbaugeschichte eine Selbstverständlichkeit. Inzwischen wäre die Frage aktueller, nicht wie man die Straße baut, sondern ob man sie überhaupt bauen muss.

Darüber hinaus erkunden Fachzeitschriften wie TRIALOG fortlau- fend andere, neue Forschungsgebiete – auch durch Berichte und Erzählungen, um durch intensiven Erfahrungsaustausch anhand konkreter Projekte empirische und methodisch-logische Grundla- gen nicht nur zu erweitern, sondern auch zu verdichten: Essenz und Sinn verantwortlichen Handelns, weltweit.

7. Keine neuen Mystifizierungen

Wir erleben heute zunehmend die Übertragung von Metaphern aus dem Bereich des Bauens oder der Architektur in den politischen oder ökonomischen Bereich, meist wenn eine Lösung für ausweglose Situationen gesucht wird („Sozialstaat braucht neue Architektur!“). Oft werden dabei die wahren Verhältnisse verklärt. Wie ich versucht habe aufzuzeigen, ist es wichtiger, alle Kenntnisse und Fertigkeiten innerhalb unseres Sektors zu übertragen und zu vernetzen, und das, bevor man sich z.B. der Aufgabe „how to translate translational research to a different domain“ widmet (Rapoport 2011: 33). Im nahezu endlosen Feld möglicher ‚Übertragungen‘ wird man immer etwas finden, das eigene Thesen stützt, ohne dass damit eine falsifizierbare Erkenntnis gewonnen wäre. Wo Übertragungen überdehnt werden, beginnt Wissenschaft im Nebel zu tappen und ihre voreilige, um nicht zu sagen, falsche Indienstnahme fördert lediglich Wunschenken und das wiederum schafft eher neue Mythen als Klarheit. Wir sollten nicht von „dem Menschen“ sprechen, wenn wir das gesellschaftliche Verhalten von konkreten Menschen (Plural) in einer konkreten Situation meinen (Norbert Elias). Noch weniger ist das Funktionieren von „the mind“ (Rapoport 2011: 7) ein wissenschaftlich übertragbarer Terminus. Neurowissenschaftler drücken sich wesentlicher zurückhaltender aus. Der wie selbstverständlich geforderte ‚shift from an art to a science metaphor‘ hat insofern etwas Anmaßendes, als er eine Mystifizierung der Kunst (z.B. „Zauberei“) voraussetzt. Wie kann man dem künstlerischen Ausdruck in der Musik (mit individueller Note und subjektiver Interpretation) eine gesteigerte Klangsensualisierung zubilligen (Rapoport 2011: 13) und im synästhetischen Erlebnis von Zeichen, Oberflächen und Raum Kunst verurteilen? Auch wenn die Kritik am Künstler-Architekten oft berechtigt erscheint, sollte man doch festhalten, dass kein Wissenschaftler bereit und fähig wäre, die Arbeit des Architekten – von der Problem- und Konfliktanalyse über den Entwurf bis hin zur Ausführung – übernehmen zu wollen.

Einziges Fazit kann hier eine vernünftige Arbeitsteilung sein, die unter dem Stichwort ‚interdisziplinäre Zusammenarbeit‘ hinreichend bekannt ist und lange praktiziert wird. Der Planer/Architekt ist als Generalist längst der Koordinator von Fachdisziplinen – er zeichnet keine Masterpläne mehr. Er berät Investoren, Bewohner und andere Akteure, darüber hinaus ist er derjenige, „der einen Überblick über Finanzierungsoptionen... behält und eine Mediation bei unausweichlichen Konflikten ... leisten kann“ (Mathéy 2005: 113).

Mit einem Wort: Auch ‚Design‘ sollte nicht mystifiziert werden. In seiner Fixierung auf diesen Begriff bleibt Amos Rapoport in den *„Grenzen seines Disziplinendenkens gefangen, während die meisten Planer im Laufe ihres beruflichen Lebens erkennen, wie wichtig es ist, Disziplinen übergreifend zu arbeiten, um gesellschaftliche Veränderungen herbei zu führen“* (Roland Ziss).

Zum Schluss möchte ich ein Zitat des von uns allen geschätzten Steve Jobs aufgreifen: Design ist weder *how it looks*; noch *how it works* (Rapoport 2011: 27), design is *how it sells*.



