

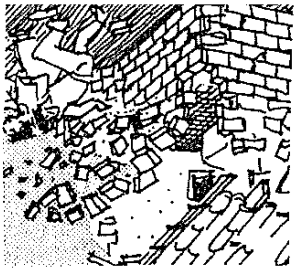
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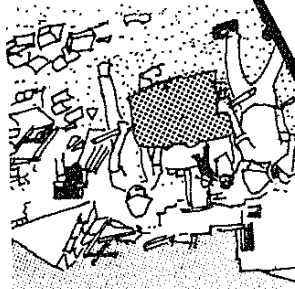
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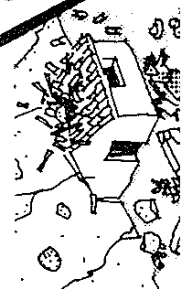
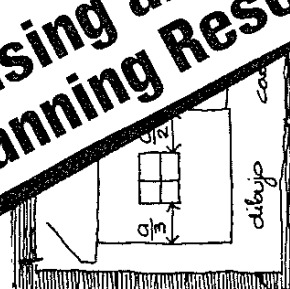
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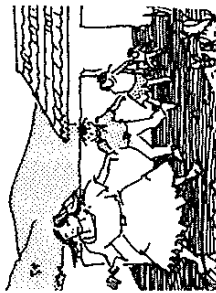
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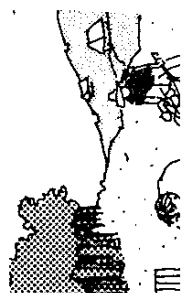
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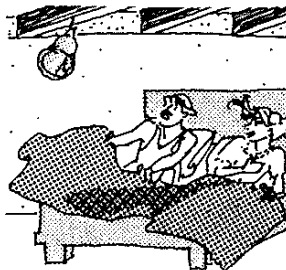
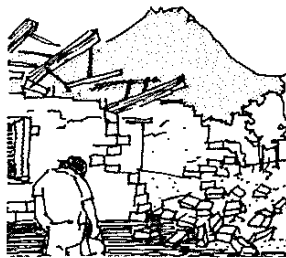
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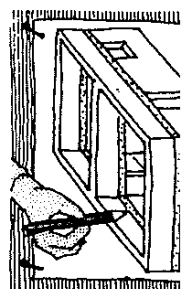
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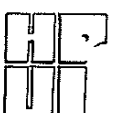


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# Editorial

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## Research into Third-World Housing: Problems, People and Policies

It is often said: „The housing problem of Third-World countries is very complicated.“ However, in theory, the duration of housing shortage in the Third-World countries is not different from that in the developed countries: Given a certain amount of housing need of people in the country, it seems just a matter of enlarging the supply of houses to fill up the gap.

How to enlarge supply? As for all sorts of production, the use of land, capital, labor and organizational expertise is necessary. And as for all countries this even applies to the most capitalistic countries in which the government is regulating the use of production factors in some way or another. Thus, the government might require a permit for building on the land; capital might be provided by the government in the form of loans or building subsidies; if manpower is available, the government might require the building contractors to pay for their workers' social security and finally, organizational expertise might be hired off by the national government from abroad. Governmental intervention is sometimes considered as being decisive in the outcomes of housing activities. In that case the expectations with regard to government action might run too high.

As for housing needs, economists tend to fill up the gap between needs and means by enlarging the supply assuming a given need. As marxist social scientists have pointed out, this one-sided approach of filling the gap might induce private companies to create scarcity, which in that case can be called artificial. Such a remark seems here rather out of place: the housing need of particularly the lower income groups in the Third-World countries is too evident to be questioned. Nevertheless, this evidence could distract our attention from the culturally determined characteristics of people's housing needs. Particularly, in situations, in which the users cannot articulate their preferences, the principals, local governments or private companies, might overlook their needs and instead put forward their own interests, like acquiring prestige or profiting by their workers' proximity.

These and other issues have been discussed at the international research conference „Housing, Policy and Urban Innovation“ in Amsterdam 1988, an event under the auspices of the ISA Housing and Built Environment Working Group. The articles in this special TRIALOG issue on the conference are based on papers presented to this conference.

More general observations of types and consequences of research carried out in the developing world by European or North American colleagues are described by *Kosta Mathéy* in an introductory article. To avoid certain neo-colonial dependency patterns in the academic and scientific operation with the south he suggests a number of principles to be followed by researchers in this field.

In her research of the system of housing provision in Zimbabwe, *Carole Rakodi* discusses the problems in defining the necessary factors for the analysis, and is pleading for a more realistic assessment of effective demand at one hand and the constraints of the supply of land, infrastructure and building materials at the other hand.

The development of various types of new towns obviously enlarge the housing supply, although often other motives can be indicated, as *Paola Somma* points out. Particularly when new towns are built to become the new capital city, other motives like the symbolic presentation of a new society may be the leading motive, which the authorities have in mind.

# TRIALOG

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## Inhaltsverzeichnis

The development of Brazil's new capital city has some unintended consequences, as *Claudio Acioly* shows. Instead of the intended regional development of the region around Brazil, the city attracted migrants from the region resulting in a city's population of 1.000.000 in 1985 instead of 800.000 as has been planned. Central in this article is the discussion of housing policies and programs, which even in the situation of strong governmental control of land and land use, did not succeed in providing adequate housing for neither the low income nor the middle income groups. Until recently all attention has been drawn to the administrative sector in the city disregarding the rapid growth of the informal housing stock in other parts of the city, particularly in the satellite cities. To cope with this housing problem a more tight relationship is pleaded for between housing and income and between housing and employment. The dwellers should have better access to building materials and to credit in order to facilitate their own building activities.

In general, little information is available on demographic variations within the production factor of labor. In her article *Sule Özüekren* draws out attention to the effects of the large scale use of temporary workers in construction. The temporary use of construction workers is the result of 1) the nature of the housing market (from the standpoint of the employers the unstable demand, as a result of changing political and economical situations, which increases the risks of employing workers on a permanent basis.), 2) the nature of construction work (the building site moves from one place to the other) and 3) the nature of construction workers (as seasonal migrants they meet the demand for unskilled workers in construction). As a consequence of their temporary jobs, the workers are excluded from social security. According to the author it is necessary to increase the efficiency of inspection of building contractor's labor practices and to increase the efficiency of governmental labor placement offices.

*Medhat Hassan's* approach to the housing problem in Egypt is a rather pragmatic one. First of all housing should have a high political priority and should consequently be given the government's financial support. Furthermore, the government should take additional measures such as stimulating private savings, subsidizing renters, reducing housing costs and promoting the use of low-cost methods of construction. Particular attention is given to the core-house approach, which enables a family, with little additional work, to move into such a core right away and thereafter expand the house as time and funds allow. The scheme permits maximal participation of the dwellers with regard to their housing situation and is inexpensive because the units are mass-produced on site allowing considerable savings.

As China is economically developing at a higher speed, the quantitative aspects in the provision of housing were considered more important for a long time. In his housing designs *Li Suifang* shows that now the qualitative values matter too, when they take into account people's needs and preferences.

*Wouter Turpijn*, whose conference paper had already been reproduced in TRIALOG 18, replies to Hans Harm's comments on his article in the same issue.

We hope, this overview of problems, people's practices and government policies will stimulate the reader to use the insights in his or her work.

*Wim Blauw and Léon Deben  
for the ISA*

*Kosta Mathéy and Rita Sampat  
for TRIALOG*

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# Anmerkungen zum Thema der Forschung im Habitat-Bereich für Entwicklungsländer

Kosta Mathéy

Der Begriff der Forschung suggeriert eine selbstlose und aufopfernde Tätigkeit im Dienste der Wissenschaft, etwa in der Weise, wie wir über die Expeditionsreisen eines Humboldt oder Livingstone nachlesen können. Was die Selbstlosigkeit angeht, ließe sich anmerken, daß bereits hinter den frühkolonialen Forschungsreisen wirtschaftliche Interessen standen, die den Forschern selbst zum Teil nicht einmal bewußt gewesen sein mochten, und die den Bewohnern der erforschten Regionen selten einen Nutzen, sondern mit größerer Wahrscheinlichkeit Krankheiten, Sklaverei, wirtschaftliche Übervorteilung und Fremdherrschaft einbrachten. Die 'moderne' wissenschaftliche Forschung mit Bezug auf Entwicklungsländer, von der hier die Rede sein soll, ist in der Wirkung da harmloser, und vermag in vielen Fällen durchaus positive Resultate im Dienste unserer ausländischen Partner hervorbringen. Gleichzeitig hat sich auch das Image des aufopfernden Wissenschaftlers, der in fernen Ländern harte Entbehrungen auf sich nimmt und Leib und Leben dem Erkenntnisinteresse zuliebe riskiert, Vergangenheit. Der überwiegende Teil heutiger Forschungstätigkeit spielt sich in den Lesesälen von Bibliotheken, im Labor und am Schreibtisch ab. Die Gefahren des Reisens sind heute - ungeachtet des zweifellos zunehmenden internationalen Polit-Terrorismus -

verschwindend gering geworden verglichen mit den Gesundheitsrisiken der Bewegungsarmut, eine unter vielen Forschern grassierende Berufskrankheit.

Die 'Bibliographie entwicklungsbezogener Forschungsarbeiten'(1) der Deutschen Stiftung für Internationale Entwicklung listet jährlich rund 600 nur in Deutschland initiierte Projekte, wobei der größte Teil der 'Auftragsforschung' (durch Consultings und Stiftungen) noch nicht einmal berücksichtigt wird. Angesichts einer derartigen wissenschaftlichen Emsigkeit erscheint die Frage nach dem spürbaren Nutzen und der Effizienz derartiger Forschung berechtigt, nachdem bekannterweise die absolute Armut in der Dritten Welt steigt, statt zurückgeht. Was wird erforscht, und in wessen Interesse? Wer setzt die Prioritäten für die einzelnen Projekte, koordiniert die vielen isolierten Einzelaktivitäten, und garantiert die Verbreitung und Anwendung der Ergebnisse?

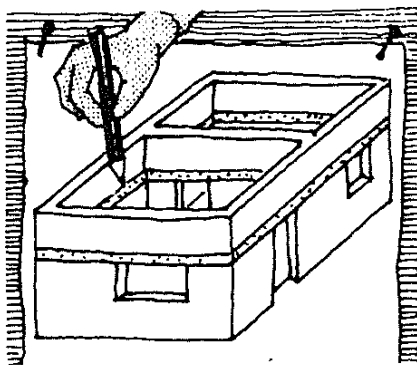
oder heute (und weniger überzeugend) für unser Fach vielleicht Manuel Castells und André Gunder Frank. Da sich der Nutzen einer solchen Forschung bestenfalls mittelbar ergibt und häufig überhaupt nicht abzusehen ist, erscheint es notwendig, den akademischen 'Freiraum' für diese Aufgabe zu erhalten, denn ein konkreter Nutzer als Sponsor einer solchen, gesellschaftlich wichtigen, Forschung ist nicht in Sicht. Andererseits wissen wir spätestens seit der Erfindung der Guillotine, der Atombombe und sogar dem Computer (2), daß wir den 'unabhängigen' Forscher nicht aus der Verantwortung für die potentielle Anwendung seiner Erkenntnisse entlassen können, wodurch ein Schritt hin zur anwendungsbezogenen Forschung zum Mandat wird.

Die anwendungsbezogene Forschung dagegen geht von konkreten Problemen aus, und widmet sich beispielsweise der Erprobung von Stabilisierungstechniken im Lehm- oder Ziegelbau, oder der Beseitigung bestimmter sanitärer Probleme in Slum- und Squattergebieten. Eine direkte Umsetzung der zu erwartenden Untersuchungsergebnisse ist eher möglich als in der Grundlagenforschung. Dadurch lassen sich die gesellschaftlichen Implikationen natürlich auch leichter abschätzen, was die politische Brisanz vieler Projekte erhöht und die "Unabhängigkeit" des Forschenden relativiert. Von der Auftragsforschung (wo wir es nicht anders erwarten) einmal abgesehen, gibt es auch in der sog. 'freien' Forschung hinreichend Beispiele von Interventionsversuchen durch Wirtschaft und Politiker mit dem Ziel, Forschungsergebnisse zurückzuhalten oder zu frisieren. Von Seiten der akademischen Forschungsinstitutionen (wie DFG oder VW-Stiftung) besteht manchmal eine geringere Neigung derartige Forschungsvorhaben finanziell mitzutragen, da gerade wegen des direkt absehbaren Nutzens potente Auftraggeber gefunden werden könnten, oder aber der individuelle Forscher (bzw. sein Institut) das Forschungsergebnis später mit finanziellem Gewinn vermarkten könnte (z.B.

## Summary:

Given the alarming housing situation in most countries research into habitat issues in the Developing World is certainly needed urgently. However, much of past and ongoing work in this respect is unnecessary, has little effect on the development in reality, or - in the worst case - does serve the interest of other people than the population living in the region under investigation. Further differentiation can be made between applied and theoretical work, between short- medium- and long term effects which the findings may imply, and in respect to who are the actors and who holds control over the subject of the research (basically through finance). The author closes with a number of principles which should be considered obligatory to any serious and honest scientific research project in the South.

Dipl.-Ing. K. Mathéy teaches at the Faculties of Architecture and Town Planning of Kassel University (Germany), and conducts a research project on self-help housing in socialist Third World nations. The illustrations were taken from a poster drawn by Johann van Lengen (Rio de Janeiro).

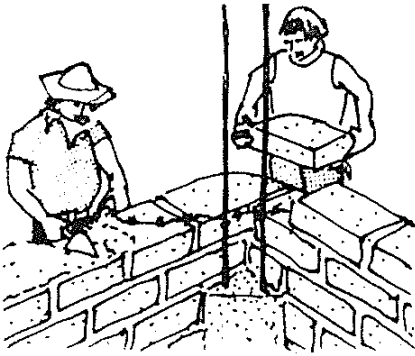


## WIE WIRD WAS GEFORSCHT?

Erforschen läßt sich fast alles, deshalb sind zur Beurteilung des Nutzens gewisse Vereinfachungen und Kategorisierungen hilfreich. So hat sich z.B. in der Diskussion gewisser Finanzgeber die Unterscheidung in Grundlagenforschung und anwendungsbezogene Forschung eingebürgert.

Grundlagenforschung ist die traditionelle Aufgabe der Universitäten. Ihr liegt eine eher humanistische Weltanschauung zugrunde: die Wissenschaft ist ein Pool von Erkenntnissen über die gleichsam gesetzmäßigen Zusammenhänge von Natur und Gesellschaft. Der Wissenschaftler trägt sein Bestes zum weiteren Aufbau dieses Wissensgebildes bei, das dann der gesamten Menschheit zum Nutzen gedehlt. Klassische Vertreter dieser Forschungsvariante wären Einstein und Marx,





als Consulting für einen Bebauungsplan, nachdem gewisse Voruntersuchungen bereits Gegenstand des Forschungsprojekts waren).

Eine klare Trennung zwischen "anwendungsbezogener" und "Grundlagen-" Forschung lässt sich also nicht vollziehen, und eine weniger tendenziöse Unterscheidung ließe sich stattdessen in Hinblick auf den Zeitpunkt der möglichen Umsetzung ihrer Ergebnisse anbieten. Eine Sozialerhebung als Grundlage eines Flächennutzungsplans hat beispielsweise eine sehr kurzfristige Umsetzung zu Ziel, eine wasserwirtschaftliche Studie im ländlichen Raum kann auf eine mittelfristige Umlenkung von Migrationsströmen abzielen, während eine international vergleichende Studie über die Beteiligung von Frauen im informellen Wohnungsbau wahrscheinlich nur mittelbar und langfristig in einer relevanten Weise Veränderungen in der gesellschaftlichen Praxis zu bewirken vermag.

Eine andere nicht unübliche Art der Unterscheidung wäre die in technisch orientierte Forschung und sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung. In der Wahrscheinlichkeit, rasch konkrete Ergebnisse hervorzubringen, verfügt die erste Gruppe gegenüber der zweiten über gewisse Vorteile, da es sich in der Regel um die Lösung eines mehr oder weniger genau definierten Problems handelt, das im ungünstigsten Fall eben nicht gelöst werden kann. Ein klassisches Beispiel wäre die Verifizierung oder Falsifizierung einer bereits definierten Hypothese, oder die vergleichende Erprobung konkurrierender Technologien unter bestimmten lokalen Bedingungen (wie z.B. - um in unserem Fach zu bleiben - die Auswirkungen verschiedener Dacheindeckungen auf das Raumklima in trocken-heißen Klimazonen). Ein häufiger Nachteil einer quasi auf die Bestimmung der letzten Kommastriche fixierten, vorwiegend technischen Fragestellung (die ja zumindest bei Promotionsvorhaben als besonderes Qualitätsmerkmal gehandelt wird) ist die Gefahr, daß weiterreichende gesellschaftliche Implikationen ausgeklammert oder übersehen werden. Dieser Umstand wäre im Grunde genommen Anlaß genug, von einer direkten Umsetzung der 'technischen' Forschung abzuraten, - doch paradoxerweise verstehen sich die meisten technischen Forschungsvorhaben als explizit anwendungsbezogen.

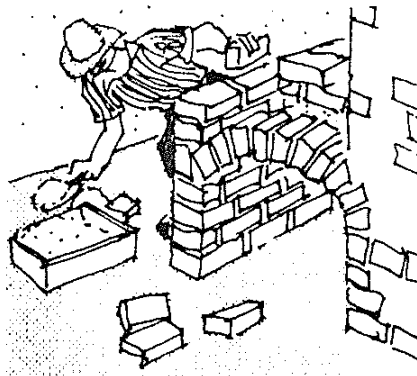
Die Untersuchungsfelder sozialwissenschaftlicher Forschung sind von der Natur her wesentlich komplexer, und in Grenzgebieten (wie in der Anthropologie) wäre das Aufstellen einer These als Ausgangspunkt der Forschung eher als grober Schnitzer zu bewerten, da er eine unvoreingenommene Beobachtung durch den Forscher behindern würde. Hier hat sich der Begriff der "teilnehmenden Beobachtung" eingebürgert, die eine gesellschaftliche Theoriebildung natürlich nicht ersetzen kann, ihr aber zumindest vorausgehen sollte.

## WER FORSCHT WO?

Auf dem Gebiet der Wohnungsversorgung in Entwicklungsländern gibt es primär drei Gruppen von Forschern, die sich das Feld teilen, und auch eine unterschiedliche Motivation mitbringen.

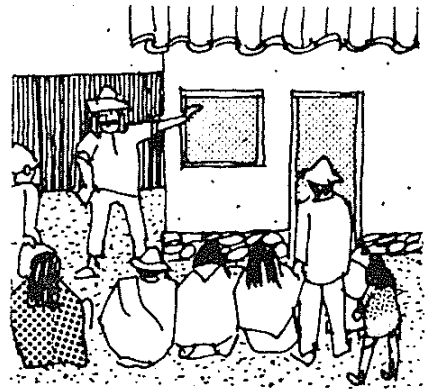
Die von uns am wenigsten wahrgenommene Gruppe sind die Behörden und Interessensvertretungen in den Entwicklungsländern selbst. Kaum ein Land, dessen Wohnungs- oder Bauministerium nicht eine eigene Forschungsabteilung hätte, sei es für die Erprobung neuer Technologien, oder zur Erarbeitung neuer Standards. Meistens ist die Umsetzung der Ergebnisse kurz oder mittelfristig konzipiert, und beschränkt sich auf den Zusammenhang des eigenen Landes; - doch im Rahmen der Süd-Süd Zusammenarbeit werden Ergebnisse auch exportiert und im Ausland umgesetzt (hier wären Cuba und China als wissenschaftliche "Geberländer" zu nennen). Die Motivation dieser Forschergruppe liegt im politischen Mandat der Regierung, und die Wahrscheinlichkeit der Implementierung ist relativ am Höchsten.

Eine andere Gruppe von Forschern arbeitet in der Funktion von Consultants häufig im Auftrag derselben Regierungen, oder in dem von Entwicklungshilfegebern. Da ihr Einkommen direkt von Anzahl und Volumen der abgewickelten Aufträge abhängt, liegt ihre Motivation zunächst in der bestmöglichen Zufriedenstellung des Auftraggebers bei geringstem Zeitaufwand, und die Frage der späteren Umsetzbarkeit spielt nur mittelbar eine Rolle. Gegenüber staatlichen Forschungsinstituten haben Consultants natürlich die Möglichkeit, wesentlich unbürokratischer und flexibler zu arbeiten, und sich auf einen engen Forschungsbereich zu spezialisieren.



Die dritte, und wahrscheinlich stärkste etablierte Forschergruppe stellen die Universitäten dar, die - da in der Regel ohne unmittelbaren Auftraggeber tätig - am ehesten als unabhängig bezeichnet werden können. Zumindest von der Struktur her ist das Einkommen der Forscher nicht gekoppelt an Thema und Ergebnis der Arbeiten, und die unmittelbare Umsetzbarkeit spielt keine entscheidende Rolle, weswegen dies das typische Revier für langfristige oder Grundlagenforschung ist. Die Motivation in der akademischen Forschung liegt strukturbedingt in erster Linie in der persönlichen Profilierung der Forscher, seien dies nun Professoren oder Doktoranden (3). Die Ergebnisse der Forschung werden oft nur in wenigen Exemplaren festgehalten, die Möglichkeit der Konsultation dieser Berichte durch die Fachöffentlichkeit ist eher eine hypothetische, wobei Dissertationen in der Regel (per Promotionsordnung) noch die breiteste Zirkulation erfahren.

Forschung ist teuer, - das wissen wir alle - und die dafür verfügbaren Finanzen konzentrieren sich mehr denn je auf der nördlichen Halbkugel, d.h. in den westlichen Industrieländern. So ist es nicht weiter verwunderlich, daß der überwältigende Anteil des gesamten Forschungsvolumens - auch in der Entwicklungsländerforschung - von den Industrieländern finanziert und auch dort abgewickelt wird. Ein gewisser Groll oder Neid unserer in der Dritten Welt beheimateten Kollegen ist somit vorprogrammiert und nachvollziehbar. Die bessere Landeskenntnis der einheimischen Kollegen liegt auf der Hand, doch verleiten die besseren infrastrukturellen Voraussetzungen auch so manchen qualifizierten Kollegen aus Afrika, Asien oder Lateinamerika nicht in seinem Heimatland, sondern an einer der Universitäten in den Industrienationen zu arbeiten.



## FÜR WEN WIRD GEFORSCHT?

Die soweit dargelegte Strukturierung der Forschungspraxis lässt eine sich fast organisch ergebende Arbeitsteilung sinnvoll und der Sache nützlich erscheinen: Behörden forschen am Besten unter eigener Aufsicht für die kurzfristigen Ziele der Tagespolitik (hauptsächlich statistische Erhebungen), private Forschungsbüros oder Consultants übernehmen die spezialisierte und anwendungsbezogenen Untersuchungen mit dem Ziel der mittelfristigen Umsetzung, und die Universitäten übernehmen die sich nur auf sehr lange Sicht umsetzbare Grundlagenforschung als ihren Arbeitsbereich. Einen kleinen Fehler hat diese einsichtige "Gewaltenteilung" jedoch: Wo sind die potentiellen Nutznießer der Forschung vertreten, in der sozialwissenschaftlichen Forschung auch die Objekte der Studien, und wer evaluiert den gesellschaftlichen Nutzen der Ergebnisse und ihrer Umsetzung?

Im Zusammenhang mit dem Thema der Wohnungsversorgung in Entwicklungsländern interessiert natürlich besonders auch der Nutzen für das Heer der in Slums, Squattergebieten und auf der Straße wohnenden Armen - nicht umsonst wurde 1987 zum Jahr des Daches für die Obdachlosen ausgerufen.

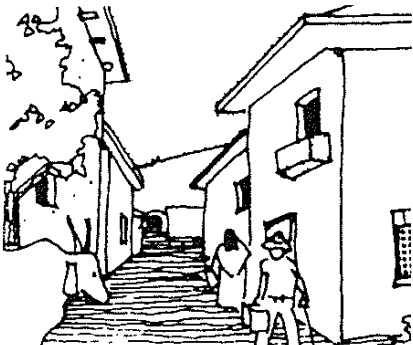
Soweit Forscher überhaupt Rechenschaft über ihre Arbeit abgeben müssen, geschieht dies fast ausnahmslos nur gegenüber den Auftraggebern bzw. Finanziers. Im Falle der Behörden kann angenommen werden, daß ein Nutzen im Sinne der staatstragenden Kräfte zu erwarten ist, - in vielen Entwicklungsländern zählt hierzu leider nicht die breite Masse der Bevölkerung, von den besonders Bedürftigen schon gar nicht zu reden. Private Forschungsinstitute müssen, wollen sich nicht den Auftrag an Konkurrenten verlieren, sich den Bedingungen der Auftraggeber fügen, wobei die "Bedürftigen" in der Dritten Welt als



Kunden selbstredend ausfallen. So bleiben als potentielle Advokaten im Interesse der Armen in der Dritten Welt in erster Linie das Heer der hauptberuflichen Forscher an den Universitäten. Allerdings wird gerade dieser Gruppe seitens der Entwicklungsländer mitunter besondere Arroganz und Eigennutz (siehe oben) vorgeworfen. Es wird verwiesen auf die Praxis einiger Kollegen, die während einer kurzen Forschungsreise zu wenig Gelegenheit haben, sich mit den speziellen Problemen eines Gebietes, einer Nachbarschaft, oder einer Bevölkerungsgruppe vertraut zu machen. Stattdessen nutzen sie die Hilfsbereitschaft einheimischer Kollegen aus, sammeln alle ihnen angebotene Daten und Materialien ein und verschwinden wieder auf Nimmerwiedersehen nach Europa oder Nordamerika, um sich dort mit ihrer Beute zu profilieren. Der Vergleich zu frühen Kolonialzeiten und -gepflogenheiten drängt sich auf. Glücklicherweise ist ein solches Verhalten nicht die Regel an deutschen Hochschulen, und insbesondere unter den Diplomanden und Doktoranden gibt es noch viele, die sich einen gewissen humanen Idealismus bewahrt haben, und sich den Interessen und Bedürfnissen ihrer Freunde in der Dritten Welt mehr verpflichtet fühlen als der eigenen Karriere.

Auf einem 1986 in Bordeaux abgehaltenen Seminar über Inhalte und Methoden städtischer Entwicklungsländerforschung (4) wurde unter Anderem vorgeschlagen, eine Art Verhaltenskodex für Forscher zu formulieren, und so der Fortführung des Kolonialismus im intellektuellen Feld vorzubeugen. Obgleich dieser Plan bislang nicht weiter verfolgt wurde, und die in einem solchem Kodex zu empfehlenden Praktiken ohnehin als ungeschriebenes Gesetz als eine Selbstverständlichkeit gelten sollten, finde ich den Gedanken dennoch nützlich und möchte hier einige erste wichtige Punkte für eine solche Liste vorschlagen:

Der Forscher soll sich über die möglichen Auswirkungen seines Vorhabens klar werden, und insbesondere die Implikationen für die breiten Bevölkerungsschichten wie für betroffene Minoritäten explizit nennen.



Eine Zusammenarbeit zwischen eingereisten und einheimischen Forschern soll von Anfang in kollegialer und gleichberechtigter Form ausgelegt sein. Hierzu gehören insbesondere eine faire Kennzeichnung der Quellen und ein ausführliches Feedback mit Diskussion der Forschungsergebnisse.