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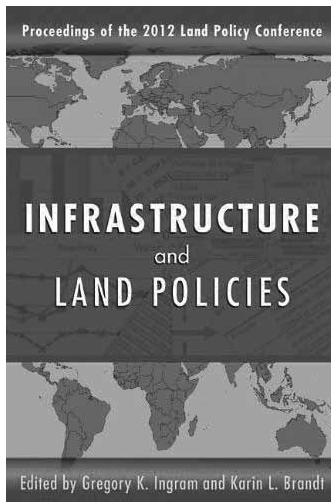
Die Herausgeber von TRIALOG möchten sich für die – nur von uns zu verantwortende – Verzögerung des Abdrucks entschuldigen.

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Landrecht und Bodenpolitik

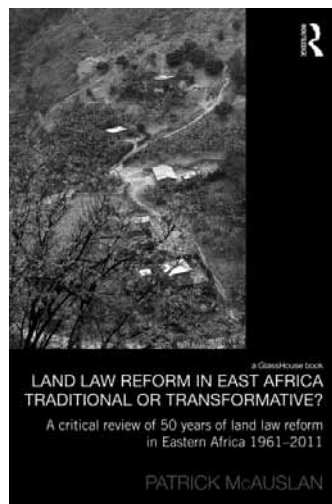


Gregory K. Ingram/Karin L. Brandt (eds.) (2013) *Infrastructure and Land Policies*, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. Cambridge/Massachusetts. 440 Pages. Paperback ISBN 978-1-55844-251-1. US-\$ 28.50.

What has “splintering urbanism” to do with infrastructure serving internationally prominent cities and megaprojects? Which are the great utility infrastructure challenges of the 21st century – wastewater, broadband, transport, electricity grid or mobile telephony regarding to socio-economic dynamics in Africa and Asia? Are there alternative industrial development patterns and infrastructure systems that can foster sustainability and could still be competitive in advancing development? The Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, collecting 14 contributions from public utility and finance experts, provides an interesting publication on “land and infrastructure”, and how to finance it. The range of texts is impressive: From global infrastructure, its impact on mega-events such as the Olympic Games or the soccer World Cup to the urban industry depending on utilities. Land based infrastructure must be embedded in taxation and valuation procedures. By improving prior assessment tools for valuation and property taxation of

fixed, intangible utilities, some countries serve as examples for the evolution of infrastructure taxation in adverse circumstances as rent-seeking, speculation (example: The Chicago Skyway) and involuntary resettlement in infrastructure projects that occur via eminent domain. The authorities responsible for maintenance and financing of facilities face the difficulty of partly skimming-off the potential rent-seeking gains as windfall profits of the landowners who benefit from infrastructure. To ensure the development of local public transportation, mass transit, communication infrastructure, water treatment and energy supply services, landowners should be forced to take on some of these infrastructure costs or, following the ideas of Henry George, the gains should be taxed away completely as land value resulting from economic development. Surprisingly, the name of Henry George who intrigued the Lincoln Institute does only appear in one single footnote on page 245. What a pity!

Fabian Thiel



McAuslan, Patrick (2013) *Land Law Reform in Eastern Africa, Traditional or Transformative? A critical review of 50 years of land law reform in Eastern Africa 1961-2011*. Routledge, Abingdon. 270 pages. ISBN 978-0-415-83143-7. € 110,83.

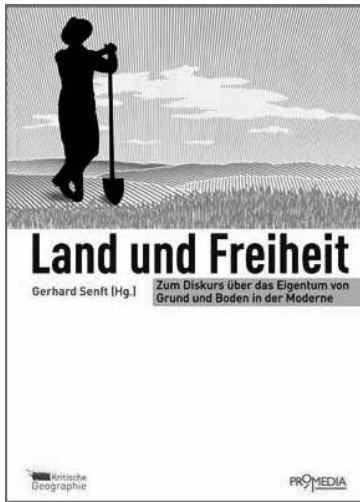
Patrick McAuslan (†2014), the founder of the Law School at Warwick University and Birkbeck College/UK, was a remarkable person who will leave a unique legacy. The compilation “Land Law Reform in Eastern Africa” was his last wide-ranging publication. Unlike the title may suggest the book goes far beyond the old “post-colonial” land law discussions. McAuslan managed to combine theories and concepts such as the “Just City” – and the “Just Countryside” – with legal terminologies and critical planning strategies. He started his career as a land management advisor for UN-Habitat Urban

Management Programme in Nairobi from 1990-1993 and had working experience in more than 35 countries. Moreover, he was widely recognized as an expert in the fields of law and development with an African background. Land law (reform) was his passion. It was never isolated in theories, but embedded in actions and ideas towards sustainable development, poverty alleviation, and planning law, initially within a postcolonial African and Asian context and gradually in other parts of the world. Similar to Edward Soja, his aim was to provide a platform for action how to achieve Spatial Justice particularly in east-African states such as Kenya, Tanzania, Zanzibar, Uganda, Rwanda, Mozambique, and Somaliland. As a clear result of McAuslan’s “critical review of 50 years of land law reform”, it comes out that without (urban) planning participation by all those directly and indirectly affected and through a new or modified system of land tenure, land tenure rules and local knowledge cannot be integrated in this process, since the respective design of land tenure regulations is always normatively sanctioned.

The land law was and is always culturally bound even when the fundamental provisions for land access, its use, its bequeathal or mechanisms for solving conflicts demonstrate predominantly strong cross-cultural parallels. If any reformed legislation will be able to reflect the complexity and differentiation of current land tenure system in practice, it is urgently needed to integrate the different actors and interest groups in the process of its formulation. This is true for the connection of collective property rights with entitlements to benefit streams, e.g. social security.

As noted above, the publication widens the land management perspective towards the legal, controversial, sometimes contradictory legal status in Eastern Africa – statutory “versus” customary (is it really “versus”?) rights – and towards the never-ending debate on how to integrate autochthonous laws in land policies and (national, regional, local) spatial planning documents (pp. 57 ff.). McAuslan provides an excellent overview on the urban planning law reform (pp. 161-198). After 50 years of urban management experience he wondered whether there will be the capacity to implement all this planning in the foreseeable future (p. 184). His research topics such as pro-poor land tenure security, reinforced community rights, promoted property rights, and institutionalized user rights, are both highly controversial and convincing. I can warmly recommend this publication. Reading texts from McAuslan is always a pleasure and surprise.

Fabian Thiel



Senft, Gerhard (Hg.) (2013) Land und Freiheit. Zum Diskurs über das Eigentum an Grund und Boden in der Moderne. Reihe Kritische Geographie. Band 18. Promedia Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft/Verein „Kritische Geographie“. Wien, 200 S.. ISBN 978-3-85371-358-7. € 15,90.

(Raum-)planer sind die besten Freunde der Grundstückseigentümer, lautet ein geflügeltes Sprichwort. Eine beliebte Prüfungsfrage, die ich des Öfteren stelle, ist: Wäre Planung einfacher, wenn es kein privates Bodeneigentum gäbe? In ähnlicher Richtung bewegt sich das von Gerhard Senft herausgegebene Buch. Man denke etwa an die Frage „Wem gehört die Stadt“, die in Deutschland wie anderswo nach wie vor ungelöst ist. Die übergeordnete Forschungsfrage lautet mehr denn je: Welche Bodeneigentumsform ist effizienter und effektiver: Privat- oder Gemeineigentum? Kann Effizienz überhaupt ein belastbares Kriterium sein, wenn es um Zugang und Nutzung des Grund und Bodens als Allgemeingut geht? Die Thematik ist hochaktuell und hat erhebliches Forschungs- und Mobilisierungspotenzial in urbanen wie in ruralen Gebieten gleichermaßen. Gerhard Senft weist darauf hin, dass sich der Diskurs über das Bodenmopol, über Grundrenten und Bodenwertsteigerungen bis in unsere Tage hinein als unabgeschlossen zeige (S. 21). Planer wissen seit jeher: Eigentumsrechte sind das Salz in der Suppe. Eine Fläche für eine bestimmte Nutzung zu öffnen ist das Eine, sie eigentumsrechtlich zu bekommen, etwa für Energiezwecke, oder die Grundstückseigentümer zur Kooperation zu bewegen respektive zu zwingen, das Andere. Mit viel Liebe zum sprachlichen Detail hat Senft, Professor an der Wirtschaftsuniversität Wien, ein handliches und erstaunlich tief gehendes Kompendium zusammen gestellt. Er beleuchtet in der Einleitung zunächst die bodenökonomietheoretische Seite des Eigentumsproblems (S. 9–35). In neun