In der Absicht, die infrastrukturelle und personelle Ausstattung von Forschungsbasen in der Dritten Welt weiter auszubauen, sollte verstärkt versucht werden, internationale Seminare und Konferenzen, auf denen die Forschungsergebnisse vorgestellt und diskutiert werden, in Entwicklungsländer zu verlegen.

Die Berichte und Ergebnisse jeder Forschungsarbeit müssen allgemein zugänglich gemacht werden, und in allen beteiligten Ländern in angemessener Anzahl verteilt werden.



Der gesellschaftliche Nutzen einer Forschungsarbeit sollte von einem unabhängigen Gremium, dem im Falle von sozialwissenschaftlicher Forschung auch Vertreter der betroffenen (bzw. untersuchten) Bevölkerungsgruppe angehören, in Hinblick auf seine gesellschaftlichen Implikationen evaluiert werden. Das selbe Gremium könnte auch Prioritäten für künftige und weiterführende Forschung nennen.

Soweit eine Forschung für besonders bedürftige Bevölkerungsgruppen, die über keine mächtige Lobby verfügen, potentiell nützliche Ergebnisse zutage bringt, muß nach einem Mechanismus gesucht werden, eine Umsetzung in die Praxis und weitere Verbreitung zu garantieren.



#### Fussnoten:

- (1) DSE, Entwicklungsländer-Studien. Bibliographie entwicklungsländerbezogener Forschungsarbeiten, Band 21, Bonn 1985.
- (2) Siehe: Joseph Welzenbaum, Die Macht der Computer und die Ohnmacht der Vernunft, Frankfurt (Suhrkamp), 1978
- (3) Vergl.: Jan Lindert, Polemik gegen den latent parasitären Charakter von Entwicklungsländerforschung, in: TRIALOG 4, Seite 34, Darmstadt 1984.
- (4) "Restitution et Valorisation des Recherches Urbaines dans le Tiers Monde, Methodes et Pratiques", Talence 17-19. April 1986



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# The Production of Housing in Harare, Zimbabwe: Components, Constraints and Policy Outcomes

Carole Rakodi

## 1. Introduction

Recent research on housing in third world cities has tended to focus on particular segments of housing markets, noticeably housing produced by and for the poor. Policy intervention, likewise, under the influence of aid agencies, has emphasised projects targetted, not always very effectively, at the poor. Problems of replicability and the 'hijacking' of houses or plots intended for the poor by higher income groups led to a realisation that measures intended to benefit the former must be considered within the context of the sector as a whole, and that sector-wide policies may be as or more appropriate than projects. Clearly, therefore, research must attempt to provide an understanding of urban housing markets in more general terms.

This is the case whether researchers adopt a neo-classical economic framework or a political economy approach, although the former tends to regard markets as demand-driven and research in this theoretical tradition to emphasise demand to a greater extent than supply, while political economists concentrate on the organisation of production and so research by the latter has, to date, emphasised the production rather than consumption of housing.

An example of the former is the cross-national research programme initiated by the World Bank, which focusses on demand and housing finance. Effective demand, the results show, is influenced primarily by income level, although also by tenure and general level of economic development (Malpezzi and Mayo, 1987), as well as by access to credit. This emphasis on demand is not exclusive, although attempts to systematically analyse all the components of supply in particular cities or countries are remarkably few (see Strassman's [1980] study of Cartagena). There is a need, therefore, for more holistic analysis of (albeit segmented) housing markets, to understand how

### Zusammenfassung:

*Um eine bessere Wohnungsbaupolitik entwickeln zu können, ist es notwendig, daß sich die Forschung im Bereich des Wohnungsbaues in Entwicklungsländern mit dem gesamten Wohnungsbausektor, statt nur mit bestimmten Zielgruppen und Programmen (z.B. für niedrigere Einkommensgruppen) befaßt. Dieser Artikel untersucht dies an Hand von Sekundärliteratur des Wohnungsbaumarktes in Harare, Zimbabwe. Er gibt einen Überblick über die verschiedenen Formen der Wohnungserstellung, deren Nachfrage und Auswirkungen auf die staatliche Wohnungsbaupolitik. Gleichzeitig werden Informationslücken und zukünftige Forschungsbereiche identifiziert. Zusammenfassend läßt sich feststellen, daß der öffentliche Sektor eine wichtige Rolle in der Wohnraumversorgung in Harare spielt. Ferner sollen die staatlichen Verwaltungs- und Entscheidungsstrukturen auf lokaler und nationaler Ebene genauer untersucht werden.*

housing is supplied to the urban population, to identify constraints on supply and to evaluate the outcomes of interventions designed to relieve such constraints.

Perhaps the first attempt at a theoretical framework for a neo-Marxist analysis of house production was that by Burgess (1978), which has given rise to ongoing debates on the utility of his production categories in understanding housing production in a non-Latin American context (for example, Rakodi, 1983), and the implications of his view of the role of the state in housing for understanding the outcomes of serviced plot and other 'self-help' programmes (Burgess, 1985; Van der Linden, 1986; Gilbert and van der Linden, 1987). This approach concentrates on analysing who produces each type of housing, how the construction process is organised and financed and the constraints on production experienced by the various categories of producer (see Johnstone, 1984 on Malaysia). The outcomes of policy interventions designed to

influence the nature of housing production are analysed in the light of current thinking on the form and functions of the state, and the political interests and social groups whose interests are, directly or indirectly, served by particular policies. So far, within this theoretical framework, relatively little attention has been paid to the housing finance system and the extent and nature of the rental housing sector. Although devotees of these alternative theoretical frameworks may regard them as incompatible, in practice they are not totally distinct and it is possible to make use of concepts and insights from both.

Although in the early stages of urbanisation, it is perhaps justifiable to place a major emphasis on the production and consumption of housing, exchange increases in importance as the housing stock ages. The system of exchange is usually organised through a series of intermediaries. To my knowledge, the system (or systems, for some may be much more informal than implied above) has not been analysed for any Third World city. Such an analysis would need to assess whose interests exchange systems serve and who benefits from the profits and fees generated.

This paper is the first stage in a review of secondary material on the housing market in Harare. The overall aim is to summarise the current state of knowledge on the forms of housing production, consumption and exchange, and the effect on these of policy interventions to date, identifying gaps in our knowledge and areas for future research. While clearly production (or supply) and consumption (or demand) for housing are interrelated, this paper will focus on the former.

## 2. The Production of Housing in Harare

Merely describing the types of housing constructed by different producers is insufficient and an explanation of the observed housing stock must be sought in the organisation and financing of the construction process, examining the nature and volume of housing produced by

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Table 1 Harare's housing stock in 1987

	Population	Number of dwelling units	Gross density (houses/ha)	Average occupancy rate (persons/unit)
Low density areas	291,588	39,172	1.24	7.44
Medium density areas	15,581	1,284	1.59	12.13
High density areas				
Harare	634,044	64,858	11.20	9.76
Chitungwiza	263,390	29,482	17.00	8.93
Epworth squatter area	32,350	3,800	2.37	8.49
Other	20,258	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,257,111</b>	<b>138,636*</b>	<b>3.34</b>	<b>8.92</b>

n. a. Not available

a. Excluding other e.g. university

Source: Harare Combination Master Plan Technical Team, Draft Harare Combination Master Plan, Chapter 6, Housing (mimeo).

capitalist enterprises, public authorities, small scale enterprises and individual households. Of interest to policy makers are, in each case, the capacity to expand production, the conditions necessary for such expansion to occur and the constraints on housing supply:

- access to land, which is determined by tenure and the land administration system, the distribution of ownership, responsibility for sub-division, systems for regulating use and construction and eligibility criteria for access<sup>10</sup> the formal land market
- the ability of service provision agencies to keep pace with demand for physical infrastructure, which is related both to their administrative and financial structure and to the supply standards adopted
- the structure and capacity of the residential construction sector, including the locus of control, sources of capital and profits and perceived constraints on increasing the volume of different types of residential construction
- the supply of building materials, including questions of cost, distribution and shortages
- the availability of construction skills, both within construction firms and households, the latter being important especially where self-help construction is advocated.

Government intervention to alleviate constraints on housing supply in Zimbabwe will be noted in the analysis and its outcomes, where known, referred to. However, much intervention has been project based rather than sector wide. These programmes and projects include the construction of public low cost or civil servants' housing for rent or sale, aided self-help schemes and the attempted establishment of cooperatives and build-

ing brigades, and have dominated public and private sector residential construction activity and research attention.

I will commence the analysis by outlining the components of Harare's housing stock, noting the policy context within which each developed and the manner in which production has been and is organised in each. Secondly, each of the factors influencing housing supply will be examined and the extent to which they pose constraints on increasing production assessed.

## 2.1. Components of Harare's housing stock

Harare's population in 1969 was 386,000, accommodated in European low density areas broadly to the north of the city centre and African high density townships to the southwest and south (see Fig. 1). The escalating war of the 1970s resulted in rapid in-migration. While construction of official townships continued, and Chitungwiza, a new and supposedly self-contained African township, was established in the Tribal Trust Land (1) 20 Km to the south, overcrowding increased and squatter settlements grew rapidly. By 1982, Harare's population had reached at least 656,000 and Chitungwiza's 173,000 (Central Statistical Office [CSO], 1987a). This overall growth masked a loss of over 27,000 whites between 1977 and 1981 (Davies, 1987). The only overall figures available for Harare's housing stock are for 1987 and are classified by density rather than by form of production. Surveys in that year showed a population of 961,000 in Harare and 296,000 in Chitungwiza, an increase of nearly 9% p.a. since 1982, and provide a snapshot from which to start analysing how the housing stock was produced and under what

forms of production it is being added to (Table 1).

### 2.1.1. Private production of high cost housing

In 1978, 22% of the population of Harare was estimated to live in 'high income' areas, which occupied 60% of the total residential area (Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1985a). These included relatively high density apartment areas immediately north of the city centre, which accounted for about a third of so-called 'low density' housing in 1982 (Harare CMPTT, 1988), and low density areas, mostly with very large plots occupied by the bourgeoisie, although some with smaller plots developed for the white proletariat. Other than the apartment blocks, most of the housing appears to have been constructed by the buyers of subdivided plots. The control over development which it was possible to exert within the area originally reserved by the British South Africa Company led to speculative development beyond it, as farms to the north were gradually and sporadically subdivided.

Minimum plot sizes (generally 1 ac. [4000m<sup>2</sup>], ostensibly because of reliance on septic tank sanitation) and minimum building clauses were specified, which helped to maintain white exclusivity and property values. All urban centres had, since 1969, been on 'European land', where Africans were not allowed to own, lease or occupy houses, with the exception of domestic workers and rental accommodation for wage workers in municipal townships. Some areas, especially those of medium density, came to be predominantly occupied by either Asians or Coloureds. In addition, to accommodate the growing black petty bourgeoisie, a limited home ownership scheme was introduced in the 1960s (Ashton, 1969).



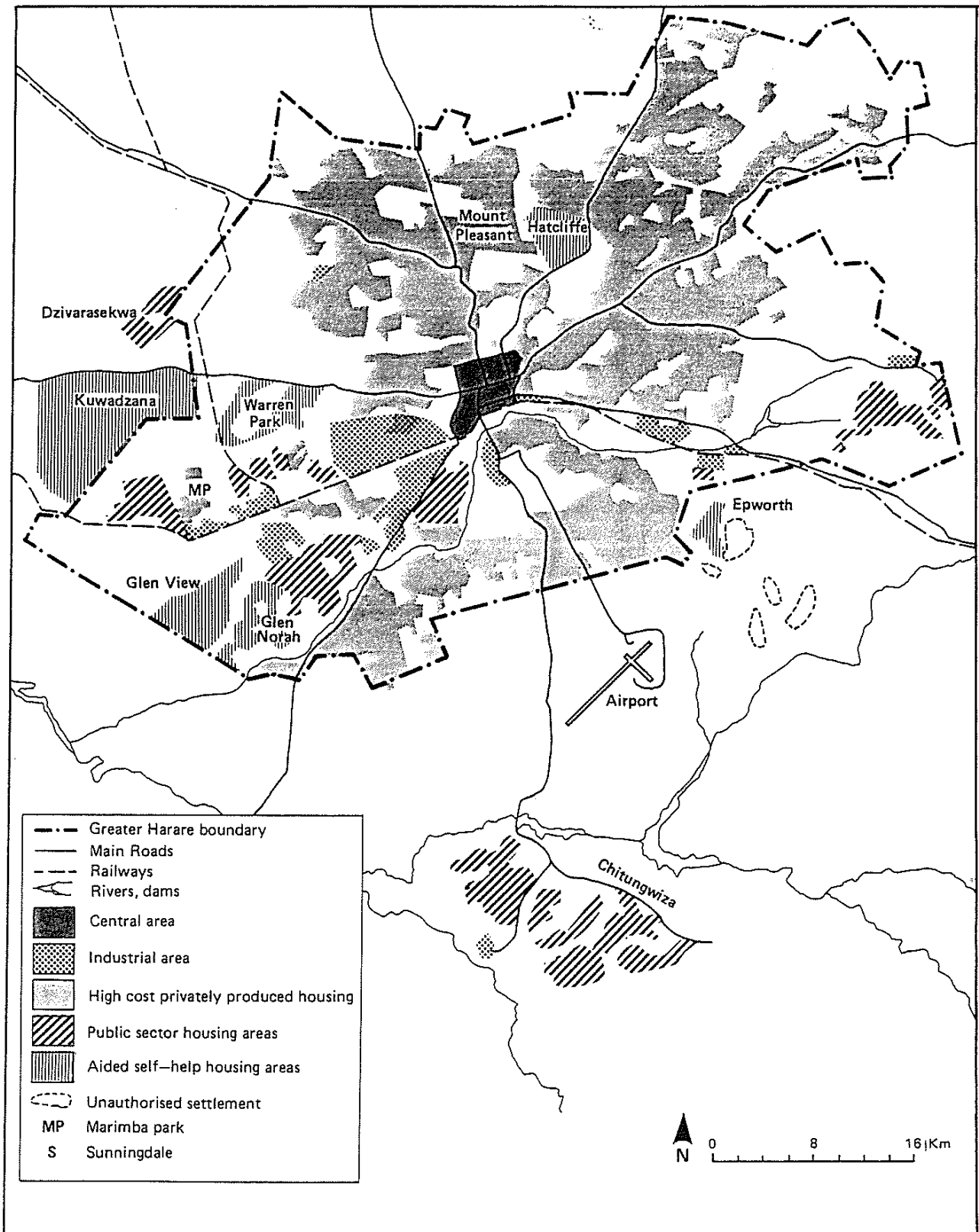


Fig. 1: Housing areas in Harare

Little has been published on the nature of the land interests which initiated the process of subdivision, the organisation of residential capital and the volume of housing produced. It is clear that much, but not all, construction was commissioned by individual owner-occupiers and that a well established residential construction sector had developed, although the ent-

erprise structure of that sector is not described in the sources available.

### 2.1.2. Public sector house construction

Far larger in terms of the numbers of houses produced has been the public sector. In order to maintain control of the urban

wage labour force, housing was tied to employment and produced by public authorities. At the beginning of the 1950s bachelor accommodation in hostels, at four bed spaces per room, outnumbered family houses 15:1 (Ashton, 1969). Construction of conventional low cost housing for rent overtook hostel accommodation in importance, especially in the 1970s. Typi-

cally, two or three bedroom houses with a high standard of utilities were constructed, mostly for rental and on the basis of full cost recovery.

The capital funds for development came from central government and the profits of African township monopolies on the sale of beer (Patel and Adams, 1981; Mafico, 1987). Today, housing programmes are financed from the National Housing Fund, with capital from central and local government and, increasingly since 1982, from external aid. Loans are made to local authorities at a fixed interest rate (currently 9.75% p.a.) over 30 years. Intended to be a revolving fund, its receipts are at present exceeded by outgoings, because of the lower interest rates on earlier loans and local authority arrears (Harare CMPTT, 1988).

Problems of affordability arising from the high standards adopted and the insistence on full cost recovery were emerging by the end of the 1960s (Ashton, 1969), when it was estimated that half those on the City Council's housing waiting list earned less than the minimum income needed to afford a rented house (Harare CMPTT, 1988). The 1970s were marked by a variety of attempts to reduce the cost of dwellings constructed while, to a greater or lesser extent, maintaining standards. However, most of the published work available on housing in Zimbabwe examines these attempts and so further detail will not be given here.

### 2.1.3. Serviced plot programmes

One of the strategies adopted to reduce costs was that of aided self-help. Since the late 1970s most of the public sector low income housing programme has concentrated on the provision of serviced plots. The early post-independence achievement is, therefore, rooted in pre-independence programmes. In the initial absence of construction loans and technical assistance, progress in Glen View, the scheme under way in 1980, was slow. Similar aided self-help schemes with varying, but higher, standards for ablution units and core houses and differing financial arrangements were implemented during the 1980s (see Fig. 1). Although, as in the earlier scheme, some of the plots provided were 200m<sup>2</sup>, a minimum plot size of 300m<sup>2</sup> has been adopted in more recent projects. Cash loans were made available and on 10% of the plots, houses for rent were constructed (Taylor, 1985). The focus on provision of serviced plots continues, with the commencement of implementation of World Bank financed schemes in 1987.

Kuwadzana, for example, was a USAID funded project in which 7,113 plots and loans were provided from 1984 on. A four room 'core' house of at least 50m<sup>2</sup> had to be completed within 18 months (later 2 years). Although many allottees failed to

build such a house (Schlyter, 1985; Mafico, 1987), this new minimum standard was generalised to all urban areas (Zimbabwe, 1986). Plotholders are permitted to build additional rooms for rent to registered lodgers (2). It is suggested that not only is unregistered room rental widespread, but that construction of rooming houses for rent by absentee landlords has occurred in all the schemes (Patel and Adams, 1981; Schlyter, 1985). Further information on this and on the results of the sale of complete dwellings, which one might expect to leak up the income distribution in face of the apparent shortage of lower middle cost housing, is not available.

In the public sector, therefore, more than one form of housing production is operating. The industrialised production of physical infrastructure and dwelling or ablution units signifies the presence of large scale contractors able to make a profit because of the size of public sector contracts and the standardised nature of the components. That the units are then not affordable by the majority of the population (3) is as much a function of the standards insisted upon by the public authorities as the profits expected by private contractors. Also operating are small scale labour only building contractors, used by owner-occupiers for house construction or extension and more important in the construction process than domestic labour inputs, building brigades or cooperatives.

Building brigades were to be established by local authorities and were intended to reduce costs by removal of the profit motive, reduce construction time and provide employment. The exclusive use of building brigades in Kuwadzana was resisted by both City Council and USAID on grounds of cost, and in practice the vast majority of participants decided against their use (Teedon and Drakakis-Smith, 1986, p. 320). Where they have been established, have been relatively costly because of their overhead costs and the difficulty of enforcing work discipline (Schlyter, 1985; Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1985a; Mafico, 1987).

Cooperatives are encouraged as representing a move towards the socialisation of production. They have, unsurprisingly, not proved attractive to participants in urban serviced plot schemes, who are, by definition, working full-time and so uninterested in contributing significant labour inputs, do not need to manufacture materials, and are strangers to each other. By 1987, the government had recognised the practical advantages of individual labour only contracts and had promised more support for this mode of construction (Zimbabwe, 1987, p. 9).

In total, therefore, the public housing stock in Harare in 1985 consisted of 3,400 flats and 62,000 houses for families, and

6,300 bedspaces for single people in hostels and flats (Mafico, 1987, p. 154). Following the sale of houses (see below) 83% were owned, and 11,400 (22% of these) had been built on serviced plots. 8,548 plots have been added since, while the entire housing stock in Chitungwiza (29,482 dwellings) has been provided or initiated by the public sector.

Since independence, targets for public sector house production based on population projections or the housing waiting list have been used, although in practice supply has been determined by allocations of public funds rather than demand, which has greatly exceeded the production of houses and plots. Thus in the seven years prior to independence 2,703 units were constructed on average each year, while from 1980-7 the annual average was 2,463, despite the increased rate of population growth and estimated need of about 13,400 p.a. (Harare CMPTT, 1988). Housing supply for most residents in the city depended crucially on public sector funds, allocations of which have fallen short of needs in each year since 1980. The conventional economic analysis of supply and demand has little to offer in understanding an almost entirely administratively determined housing supply system, although market factors of the supply of building materials and the ability of contractors to undertake infrastructure and house construction are relevant here and will be taken up in later sections. The rental sector as a whole will also be discussed in more detail below.

### 2.1.4. Unauthorised housing production

The final form of production to be considered is unauthorised housing. Both pre- and post-independence governments have attempted to eradicate squatter areas. The volume of construction has, therefore, fluctuated markedly. Housing has varied, including temporary shacks, houses built for owner-occupation and lodgers, and some larger scale construction of rooms for rent in Epworth (Butcher, 1986). In the early 1960s squatters were resettled; otherwise areas were demolished without provision for resettlement until the mid-1970s. By then, these areas were growing more rapidly than before, and demolition was followed by relocation to plots serviced to a very basic standard (Patel and Adams, 1981).

The Mugabe government inherited a number of squatter areas and continued the earlier policy. Demolition of four areas occurred between 1981 and 1983 and was accompanied by pressure to return to rural areas, although families were also temporarily moved into hostels no longer used for single male migrants, or relocated to serviced plot schemes. Only in one area, a longstanding settlement at Epworth, has the notion of regularisation and improvement been grudgingly ac-

cepted (Patel, 1984; Butcher, 1986). Since May, 1983, development in the area has been frozen. Upgrading was delayed, but it is to be carried out by 1991 (Harare CMPTT, 1988).

Illegal subletting is the other form of unauthorised housing. As noted above, extensive unregistered lodging in municipal townships occurs, despite attempts at control. In recent years increasing shortages have led to the construction of side structures, often of wood, adjacent to houses which cannot officially be extended. A survey of 968 migrants to Harare at the end of 1985 showed that just over a third were lodgers (Potts, 1987) and one estimate suggests that 40% of low income households are lodgers (Butcher, 1986, p. 10).

## 2.2. Factors influencing housing supply

Potentially, since 1980, the housing provided by each of these forms of production could have been utilised to accommodate population growth, depending on its capacity to expand production, its compatibility with the development policies of the new government and particular constraints on supply. Such constraints will now be examined in turn.

### 2.2.1. Land

While there are no immediate constraints on the supply of land for housing, continued low density development would require 38,000ha of land by 2007, compared to the 5,522ha available in the combined area (Harare CMPTT, 1988). Although the need to economise on land acquisition and development costs by the use of more efficient layout is acknowledged, the recently adopted increase in minimum plot size from 200m<sup>2</sup> to 300m<sup>2</sup> is not questioned.

The land tenure legislation which underpinned the settler regime was abolished in 1979, making it possible in urban areas for all residents to purchase plots in any part of the city. The subsequent white exodus flooded the market with a supply of high cost houses, many of which were purchased at low prices by African professionals and businessmen. Although price levels gradually increased from 1984 onwards as the market tightened, in 1985 they were only 60% of the cost of new construction (Zimbabwe, 1985, p. 10). Only recently have indications appeared of a demand for new middle income housing (Martin et al, 1985). It is suggested that middle income households, no longer able to afford houses coming onto the market in low density areas, are both competing with the low income households for whom recent aided self-help schemes are intended and renting rooms and outbuildings in the areas of high and medium cost houses.

In public sector residential areas, a policy of encouraging house ownership has been adopted and women's legal rights to land and housing have been strengthened (Lee-Smith, 1987). About 9,000 public rental units were sold at considerable discounts between 1980 and 1984 (ZANU, 1985), encouraged by the threat of a 30% rent increase if the option to buy was not taken up. By 1985, as a result, only 22% of the family housing units were rented. No consideration appears to have been given to the likelihood of gentrification in a situation of continuing housing shortage and stagnant real wages, both of which create pressure to sell and an incentive for doing so.

While some changes to tenure have been introduced, the system of private property has not been challenged and only ZANU leaders are supposed not to benefit from opportunities for profit in the housing market. Wide discrepancies in standards and asset ownership between the current occupants of what were previously European and African areas persist, maintained by strong regulatory control over subdivision and construction, although as the demand for new construction begins to pick up, pressure from developers for higher densities is mounting. However, high density infilling and subdivision of large plots in the northern suburbs does not appear to have been seriously considered. This does, perhaps, indicate that an already established black bourgeoisie appears set to protect its growing property interests. It seems instead that policy is to close the gap by insisting on high quality construction for low income residents, regardless of the feasibility of this strategy. The outcome is that public sector programmes satisfy the demand of the growing middle income group, while the poorest are increasingly marginalised in housing terms.

### 2.2.2. Infrastructure

Harare has a high standard of utility provision. Even amongst low income plots, 90% have an individual water connection and a similar proportion have waterborne sewage disposal, although many of the low density areas rely on septic tank sanitation. While only 55% of low income plots currently have electricity connections, all official areas have street or tower lighting. In the past, all low income plots have also been provided with road access, despite low rates of vehicle ownership. It is policy to continue this high standard of physical infrastructure provision (Zimbabwe, 1986), despite the cost. Although the City Council still appears to have the technical and administrative capacity to implement large scale infrastructure programmes, the availability of public sector finance has, especially since 1983, been a major constraint (Zimbabwe, 1986, p. 7), while it has been shown that the monthly payments for a plot with a wet core cannot be afforded by over half the households in

high density areas (Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1985b). Decision makers appear unwilling to consider alternative standards.

### 2.2.3. The construction sector: capacity, building materials and skills

Residential construction is divided between the public sector, which has, in recent years, initiated most new development, and the private sector, which is dominated by a small number of large contractors. Little has been published about the latter, other than references to its declining contribution to GDP and considerable underutilised capacity, despite a post-1980 loss of skilled manpower and obsolete equipment (Colquhoun, 1985; Zimbabwe, 1986). It carries out well over half of all construction work, although much of this is for public clients (70% in 1985). Residential construction decreased in relative importance, from 42% in 1981 to 21% in 1984 (CSO, 1987, p. 55; Zimbabwe, 1985, p. 2, 5), but since 1986 there have been indications of a revival. An artisanal construction sector has developed in urban areas since independence in response to the market created by sites and services schemes.

Zimbabwe has, partly because of years of sanctions, a well developed building materials supply industry and it is estimated that only 7.6% by value of the materials necessary for a four room low cost house have to be imported (Martin et al, 1985, p. 8). A wide range of materials is manufactured locally by formal sector enterprises (Colquhoun, 1985). Although there is reported to be widespread production of informal sector building materials (Mafico, 1987), their use appears to be inhibited in public sector housing programmes by strict quality control. The main constraints on building materials supply are transport costs, which are less of a problem in Harare than in remoter areas, and lack of foreign exchange for equipment, including vehicles. A further problem is the rapid increase in costs (Colquhoun, 1985; CSO, 1987, p. 53; Harare CMPTT, 1988). This is generally explained by the increase in labour costs resulting from minimum wage legislation, but the monopoly production of certain materials and the increase in demand following a period of depression and limited new investment may be more important explanatory factors.

Construction skills are needed at a variety of levels, including the management skills needed to run large scale materials producers or contractors, professional skills, trade skills and perhaps the ability of individuals to make materials or build houses themselves. The loss of professionally qualified whites and shortages of local replacement staff may be a bottleneck to future expansion of the large scale sector, as it is currently organised. Public sector adoption of responsibility for all low income plot and much more core house

provision, and the allocation of large contracts to the private sector to carry out the work, makes heavy demands on such high level manpower (few women are involved). Rather than relying solely on programmes to train highly qualified professionals, modification of standards and reorganisation of the low income housing programme would appear to be sensible, especially in view of the evident ability of artisans to meet the house construction needs of individual plottolders in aided self-help schemes.