Hauptkapiteln dreht sich in der vorliegenden Publikation alles um das Eigentum an Grund und Boden: Von der klassischen Schule der Nationalökonomie, dem Sozialismus, der Siedlerbewegung bis hin zu Tagesfragen des Landeigentums. Die Bodenfrage war und ist bis in die Moderne hinein stets eine soziale Frage. Dies schlug sich in den Thesen sozialistischer Philosophen wie Jean-Jacques Rousseau oder Pierre-Joseph Proudhon nieder, die als Fazit ihrer kritischen Überlegungen festhielten, dass privates Bodeneigentum einen Diebstahl darstelle. Die wissenschaftliche – nicht ideologische – Auseinandersetzung um Eigentumstheorien, ihre Rechtfertigung, aber auch die Übertragbarkeit auf zeitgenössische Landnutzungskonflikte wie das „Landgrabbing“ und bis hin zu Überlegungen für transparente urbane Bodenpolitiken ist richtig und wichtig. Der Diskurs innerhalb der klassischen Schule der Nationalökonomie, wie er von Adam Smith, David Ricardo und John Stuart Mill geführt wurde (Kap. 3), kann ebenfalls für heutige planerisch relevante Tagesfragen nutzbar gemacht werden. Henry George etwa vermochte mit seinem 1879 in den USA erschienenen Werk „Progress and Poverty“ der Bodenreformbewegung auch in Deutschland wesentliche Impulse zu verleihen. Er vertrat die Forderung nach Aneignung der Bodenrente durch Besteuerung (S. 109). Mein Resümee: Es wäre sicherzustellen, dass die Eigentümer mit der Grundrente sozialpflichtig umgehen. Vielleicht ist auch das Erbbaurecht für eine bessere Innenentwicklung zu erachtigen. Unverändert aktuell ist der Themenkomplex der Grundrentenabschöpfung, wenn man an ausländische Direktinvestitionen in Land und Rohstoffe denkt. Die klassischen Nationalökonomien wie Adam Smith, David Ricardo und John Stuart Mill lieferten Wegweisende Gedanken und Strategien, die nicht zuletzt auch in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit sinnvoll weiterzudenken sind.

Fabian Thiel

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EVENTS

OCTOBER 7-10, 2014 IN HYDERABAD, INDIA

Cities for All: XI Metropolis World Congress.

Hosted by GHMC, Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation. Contact: <http://hyderabad2014.metropolis.org/>. hyderabad2014@metropolis.org

OCTOBER 15-16, 2015 IN CHICAGO, USA

Spaces and Flows: 6th International Conference on Urban and Extra Urban Studies. "Decline Belt Cities and Places: Prospects, Problems, Possibilities".

Hosted by Spaces & Flows. First round of abstract submission is 30 March. Contact: <http://spacesandflows.com/the-conference>

OCTOBER 21-23, 2014 IN YOGYAKARTA, INDONESIA

3rd international conference on sustainable built environment (icsbe): Bringing Coastal Cities into the Future: Challenges, Adaptation, and Mitigation.

Hosted by Faculty of Civil Engineering and Planning Islamic University of Indonesia Kampus Terpadu, Jl. Submission of abstract: June 20, 2014. Contact: <http://icsbe.uui.ac.id/>

OCTOBER 21-25, 2014 IN COPENHAGEN, DENMARK

Island Cities and Urban Archipelagos.

Hosted by Island Dynamics. Submission of abstract: May 31, 2014. Contact: <http://www.islanddynamics.org/islandcities.html>. icua@islanddynamics.org

OCTOBER 27-28, 2014 IN ROME, ITALY

The First International Conference on IoT [Internet of Things] in Urban Space.

Hosted by ACM SIGAPP, SIGCHI, and SIGSPATIAL, and Technically Co-Sponsored by IEEE. Submission of abstract: June 22, 2014. Contact: <http://urbaniot.org/2014/>. conferences@eai.eu

OCT. 29 - NOV. 1, 2014 IN HONG KONG SAR, CHINA

The 6th Global Conference of the Alliance for Healthy Cities, On behalf of the China Hong Kong Chapter of the Alliance for Healthy Cities (AFHC).