### 2.2.4. Rental housing

The presence of a rental housing market has been referred to in relatively high income housing areas, especially in apartment block areas near the city centre. The high income private rental housing market that, since 1982, been regulated and, as a result, rents have remained relatively low. While benefiting tenants, the immediate result has been to inhibit new construction for rent, and to encourage the sale of rented property. It is expected that in the longer term maintenance will suffer (National Council of Savings Institutions [NCSI], 1985). Only 3% of Harare's public low income housing stock is made up of flats for rent, while less than a quarter of the houses are rented today.

The remaining types of accommodation for rent bridge the divide between legality and illegality and are more important in meeting the needs of the poorest than owner occupation. Some hostel accommodation, built originally in the 1950s, is still available, usually leased to private employers and of a poor standard. Most is now being renovated for temporary accommodation of squatters whose houses have been demolished (Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1985a, p. 15). In an attempt to positively discriminate in favour of the poorest, the ceiling room rental for lodgers was, in 1980, fixed at Z\$8, but this has proved impossible to enforce, for registered, let alone unregistered, lodgers, and rooms

are said to be let at much higher rents (Patel, 1984).

### 2.2.5. Constraints on housing supply

Many constraints on housing production which are said to be typical of developing countries are not serious in Harare. The availability of land is not at present a major constraint, although the supply of serviced smaller plots for low and middle income families is inadequate. There does not appear to be any lack of construction sector capacity to instal infrastructure, nor are there deficiencies in the supply of most building materials. The shortfall in supply can not be blamed entirely on shortages of public sector capital, for considerable funds have been devoted to serviced plot programmes since 1980. These resources have, however, been misapplied, due to a continued insistence on unrealistically high standards. The extent to which this is part of a deliberate attempt to foster a black petty bourgeoisie (Schlyter, 1985), is unclear. In addition, a number of policies have actually constrained supply, notably attempts to control squatting and subletting. Strict control over illegal housing has, before and since independence, gone hand in hand with attempts to control all informal sector activity by a system of licensing, and since 1980 waves of demolition have often coincided with round-ups of unlicensed informal sector traders and so-called 'vagrants and prostitutes'.

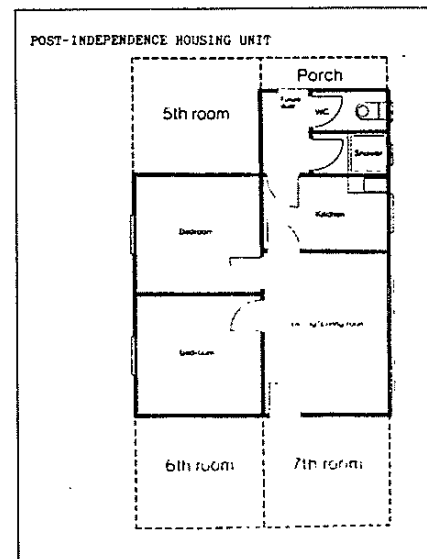
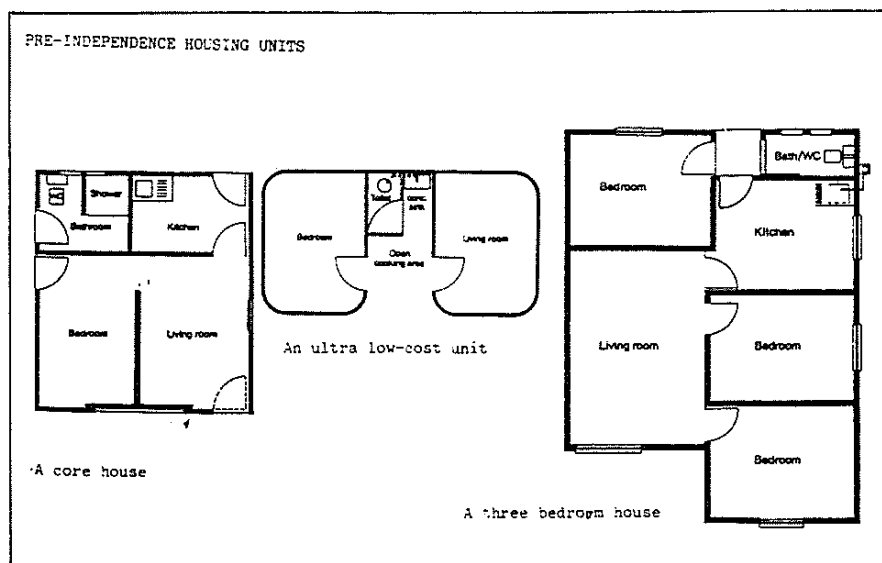
Although Drakakis-Smith (1986) attributes the Central Committee attitude to these activities to the unimportance of urban popular support to the ZANU base, both during the liberation struggle and since, this appears to be an oversimplified analysis ('Yates', 1980). Firstly, periodic opposition to the settler regime was expressed by the urban population in general, despite the emasculation of trade unions which left labour too weak to play a leading role in the liberation struggle (Astrow, 1983). Secondly, while the Mu-

gabe government has shown little tolerance for protest by the urban wage labour force, it has increased minimum wages. That punitive measures, in addition to the erosion of wage gains by inflation and the elimination of price subsidies (Riddell, 1984; Davies and Sanders, 1988), have given rise to remarkably little social unrest illustrates that urban public support for the Mugabe government has not been exhausted (Libby, 1984). Further explanations for repressive control of urban activity must, therefore, be sought, which do not rest entirely on the class base of ZANU.

Assumptions about the role of the state seem to have been inherited both from the settler regime and the military order of the liberation struggle and internalised by current leaders. A preoccupation with order and control, fuelled by dismay at the deteriorating situation in other African cities and the desire to 'succeed' in terms of criteria which residents of South Africa might find reassuring, finds expression in a desire for tidiness in the built environment to which unusual emphasis is given compared with other African countries. That strict control of the physical environment bears little relationship to social wellbeing and cohesion, or popular political support, does not appear to have been appreciated. At the other end of the income spectrum, a desire to maintain controls and standards in low density suburbs, at least partly in order not to alienate their white residents, has served the interests of an emerging bourgeoisie unlikely to welcome desegregationist measures which might affect its living standards and property values in future.

### 3. Conclusion

The public sector has adopted the major role in housing production in Harare. Liberal economic theory based on supply and demand is, therefore, of only partial relevance in understanding housing production and the focus placed by a politi-



cal economy approach on the forms of housing production, the role of the state, and the interests served by housing policies, is of greater value. As yet, however, clear conclusions are hard to draw, because of the gaps in the evidence available and because of the difficulty of interpreting state actions in a fluid situation in which classes are forming and reforming, external interests are strong, and political and bureaucratic influences on policy making may be contradictory.

The political decision making process and administrative structure for policy making and implementation are important influences on the approaches formulated and their outcomes. Most of the material which discusses the operation of particular institutions of local or central government describes them in fairly superficial or partial terms (Jordan, 1984; Patel, 1984; Dewar, 1987). The precise political and organisational dynamics of local government, the impact of administrative changes and the effect of inter-ministerial rivalry have not been discussed. Nor has the interface between local and central administrative agencies and the national level interests which are used in explanation by other authors been analysed.

A more realistic assessment of effective demand and of the costs of adopting high infrastructure and construction standards from the outset in new low income housing development, together with realisation of the adverse effects of measures to constrain supply, would have made a significant difference to the availability of land and housing in the city. Some tentative explanations of the failure to adopt such policy changes have been advanced, but too little evidence is available to reach firm conclusions on why these inappropriate policies have been continued. That achievements fall far short of these aims and that there is a disjunction between ideology and practice has become only too clear in this analysis, but to attribute the absence of radically redistributive housing policies to a state which represents the interests only of capital, the bourgeoisie and peasants is to advance only a partial explanation, and in particular to play down the limited room to manoeuvre open to the Mugabe government.

## Notes

1. The 1930 Land Apportionment Act divided the country into European areas, including most of the best agricultural land and all the main mining and industrial sites, and within the towns were situated; a small area of freehold land for small scale black commercial farmers; and Tribal Trust Land, or reserves for the African population, under communal tenure. This pattern, which gave the races about 18 million hectares each, despite the fact that blacks outnumbered whites 19:1, was reconfirmed by the 1969 Land Tenure Act. Tribal Trust Land were renamed Communal Areas in 1980.

2. This is illustrated by the difference between average household size (5.27) and average occupants per plot (8.8) in Kuwadzana. In Glen View there are on average 2.5 registered tenant families in each house; many more are unregistered to avoid the payment of charges for water and services.
3. Effective demand and the relationship between the cost of housing options available and household incomes is not discussed in detail in this paper.

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*The plans on pg. 12 are from Ann Slyter's article in TRIALOG 6, 1985.*

# New Towns in Independent Africa

Paola Somma

## Zusammenfassung

Die Autorin untersucht das Phänomen der Stadtneugründungen in der Dritten Welt an Hand der verfügbaren Literatur und kommt dabei zu einer Charakterisierung von fünf Grundtypen, die sie jeweils durch konkrete Fälle aus Afrika belegt:

1. **Satellitenstädte** werden zur Entlastung bestehender Ballungszentren gebaut.

2. **Neue Hauptstädte** sind quantitativ weniger bedeutsam, genießen aber gerade im Ausland einen hohen Bekanntheitsgrad, da sie von ihren jeweiligen Regierungen gerne als Aushängeschild vorgeführt werden.

3. **Industrie- und Bergwerksansiedlungen** werden monofunktional meist nach einem sehr rigiden Schema aufgebaut, wobei der Staat aber gerne ausländische Consultings mit der Planung beauftragt.

4. **Ländliche Versorgungspole** sollen auf dem Wege einer Kollektivierung von Dienstleistung, Konsum, und meistens auch von produktiven Einrichtungen einen Entwicklungsschub in ländlichen Regionen ermöglichen, und damit zu einem Abbau des Ungleichgewichts zwischen Stadt und Land beitragen. Obwohl sich die verantwortlichen Regierungen durch derlei Programme einen stärkeren politischen Rückhalt in der Bevölkerung erhoffen, bewirkt die gelegentlich auch zwangsweise Durchsetzung der Programme häufig das Gegenteil.

5. Der **Wiederaufbau zerstörter Städte** nach Naturkatastrophen oder Kriegseingriffen erfolgt typischerweise unter extremen Bedingungen und ohne lange Vorplanungszeit. Daher ist es besonders schwierig, lokalkulturelle Aspekte in die Planung einfließen zu lassen.

Obwohl in der Praxis alle fünf Typen von Stadtneugründungen fast immer ausländische Planungsmodelle kopieren, bestünde zumindest intellektuell die Chance auch neue und bessere räumliche Voraussetzungen für ein Zusammenleben in den Städten anzubieten und zu testen. (K.M.)

## Introduction

Since Independence in some African countries, a number of new towns have been designed. Some of the master plans have been made operational, in the sense of having institutions established to implement their provision, others have not been realized. From a purely quantitative point of view, these towns could be considered of little importance since their total dimension is absolutely insufficient to cope with the tremendous demographic increase which is still concentrating in the existing metropolises. But from another point of view, considering them rather as a result of the exportation of town planning theories and practice from developed to developing countries, African new towns seem to be a significant case for study.

Master plans have often been designed by foreign consultants who sometimes try to make the plan reflect as much as possible of what they understand to be the aspirations and cultural preferences of the population, but often copy European and American models absolutely alien to the local culture.

Sufficient documentation dealing with these experiences, and analysing problems and difficulties of implementation, finance and management is available today, but strangely enough what is lacking is an evaluation of the physical and social models assumed in the master plans. There can be little doubt that occidental patterns have had a significant influence on the planning and design of all African new towns. For this reason we suggest to examine actual projects and realizations and to promote systematic research into the effects induced by the transfer of experts and experience and their impact on the ambitions of the local elites. Such an effort could reveal itself useful both from a theoretical point of view and from a practical one, as well in academic and professional contexts. It could, in fact, help to make explicit some motives of our behaviour and enable us to go beyond a superficial and purely aesthetic interpretation of local cultures. An analysis free from prejudices could finally enable us to approach the subject without being too ca-

tegorical and also to expose the various contradictions that seem unavoidable in the contacts with the local elites who give the commissions. The latter are often the most vigorous advocates in favour of importing occidental planning schemes.

This article is based on the existing literature and on official information, and attempts to develop a pattern for comparison between new settlements in different geographical and political situations, but with the common characteristic of being drawn up by European or North American technicians after the conquest of Independence by the African countries.

We can distinguish between various categories of new towns, according to the specific purpose, for which they were planned and built:

### 1. Satellite Towns

Satellite towns are new towns designed to diminish the congestion in central city areas by diverting immigration flow or trying to resettle the urban poor from overcrowded sectors of the metropole.

The most outstanding example for this category can be found in Egypt, where a major effort has been made to provide employment and residence outside Cairo (which is growing at the rate of 1000 persons a day). The Regional Plan of 1968 foresaw the establishment of three satellite towns, *15th of May*, *6th of October* and *El Abour*, all within the Greater Cairo Region. Some years later, in 1973, a new programme was adopted and envisaged four free-standing towns, *Al Amal*, *Al Badr*, *Sadat City*, *10th of Ramadan*, to be built in desert land, and one further new town was named *New Ameira* in the region of Alexandria. This programme, which would have absorbed approximately 2.0 million people by the year 2000, has been only realized in parts and generally the satellite communities found it easier to attract a resident population and industry than the free-standing communities did. In 1983 a more realistic project of new settlements was initiated. It differed from the previous model taken from the British

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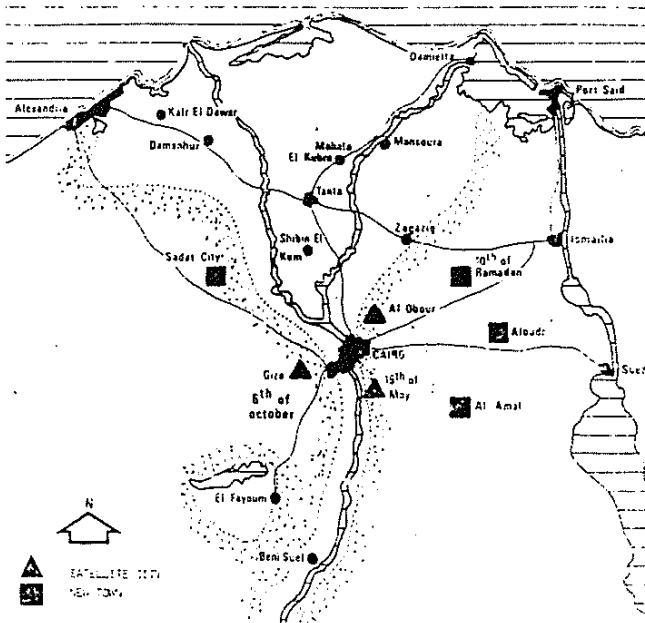


Fig. 1: Satellite cities and New Towns in Egypt.  
Source: *The Egyptian Bulletin*, Oct. 1986.

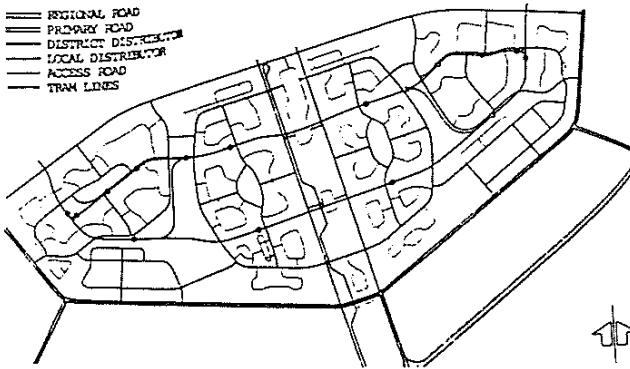


Fig. 2: 10th of Ramadan — road network.  
Source: 10th of Ramadan, First stage Final Report 1978, Copy Egypt-Sweco Sweden.

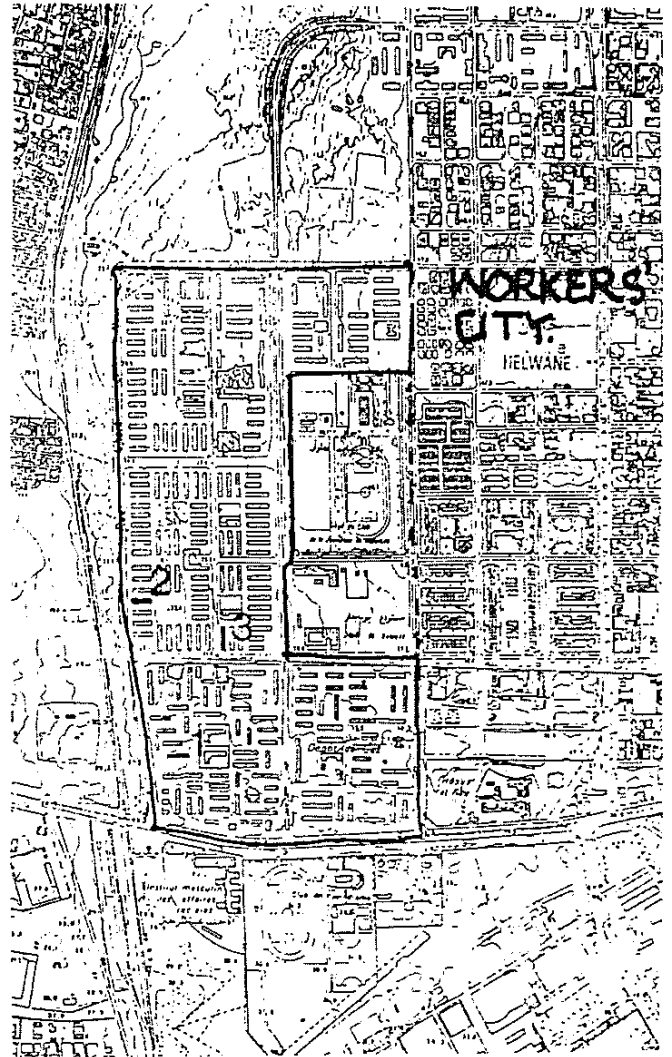


Fig. 3: 15th of May. It consists of 1034 ha and is conceived as a satellite community to provide housing and services for Helwan factors workers. The morphology is completely different from the adjacent arab settlement.  
Source: *Open House International*, No. 3, 1985.

new towns and lacking the necessary conditions for a long term policy of national population distribution (Therefore the effect of new towns compared to the national growth rate has been modest).

Looking at the maps, we can recognize that the layout is completely occidental, and adopt all the criteria of classic British and American planning, like the hierarchy of the transport system to the neighbourhood units. But looking at the realizations themselves, we can notice that these elements are mixed up with some others, such as the housing typology, which is unusual both in its original context and in the local tradition, or the sharp contrast between the monumental emphasis of the central parts and the discriminatory treatment of public space, in the marginal areas, — otherwise typical for unplanned neighbourhoods.

Though there is clear evidence that an effort has been made in Egypt to treat the problem of urban congestion in a wider territorial context, the attempts to provide

accommodation for the urban poor have resulted in the growth of huge, shapeless agglomerations which are problematic.

One theme which deserves careful exploration, particularly in cases involving private enterprise, is the ownership of land destined for development. In Marocco, for example, the national plan for the three years 1978—1980 envisaged the creation of a new city near Rabat. *Hay Riad* was intended to provide homes for 200.000 inhabitants within 10 years and the Ministry of Housing agreed to place some of its land reserves at the disposal of private developers for the purpose.

## 2. New Capitals

The new capital towns imply a transfer of the central administrative functions of a nation to a new site or by a large-scale transformation of an existing town to accommodate the functions of the capital. Apart from the famous case of *Brasilia* in

Latin America, many new capitals were built in Africa.

The most important example of this category is Nigeria, where, in order to strengthen national unity, the capital is being moved from Lagos to a totally new urban site in the vicinity of *Abuja*. In the same spirit some of its newly created federal states have decided to construct new capital cities.

The plan for *Abuja*, worked out after 1973 with experts from *Milton Keynes* in Britain, is based on the concept of residential districts and a transportation grid. It reveals a high degree of abstraction together with an ostentatious grandeur and an exaggerated provision of infrastructures. The city, for instance, is ringed with an impressive network of roads including some six to fourteen lane highways. It has been said that the idea was to make *Abuja* „Nigeria's showcase" free from the clutter and squalor of Lagos. Some have called it a „fine American city" or, because of the frequent presidential retreats „Nigeria's



version of Camp David". However, in practice it is becoming an administrative city rather than a multi-functional metropolis. *Abuja*, with a projected population of 1,600,000 by the year 2000, is an alarming example of the dichotomy between the government's aspirations and the population's needs: People living within the city development area have been compulsorily moved out and new shanty-towns which spring up overnight are provisionally tolerated in the meantime because of their secondary economic importance, but the perspective of eventual bulldozing prevents long term consolidation and the development of a stable neighbourhood. Furthermore, in order to prevent the arrival of unauthorized inhabitants the authorities attempt to regulate the influx into the capital through transfers to a suburb situated forty minutes away by car and with a series of satellite towns, transforming the metropolitan region into scattered and uncoordinated settlements, including a central section of imposing public buildings and some suburbs of satellite settlements with a high degree of functional and social segregation.

In the case of the provincial capital *Abaji* in Nigeria the ruling classes have pursued „international“ planning patterns with the greatest determination, and early attempts to substitute this trend by indigenous values have failed. At *Abaji* in fact, a British partnership was commissioned to prepare a master plan. Instead of simply applying the standard planning principles they tried to develop a more flexible approach. However, the resulting proposal of a plan was refused by the authorities.

A third and more recent Nigerian example is *Owerri*, the new capital of Imo state. Here a „twin city“ pattern has been chosen explicitly because the planners thought that locating the new capital directly across from Old *Owerri* would allow to benefit from the proximity of existing labour and services resources. For that reason the redevelopment of the old nucleus has been deferred to a later date when the inhabitants „have already profited from the economic boom created by the building of the capital and will be able to accept more easily the consequent disruption of their life patterns“.

In the same period albeit in a completely different economical and political situation, Tanzania decided to move the capital from Dar-es-Salaam to *Dodoma* in order to stimulate economic and agricultural progress in the central underdeveloped but potentially productive heartland. The master plan makes reference to Tanzania's national policy of socialism and self-reliance and is based on a hierarchical distribution of social units apart from other rather unusual ideas in town planning practice. The transport system, for instance, tries to place a low priority on private vehicles and gives preference to the needs of pedestrians and cyclists. The city would respect traditional ways of

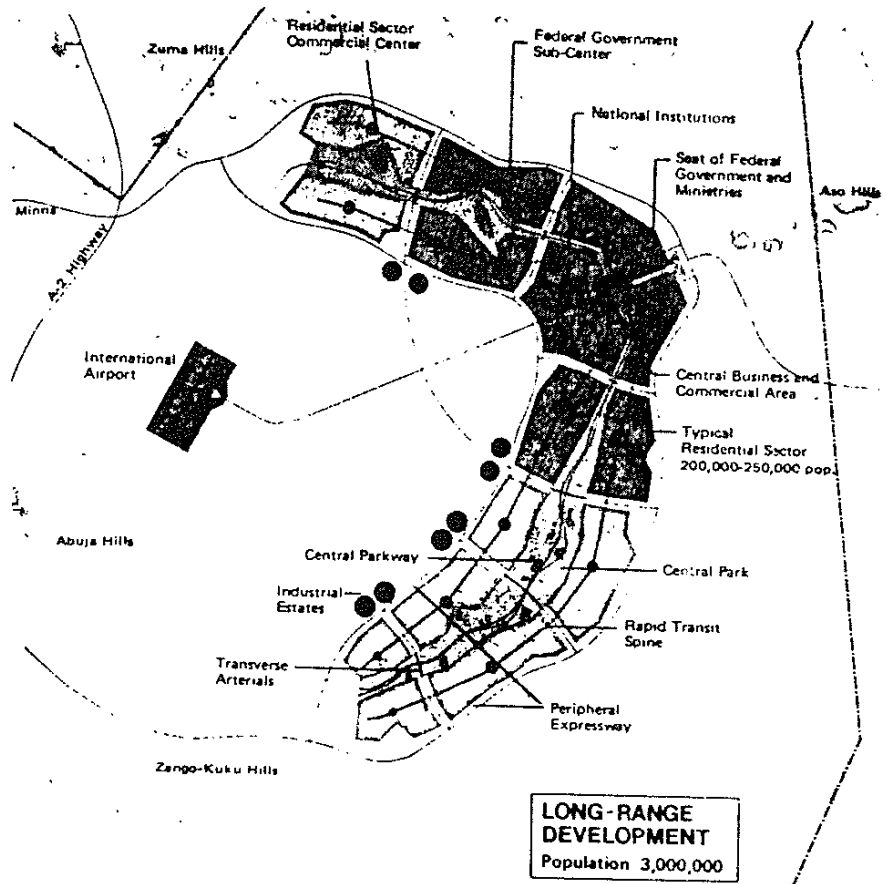


Fig. 4

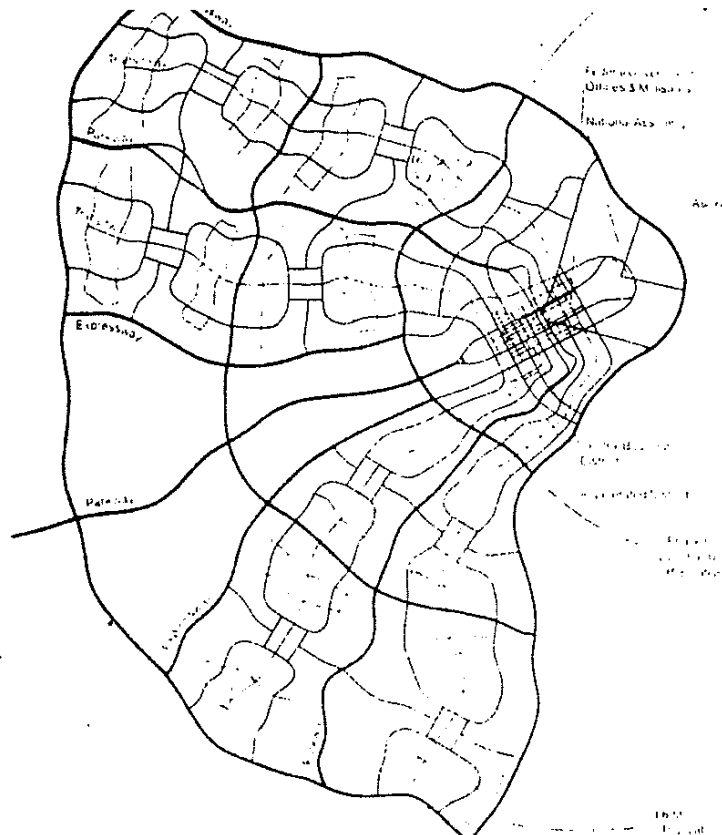


Fig. 4 & 5: *Abuja* — Long-range development and transportation grid. It is a crescent shape fanning out from the city centre which contains the National Assembly, Government offices, National Institutions and commercial centre. The residential districts extend in two directions from the central area and are linked to the city by transit ways and expressways.  
Source: A New National Federal Capital for Nigeria — Concept Plan.

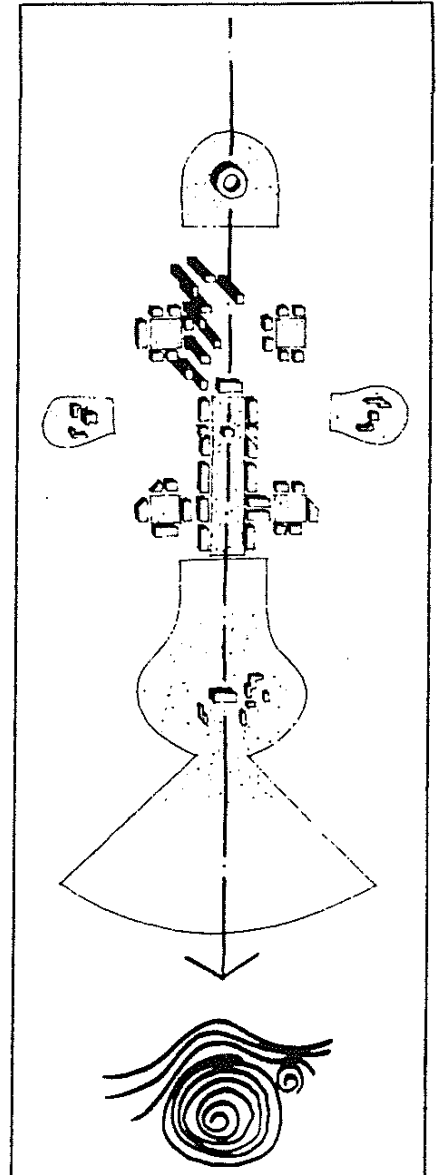


Fig. 6 & 7: Abuja — Monumental axis and centre

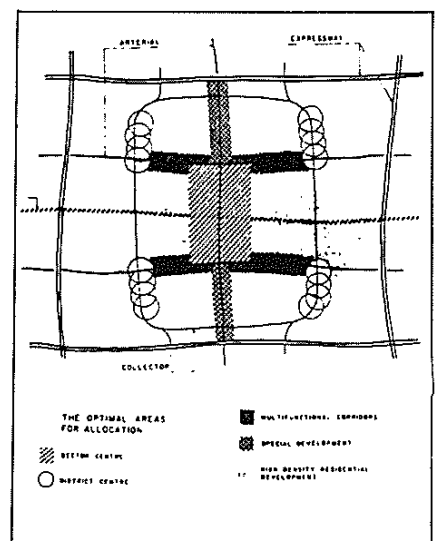
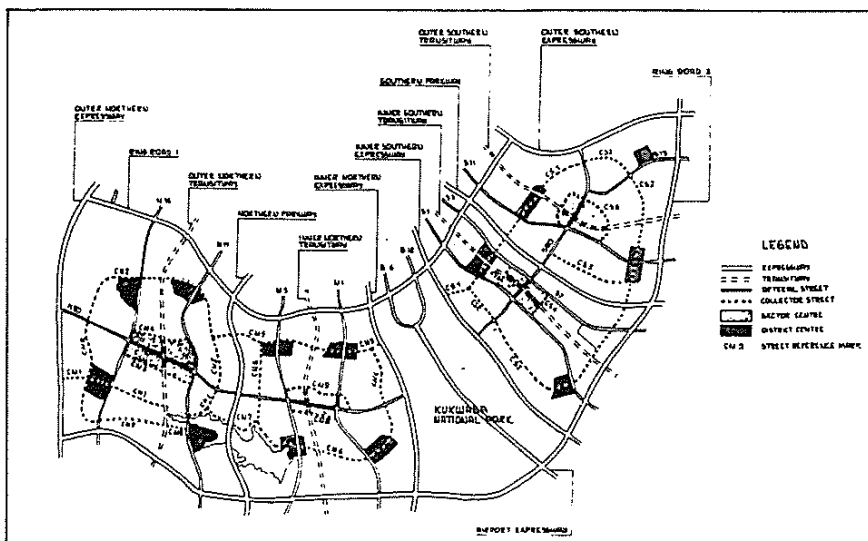


Fig. 8 & 9: Abuja — Roadnetwork and typical district.

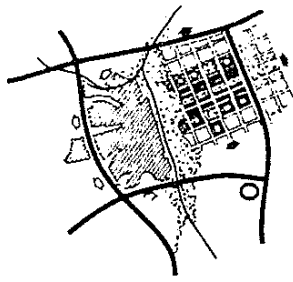
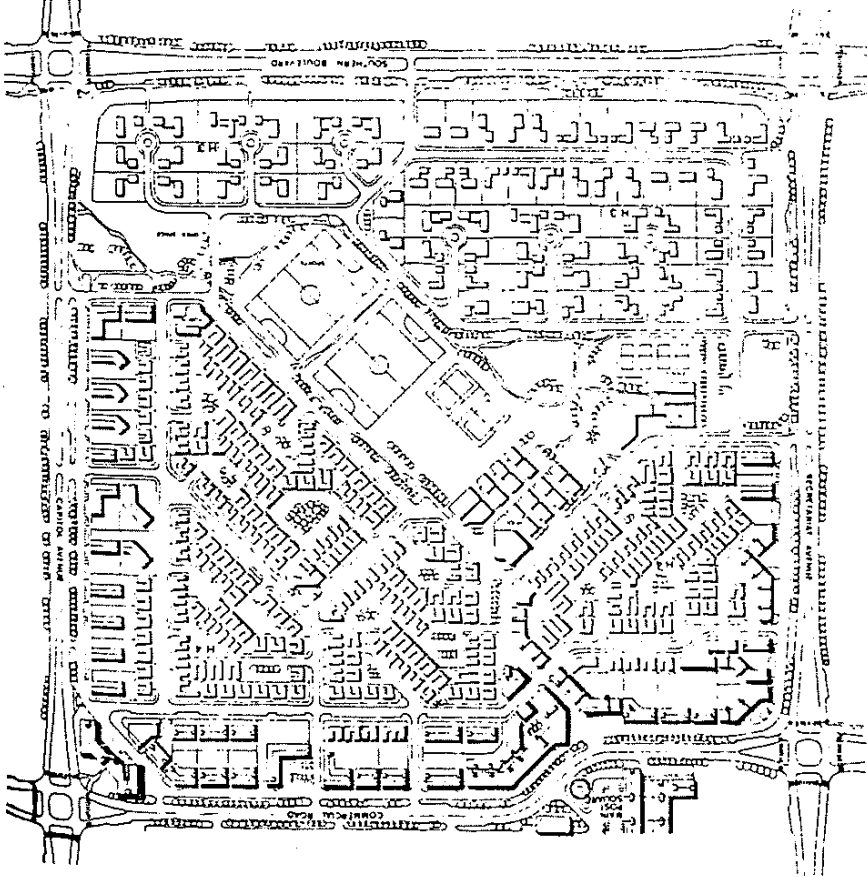


Fig. 10: Owerri — the twin City variant.



Fig. 11: Tunis — the old town and the colonial town.

Fig. 12: Owerri — an environmental area or town cell. The major grid roads at 700 mts intervals enclose cells of approx. 50 ha which are predominantly residential. Source: *Town Planning Review*, Vol. 2, Nr. 2, 1980.



living and consist of compact units of urban villages where human contacts and communications can be preserved more easily. The Dodoma master plan still maintains the vision of an alternative society, but the completion of the new town has been delayed by rising building costs, and there has been little support from developed countries over the recent years.

However, wealthy nations are not indifferent to the development of African new towns but they have their own interests and try to maintain a certain level of control. Significant cases are two other new African capitals, *Gaborone* in Botswana

and *Lilongwe* in Malawi, whose realisation has been required or made possible by South African intervention. Malawi, one of the poorest African countries, began transference of the capital from Zomba to *Lilongwe* in 1965, a year after Independence. The official argument was for a greater regional equity, for a central location, and for the possibilities to build a new international airport nearby. Of course the project was beyond the financial possibilities of the country, thus help was solicited from South Africa.

A South Africa firm prepared a master plan but too many assumptions ignored

the local situation. For instance it envisaged that „nearly every family in *Lilongwe* will own a motor car“. A second plan was drawn up. According to this, the new town would be composed of new city core, containing the government administration area, shopping and commercial centres, a recreation zone, some industrial and residential district sections, which would be linked with the old town by a processional way. The plan further foresaw very rigid zoning with no mixing of the different land uses. The residential zones were distinguished by three densities: high, medium and low, whereby the high density, or low-income, section, would be further subdivided into traditional plots (that is site and service plots) and permanent housing largely earmarked for government employees.

However, the practical realization of *Lilongwe* has been delayed and current works are limited to Capital Hill, where government buildings are. Nevertheless, in the meantime thousands of rural dwellers have been resettled compulsory, whereas within the city limits large illegal occupations of the plots have occurred. None of the inter-provincial redistribution aims seems to have been achieved, only the airport is better suitable for international flights from South Africa to Kenya and makes Lilongwe a convenient stopping place for South African airlines.

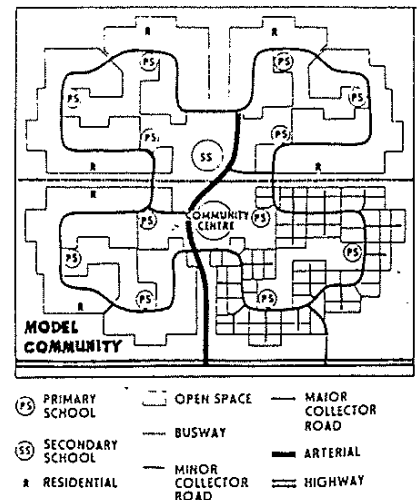


Fig. 13: Dodoma — diagram of a model community. Source: CDA, 1976.

Also *Gaborone*, the new capital of Botswana, is a massive vindication of the growing links between South Africa and its neighbouring countries. The construction of new capital was decided in 1966, the year of Independence, with the objective of creating an efficient administration and to provide a suitable infrastructure for a modern economy. This was necessary since the colonial government had left Botswana without a capital inside the country. The new capital Gaborone occupies a strategic location: it is readily accessible from Pretoria and Witwatersrand and is largely dependent on South Africa, from an economical point of view.

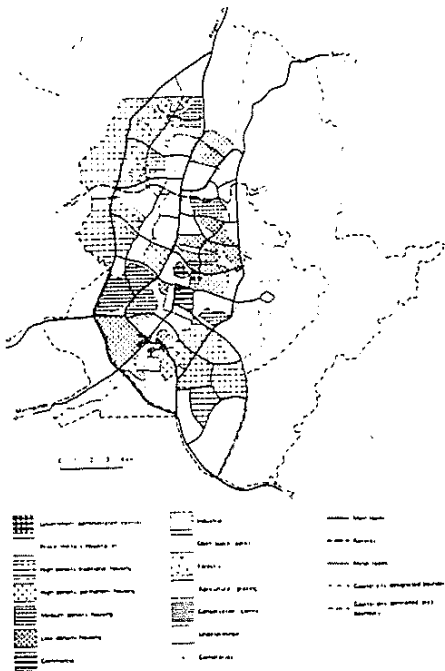


Fig. 14: Lilongwe — Urban structure.  
Source: Town and Country Planning Dept., Malawi.

Initially Gaborone was little more than a sprawling village but it was planned to accommodate a population of some 20,000 initially. However, this figure was soon superseded and justified a new and more ambitious plan in 1971. This new plan, baroque in form and expressing the ambitions of the new governing class, provides a monumental layout for the central areas where government buildings are located. The inhabitants are segregated into separate zones according to income.

*New capitals* are the best known examples of new cities because they are highly publicized abroad by the governments concerned; they are intended to project a favourable image of the country. However, little attention tends to be paid on reaching a reasonable balance in terms of costs and benefits. An analysis of this kind would in fact be a very useful exercise for these cities, which require extremely high investments, and where the cost of living tends to be much higher than in longer-established cities. This may be one of the causes for wide spread poverty and shanty town suburbs. The investments do not seem to have contributed either to an improvement in living conditions nor to the re-establishment of a territorial equilibrium.

### 3. New towns created for exploitation of specific resources or for industrial activities

The most common towns of this kind are „mining towns“. A number of them were already built during the colonial period, but several others have been added over the last twenty five years. Among them we could quote *Zouerate* in Mauritania for

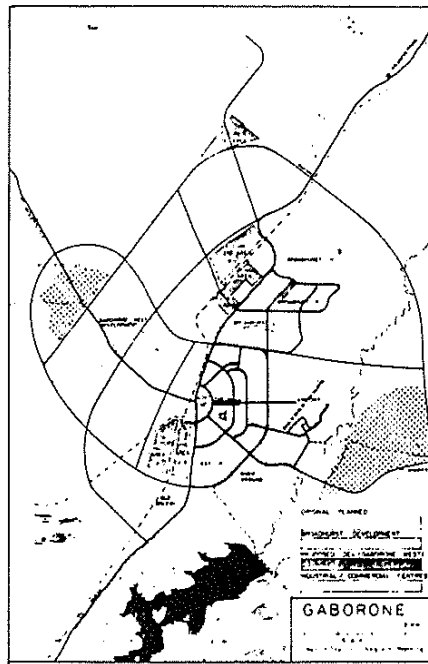


Fig. 15: Development of Gaborone.  
Source: J.M. Letsholo, *The New Towns of Botswana*, 1980.

exploitation of iron deposits, *Arandis* in Namibia and *Arlit* in Niger for uranium, *Selebi Phikwe* and *Bomangwata* in Botswana for copper and nickel and *Ora-pa* and *Iwana* in Botswana for diamonds. In the same category we could also include towns for petroleum plants such as *Gamba* in Ghana and *Marsa el Brega* in Libya. The master plans are mostly prepared by private companies whose only intention is to provide accommodation for their personnel. Generally they do not care about the future perspectives since the

town stems from a single activity of sometimes limited duration. Therefore their layouts are not only often similar to a camp or to a dormitory estate, but they also disrupt the traditional local economy. Furthermore they cause deteriorating living conditions around them, in the form of shanty towns occupied by a large floating population.

More ambitious programmes for industrial towns, in a wider meaning of the word, have been prepared in few cases,

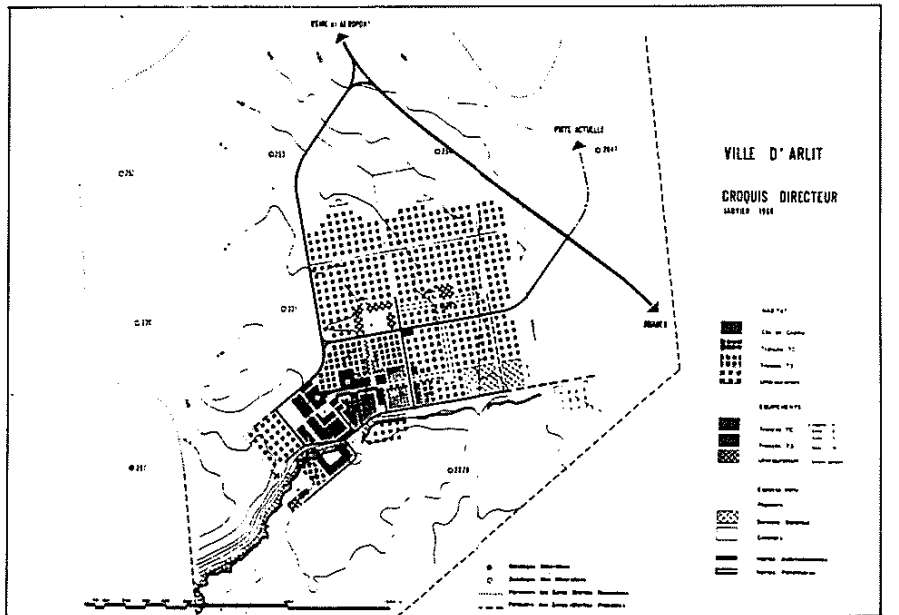


Fig. 17: Arlit New Town. It is situated in the northern part of Niger to allow SOMAIR (*Sociétés Mines de l'Air*) to exploit an uranium deposit. Although site workers' housing and induced population have been considered, there is a large mobile population and shanty areas.  
Source: SMUH, *Villes nouvelles du Tiers Monde*, 1977.

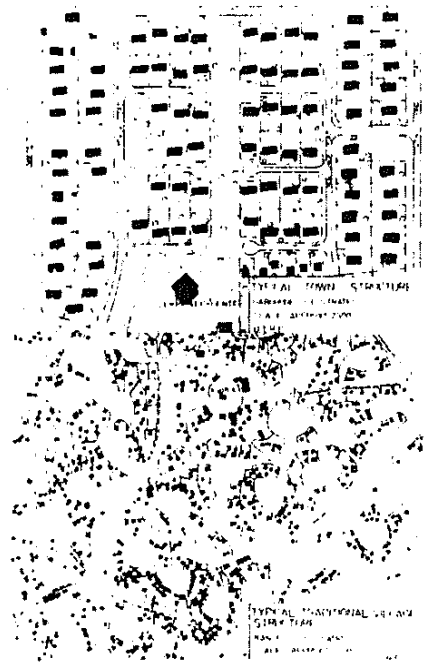


Fig. 16: Comparison between typical town structure and typical village structure.

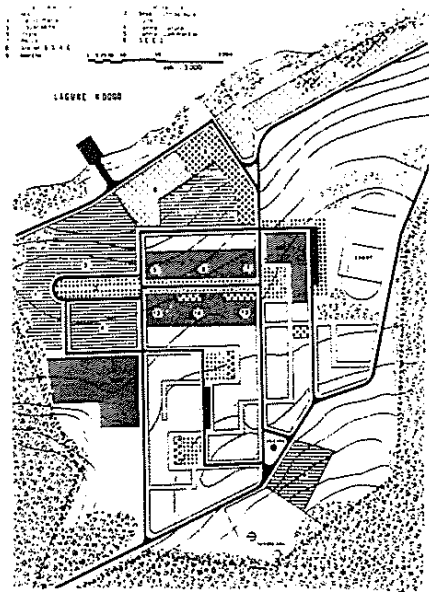


Fig. 18: Gamba — strictly intended for the staff of Shell Gabon with no provision for the induced population.  
Source: SMUH, No. 89, Nov. 1977.

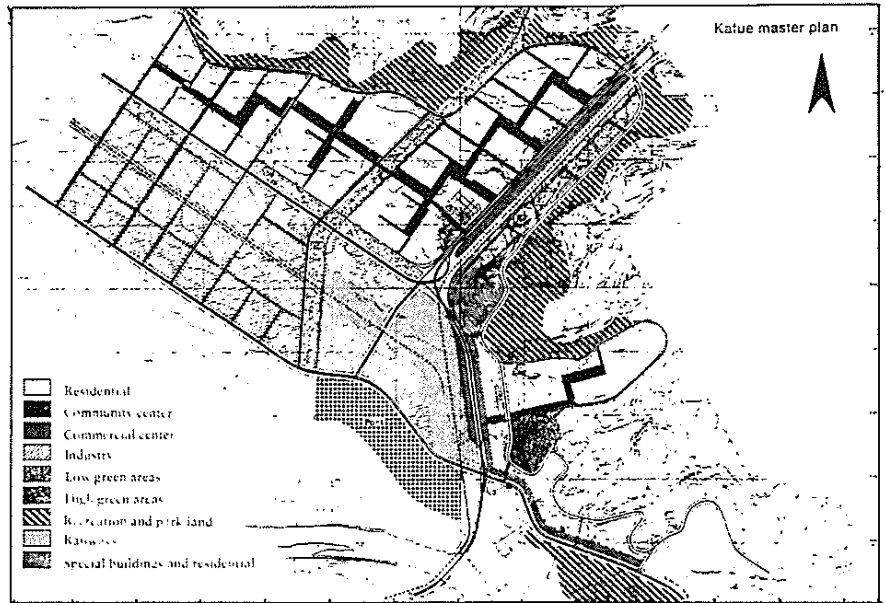


Fig. 19: Kafue Master Plan. Of the 2600 ha 18% are for industrial use and 28% for residential purposes. The road network includes provision for dual carriageways and ample feeder roads. The target population of 100,000 for the year 2000 is based on 10 communities of 10,000 inhabitants further subdivided into smaller communities  
Source: Doxiadis Associates, 1971.

for Kafue in Zambia and for the port towns of San Pedro in the Ivory Coast and Tema in Ghana. The latter, situated some 25 kilometres from Accra, the capital of Ghana, is cited in the literature as one of the most successful examples of new towns in Africa. The Tema Development Corporation was set up in 1952, but work eventually started after 1960, when the responsibility for the management of the project was assigned to Doxiades Associates. The town planning scheme considered the new town as part of a development strategy for the whole Volta region and envisaged a settlement of 250,000 inhabitants by 1985 (400,000 by 2 000) in hierarchically organized nuclei. Compared to other company towns the master plan appears to be more complex and includes a number of analytical surveys and sophisticated provisions, but the practical result still is a plan based on a rigid separation of different activities and social groups.

#### 4. Towns as rural service poles

This type of new towns and settlements is intended to provide adequate amenities and services in rural areas, such as the „socialist villages“ in Algeria, the so-called „central villages“ in Popular Republic of Congo, and in the villages of the Ujamaa programme in Tanzania. They are formed by a deliberate concentration of population living in scattered hamlets before. Occasionally the implementation of these schemes is being enforced by means of compulsory resettlement. Very often these operations are closely linked to a political project for the reorganization of agriculture.

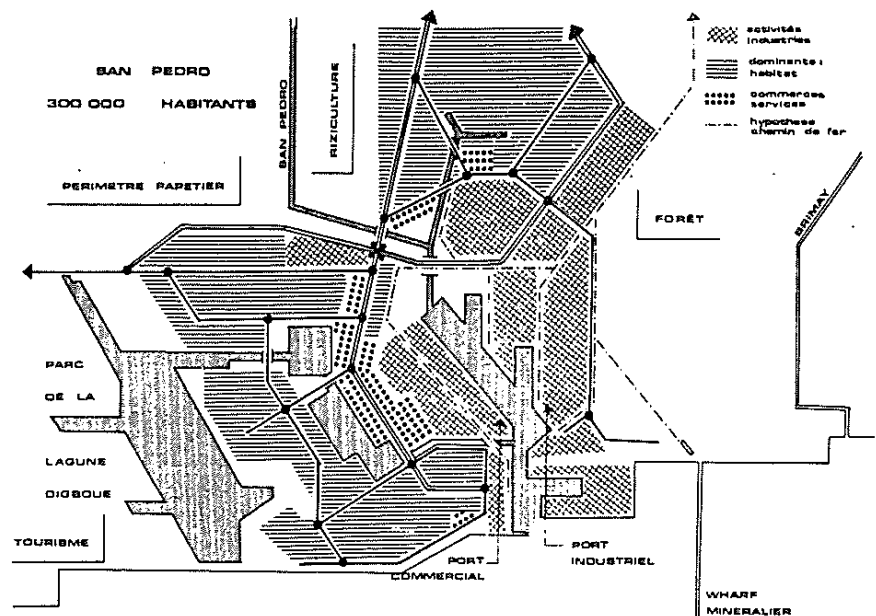
The programme for the building of „1.000 socialist villages“ in Algeria represents a

good example for the interweaving of objectives: there is an economic aim to modernize the rural areas, a social aim in the redistribution of land to the peasants, and a political aim of greater integration of the population into the central government structure. The programme, prepared in line with the agrarian reform of 1971, was inaugurated by President Boumediene in 1972 when he laid the first foundation stone at Ain Nahala. The socialist villages were also meant to improve housing conditions in the rural areas, where rapid population increase had aggravated the housing situation. Water and electricity supply had been inadequate, community facilities such as schooling and medical care were spare of missing altogether;

and improvement in these areas could be expected to lead to greater support for the government by the rural inhabitants. The plan intended that new villages should be created all over the country, including the marginal zones, but difficulties of various kinds inhibited the completion of the programme: On the one hand there were shortages of building materials and labour with higher costs and delayed completion as a result; but the main problem was that the population was hostile to the imposition of a uniform and undifferentiated model which attempted to impose urban forms and values without taking account of the specific local conditions. In fact, the dwellings built followed a very limited number of standard designs and

Fig. 20: San Pedro — main land-uses.

Source: SMUH, Nr. 89, Nov. 1977.



did not take into account family sizes or the existence of an extended family; they inhibited the practice of traditional customs such as the cultivation of agricultural products or the raising of livestock for domestic consumption — activities which were not only firmly rooted in the local culture but also provided a fundamental part of the family income and assets. Because the population never accepted these technocratic and authoritarian decisions and refused to cooperate the programme was abandoned at the beginning of the 1980s, when only 400 of the planned 1.000 villages were completed or under construction.

### 5. Reconstruction of destroyed towns

A fifth group of new towns originate from the reconstruction of settlements destroyed by natural or man made disasters: flooding, earthquakes, or wars. Apart from cases in Egypt and Sudan, *Agadir* in Morocco perhaps the most known example of town recently reconstructed.

In 1980, 80% of the city of Agadir was destroyed by earthquake and its reconstruction, on a site further to the South, was both rapid and anarchic. To re-establish equilibrium in the agglomeration, IAURIF (Institut d'Aménagement de la Région de l'Île de France) was appointed to draw up a town-planning scheme, and in 1977 the Institute was also commissioned to plan three new towns, *Tama ou Enza* to the North, *Tassila* to the East and *Agadir South East* to channel urbanization in new directions and to accommodate 100.000 inhabitants in 10 years.

Provisions in the plan were made to keep land prices low, to guarantee western standards for basic facilities and services, to enable families to build their own dwellings, and to ensure that all the urban fabric, the building density, and the layout followed the traditional principles of the „Moroccan town“. It turned out that all attempts to hinder land speculation, which is particularly heavy in this area because of the growing tourist boom, were utterly unrealistic, while the aim of creating „Moroccan towns“ often boiled down to no more than a camouflage consisting of „African-style“ facades covering up buildings constructed on European lines and with European techniques.

*Fig. 21: Tema Master Plan. The town is divided into self-containing communities with housing for various income groups. The first phase is planned for a population of 250,000 which should increase by the year 2000 to 400,000.*  
Source: Doxiadis Associates Review, 1986.

*Fig. 23: Tassila New Town — Circulation system and typology of dwelling estates.*  
Source: Cahiers de l'I.A.U.R.I.F., Sept. 1984.