Hosted by Alliance for Healthy Cities. Contact: <http://www.afhc2014.org.hk/>. hcpo@hohcs.org.hk

NOVEMBER 12-15, 2014 IN NASHVILLE, USA

12th Annual Green Roof & Wall Conference: A Green Roofs for Healthy Cities Conference.

Hosted by Green Roofs for Healthy Cities. Submission of abstract: March 10, 2014. Contact: <http://www.citiesalive.org/>. emacinnnes@greenroofs.org

NOVEMBER 13 -15, 2014 IN ISTANBUL, TURKEY

CUI '14 / Contemporary urban issues conference on Informality.

Hosted by Chamber of Architects of Turkey. Submission of abstract: 29th August 2014. Contact: <http://www.cuiconference.org>. info@cuiconference.org

NOVEMBER 27-29, 2014 IN BRUSSELS, BELGIUM

15th N-AERUS Conference: REAL CHANGE? Exploring and assessing ways to co-produce knowledge for tangible transformations in the cities of the South.

Hosted by N-AERUS, the Faculty of Architecture of the Université Libre de Brussels and the Université Saint-Louis of Brussels (Belgium). Contact: <http://www.n-aerus.net/>. Naerus2014@ulb.ac.be

DECEMBER 4-5, 2014 IN MEXICO CITY, MEXICO

Philosophy of the City II: What do philosophers have to say about urban life?

Hosted by Center for Environmental Philosophy, Center for Science, Technology, Ethics, and Policy, University of North Texas, Department of Philosophy and Religion Studies, Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana. Submission of abstract: September 15, 2014. Contact : <http://www.philosophyofthecity.org/>, shane.epting@unt.edu

JANUARY 7-8, 2015 IN HONG KONG, CHINA

ICSU 2015: 2nd International Conference on Sustainable Urbanization.

Hosted by Research Institute for Sustainable Urban Development & Faculty of Construction and Environment, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University. Contact: <http://www.polyu.edu.hk/risud/ICSU2015/>. icsu.2015@polyu.edu.hk

MARCH 16-19, 2015 IN BERLIN, GERMANY

Urban Fragmentation(s): Borders & Identity III.

Hosted by The Center for Advanced Studies in the Humanities (GWZ). Submission of abstract: September 12, 2014. Contact: <http://www.bic2015.de/>. bic2015@gwz-berlin.de

MARCH 23, 2015 IN ATLANTA, USA

Park Pride 2015 Conference: Parks and People: A Declaration of Interdependence.

Hosted by Park Pride. Submission of abstract: September 17, 2014. Contact: <http://www.parkpride.org/conference/>. conference@parkpride.org

APRIL 8-11, 2015 IN MIAMI, USA

Transnationalism from Above and Below: The Dynamics of Place-making in the Global City.

Hosted by Urban Affairs Association. Submission of abstract: October 1, 2014. Contact: <http://urbanaffairsassociation.org/conference/conference2015/>, info@uaaemail.org

APRIL 9-11, 2015 IN GWANGJU, KOREA

2015 APNHR Conference: Housing 2.0: Search for New Paradigms for Collaborative Housing.

Hosted by Asia-Pacific Network for Housing Research. Submission of abstract: September 30, 2014. Contact: <http://apnhr2015.org/>. apnhr2015@gmail.com

APRIL 11-14, 2015 IN SAN FRANCISCO, USA

Greater & Greener 2015: Innovative Parks, Vibrant Cities.

Hosted by City Parks Alliance and San Francisco Recreation Parks. Contact: <http://greatergreener.org/>

MAY 25-29, 2015 IN EDMONTON, CANADA

XVth Biannual Conference International Association for the Study of the Commons: The Commons Amidst Complexity and Change.

Hosted by The Commons Amidst Complexity and Change. Submission of abstract: August 1, 2014. Contact: <http://www.oss.org.uk/global-commons-conference-canada-25-29-may-2015/>. <http://www.iasc2015.org>, bparlee@ualberta.ca

JULY 2015 IN ATLANTA, USA

Healthy Parks Healthy People International Congress and Expo.

Hosted by National Park Service U.S Department of the Interior. Contact: <http://www.hphp2015.com/>

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