Tema master plan

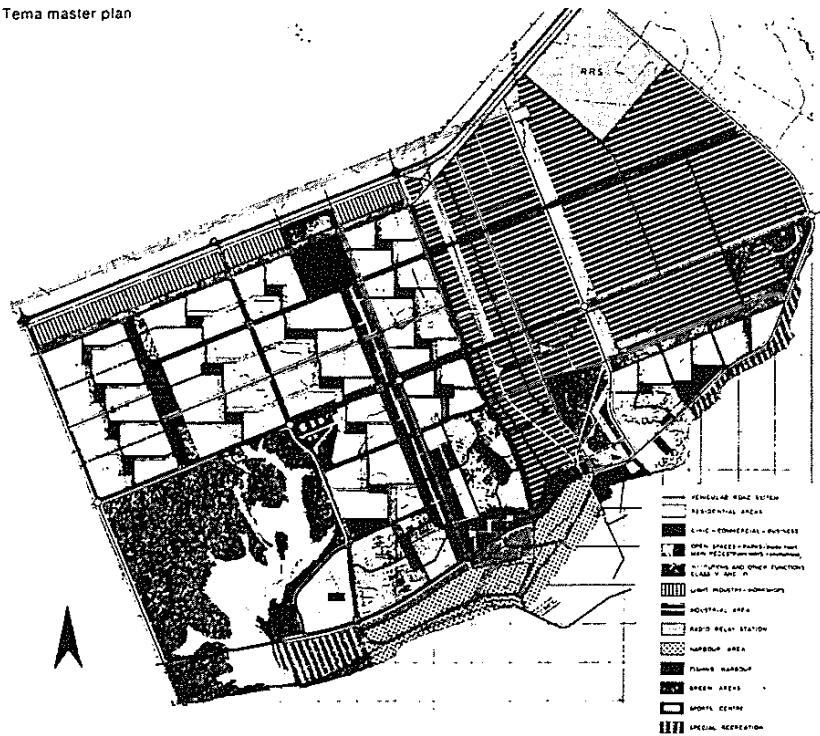


Fig. 21

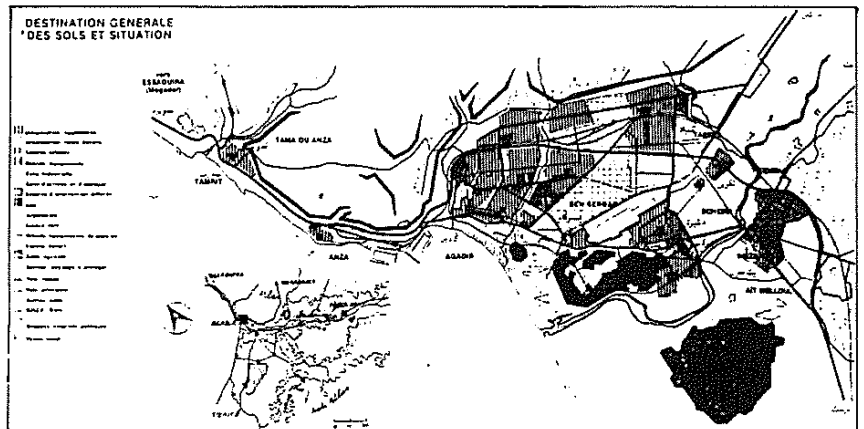


Fig. 22: Agadir Master Plan and location of 3 new towns.

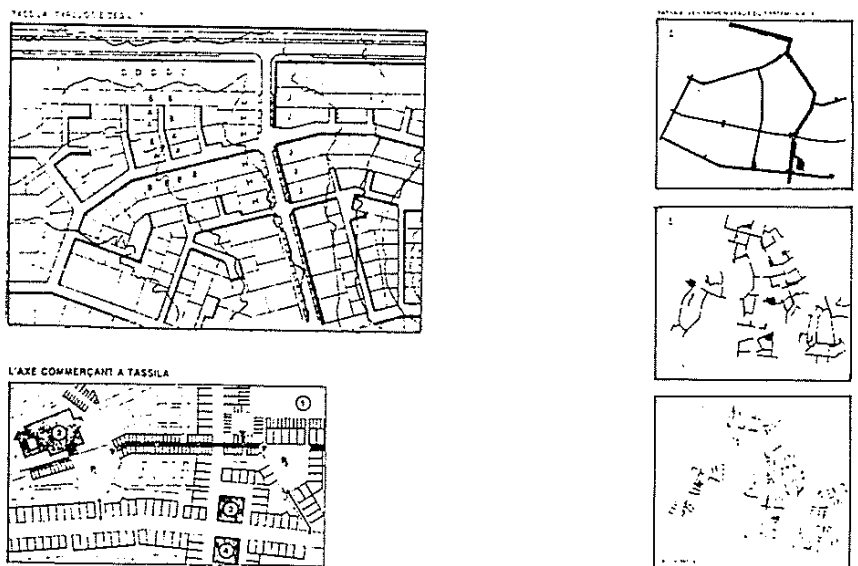


Fig. 23



## Conclusion


Of course this short description of some African new towns has no pretensions to draw definitive conclusions on a problem which is at the same time complex and contradictory. What this exercise may perhaps achieve is to hint towards some characteristics of these new towns which could have the potential of functioning as a laboratory for experimentation in new patterns of community life. However, in reality all the new towns taken into consideration here are based on the provision of residential areas or neighbourhoods with its own facilities. The organizational and physical specialization is extremely rigid, and maintain a segregation both between living and working places and between the housing estates for different incomes. Moreover, the organization of urban spaces, dominated by hierarchical and functional zoning and by repetition of building types, does not reflect the needs of using public and private space according to local traditional, social or geographic conditions.

More serious implications relate to the economical and social point of view, because the allocation of considerable portions of the limited national resources to few, or even to one single locality makes it impossible to pursue other, and more general priorities. However, limiting ourselves to an appraisal of the physical results we note that all of these towns instead of being „new“, replicate „outside“ — or imported — and often even outdated models, which have been sold at an expensive price to the countries in the periphery.

It is true that one of the most useful contribution which planners from developed countries could make to developing countries is to help them avoiding the mistakes which we have made in our own cities, we must not only abandon abstract models and master plans in favour of a practice which builds upon the local traditions and the actual situation, and renounce any temptation to produce ideological manifests in asphalt, concrete and glass. Furthermore, we must make this attitude attractive to the indigenous professionals and technicians who eventually ought to develop indigenous models and processes for their cities.

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# Low Income Housing Policies in the Development of Brasilia: A Critical Review

Claudio Acioly Jr.

## Zusammenfassung

*Brasilia und Chandigarh sind wohl die bekanntesten neuen Hauptstädte der fünfziger Jahre, entworfen nach Prinzipien des CIAMs (International Congresses of Modern Architecture). Das Vertrauen in einen technokratischen Planungsprozeß, von Experten definiert und kontrolliert war in Brasilia allgegenwärtig. Wohnungsbaupolitik für die mittleren und niedrigen Einkommensgruppen, u.a. die Bauarbeiter und der Dienstleistungssektor (während der Bauphase von Brasilia), gab es nur in begrenztem Maße.*

*Die Verlagerung der Hauptstadt von Rio ins Landesinnere hat die erwartete regionale Entwicklung nicht ausgelöst — stattdessen sind Einwohner aus kleineren Städten nach Brasilia und in die Umgebung gezogen. Die zahlreichen Squatter Siedlungen und Satelliten-Städte sind ein Zeichen für die repressive Bodenpolitik und die Grundstückspreise in Brasilia mit überteuerten Wohnungen. Erst 1983 ist ein Wohnungsbauprogramm entwickelt und eine dafür zuständige Organisation gegründet worden um Sanierungsmaßnahmen, Selbsthilfe, Infrastrukturverbesserungen etc. durchzuführen. Probleme der Bodenspekulation, Aufwertungsprozesse und fehlende Baukredite sind trotzdem geblieben. Es wird vorgeschlagen:*

- a) die Baustandarde für Straßennetz, Wohndichte etc. sollen überarbeitet werden um kostengünstig bauen zu können;*
- b) Kredite für Hauskauf und Baumaterialien sollen bereitgestellt werden;*
- c) im Zuge des Demokratisierungsprozesses seit 1985 soll mehr Partizipation von Betroffenen und NGO's auf der lokalen Ebene unterstützt werden. (R. M-S.)*

## Historical Background

During the second half of the nineteenth century, certain concepts of city models started to flourish as rapid industrialization took place in Western Europe. These concepts included claims for the provision of adequate housing for the emerging urban labour force and a greater concern with salubrity and efficiency in the organization of the living environment. Later on, during the first half of the twentieth century, through the CIAMs-International Congresses of Modern Architecture, these ideas gained strength among architects and urban planners, and were brilliantly summarized in the famous Charter of Athens (1933), where the four basic functions of the city were defined: living, working, recreation and communication.

The Charter became a reference book for all prominent modern architects involved with city planning in this period. However, it was Le Corbusier who systematized the guidelines and recommendations in the form of theoretical structure and concepts for city planning, and was the person who was responsible in spreading the new trend at the international level. Although the problems of deterioration in city life, which he was concerned with, had strong socio-political components, he laid emphasis on architectural and urbanistic solutions. „His call was for a bold expression, through urbanism, of society's confidence in the future. For him, city planning, besides of being a science, was the noblest of the arts; the expression of the activity of an epoch.“ (Sarin, 1982: pg. 33) In his works a centralized top-to-bottom planning approach and a decision-making process in which the elite of technicians in control of the planning process is quite explicit. Then, cities and all changes in the physical environment could be under the guidance of competent experts.

This conceptual framework generated several experiences not only in the continent that it was born, but also sponsored and still sponsors a great amount of projects in urban planning and design in Developing Countries. The most well known

examples are Chandigarh and Brasilia, as fully pre-planned cities implemented in the fifties in India and Brazil, respectively.

Similar to Chandigarh, the construction of the Brazilian capital evoked all sorts of bombast and pride i.e. nationalistic sentiments through which the construction of the city could be transformed into a symbolic step of the Brazilian society towards a new era of development and self-determination: „The rise of a modern nation“. It was during this period that the concept of modernization and economic development of Brazil through the increase of industrialization and substitution of import policies toward the new western frontier and regional development gained acceptance among politicians, intellectuals, militaries and lay citizens.

Juscelino Kubitschek, an experienced politician, intelligently perceived the moment and was able to put forward these aspirations in his political program, and hence obtain the necessary political support for his campaign for presidency in 1955. As Brasilia was a main component in his political strategy, his election formalized the decision to change the capital from Rio de Janeiro to the hinterlands of the central west region. It was during his administration that planning activities, with a strong ideological character, gained real support and became at the same time an efficient instrument for state control and a tool to conduct the modernization project promoted and sponsored by the Brazilian state. „From the fifties onwards and particularly during the Kubitschek government, the ideology of planning took shape inside the Brazilian state under a process of modernization; an ideology in which the act of planning is represented as a strictly technical-scientific action, neutral, through which one can foresee and control, that is to say, to administer in a rational way.“ (Bicca, 1985: pg. 111)

However, Sarin precisely states that, „as practised in market economies, urban planning has consisted of the imposition of a framework of rules, presented as being neutral, and legitimized on the grounds of being in the 'public interest'.

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However, within the urban Third World, characterized by extreme social and economic inequalities, it is not difficult to show that the neutrality is a myth." (Sarin, 1982: pg. 1)

In reality, this planning strategy gave priority to the increase of production and maximization of the process of development and capital accumulation, and disregarded the sharp economic differences among social groups and serious problems of distribution of wealth. In this apolitical technocrat scenario, the CIAM standpoint, as explicitly explained by Le Corbusier, found firm ground to flourish among the selective club of prominent Brazilian architects and urban planners, who have exerted a great influence on governmental officials, politicians, intellectuals, artists, and in many cases on the public opinion. With consequences that can still be observed today in several plans and planning processes in different Brazilian cities, and particularly in Brasilia.

The national competition of projects for Brasilia showed strong evidence of this fact. All the 26 projects presented had very strong similarities among them as they were based on CIAMs concepts. They established a comprehensive set of regulations, land use control schemes, bylaw building regulations, a strong concern with visual expressions and aesthetic concepts on city form, and a remarkable state control for the future development and consolidation of the new capital.

It was the work, known as Plano Piloto de Brasilia (see Figure I), submitted by Lucio Costa, a Brazilian urbanist who had worked with Le Corbusier more than a decade before, which was awarded with the contract and implementation began immediately.

In order to house thousands of building workers, governmental employees, technical staff and so forth, a network of labour camps, as a type of housing accommodation, was established in the site by governmental agencies and building contractors responsible for different projects. Fully sponsored by the Brazilian government, the new capital was officially inaugurated on the 21st of April 1960, after three years of intensive construction, and has had an outstanding performance both in terms of development and population growth (actually with 1.700.000 inhabitants), and in terms of the problems which emerged with it.

The experience of building the new capital and the peculiarity of the urban plan and design of the city, represents a significant urban innovation and a turning point in the history of town planning in Brazil. There are also other aspects that make Brasilia a very peculiar case: the Government owns more than 60% of the land stock; it maintains strict control over land

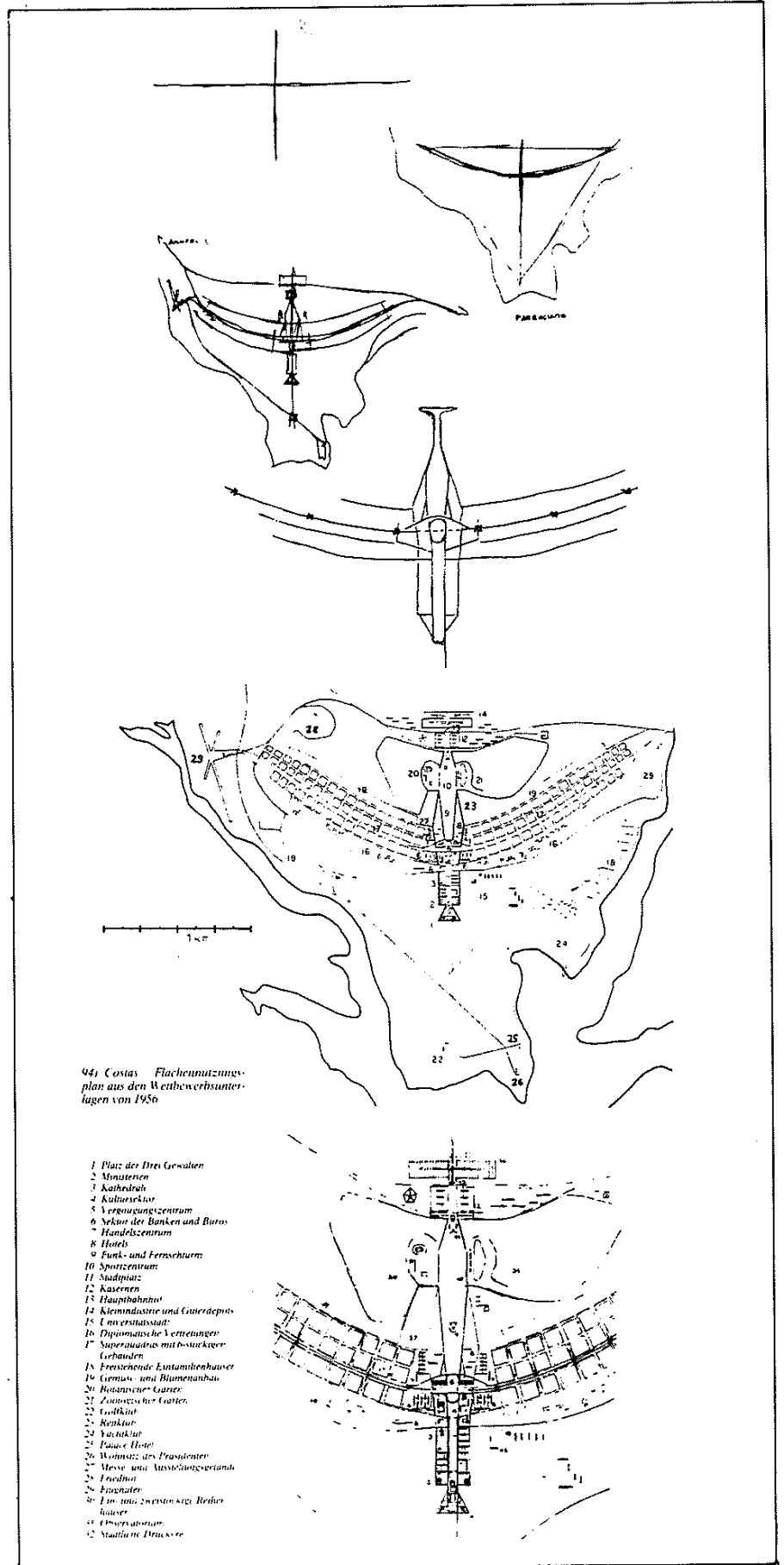


Figure I: Plano Piloto — Sketches by Lucio Costa  
Source: A. Fils, Brasilia, Beton Verlag, 1988, pgs. 42, 44

use in order to avoid any type of illegal occupation and subdivision; it has had a significant participation in the development and consolidation of the city, with a sizeable production of housing addressed to the popular sector; the city has been basically a tertiary city, relying for its development on a great amount of Federal Government's subsidy, and the State has played a major role in the job market; the city governor is nominated by the president, there is no forum for political decisions (city council or similar system) and political participation of the inhabitants has been always very limited.

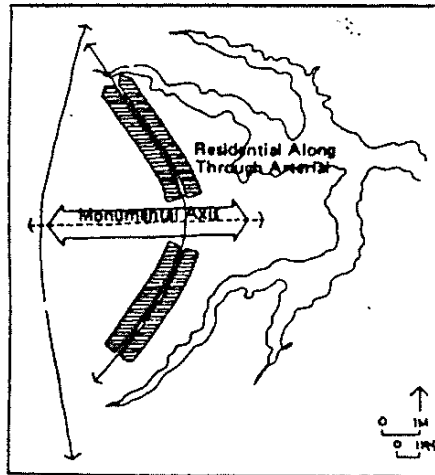
At the international level, Brasilia is undoubtedly the most expressive example of urban design in which the principles and concepts established by the CIAMs were applied.

### Brasilia as a First Step for Regional Development: A Myth

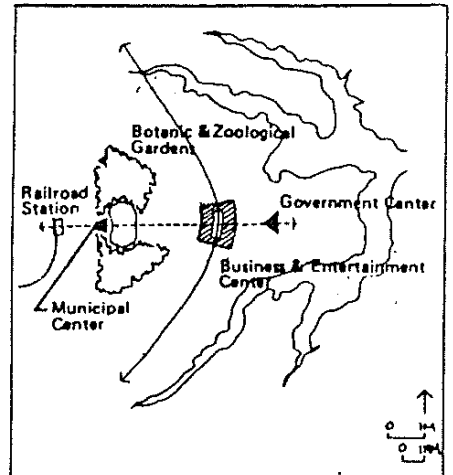
Among several arguments that sustain the decision to transfer the capital to the hinterland of Brazil, one seems to stand out: the idea that the existence of the city would favour development at a regional scale and would create possibilities for the development of the municipalities that surround the Federal District of Brasilia.

Due to the network of communication through air, rail and roads which connects the city to the north, west, east and south regions and facilitates the access of goods and passengers, and due to the increase of productive agricultural land in the Central West Region, one might have the impression that the city has indeed fulfilled its intentions. However, the effect was exactly the opposite. The great majority of the cities located within the limits of the so-called geo-economic region, an area of influence of the city, are facing serious problems. „In this part of the territory, the majority of small size cities are undergoing decrease in their rate of urban development, except Goiania and Anapolis (which are the largest cities of the State of Goias, the state where Brasilia is located), some small urban centers located in areas of frontier expansion and those which are located just outside the limits of the Federal District.“ (Barbosa Ferreira, 1985: pg. 55).

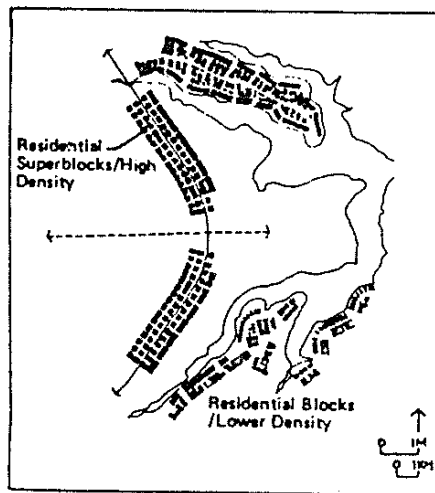
On the one hand, because of a series of constraints in the housing sector in Brasilia, as explained later in this paper, the cities located next to the limits of the Federal District became an outlet solution for low income residents who did not have any access to housing accommodation in the capital. It became the only alternative, and on such a scale that according to Oliverira (1983: pg. 154), „only in the municipalities of Luziania — a city located just a few kms away from the border of the Federal District, the population reached 80.000 inhabitants with an increase of more than 600% in the last decade“ (Bar-



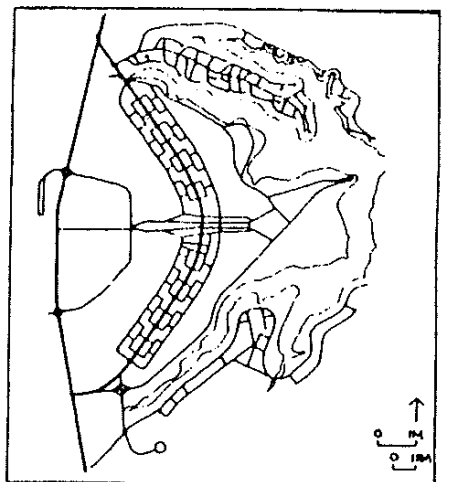
Major axes



Location of major Functions



Residential sectors



Street geometry

Source: G. da Nogueira. „The Structural Plan for Brasilia“, in IFHP New Towns, Worldwide, 1985.

bosa Ferreira, 1985: pg. 55). According to Paviani (1985: pg. 76), privately sponsored projects implemented in these localities could provide opportunities for housing to a population equivalent to 1.500.000 inhabitants, precisely the population of Brasilia in 1985.

On the other hand, small size cities have not been able to provide adequate infrastructure and job opportunities that could stop the influx of population that moves towards Brasilia every year. They have been unable to achieve a reasonable degree of development and cannot compete with the high standards and possibilities that the capital offers in terms of services and facilities, opportunities for income generation and employment, that continues to attract waves of migrants.

### Brasilia as an Administrative City of 500.000 Inhabitants: a Dream

According to Costa's Plano Piloto, the city was expected to reach 500.000 inhabitants in a period of 25 years, maintaining

its main characteristics as a tertiary city, and seat of the national government. However, the dynamic process of consolidation showed a completely different situation 25 years later. The population reached 1.579.000 inhabitants in 1985, three times more than what was estimated by the initial plan. „The population did not want to return to their home land, despite all the measures planned in order that, at least, one third would return, another third would be occupied in local activities in the city and the rest would be employed in agricultural activities since it was a population with rural background.“ (Costa, 1984: pg. 21) Not only did the existing residents remain in the city, but Brasilia also followed the process of urbanization taking place in the country as a whole (By the end of the seventies, roughly 70% of the Brazilian population was living in an urban area). The population growth in the capital was among the highest registered in the country, jumping from 140.165 inhab. in 1969 to 537.592 in 1970, and 1.198.142 inhab. in 1980. It is today one of the ten largest cities of Brazil.

This remarkable growth can be explained through several lines of arguments with socio-political and economic components and related to the overall context of Brazil in this period e.g. lack of an effective and continuous rural policy towards land property and production systems that could possibly slow down the pace of migration, deterioration of job market in the rural and urban areas; the world oil crisis and the increase of foreign debt which caused extreme government centralization and emphasis on export policies, military intervention, economic stagnation, lack of job creation programs on the regional scale, etc... and an overall process of capital accumulation and monopolization typical of the capitalistic development model applied in Brazil.

This paper concentrates on the local situation of Brasilia, (not that the national context is not relevant enough or does not exert a great deal of influence on the development of the city) with the intention of looking at the role of public policies of the local government, particularly, low income housing policies. What attempts have been made by the government of Brasilia to cope with the emergence of a serious housing problem in a city that, from the planning point of view, had at its disposal one of the most ideal set ups: an immense land stock, a considerable amount of financial resources, a very fresh institutional framework with recently created public agencies? This paper highlights the development of Brasilia from the point of view of housing policies, and looks at the different strategies carried out by local authorities in order to respond to housing demands.

In this respect, Brasilia is a typical example of the Developing World. Despite all the efforts made by the government and despite a significant state participation in housing production, these actions have not been able to cope with the increase of housing demands. A demand not only present in the low income sector, living in satellite cities, labour camps and squatter settlements that remained from the construction period, but also in the middle income sector. This sector already faces serious difficulties to find housing accommodation in the highly developed Plano Piloto.

This paper argues that the existing critical housing problem in Brasilia, and a constrained housing sector is, to a great deal, related to the incapability of the public sector to design more appropriate policies and programs which could give opportunities for decentralization of planning and more independence for the actors involved.

### The Emergence of Squatter Settlements: Early Conflicts with Planning

The existence of low income settlements (labour camps — *acampamentos* and

squatter settlements — *invasoes*) within the urban framework of the new capital was not accepted by the authorities and planning team. Several of these settlements were bulldozed off and residents evicted to recently created satellite cities before the inauguration of the city. Even though these towns were planned for the future, only after the Plano Piloto had been fully occupied, political decisions taken by the government, sustained efficiently by technical experts, seemed to have laid the basis for a continuous slum clearance program that would accompany the development of the city from that moment onwards. In the words of Lucio Costa, „the NOVACAP — the city urbanization company, Israel Pinheiro — project manager, and the others decided to proceed like that because there were favelas (brazilian denomination for squatter settlements) surrounding every construction site in the city which involved the families of the workers. This fact led to the creation of peripheral settlements where individual plots were provided, and to where the population could be housed in one way or another. As a consequence, these sites became cities, the so-called satellite cities that were planned to exist.“ (Costa, 1984: pg. 26) Before the official inauguration of the city, three satellite cities had already been planned and implemented: Taguatinga, Gama, and Sobradinho. Two old historical villages already existed and gained the status of satellite city in the following years (see Figure II).

The implementation of the first one, Taguatinga, was decided in 1958, after a site visit by President Kubitschek where he was faced with a demonstration of residents of squatter settlements. This fact marks the beginning of a long struggle of the urban poor in order to achieve their rights to stay in the city which they helped to build and consolidate. Other squatter

areas received more vehement treatment and wherever resistance occurred, a group of social workers and sometimes special police forces were put in action to convince residents to move to new sites. At the labour camps, other conflicts for better lodging, food and for respect of labour rights started to take place as well. At that moment, contradictions between the interests of the State and of the mass of workers comprising the basis of the human force employed in the construction of the city were evident. Sometimes, violence burst out with losses of human lives.

In this period, there was already an incipient popular organization that made a long resistance against eviction in Cidade Livre (Free City) possible. Despite the fact that this wooden town had been built in a provisory character, it already had all the features of a small size city: water, electricity, houses, commerce, shops, banks, hotels, a population of approximately 60.000 inhabitants, and was already surrounded by squatter settlements which kept on receiving newcomers attracted by the construction of the capital.

When the government attempted to demolish the city, resistance was organized and legalization was finally obtained in the form of federal law in 1961, with the name of Nucleo Bandeirante. It is a remarkable event because it represents the first real physical intervention of social forces in the land occupation process foreseen by the original plan. A residential area with popular characteristics in the limits of influence of Plano Piloto was imposed on planners and authorities by mechanisms over which they could not have control. However, planning strategies became sophisticated and slum clearance policies became stronger and stronger, in order to safeguard the „purism“ of the Plano Piloto, and protect, at the same ti-

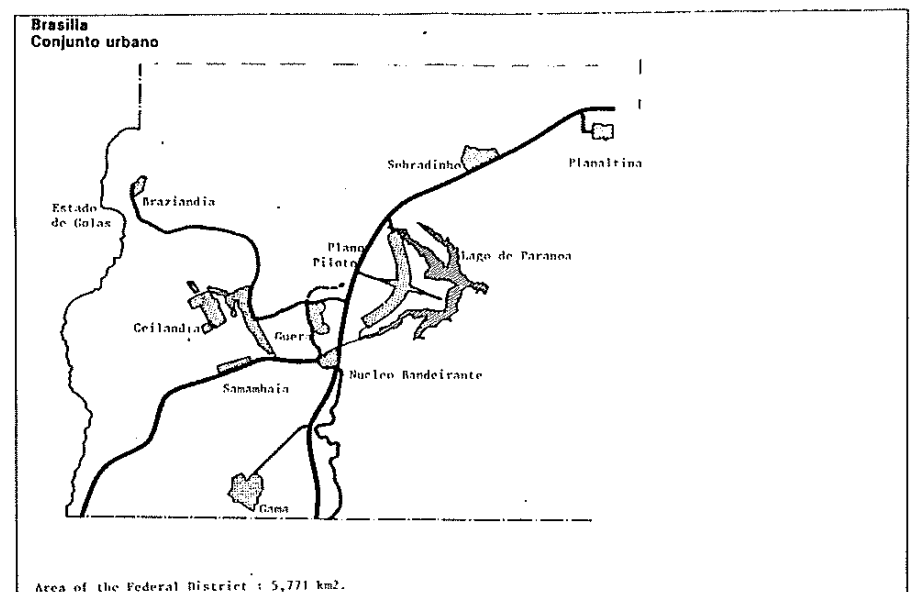


Figure II: Urban Network of Brasilia: The Federal District  
Source: Published in A. Paviani (ed.); „Brasilia, ideologia e realidade“, 1985

me, the Federal Government from any kind of delicate political situation that a confrontation with popular forces would bring.

### Massive Evictions: Police or Policies?

In the beginning of the seventies, a slum clearance commission was formed and called CEI — Comissão de Erradicação de Invasões. It controlled labour camps and squatter settlements through systematic inspections and set up a series of measures for massive evictions. CEI was responsible for one of the most spectacular actions regarding low income housing that occurred in the history of the city. Residents of the gigantic squatter settlement located in the fringe of Nucleo Bandeirante (called IAPI) and from some other places, were evicted to a new satellite city created with the main purpose of housing all squatter residents of Brasília. Located next to Taguatinga, 35 km from Plano Piloto, it was a large land division development project called after the name of the commission: Ceilandia. By 1972, 80.000 people had already been resettled.

Coincidentally, this was the period where the military regime assumed extremely radical procedures, and established strong centralization of planning and decision-making, without any possibilities for democratic participation. In Brasília, this was more visible than in any other city. The following years demonstrated that slum clearance policies were not sufficient to solve the dilemma of housing the poor, nor was the strict vigilance and control mechanisms over „invasões“ and „acampamentos“ sufficient to stop these settlements from growing.

By mid seventies, some aspects became more evident. First, the urban design applied in the Plano Piloto, rigidly regulated by building and land use bylaw enforcement mechanisms caused an absurd rise in the costs of housing, and turned the area into an exclusively high-income area and prohibitive for low income residents. The architectural and urbanistic assumptions applied to the city, preserved and reinforced by planning authorities who ruled the city in the following years, swept away any chances for informal land subdivision and densification. This is quite a common mechanism used by low income groups to have access to housing in the majority of Brazilian cities, and in the Third World.

Brandao (1976: pg. 19) was a pioneer in Brasília in this line of arguments. „On one hand, the high levels of qualification of space, specialization of functions, dimensions and urbanistic requirements for land occupation as well as the costs resulting from that, have become mechanisms to inhibit the poor population to live in the Plano Piloto, and on other hand, it has not created facilities for middle income

population to have access to housing standards established in the plan.“ (Acioly, Andrade and Silva, 1986: pg. 6)

Indeed, during the seventies, some satellite cities e.g. Guara and Nucleo Bandeirante, started to experience the phenomenon of newcomers. Residents who could not cope with the high costs of housing in the Plano Piloto, moved towards the nearest satellite cities and established a displacement process. „It is worth to note the extreme situation in Guara where practically 100% of the existing housing stock had gone through a commercial transaction and more than 50% of the apartments were rented in 1976.“ (Gonzalez, 1985: pg. 95)

Second, a significant amount of government sponsored housing projects addressed to the popular sector never reached the poor despite the numbers of housing units produced by the governmental Social Housing Agency — SHIS. „By 1979, with the conclusion of P-Norte extension of Ceilandia, the number of housing units reached 65.952.“ (Gonzalez, 1985: pg. 83) The poorest groups were never able to meet income requirements established by the programs and therefore remained outside all projects implemented. This was not a peculiarity of Brasília but one of the evidences of the failure of the National Popular Housing Plan — PLANHAP designed and sponsored by the Housing National Bank — BNH. According to Bolaffi (1986: pg. 24), from the total amount of resources collected by one of the (once) largest housing financial institutions in the world, only 18% was invested in the construction of houses addressed to families earning less than 5 minimum wages (5x US\$ 55.30 in December 1986). „The massive production of housing, which was the basis of a policy for employment generation and for capital accumulation by the building sector, was not able to sustain itself nor was it able to solve the problem of housing the poor.“ (Acioly, 1987: pg. 7).

Third, the economic difficulties due to high rates of inflation, and the decrease of project/building activities in the city caused a serious decline in the building sector, and consequently restrained employment opportunities. There were indications that the densification in some „invasões“ was linked with this process.

Fourth, the lack of employment policies and appropriate housing programs, that could meet the needs of a growing low income sector, caused the appearance of a substantial informal market for housing and employment. From the point of view of the job market, the informal sector was estimated to have 150.000 workers (Paviani, 1985: pg. 76). From the point of view of housing, not only squatter settlements and labour camps were undergoing a process of densification but it was also visible that an overoccupation of residential plots in satellite cities was occurring.

The practice of subletting rooms/houses led to the emergence of a new category of low income resident: *o inquilino de fundo de lote* — tenants who occupy rooms/houses located in the backyard of plots. Some empirical estimations revealed that by the mid fifties, 50% of the population was already living in rented or sublet accommodations (Gonzalez, 1985: pg. 96).

Finally, the effort made by the government to maintain the city as an „administrative metropolis“, became indeed an indirect stimulus for the development of informal mechanisms that could facilitate the access to housing and income generation by low income residents. The fear of having urban densification in the surroundings of the capital city, and the excessive care showed by the government when it had to deal with the issue of industrial activities suitable for Brasília, gave signs that it was not really willing to tolerate shifts that could put the character and the designations of the city in danger. „In this scheme, the Plano Piloto could be preserved for some functions of the Federal Government, released from universities (students) and industries (workers) that could be replaced in other urban sites, and this would give it the characteristics of an administrative suburb of a larger conurbation, calm and pleasant, and distant from daily problems faced by the rest of the country... just like many politicians have idealized the country's national capital, as the centre of national decisions.“ (Cordeiro and Kohlsdorf, 1985: pg. 245) On the other hand, the development processes taking place in the satellite cities were giving evidences that, sooner or later, the functional characteristics of Brasília would have to be revised.

### A Plan and the Rise of Low Income Residents' Organizations

Important changes occurred by the end of the seventies which influenced the housing sector drastically. A comprehensive master plan was designed and approved in the beginning of 78 and, for the first time, the problems of Brasília were treated more globally. Instead of referring only to the problems of Plano Piloto, the plan was concerned with the satellite cities and with existing vacant land in the Federal District. There were also some considerations about the geo-economic region and the municipalities located next to its limits.

PEOT — Expansion and Territorial Organization of the Federal District (see Figure III) was characterized as a broad land use regulation plan which would guide urban development towards the southwest, in the direction of Gama, locating new residential areas far from the Plano Piloto, and connecting them through a network of mass transportation system. By the time of plan implementation, the urban network of Brasília was already composed of 8 satellite cities. The plan proposed another one: Samambaia.

PEOT defended its actions with a series of technical arguments against urban settlements within the Paranoia lake basin, because the lake was already showing signs of a high degree of pollution. Although it was never very explicit, these arguments seemed to be used as political instruments to preserve Brasília as the national political administrative capital. In this respect, with PEOT, this preservationism became much stronger inside the planning framework of the government and seemed to have guided a series of administrative and political decisions in the following years.

The land use control regulations established by PEOT ignored completely the existence of „illegal“ low income settlements. The plan stimulated control mechanisms over these settlements. By doing that, it severely repressed the low income housing sector because these settlements represented a large informal housing sector and the only alternative for housing outside the governmental schemes. The growth of an informal rental sector in the satellite cities is also linked with the enforcement mechanisms of PEOT.

A political decision taken by the government reinforced this process. There was a belief that the increase of migration towards Brasília, and consequently the growth of squatter settlements was related with the amount of government sponsored housing projects. And so, between 1978 and 1982, there was not a single housing program addressed to the popular sector with serious consequences for the coming years.

From the point of view of the population, there was a reorganizational process taking place inside several residential areas and consequently, residents associations were formed in squatter settlements and labour camps. They claimed for legalization of tenure or for implementation of basic infrastructure. Demonstrations for housing began and extremist actions such as mass invasions of vacant land took place in the beginning of the eighties. In the context of satellite cities, residents associations were formed as well, but occurred as one tenants association per satellite city and by mid eighties they were organized in an Union of Tenants' Associations of Brasília.

These movements gave indications that the policies formulated until then by the Government had been unable to meet the needs of the low income population. They had never been asked to inform their needs to planners, nor were they able to give any input in the design of such policies. The high costs for housing, the growth of illegal settlements, the densification of residential plots in satellite cities, the use of commercial areas for housing purposes in the Plano Piloto, squatting taking place in vacant land of Plano Piloto, the high costs of land, politi-

cal struggles for housing, the growth of informal jobs and housing markets, etc... demonstrated that there was an urgent need to shift governmental policies. Just outside the limits of the Federal District, particularly in the cities of Luziania and Santo Antonio Descoberto, a reflection of restrictive policies of the Government of Brasília was also visible as well. The appearance of private housing development projects was filling the gap in terms of housing but was forcing residents to make daily trips of more than one hour, at high costs of transportation, and consequently raising the costs of housing to levels almost unbearable.

### Housing the Poor: A New Approach

In 1983, a housing program named PAPE — Programa de Assentamento Populacional de Emergencia — was set up, and was addressed to families living in labour camps and squatter areas. An independent planning and implementation unit was formed to run the program and develop strategies related to low income housing. It was called GEPAFI — Grupo Executivo de Assentamento de Favelas e Invasoes. The unit carried out a socio-economic survey and registered close to 18.000 families, and estimated population of 90.000 inhabitants living in 89 mapped settlements (GEPAFI, 1984).

A quick look at the census showed that formal governmental decisions had increased the problems in these settlements. Despite all the measures to control and avoid the growth of illegal settlements during the past four years, not only existing structures had grown in terms of area and population, but also new settlements appeared in the urban scenario. A great number of them were subjects of the seven projects of PAPE implemented in seven different satellite cities. They reached 47,96% of the target population in less than three years time.

The program set up the idea of upgrading existing settlements for the first time in the history of the city. Even though several squatter settlements were also relocated, GEPAFI always took into consideration the satellite cities where they were located, thus maintaining the existing links with services and facilities and with the places of employment of residents. Although this approach had been used long before in other cities of Brazil, and had been discussed in specialized international literature since the sixties, the progressive development approach applied by GEPAFI can be considered, for Brasília, a very innovative way of dealing with low income housing. The centralized planning process that have ruled over the city in the past years have allowed very little space for participation of private and individual initiatives. The legacy left by CIAM inside the government machinery have facilitated the rise of a planning process dominated by planners who have

decided what is good, and not good for Brasília, and therefore for the population. In this respect, it is not surprising to realize that the technical determinism that grew among planning authorities became a pathway for authoritarian practices carried out by the government. Constantly, residents have played the role of passive participants in urban development and, indeed, have had very little opportunity to participate in decisions, and in projects which are directly related to their lives and environment.

GEPAFI laid emphasis on self-help initiatives of residents in the solution and improvement of their housing conditions, and established a clear concept of housing as a process. Every individual household had a role to play in the process of housing improvements (GEPAFI, 1984: pg. 65). However, PAPE and its planning process can be characterized as typical top-to-bottom scheme, in which residents participation, took place only during the project implementation phase. Residents associations took advantage of this fact and were able to influence certain decisions at this level. There are some relevant changes brought by PAPE. As showed in Figure III, the localized solutions of PAPE were a clear contradiction to the urban development proposed by PEOT. This duality of the Government generated internal conflicts of interests among public agencies involved with urban development and provided an excellent opportunity for residents organizations to request individual solutions for their localities.

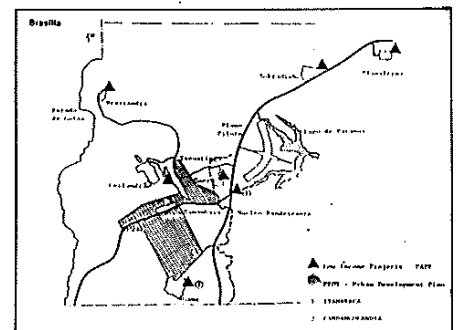


Figure III: PEOT Urban Development Plan

From the point of view of the building sector, PAPE became a great stimulus by providing work for several building contractors and consequently increasing job opportunities. It also stimulated the low income housing market through the provision of 8.329 plots at subsidized values. A household survey, which was carried out in two of PAPE projects, revealed that the market was indeed stimulated. Conducted in the first and in the last project implemented by GEPAFI, Itamaraca and Candangolandia respectively (see Figure III), the survey revealed commercial transactions involving plots in both settlements. In the case of Itamaraca, after 3 years of project implementation, for every ten families, two were newcomers, and according to the leader of the group, this



number was even higher than what the survey could reveal.

Although these transactions were illegal, news publicized by the press affirmed that the gentrification process was happening in every project of PAPE, and was caused by the entrance of middle income groups in the scenario of these settlements. In the case of Itamaraca, this was not correct because the majority of newcomers were former tenants living in the satellite city of Gama, under the pressure of very high rents. The survey revealed clearly that inside the low income sector significant income differences and particularities among subgroups exist which the Government seemed to disregard when they designed the program. Although there were sufficient indications of the critical situation of the tenants e.g. demonstrations, petitions, talk, meetings, public news, etc... PAPE reached a very insignificant number of them.

It was not difficult to realize that these transactions would occur at a large scale because there was already a great demand for housing, the pressure on the existing housing stock was high enough to facilitate profitable deals, and the price of land was extremely high as a consequence of government control over the land stock (plots were being sold at prices which were between 400 and 600% above the values stipulated by the Government in its land public auctions).

### Concluding Remarks

Based on the survey, the following conclusions can be made. In the case of Candangolandia, the progressive development approach made the emergence of self generated activities related to housing improvements and building construction materials possible. The process of housing improvements involved a great amount of private savings of residents used to purchase building materials and hire building contractors. However, when looking at a broad sequence of steps of improvement in the unfinished core house, only 10% of the families surveyed were able to reach the end of the sequence, and declared having had a lot of difficulties in gaining access to financial resources. There was no financial arrangement for a building materials loans offered by PAPE which could reinforce and facilitate the consolidation of the settlements. Another aspect made the situation more critical: the costs of housing expenditures (land taxation, water, electricity, transportation) in both projects already reached the borderline of 20%, without taking into account the costs of housing improvements and the monthly mortgage payment. There was an agreement that the latter would stay below 10% of minimum wage, but at the time of the survey collection had not yet started. In case a cost recovery scheme would be applied on the basis of 5% annual interest in 25 years time, in Itamaraca, the total expen-

ses on housing would be above the limits commonly established by housing institutions, 25% of family income. Precisely it was this project which registered the highest rate of displacement. If the costs of projects would be calculated on the basis of real market land price, any attempt to recover the investments would bring the prices to unaffordable values for low income residents.

As the survey revealed, residents claimed for non conventional housing approaches and demanded facilities to have access to finance and material resources. Despite of being poor, residents managed to create informal mechanisms to achieve housing improvements which the State could have supported through an efficient loans framework. From the point of view of project design, the standards introduced in terms of urban layout and infrastructure networks, increased considerably the total costs of projects and consequently the amount to be charged on residents, whenever cost recovery is implemented. In this respect, there is a need to revise the building codes and land use regulations which seriously affects the life of low income residents. Concerning the expenses of families on housing, both projects gave clear evidences of disregard of the costs of improvements of the core house, fully sponsored by residents, and this was a contradiction to early statements of GEPAFI. If a participatory framework existed, perhaps the gap between formal program objectives and final realization would not exist so sharply as it did. The progressive development approach applied in Candangolandia provided opportunities for income generation and highlighted the close link between housing and income, housing and employment, which is a relevant relationship that all government sponsored programs, including PAPE, have disregarded completely. The informal rental market in the satellite cities had already stressed these relations and, together with the development of small scale industries and commercial enterprises taking place in low income residential areas, gives evidences to the present administration of Brasilia that the city can no longer be maintained as a strictly administrative paradise.

In a context of democratization taking place in the country as a whole from 1985 onwards, expectations for changes in local governmental policies grew significantly among sectors of the population. The replacement of the governor made the possibility of political negotiations and more opportunities for participation of NGOs — Non Governmental Organizations — already involved with urban problems seem possible. However, despite institutional reforms and small shifts in public policies, the return to Brasilia of Oscar Niemeyer (the architect who design the famous buildings of the city) and Lucio Costa (the designer of the city), as special advisers of the governor, brought

back the predominance of technical decisions and the hegemony of the elite of technical expertise over the problems concerning the city. Never before was the legacy of the CIAMs' recommendations so evident, and with that, the preservation of the Plano Piloto has become very strong. All attempts were made to preserve the original concept of the city at the costs of squatter regulations, and finally the approval of UNESCO to declare the plan as a world patrimony.

With politics entering the city in 1986 with the election of city representatives at the National Constitution Assembly, and with the expectations for the first elections for city council in 1988, there is a chance that urban socio-political movements gain influence on the decision-making process which consequently will make Brasilia look like any other city in Brazil, with its conflicts and political negotiations that affect the physical and socio-spatial characteristics of the living environment.

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# Employment Practices in Housing Construction in Turkey

A. Sule Özükren

## Introduction

Statistics show that the construction industry employs a large proportion of manpower in countries at all levels of economic development. In developing countries, there tends to be a relatively larger proportion of unskilled and semi-skilled labour in the total. It is well known that in both developed and developing countries the construction industry plays the role of transitional employer for unskilled workers moving into urban areas. The importance of the construction as an employment generator, however, contrasts sharply with employment conditions in the industry. The most disadvantaged group of labourers in industry consists of those who are engaged in construction. This is particularly so for the developing countries where such employment relationships tend not to be formalised. In contrast to developed countries, wages paid in construction are lower than those in manufacturing (Edmonds G.A., 1980). This is also true in Turkey according to the available data on average daily wages. Furthermore, in developed economies contractual agreements define the general conditions of work in construction, and insecurity of employment is considerably reduced by the implementation of appropriate measures. The difference in employment relationships between the developed and developing countries has been discussed in a number of ILO reports (ILO 1987).

In countries like Turkey, however, the casual employment makes up a great share in employment relationships, especially in the housing market. Like many other developing countries, construction employment statistics are unreliable in Turkey. This is particularly due to the presence of undeclared workers and of clandestine works in the housing market.

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## Zusammenfassung:

Schwarzarbeit und kurzfristige Beschäftigungsverhältnisse sind im Bausektor — besonders im Wohnungsbau — sehr verbreitet in der Türkei. Das Phänomen ist sowohl im formellen wie im informellen Sektor beheimatet, und gründet seine Resistenz auf eine gewisse Interessensallianz zwischen Arbeitgebern und Beschäftigten. Vorteile sehen insbesondere die erst kürzlich in die Stadt gezogenen Migranten vom Lande, die noch eine enge Verbindung mit ihrer Verwandtschaft aufrechterhalten und dieser auch saisonal in der Landwirtschaft helfen. Natürlich trägt das Arrangement auch Nachteile für die Bauarbeiter mit sich — insbesondere in Form fehlender oder unzureichender Sozialversicherung. Doch der größte Verlierer ist der Staat: ihm entgehen Steuern und Prämien. Obwohl es sicher nicht leicht ist, den Status quo zu verändern, ließe sich in der Türkei eine gewisse Regularisierung durch staatliche Maßnahmen herbeiführen — denn für einen Teil der Probleme ist der Staat selbst verantwortlich. K.M.

This is true for both formal and informal housing markets. The reason stems from the fact that there are resource transfers and product linkages between these two markets. This means that, on one hand, it is difficult to define the boundaries of these markets, on the other, what is happening in the informal housing market is a matter of concern to the formal housing market.

An important assumption of this paper is that there is a widespread relationship between the large-scale use of temporary workers and clandestine business practices in Turkey. The large-scale use of undeclared workers in construction may lead to more complex economy and social problems than those in other sectors of the economy. These problems are discussed below in terms of factors which affect the temporary use of workers in housing construction in Turkey; the con-

sequences of related clandestine practices will be outlined thereafter.

## FACTORS AFFECTING THE TEMPORARY USE OF WORKERS IN HOUSING CONSTRUCTION

Although all construction works have specific problems due to the varying nature of operations, there are primarily three major factors affecting the temporary use of workers in housing construction.

### Nature of the Housing Construction Market

Figure 1 shows urban housing construction output in Turkey. The cyclical curve is the resultant of two basic factors: The first is the trend of the economy; the second represent changes in the political structure in the country. Both factors affect the demand for new housing negatively.

In most market economy countries building construction is fast and responds quickly to changes in the interest rate. In Turkey, however, construction takes very long (3—6 years), and depends on the amount of money, which the owner and builder has available for construction (Özükren, A.S. 1987). At this point, it should be mentioned that credits make up a very small share of the total housing

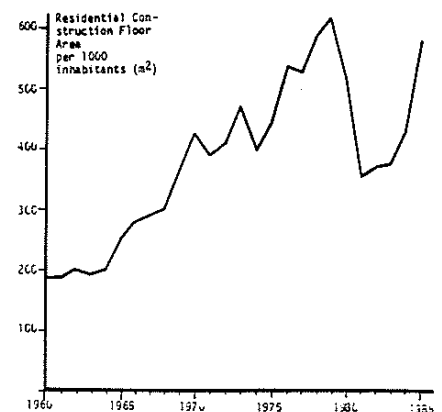


Figure 1: The Development of the Housing Construction in Turkey (According to the building permits)

investments in Turkey. That means there exists almost no correlation between changes in interest rates and housing supply. Furthermore, the prices of building materials and housing costs tend to rise more rapidly than both the inflation rate and interest rates on term deposits, and therefore housing is considered a profitable investment (Fillinger, D.B.-Özüekren, A.S., 1987). At least in the beginning of a period with slower economic growth, both prospective owners and builders tend to invest more into housing. In the following years, however, the housing construction sector is also affected by the economic change due to higher rates of inflation which leave less income available to owners and builders to spend on housing. That, for example, happened in 1978 at the beginning of the economic crisis in Turkey: the housing sector which normally attracts approximately 30—35 percent of private fixed capital investments began using more than 50 percent of all private investments (Boratav, K., et al., 1985). This development continued till the end of 1979, when new housing construction decreased significantly. The stated fluctuations can be seen in figure 1.

The graph also illustrates that changes in the political structure affect the behaviours of those who invest into housing, and lead to a waiting period until the new conditions become clear. In Figure 1, the years 1971, 1974, 1977 and 1981, which mark important changes (and events) in the political structure of the country, coincide with a drop in new housing construction.

One of the principal effects of fluctuations in the housing construction market on employment practices is the use of temporary workers. From the standpoint of employers long term, cyclical factors affecting the continuity of work through the unstable demand increase risks in the employment of permanent workers. The employment of temporary workers saves the employers from the implementation of guaranteed wage schemes for inactive periods. Thus, increases in production costs due to these schemes are eliminated.

#### Nature of the Construction Work

The most important feature of construction which leads to temporary employment relationships is the dispersed nature of the work. For the workers there is no permanent job site. In practice, the construction worker is expected to move to a different place whenever his work requires it; some workers may work on several sites simultaneously during a particular period.

In other words, he has to move from place to place. The difficulties of accommodation near or on the construction site especially in small works, make temporary employment relationships preferable in many ca-

ses for both workers and employers. This is particularly important for unskilled workers who will often be locally recruited. Contrary employment practices are used in Turkey with skilled workers who are mostly employed by subcontractors or large construction firms.

Another important feature of construction which leads to casual employment practices is the dependency of construction operations to weather conditions. Periodical climatic conditions which prevent work outside leading to seasonal fluctuations in operations increase the demand for temporary workers.

#### Characteristics of Construction Workers

In most of today's dynamic economies, immigrant workers and marginal groups take the low paid, physically demanding and less desired jobs (ILO, 1984). In nearly all industrialised countries, especially those in western Europe, the construction industry employs a large number of clandestine workers, many of them immigrants, whose status is illegal (de Grazia, R., 1984). That, for example, is what emerges from an ILO report on the problems of foreign construction workers employed in European countries, which found that the number of illegal immigrant workers vary quite widely among countries, and that a substantial proportion of them were likely to be engaged in construction (ILO, 1979).

The limited data available from case studies in Turkey confirm this observation in a slightly different manner: seasonal rural migrants meet the demand for unskilled workers in urban places for low paid, physically demanding and less desired jobs, especially during the transitional periods of migration. The term transitional period used here refers to the first phase of migration during which one of the family members goes to city to work from time to time while the residence of the family is still in the village. Stated in another way, it is the period during which rural migrants divide their time between agriculture and temporary employment possibilities in the city. It should be noted here that the duration of the transitional period of migration varies between 1—16 years according to the findings of field studies on squatter housing in Turkey (Kartal, K.S., 1981).<sup>1</sup>

Table 1 which is taken from a field study on 412 rural migrants in Turkey shows the relations of rural migrants with the villages from where they originated (Kartal, K.S., 1983). There are three important points to note from this table. First; the data show that the longer the workers stayed in the city, the lower becomes the frequency of trips which the rural migrant makes from the city to his village. Second; the longer the time is spent the city, the shorter tends to be the period of time he stays in his village. Third; the longer the time is spent in city the less a migrant

Table 1. Relations of Rural Migrants and the Villages from where they migrated

Type of relation	TIME SPENT IN THE CITY			
	1-5 years	6-10 years	11-15 years	16 and more years
<b>a. Frequency of Trips</b>				
1- Once a month	32	8	5	0
2- Twice a month	28	10	8	4
3- Once a year	30	75	70	82
4- Less	10	7	17	14
Total (a)	100	100	100	100
<b>b. Time spent in the village</b>				
1- Two days	37	52	69	79
2- One week	33	25	20	20
3- One month	25	17	11	4
4- Longer	5	6	0	0
Total (b)	100	100	100	100
<b>c. Reason of Trips</b>				
1- To help agricultural works	24	20	7	3
2- To help food processing works	40	34	20	8
3- Visit	30	26	53	66
4- Other	6	20	20	23
Total (c)	100	100	100	100

Source: Kartal, K.S. "Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yönleriyle Türkiye'de Kentleşme", Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1983.

helps in agricultural and food processing works.

It is obvious that the data presented in table 1 do not allow any particular conclusion to be drawn about rural relations of migrants who are employed in construction. At this point, it should be pointed out that employment possibilities for rural migrants in urban places are limited to certain works which do not necessitate being skilled. It is interesting to refer to findings of another field study which the type of first employment in the city and showed that about 34 percent of the sample were employed either in marginal works or in construction during the transitional period of migration. However, when their actual jobs were asked it was found that such employment was taking only a 16 percent share in the same sample (Senyapili, T., 1981).

It is estimated that in Turkey about 10 million villagers migrated from rural places to cities between 1950—1980 (Kartal, K.S., 1981). This means approximately 350 000 migrants per year. Even though the available data do not allow any estimation to be made on either the proportion of rural workers who have relations with agriculture or the proportion of construction workers who can be considered as seasonal migrants, the findings of the referred two studies show that rural migrants meet the demand for unskilled workers in urban construction. The observations of the Construction Workers' Union (YOL-IS) in Turkey confirm this assumption. YOL-IS point out that because of its seasonal characteristics, construction work is considered a temporary and secondary job by many workers, who are primarily engaged in other sectors such as agriculture (YOL-IS, 1987).

Under these circumstances, the construction industry, representing a transitional employer for many workers, provi-

des both income and spare time for agricultural work for rural migrants who maintain rural relations in Turkey. Contrary to immigrants who are employed in construction as clandestine workers in western Europe, the status of such unskilled construction workers in the city is temporary, but not illegal.

In spite of certain advantages of temporary employment for both workers and employers, it causes highly complex problems in the market and for the national economy. This is particularly true in clandestine housing production. Of course, temporary employment is only one of the factors which affects Turkish housing production directly. The issue is quite complex and comprises at least four important factors, each affecting the problem in a special way.

## FACTORS AFFECTING THE USE OF UNDECLARED LABOUR

### Temporary Employment Practices

Temporary employment of workers affects clandestine employment practices in two ways. It is obvious that for the worker the main objective is to earn the most he can in shortest time and return in time to help agricultural works. The principal benefit to a regularly employed, registered worker is his inclusion in the social security system with the rights of retirement, access to health security and other social services. The Social Security Organisation of Workers (SSK) is the institution responsible for the social security of these services in Turkey within the limitations of the social security fund which, in fact, is a provident fund based on premiums. In spite of the attractive benefits available through the social security system, the temporary worker will find it hard to fulfil the minimal cumulative total working period needed to obtain the right of retirement. In these circumstan-

ces, the workers feels more advantageous to have higher wages today in an informal employment contract than to work in a formal relationship hoping the weak possibility of a future pension will materialise.

From the standpoint of the employer, on the other hand, the principal benefit obtained through the use of clandestine workers is reduced overheads. Contractors in all countries tend to believe the same. Since the total premiums to be paid into the SSK pension fund make up about 35 per cent of the wage income of a construction worker in Turkey, it is obvious that unpaid premiums reduce wage-linked expenses considerably. In fact, the abuse in this respect is not limited to unpaid premiums. The degree to which wage incomes declared to SSK actually reflect reality is quite uncertain. The wages declared are often far below what is paid. The employer, therefore, reduces his expenses either by using unregistered workers or misreporting wage incomes.

The effects of temporary employment practices on such abuses are also closely related to the size of the employer. A significant proportion of the construction in housing consists of dispersed small-scale activities, which makes inspection difficult and inefficient. Casual employment relationships with small firms make it more difficult to detect such abuses.

Temporary employment inadvertently also makes employment data on the number of insured construction workers quite uncertain because, in order to become registered the worker must work long enough at the same site or with the same employer in order to obtain an insurance number. Bureaucratic obstacles come into play here and in most cases the temporary workers moves to another job unaware of his insurance number. He is thus reported several times in succession as if he were just starting to work. Therefore it can be assumed that the real number of construction workers in the formal sector is below that shown in the SSK statistics.

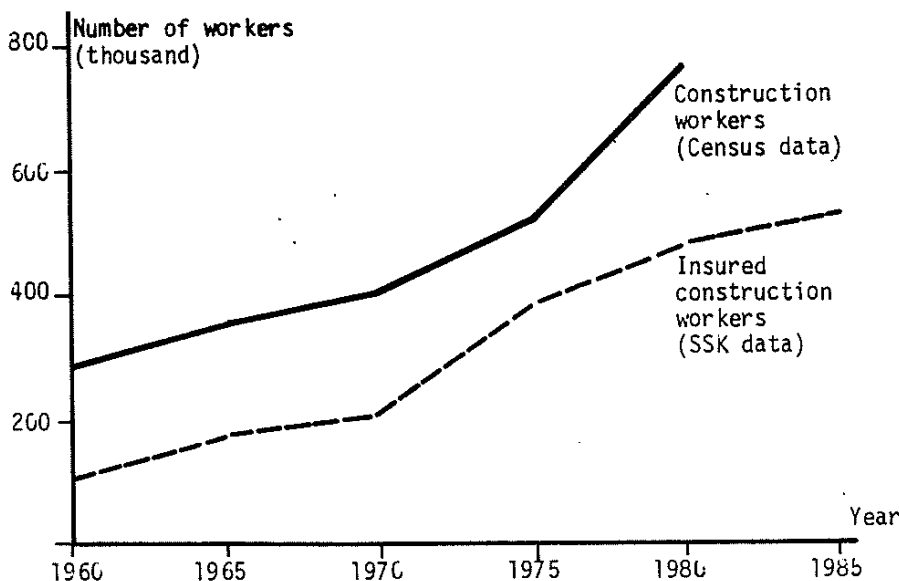


Figure 2: Construction Workers in Turkey  
Source: Statistical Yearbooks of Turkey (1963—1987)

Figure 2 compares the census total of construction workers with that declared to SSK. It is important to note here that the census data reflect those employed in construction both as clandestine and declared workers. This means that the difference between the two curves in figure 2 reflects those employed as clandestine workers in the construction industry in Turkey. It is particularly important to note here that the census data reflect those employed as construction workers the week before the census. Unemployed construction workers are not included in these figures, which means that the number of workers actually engaged in construction is greater than that reported in the census. It is highly probable that a significant percentage of unemployed construction workers includes those employed in construction as temporary and undeclared workers seeking alternative employment at the time of census. And if

this is so, this also means that the difference between the two curves is even greater than that shown in figure 2. I.e, the real number of clandestine construction workers is probably higher than our estimation.<sup>2</sup>

Now, let us have a closer look at the relationship between the development of clandestine employment in construction and housing construction market. Figure 3 compares the development of housing construction in Turkey with the share of clandestine workers in total construction workers. There are two major observations to note from this table. First; the years 1965, 1970 and 1975 mark a decrease in the share of clandestine workers in total construction work (curve 2), and at the same time show increased levels of housing construction (curve 3). Second; in 1980, housing construction drops again (curve 3) and the number of clandestine workers (curve 1) increases both in absolute terms and in their share in total construction workers (curve 2).

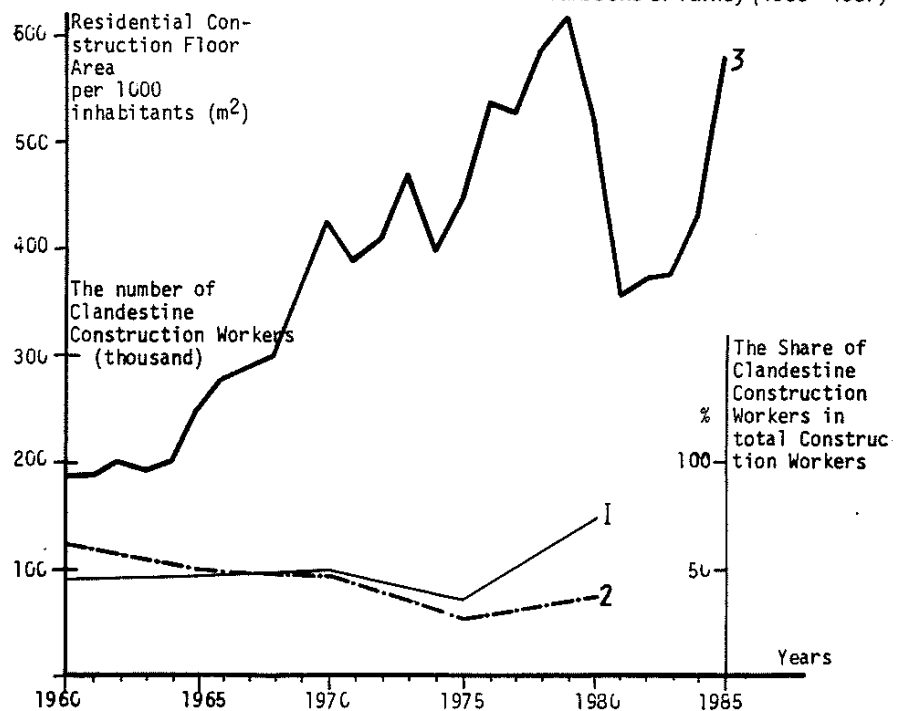
What do these figures indicate? Firstly, they show that there is a relationship between the fluctuation in housing construction and the employment practices in the housing construction market in Turkey. It seems that an increased activity in the level of housing construction lessens the number of clandestine workers, whereas a decreased activity in the level of housing construction leads to an increase in the employment of clandestine workers in housing construction. This supports our assumptions that fluctuations in the housing construction make temporary employment of workers attractive for employers and leads to the employment of undeclared workers. Secondly, this relationship confirms that clandestine construction workers are mostly employed in housing construction in Turkey. In fact, the typically small scale activity in the house building sector makes it easier to escape inspection. Thirdly, the presented data show that there is a significant number of clandestine construction workers even in the years which show an increased level of activity in housing construction, which means that there must be additional factors explaining the use of undeclared workers in housing construction in Turkey.

### Regulations and Contracting Practices

According to the rule of thumb, about a third of the direct cost of construction in Turkey is wage related. However, until recently the Social Security Organisation in Turkey calculated the direct cost for labour input in the following way: the main contractor was supposed to declare 11.5 per cent of the part of the total cost after deducting any bills received from subcontractors. The term 'cost' refers to the product of the multiplication of unit cost figures with the total floor area of the building. In Turkey, the unit cost prices are defined yearly by the Government. And in

Figure 3: The Development of Housing Construction in Turkey and Clandestine Construction Workers

Source: Statistical Yearbooks of Turkey (1963—1987)



general, the reported figures are below the market prices. Furthermore, the difference between the reported figures and market prices becomes higher immediately after reporting due to the high inflation in the country.

This means that the real direct cost of a building is generally higher than the accepted cost by the authorities. Considering both the lower percentage of cost for labour input and the lower direct cost accepted, it can be said that the regulations implemented in Turkey extending the possibilities for the use of undeclared workers contributed to the problem.

On the other hand, housing construction is mainly a small-scale activity in Turkey. In spite of the obvious increase in the number of large-scale housing projects, particularly due to the credit possibilities for such projects provided by the Mass Housing Law of 1984, a large number of small construction firms remain engaged at the lower-end of the housing market. As noted above, they tend to avoid permanent employment relationships. In this case, however, one of the most important problems of the small contractor is to obtain skilled labour force when it is necessary. Therefore, he generally subcontracts the work in various phases of construction. What is interesting in this respect is the obligations of subcontractors which provide both labour and material input for the main contractor or owner. Although they are required to declare all their workers to SSK, they are not supposed to mention the share of labour input in the bills arranged for the main contractors. In other words, the subcon-

tractors are free in terms of the percentage requirement for the labour input in their costs. That means in fact that the regulations also lead to abuses, particularly in cases where temporary relationships exist between the subcontractor and his workers.

Even more interesting are the confusing responsibilities in labour-only subcontracting relationships where the subcontractor supplies only labour for a particular job and the main contractor provides the materials. They generally make an agreement on lump-sum basis. In fact, the existing regulations give the responsibility of declaration to the main contractor. What is contrary to this is the temporary relationship existing among the participants of the endeavour. Workers employed by the subcontractor are responsible to him only while the subcontractor is responsible to the main contractor for that particular work. Since the main contractor is required to report the subcontractor's workers (usually unskilled labour employed temporarily), the confusing responsibilities facilitates the use of undeclared workers in the housing market.

It is interesting to note that the Government has recently changed the requirements of the regulation in terms of the percentages previously used. Surprisingly, despite the need to increase the percentages the contractor is now no longer required to report the cost of labour. Although employers should declare all the workers employed, experience shows that this can be neglected because of inefficient inspection practices.



### Clandestine Construction Activities

Clandestine construction activities reflect a fourth and increasing problem area in the Turkish housing construction market. There are mainly two different situations where the clandestine housing construction takes place in Turkey. The first is the use of permits issued for maintenance and repair for other purposes. The second are unauthorised constructions in the informal sector housing. In fact, the maintenance and repair works point to the area where clandestine work practices are frequently seen all over the world. This is particularly due to the small size of operations which make inspection difficult or does not necessitate any kind of permit. In Turkey, permits issued for improvements are known to have been used for new construction where people can construct a new building rather than repairing the old, perhaps enlarging the floor area or raising the height. The principal benefit in most cases are reduced taxes because a new building would be taxed higher. Declaring the workers employed in such a construction would draw the attention of inspectors to its illegal nature.

Similarly, unauthorised construction in the informal housing sector creates employment for undeclared workers. In the early years of urbanisation there tended to be more squatters relying completely on family labour. In the following years, however, the expansion of squatter settlements generated a demand for hired construction labour because squatter dwellings started to be sold and transferred legally or illegally. The greater the number of formerly built squatter units legalized, the greater the use of paid workers in such activities. This is particularly due to the formation of the informal housing market which turned squatter units into consumption goods. As an obvious consequence those who can afford housing in these areas are those who have permanent employment relationships and have little time for self construction.<sup>3</sup>

### Problems

The discussion reveals that the most important reason for undeclared workers is the casual employment practice in the informal housing sector. Although there are other reasons which also affect this issue in Turkey and which are complex and have both economic and social aspects. From the point of view of the unregistered construction worker, the most important consequence is his exclusion from social security coverage. As accidents are frequent in construction the risk is obvious. In case of accidental death, invalidity or injury on the job, neither the worker nor his family qualify for compensation.

Of course, the effects of abuses in construction are not limited to the loss of social security for undeclared workers. They also cause an important amount of economic loss to the country due to the unpaid taxes and premiums. Without denying the importance of such losses, when attention is focused on the labour aspect of the issue, the existing labour-leasing practices in casual works can be shown as another problem area in Turkey.<sup>4</sup>

There are mainly two ways in labour leasing practices, each explaining a situation related to the skill levels of workers. In Turkey, skilled self-employed workers and craftsmen looking for work will gather at certain coffee shops where they meet their friends who are specialised in a particular type of construction skill. There, they can inquire about job opportunities and meet employers who will recruit the workers they need. Unskilled workers, however, assemble in the open air at certain locations in the city, standing about in the hope of being selected by an employer or, in most cases, by a clerk permanently employed by the contractor. For the unskilled worker, this is a highly disagreeable situation.

Further problems which cannot be adequately discussed here include the prac-

tices related to the payment of wages. In Turkey, temporary construction workers are employed on a daily wage basis, without paid vacations or even free weekends with the obvious consequences of daily and weekly working hours longer than those of regularly employed workers. The existing problems noted here indicate that temporary employed construction workers belong to the most disadvantaged group in the industry.

### Conclusion

The complex nature and the long-standing custom of temporary employment practices in the construction industry suggest that a radical change would be difficult to achieve. The relationship between informal employment practices in the housing construction and the process of rural to urban migration continue to sustain problems in Turkey.

In fact, the last decade marked the spread of clandestine employment, which was traditionally limited to construction and agriculture, to many other sectors of the economy both in developed and developing countries. Consequently, this led to an increase in the interest in the subject, and some countries like France, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany and Belgium adopted measures to reduce or prevent clandestine employment. The measures adopted vary among countries but almost all of them widened the field of application of the laws and regulations in force, increased the penalties for clandestine workers and their employers, and strengthened inspection and control services. However, an extensive study on the subject shows that results seem disappointing (de Grazia 1984). One reason for the meagre results, de Grazia points out, is the collusion existing between the clandestine worker and employer, and another is that efforts to combat clandestine employment have taken the form of specific short-term action.



Experience shows that any efforts limited to strengthen the inspection and to change laws and regulations would not be enough to control the problem of clandestine employment successfully. This does not mean that such measures are not necessary. On the contrary, a change in existing measures is needed in Turkey because they contribute to the development of abuses: for example, the efficiency of the Labour Placement Office in Turkey must be increased because this may help to eliminate cases where the unskilled workers are kept in waiting to be selected in open air markets.

It can be said that the greater the number of workers who accept construction as a career, the more efficient self-control can be achieved. This, on one hand, necessitated to develop measures which would reduce the transitional employer characteristics of the construction industry, and on the other eliminates the negative consequences of the nature of construction which necessitates geographical mobility and temporary employment practices.

- 1) It should be mentioned here that the information on rural migrants in Turkey is based on field studies and there exists no official statistics on the subject. And in spite of the fact that there are significant numbers of field studies on both rural migrants and squatter housing, there are only few studies to which we can refer in our explanations on the characteristics of construction workers in Turkey.
- 2) This also means that the available limited data presented to estimate the size of clandestine construction workers are not completely reliable. In spite of this fact, however, the differences between the two curves in the census years in Figure 2, indicating minimum numbers for an estimation of the size of clandestine construc-



tion workers, reflect the fact that there are significant numbers of construction workers who are employed as clandestine workers in Turkey. The share of clandestine workers in total construction workers is also significant, though there are variations between the years of census on which our estimations are based.

- 3) Since there exists no official statistics on squatter housing in Turkey, the share of rental squatters and the share of hired construction labour in the development of squatters is unknown. All we know on the subject is based upon the findings of field studies which indicate that both the share of rental squatters and the share of self-built squatters vary among squatter settlements. However, they confirm the assumption that there was and is a demand for hired construction labour because not all squatters are self-built and owner-occupied dwellings.
- 4) In this respect, the responsible body is the Labour Placement Office which is a state economic organization attached to the Ministry of Labour. Despite the existence of such an organization most of the labour-leasing cases are practiced in a different manner in the housing market, especially due to the temporary character of employment.

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# Low Cost Housing Finance in Developing Countries: With Reference to Egypt

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## Introduction

Most of the existing housing problems can be justifiably considered universal. However, the precise nature and circumstances characterizing these problems and their solutions differ from country to country and even from place to place. While the provision of housing in the more developed countries often presents difficulties, the problems are aggravated on a greater scale in developing countries. This is mainly due to the lack of basic essential resources such as the lack of finance, the lack of trained manpower at all levels and the lack of an adequate management structure. These factors pose a

most difficult problem as housing must compete with other forms of development for its share from inadequate or very limited resources.

The first step in attempting to solve this problem is mainly political: the priority of housing and the allocation of the financial and other resources that can be devoted to it. The effective organization and utilization of the available investment is the next step.

Measures must be taken to increase the volume of capital allocated to housing. Stimulating private savings, the use of housing subsidies, reducing housing cost, and the use of low-cost methods of construction are examples of such measures.

was allocated to housing, it was not benefiting the people whose needs were the most pressing. The high cost of loan services and the required guarantees and securities are among the long list of forbidding obstacles that prevented the low-income families from using the government capital in building their own houses.

As regarding housing shortage in Egypt, it is largely a result of the descending priority of housing in the economic development and of the decreasing percentage of national expenditure on housing over the last 40 years. This percentage has fallen from 30% in 1952—53, first gradually to 30% in 1957, and then rapidly to 11,8% in 1961—62. Between 1965 and 1975, investment in housing averaged 21% every year. This percentage was slightly reduced to an average of 20% each year during the First Development Plan 1976—1981, including the capital allocated for utilities and services (Joint Housing Team, 1976: Table 2). It is obvious that these levels of investment in housing were small in comparison to the enormous housing deficit figures. This suggests the importance of seeking alternative lower cost solutions for shelter to maximize the number of units actually built with the investment levels available.

## Zusammenfassung

*Der Aspekt der Finanzierung zeigt sich als großes Problem im Bereich des Wohnungsbaus in den Entwicklungsländern. Die erste Fragestellung ist eher politisch — welche Priorität hat der Wohnungsbau auf der nationalen Ebene und welche finanziellen und anderen Ressourcen sind dafür vorgesehen? Die Organisation und die Verteilung dieser Mittel (meist ungenügend) stellen den nächsten Schritt dar.*

*Am Beispiel der Rolle des Wohnungsbausektors in dem Wirtschaftssektor in Ägypten wird gezeigt, wo Engpässe entstehen, welche Auswirkungen, Änderungen der Wirtschaftsplan oder Fünf-Jahrespläne haben, und wie Auslandsinvestitionen die Einkommensverteilung beeinflussen. Um das Volumen des Wohnungsbaus für niedrige Einkommensgruppen zu erhöhen und gleichzeitig die Kosten zu senken, wird vorgeschlagen private Investitionen durch Genossenschaften und Bankkredite zu stimulieren, direkte Subventionen oder Darlehen bereitzustellen und billigere Bauweisen und Konstruktionsmethoden zu entwickeln. (R. M-S.)*

## Housing in the Economy

One of the important reasons for the accumulation of housing problems was that it was always considered as a subordinate requirement. Urban economists have always believed that a developing country should focus on more food production and on assets that advance productivity. According to those economists, housing deserves a low priority in the economy of a developing country.

The United Nations, however, have recommended that a balanced social and economic development is essential. Nevertheless, only few economists have attempted to set forth any ideal conception of balance or order of priority. It often occurs that a large portion of the resources reserved for economic development are consumed for housing anyway. The pressures and needs for housing are often so great that more of the scarce resources are consumed than if a sensible policy of resource allocation had existed in the first place. In the absence of such a policy, unnecessary and costly building materials were imported for higher income housing at the expense of the scarce foreign exchange needed for economic development (Abrams, 1964: pg. 106—109). Even in the rare cases where a large percentage of the gross fixed investment

The economic development in Egypt, as in any other developing country, has suffered for a long time critical problems that have great effects on housing. However, the government has started during the last 10 years to take considerable measures to overcome these difficulties. One important step was the formulation of the Five-Year Development Plan by the year 2000, with a target real growth in the economy of 6,5%. This target, however, must be considered at the top range of possible performance as there are still many basic economic problems to be dealt with and of course, unforeseen events may occur over such a period of time.

The first of these plans was the 1976—81, the second 1981—86, and the third 1986—91. These plans concentrated mainly on four basic policies:

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- a) the encouragement of foreign investment;
- b) the build-up of the private sector;
- c) the restructuring of the public sector to improve efficiency and;
- d) an increase in labour productivity.

It was intended in the First Plan to prepare annual plans with detailed programs and budgets. The economic analysis of 1974 and 1975 suggested a GNP growth of 4 to 5% and investments achieved 80 to 90% of planned targets. Consequently, 1976 and 1977 have been designated as transitional years with severe budgetary constraints and great obstacles to overcome (Joint Housing Team, 1976: XIV).

By 1981, the end of the first Plan, it occurred for the first time that a surplus had been achieved in the balance of payment and foreign exchange was being made sufficiently available through the flow of foreign investment and through the growing savings of the Egyptians working abroad. Foreign debt charges have been reduced by rescheduling loan payments and by shifting to intermediate and long-term loans to avoid expensive supplier's facilities. Nevertheless, government investment in housing and related facilities was still far from what had been actually needed to solve the problems of the low-income majority.

Since the first plan, however, several changes in the economic system have occurred in Egypt that have had important implications on housing policies. One of the changes that is worth noting is related to income distribution. Already a great deal of change in income distribution has taken place in Egypt over the past ten years. One of the major sources of change in income distribution was the Egyptians working abroad, mainly the laborers. Another source of change in income distribution was the rapidly growing foreign and joint investment in Egypt which employed many Egyptians and paid them several multiples of what their Egyptian counterparts pay. Most of these additional incomes, however, have gone to the upper- and upper-middle income groups. Although a substantial amount has filtered down to the lower-income brackets, because of the broad base of the income pyramid it is not very evident.

Another major feature about the changes in the economic system in Egypt was the economic role and resources under direct governmental control. In the past, surpluses of all other sectors used to be transferred to government. The government would then allocate them according to its priorities. According to the changes that have been introduced into the system, non-government sectors were allowed to retain their surpluses. The resources under direct government control as a percentage of total available resources have accordingly declined.

	1960/64		1965/69		1970/75		1975		1976	
	units ('000)	cost (M.L.E)	units ('000)	cost (M.L.E)	units ('000)	cost (M.L.E)	units ('000)	cost (M.L.E)	units ('000)	cost (M.L.E)
<b>Rural Housing:</b>	84	42	112	31						
Public sector	36	31	28	19						
Private sector	48	11	84	12						
<b>URBAN HOUSING:</b>										
<b>Low-income Housing</b>	89	44	112	97						
Public sector	50	28	42	27						
Private sector	39	17	70	70						
<b>Middle-income Housing</b>	41	57	43	73						
Public sector	9	23	15	27						
Private sector	32	34	28	46						
<b>Upper-income Housing</b>	9.5	20	4.7	15						
Public sector	0.5	2.5	0.2	2.6						
Private sector	9	17.5	4.5	12.4						
<b>Total Urban</b>	140	121	160	185						
Public sector	60	53	57	57						
Private sector	80	68	103	128						
<b>Grand Total</b>	224	163	172	216	---	320	31.3	169	26	91
Public	96	84	85	76		185	21	122	17	55
Private	128	79	187	140		135	10.3	47	9	36
Total	224	163	172	216		320	31.3	169	26	91
Urban	140	121	160	185		275	31.3	165	25	77
Rural	84	42	112	31		45		4		
Total	224	163	172	216		320		169		

Source: Ministry of Housing & Reconstruction.

Table 1: Housing Production and Cost  
Source: Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction

These changes have had direct implications for housing policies. Firstly, the change in income distribution which was skewed towards the higher income groups has required parallel changes in the types of housing produced. Adherence to the past division of newly-built housing units according to the formula: 70% to low-income housing, 20% to middle-income housing and 10% to upper-income housing could not be strictly maintained. The result was an excessive drain of the scarce foreign exchange resources in importing luxurious building materials for the higher income brackets. Secondly, in the past the government was responsible for building all the low-income housing costing only a few millions, Table (1). Currently, with the rise of construction cost over ten times during the last decade, hundreds of millions would be required to maintain the past government policies. It is likely to become even more costly in the near future. If the decline in the share of government-controlled resources to national available resources was added, an immediate change in government housing policies and role becomes imperative (Montasser, 1978: pg. 49).

### Sources of Capital for Housing

One of the immediate changes required in the government housing policies is to establish adequate programs to increase the flow of capital into the housing market. The importance of such programs becomes more apparent when comparing the cost of the housing currently being produced with what any low-income family can afford to pay for shelter. Figure (1) shows the straight line relationship between the cost of a dwelling and a household income. Of course, the size and quality of housing would depend upon the household position on the income ladder. However, it is only those at the top of the ladder who enjoy the security of regular employment and some collateral that gives them access to credit for building their own houses. Those between the „credit“ and „poverty“ lines are denied access to the housing market by the rules of financial security and official mistrust.

Although some attempts are being made to overcome the great shortage of housing, the problem is still very serious especially in the large urban center where construction has not been able to keep up with the influx of rural migrants attracted by the growing new joint investments. The total number of dwelling units being built every year in Cairo, for example, represented only 25% of the housing units actually needed to overcome housing deficiencies in the city.

It is recognized that government action will be needed to act as the moving force behind any attempt to increase the total volume of capital required for housing investment. Although some reallocation of resources may be desirable between sectors, and within the housing sector itself, it is expected that the bulk of additional resources should be made available through more efficient construction and administrative methods, increased savings and as a result of a growing national income. Any government program to increase housing investment should take

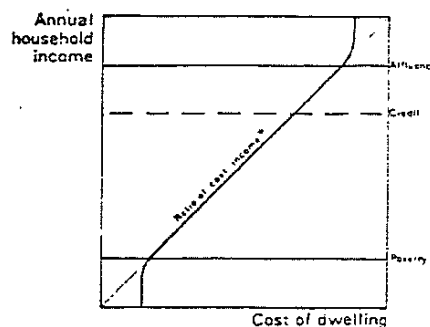


Figure 1: The Relationship between Cost & Dwelling and Household Income

Source: Wakely, P. etc.: Urban Housing Strategies. 1976

into consideration the following actions:

### Stimulating Private Savings

This can be accomplished voluntarily by making saving more convenient and attractive, or through compulsory action such as increasing taxes or payroll deductions for special purposes. Public saving programs may be the only feasible method of getting any popular programs started. Postal saving system and government life insurance corporations attract little participation as a result of the lack of public understanding and confidence.

One of the most promising methods of mobilizing savings is through the sale of public bonds issued for a special purpose such as housing. There would be a net benefit to the economy only if the savings that are invested in these bonds represent additional savings and are not merely siphoned off from some other investment use. The government would probably welcome a shift of some savings into housing investment as well as net additional investment if a method for effecting the shift could be found.

In many developing countries, savings and loan societies are nonexistent, and whatever savings go into commercial banks are lent to business rather than on mortgages. Even these loans often command very high rates. When profit can be made on commercial loans, there is little incentive to lend money for housing. Commercial banks in some countries occasionally issue mortgages to a few of their good customers, but these are generally short-term accommodation loans secured by additional collateral.

The government, however, can make an important contribution to the promotion of an increased flow of savings into the housing sector by providing the legal, administrative and institutional framework within which private individuals, cooperative groups and special-purpose corporate bodies who are interested in housing and related facilities, can operate at maximum levels of volume and efficiency.

The promotional activities that the government can take to increase the flow of private savings in housing would include:

- a) The establishment of a central housing bank with authority to supervise new special-purpose savings and financing institutions. The government has already established such a bank and some time is needed before its benefits can reach the low-income groups and before detailed evaluation can be made on its function.
- b) The creation of a system of ensuring individual savings deposits.

c) The promotion of mortgage lending on the part of both new and existing financial institutions.

d) The encouragement of private cooperative savings and building systems.

e) The establishment of flexible rent control laws.

f) An interest supplement program should be initiated by the government whereby it makes up the difference, if any, between what borrowers or renters can pay and the minimum yield demanded by the private investors. An important element in this operation is the stream of income necessary to provide the differential over the period of the loan or investment. This can be provided through direct appropriations from either central, regional or local governments, earmarked taxes, income from existing or new projects and international aid (United Nations, 1968: 39-40).

### The Use of Subsidies

Subsidies have been used in many countries, developed and developing, in different forms as a tool of public policy to provide housing for low-income households unable to afford housing in the private market. In the United States, for example, various approaches have been introduced. One approach was to allocate direct subsidies to low-income families in addition to the subsidies provided to households with higher incomes, in the form of mortgage interest and property tax deductions from taxable personal income. Another approach was to provide reduced land costs through purchasing and reselling the land at a below market price. A third approach was to lower the cost of capital utilizing different mechanisms. Such mechanisms included a below market interest rate loan, insurance and guarantees to the private mortgage lender against a loss on the loan, and a graduated rate mortgage where the interest rate is very low in the early years and then gradually increases over time along with the family's income.

Subsidies have generally been justified as a means of redistributing income. As such, housing subsidies must compete with subsidies for education, health and other socio-economic developments. The economic significance of housing and its importance in urban spatial form make it a prime candidate in many instances for consideration for subsidy. Yet, if care is not taken in their selection and application, housing subsidies can accrue to middle- or even high-income families, thereby depriving the poor of needed resources.

It may be suggested here that, instead of subsidizing the building materials, subsidies could be given to the finished dwell-

ing units that comply with specified standards for low-income dwellings. Moreover, subsidization of the rent may be introduced in some cases to help the low-income tenants who cannot afford to pay full rent in the private housing market. Nevertheless, a housing subsidy should not generally be used in place of an income supplement. In some cases households do not have a housing problem, they have only an income problem. Housing services are inadequate because households do not have sufficient income to afford higher housing standards.

This approach is consistent with the argument that it is far less costly to subsidize the consumer directly than to subsidize the producer. Basically, it is far less expensive, given a limited amount of resources, to give the money directly to people and let them use their own ingenuity, their own intuition, and do their own search, rather than for the government to build new housing for the lowest income groups when even people of somewhat higher incomes cannot afford new housing. Nonetheless, there is another argument that there will be always the fear of the direct user spending subsidies on unnecessary goods rather than improving housing standards. However, there are different ways of overcoming this problem. In some cases the government would actually pay a percentage of the rent paid by the eligible tenant. Another way is for the government to give the low-income family an earmarked, or a conditional income transfer to be spent only on housing. In this case, the family would be given a rent voucher, and the voucher can be converted only into rent, not other service or goods.

The study that has been made in Egypt by the Joint Housing Team of the Ministry of Housing & Reconstruction, Ministry of Planning, and Agency for International Development in 1976, had suggested that the government would provide more housing services through direct housing subsidies than if income transfer had been given to individual households. Table (2) summarizes the range of unit cost and subsidy required on different assumptions of unit size and square meter costs for the different income groups. The study had assumed that if a low-income household had an annual income of L.E. 600 and on the basis of its needs for food and other necessities, the household should invest 17% of its income in acquiring a housing unit. This household then has the ability to pay L.E. 102 per year for its housing services. This housing payment will allow the purchase of a unit costing approximately L.E. 1,344 (over a thirty-year period at 6.5% interest). If the government is willing and able to provide this family with a dwelling costing L.E. 2,500 the cost to government in providing the capital for this unit may be approximated as L.E. 191.44 per year. By providing this unit, the government has, theoretical-

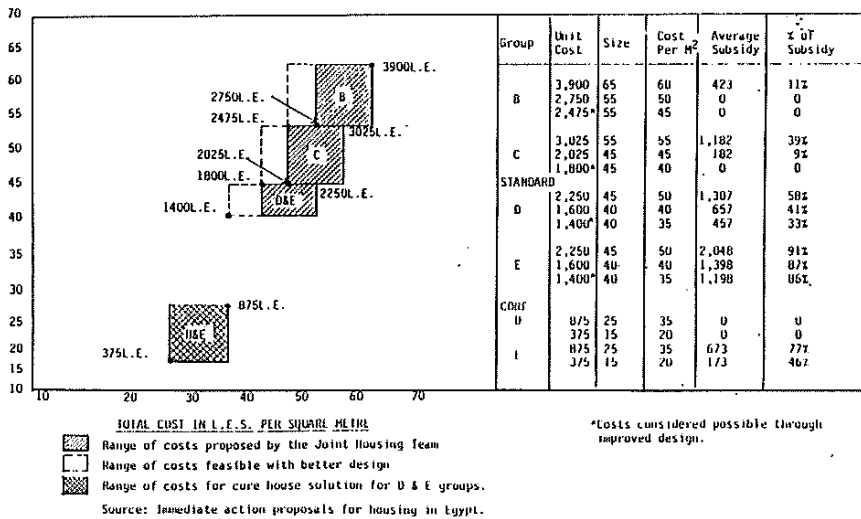


Table 2: Unit Cost Range and Subsidy required on different assumptions & unit size and square metre costs  
 Source: Immediate action proposals for housing in Egypt

ly, increased the household's income by 32% and has substantially increased the amount and percent of income used for housing. If, instead of providing the house, the government provided the family with additional L.E. 191.44 per year, the family would have had a total income of L.E. 791.44 per year. If the household's desire for housing still takes up about 17% of income, their actual housing expenditure would rise to L.E. 134.55 per year. This would be consistent with a housing unit having a value of L.E. 1.757. Thus, the government has placed the family in a home having a value approximately L.E. 743 greater than that which they would have chosen if they were given an income rather than a housing supplement (Joint Housing Team, 1976: pg. 21).

### Reducing Housing Cost

It is very important, in order to increase the number of dwelling units offered to the low-income families, to reduce the total cost of the dwellings through the use of minimum standards, the use of minimum size required for the basic needs of the household, and the use of local building materials. It is also important to search for an appropriate method of construction in order to reduce the time over which the building is completed.

The joint M.I.T. and Cairo University research on housing and construction industry in 1978 has developed detailed cost figures for the construction of several prototypical buildings, using various conventional building methods. These include cement skeleton, load bearing brick, and stone wall construction. The research has estimated the detailed usage of materials and labor per square meter of construction for each of these building systems. This effort has been based in part on the need to provide an informa-

tion system to determine the most efficient construction systems under different market conditions. To complement their effort, the joint research team had developed some tentative estimates for the cost of building identical structures with the large-panel prefabrication systems currently under erection. The comparison of the different systems has revealed the following results:

- The cement skeleton method of construction costed about 12% more, and large-panel prefabrication about 40% more than the most commonly used method of load bearing brick wall construction when the evaluation was done at shadow resource costs.
- The differences were less (respectively 8% and 25% more) when the evaluation was made at official prices.
- While prefabricated construction clearly used more capital than other me-

Table 3: Aggregate costs of construction technologies  
 Source: Cairo University /M.I.T., Joint Research Team, Interim report working papers, 1978

	Load bearing brick	Skeleton	Prefabrication
Total cost	61.0 (51.0) <sup>1</sup>	67.0(55.0)	84.0(60.0)
Materials	45.0 (35.0)	52.4 (40.4)	58.0(39.0)
Labor	16.0	14.6	17.6
Capital	0.0 <sup>2</sup>	0.0	7.8(3.3)

- Figures in parenthesis use "official - market" prices, all others use "shadow - market" prices.
- Included in materials and labour cost.

Source: C.U./M.I.T. Joint Research Team, Interim report working papers, 1978.

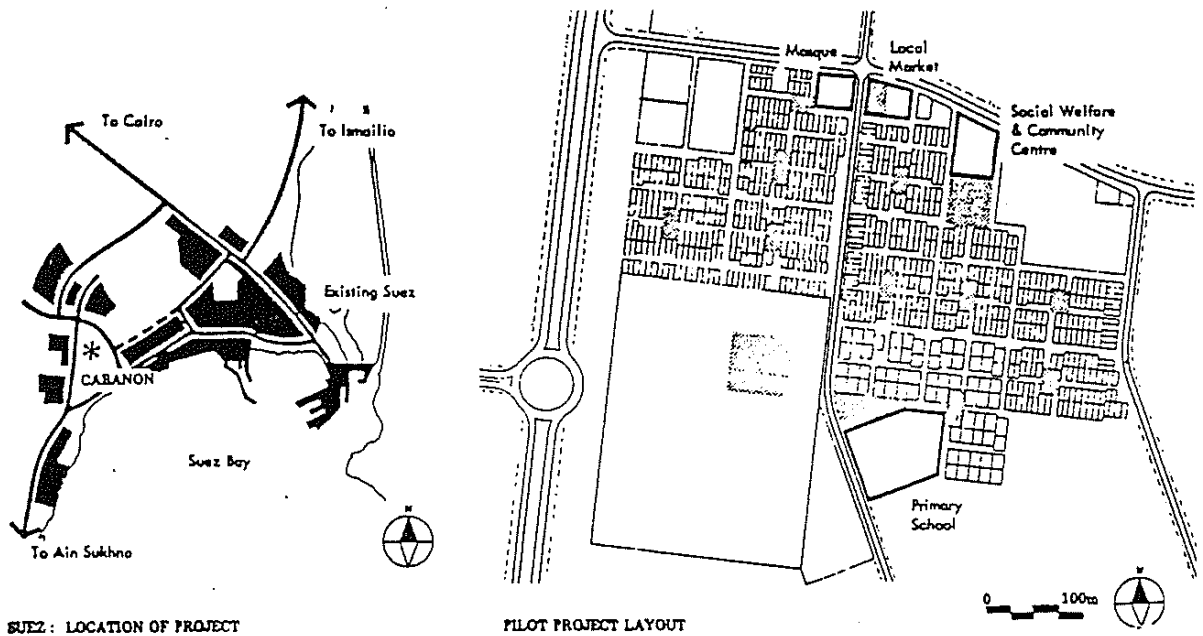
thods, the results have suggested that there was no compensating reduction in labor or materials, as is sometimes alleged to be the conventional rationale for the system. With the Egyptian estimates, labor, capital, and material costs were all higher under prefabrication. The results of this study are summarized in Table (3) (C.U./M.I.T., 1978: pg. 29-41).

These results, while suggestive, do not necessarily mean that attempts to prefabricate housing should be discontinued in Egypt. It could be the case that changes in factor prices, for example, would make the system more competitive. It also may be true that with substantial improvement on design, a variant on the system could be developed which would significantly reduce material and labour usage.

### The Use of Low-Cost Methods of Construction

The introduction of core housing, as a major variant of the self-help technique, into the developing countries by the United Nations missions, aimed at providing an organized, cheap and practical scheme for the urban and urbanizing areas of these countries. Since the U.N. missions, the idea has spread and is now becoming an important building device in the less developed areas. The core-house scheme depends on the fact that a family, with little additional work, can move into the core right away and thereafter expand the house as time and funds allow. One advantage of core housing is that it can be mass-produced on the site at a considerable saving. It entails no extensive supervision. It requires a tract of land and the essential utilities, after which the cores can be erected in one mass operation.

Some experimental projects, sites and services and core housing, have been carried out in different locations in Egypt to demonstrate the feasibility for the deve-



SUZ: LOCATION OF PROJECT

PILOT PROJECT LAYOUT

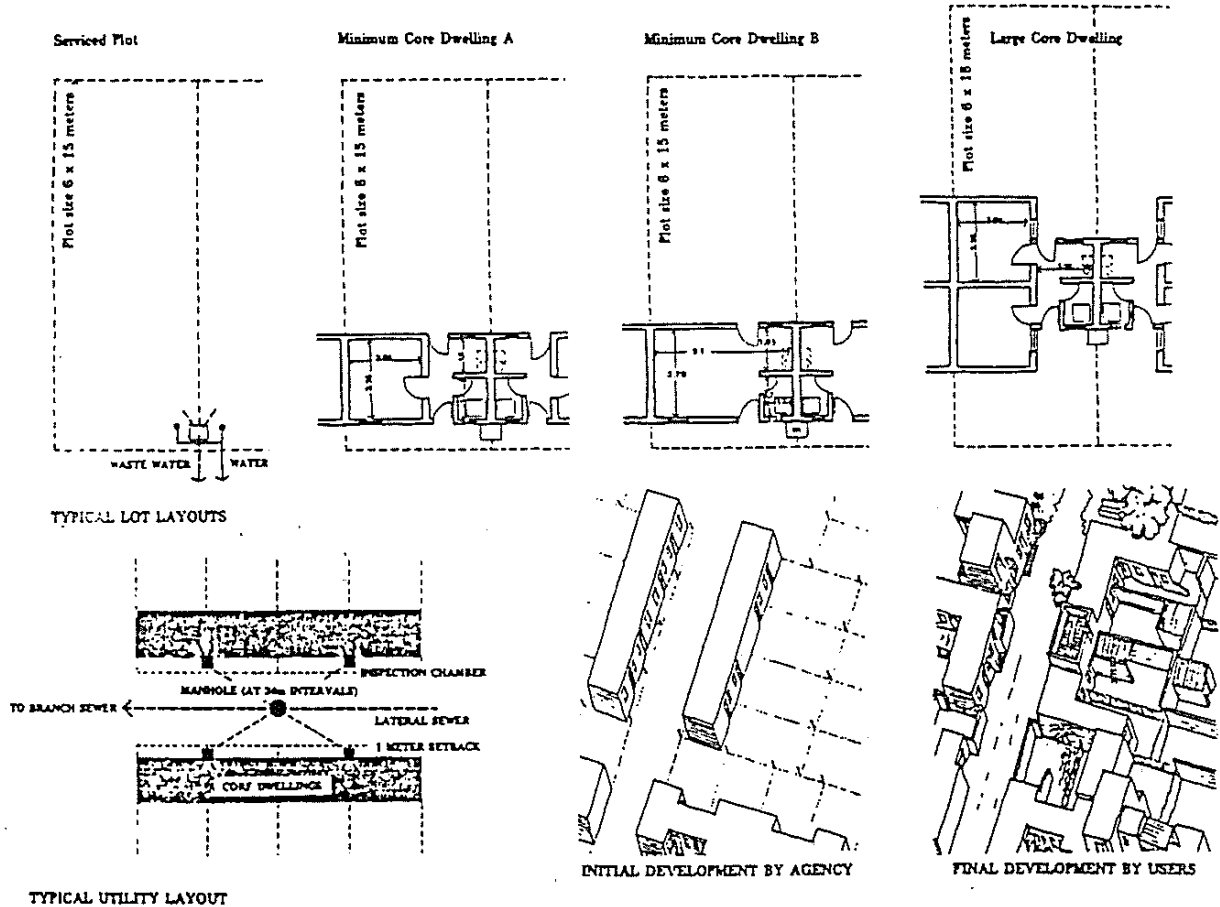


Figure 2: Suez Demonstration Project

Source: Cairo University/M.I.T.: Suez Demonstration Project. 1979

development of low-cost housing in adequate quantity to meet the basic requirements of safe and sanitary dwellings.

Figure (2) shows one example for these projects that has been built in the city of Suez, as a continuation of the city's Master Plan which was undertaken during 1974—75. The Master Plan proposed the

development of a new community to accommodate approximately 40,000 people at full development. Specific designs for a pilot project of 1,160 dwellings, to accommodate about 5,000 people, were proposed to demonstrate in detail the layout and character of the project. The area of the site was about 200 hectares, located in the Western Sector of the city.

The expansion of the existing city into the new communities was part of a regional program to reduce the pressure of population growth in Cairo, Alexandria and the Delta, without encroaching upon valuable agricultural land. Two basic lot sizes for low income households were provided: 6m x 15m (90m<sup>2</sup>) and 6m x 18m (108m<sup>2</sup>). Multiples of these sizes had pro-

vided lots for other uses, such as commercial units and workshops. Four options for core housing were offered:

- a lot with only water and sewerage connections;
- a minimum core unit of 20.5m<sup>2</sup> on a 90m<sup>2</sup> lot provided with water tap, squat toilet, and electricity;
- a minimum core similar to 'b' except additional interior partitions, total floor area 17.55m<sup>2</sup>;
- a large core unit similar to 'b' but total area 27.75m<sup>2</sup> on a 108m<sup>2</sup> lot (C.U./M.I.T., 1979: pg. 20—23).

There are, however, some measures to be considered carefully when applying a core-housing scheme in an urban area:

- The core house would not substitute the walk-up apartment buildings in the dense areas. Its greater use is linked to the development of transportation and the opening-up of land areas on the outskirts of cities. It would face major obstacles where land costs are inordinately high.
- Unless a house is planned as a core from the beginning, a core-housing project may deteriorate into a slum. Experience in developing countries shows that even families in the lowest income brackets manage to improve and enlarge their homes as the years go by. Hence, the layouts and placement of the houses must be planned for expansion. Provision should be made, in the original plan, for services, public spaces, landscaping, playgrounds, and even car parking.
- Loan funds must be made available for interior improvement and future expansion.
- Care must be exercised in selecting applicants. Temporary residents are not likely to invest in additions. Where the house is too far from work, the occupant will hesitate to make improvements. Jobs and security of job status are factors in all housing undertakings, and core housing is no exception. Since people with common interests are more apt to cohere into a community and help one another, the aim of a sound community interest should always be kept in mind.
- Initiating training programs in house building to increase the tenants ability to build for themselves. Thus, labor cost, as well as the total cost of the completed houses, will be reduced. These programs would also benefit the un- and underemployed workers to learn new skills and, consequently, improve their incomes and their living standards.

## Conclusions

It can be concluded that the national context within which housing resources must be increased is greatly constrained. The existing housing deficits are enormous and the economy, although improving,

cannot support the level of housing investment which can actually overcome the shortage or even keep up with the new demand.

The main objective of any housing policy should be to achieve the maximum addition to the net existing housing stock. This would require a concentrated effort to manage the limited resources in the most efficient way. The current policies and regulations should be revised in order to fulfil certain objectives:

- Reduce the average cost of dwelling units in the public and private sectors in order to build more units with the same level of capital investment. This will be possible by reducing the average size of dwelling units, lowering the infrastructure standards and by improving the building technologies used.
- The semi-public and private sectors must be encouraged to play a larger role in housing production. This includes overcoming the problems of mobilization of finance, shortage in building materials and rent control.
- Initiating an emergency program to concentrate on meeting the needs of the lowest income households who cannot afford to participate in the regular public housing programs. This program should seek to conserve the existing housing stock, upgrade the existing levels of services and public facilities, and provide opportunities for expansion to new areas through core housing and sites and services projects, to relieve the crisis of overcrowding.
- Initiating national training programs in house building to increase the needed skilled labor force.
- Finally, all the above objectives should be integrated into an overall comprehensive housing policy which can set a suitable framework within which all the various institutions concerned with

housing can operate and which relates housing to overall national development planning.

It is true that, through multiplier effects, housing can significantly increase income and employment. Estimates for some developing countries suggest that housing construction ultimately brings an increase in national income of about twice the original investment. Housing construction is particularly well suited to absorbing low-skilled laborers, and in this way can provide more job opportunities for many low-income families. By using currently unemployed or underemployed labor, investment in housing can lead to a more efficient use of existing resources.

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# Residence Planning for Towns — On the Improvement of Residence and Living Environment

Li Suifang

The work of residence design is heavy and relates to a wide range of aspects taking into account the national economy as well as the people's livelihood. In China, there is an old saying: „To live and work in peace and contentment.“ To live in peace and contentment, there should be nice housing, good living space and environment. Only by so doing, harmonic

## Zusammenfassung:

Der Autor, Preisträger eines chinesischen Wettbewerbs für Wohnbauentwürfe, unterscheidet bei der Anhebung der Wohnqualität zwischen Eigenschaften, die jede einzelne Wohnung aufweisen muß, und solchen Attributen, die sich auf die Planung der gesamten Nachbarschaft beziehen. Hinsichtlich der Wohnungseigenschaften stellt er die Forderung nach physischer und psychologischer Zweckmäßigkeit, einer weitgehenden Funktionstrennung der einzelnen Räume, und der Möglichkeit einer späteren Veränderung der Grundrisse (z.B. Zusammenlegung von Wohneinheiten). Sein im Folgenden vorgestellter eigener Entwurf für das „südchinesische Haus“ folgt den genannten Grundsätzen.

Die Gestaltung der Freiräume und Gemeinschaftseinrichtungen soll mindestens vier Kriterien genügen: 1. Die Pflege dieser Anlagen soll durch entsprechende Wirtschaftsräume erleichtert sein. 2. Grünflächen sollen maximiert werden und auch Fassaden und die Dächer mit einbeziehen. 3. Gemeinschaftliche Freizeiteinrichtungen sollen sowohl im Freien wie in den Häusern bestehen. 4. Die besonderen Bedürfnisse von Alten, Behinderten und Kindern müssen baulich berücksichtigt werden. Auch die praktische Umsetzung dieser Grundsätze illustriert der Autor an eigenen Entwürfen. (KM)

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family atmosphere can be created, the construction of material as well as spiritual civilization will be benefited and the people will be able to work in a happy mood and full of vigour. For these reasons, for hundreds of years, with the evolution of age, and the development of science and technology, as well with the change of the ways of living, it has been one of the eternal tasks for the architectural designers to improve the living environment and housing.

In recent years, with the continuous enhancing of people's living standard, higher demands arised on the comfort of housing and quality of living environment. Through years of practice and investigation, it is the consideration of the author, that in order to obtain remarkable benefit, it is necessary to improve both the designing of individual houses as well as the planning of the housing collective simultaneously.

## Improvement of Residence Design

Besides general common requirements such as adaptability, safety and privacy, the quality of a residence depends mainly upon its degree of comfort. Therefore, it is necessary to enhance the comfort of a residence in order to improve the quality of its design.

Different nationalities have different customs of living, different social conventions and different religious beliefs which lead to different aesthetic standards as well as to different requirements on the comfort of residence. It is very difficult to set up a common standard to evaluate the quality of residences in different districts. Even though, the author considers that the following three aspects are still the main criteria to evaluate the quality of a residence.

1. It must satisfy the law of people's living activities, *considering the needs of the dweller* in all respects. The designer should improve continuously aspects of physiology as well as psychology namely: function, safety, ventilation, lighting, insulation, field of vision, colour, scale, noise-proof, privacy etc...

2. *Comfort of a residence is inversly proportional to the number of functions* asked for a room i.e. the simpler the function of a room, the higher the comfort. Conversy, the comfort will be lower. For example, if the bedroom is used for resting only, the comfort is highest. If the room will be used to studying also, the comfort will be less. If it will be also used as a living room, there will too many functions and there will be too much interference and the comfort will be the least.

3. The comfort of a residence must be set up on the basis of current local economic conditions allowing future updation and remodeling. The structural life of average buildings is quite long, they can last for about 60 years. Comperatively, the life of interior decorations and equipment is much shorter. Therefore, in designing residences we must base on today and have the future in mind. This will make the residences more adaptable, which could be updated and remodeled with the enhancing of people's living standard to increase the comfort.

As to southern China, with the gradual formation of modern life style, the designing of residences went through tremendous change within the past three decades since the founding of PRC. In the past, most of the residences in town belonged to be „bamboo“ style, most of them are just narrow and long rooms with some partitions across. The ventilation, lighting and sanitary conditions were poor. From late 50's to early 60's, residences were improved into dormitory style with long exterior or interior corridors and *public* kitchens and toilets. From late 60's to early 70's, the designs turn to residences with skylights of short exterior or interior corridors and *private* kitchens and toilets. Until late 70's due to the recovery of our national economy, apartment type residences with private kitchens and toilets became the majority. Especially when entering the 80's, different layouts of residences like butterfly type, I type, Y type, windmill type as well as saw-tooth type come out like the blooming of hundreds of flowers. These residences are



praised by our people because of their completeness of equipment, reasonableness of functions and beautifulness of exterior appearance. Every improvement of the design, enhanced the comfort and made the people's living still better to varying extend.

However, China is still a developing country, developing toward a comfortable country. Our financial as well as material resources are limited. It is impossible for us to rank among the world's first class level even by the end of this century. Based on the above situation, the most important task within the coming 10 to 20 years is to meet the basic standard of one suite for each family. Therefore, to improve and perfect the design of apartment buildings will be the first important mission for every resident designer in the near future.

It is the author's opinion that in finding a way to increase the comfort of residences under the promise of not exceeding the area norm, adopting natural ventilation and lightion, as well as saving land and energy, the requirements on residences asked by social development can be satisfied if we follow constantly the steps of the development of the time, always investigate the varying psychological and physiological needs of the people due to the influence of modern ways of living. The work named „Southern Residence“ designed by the author which won a Second Prize award in a design contest in Cuzhangzhou is an attempt in this respect.

The „Southern Residence“ (Fig. 1) has the following features in design:

1. The general layout is flexible and changable. The buildings have larger depth and smaller width. There are one staircase and four suites on each floor, the average width for each suite is 4.5 M. This can save the land required and make the organization of a greenbelt more easily.
2. There are explicit functions for different districts. The appartments are separate from each other, all the kitchens and toilets have openings to the outside

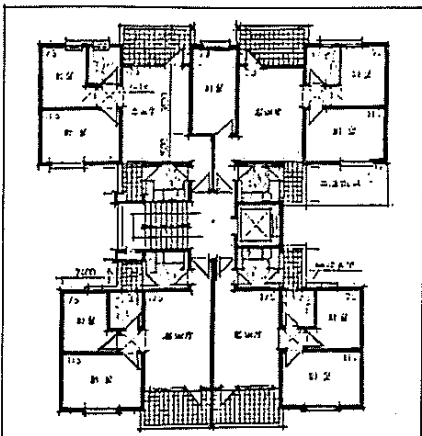


Fig. 1: Standard Floor Plan

atmosphere. The buildings are well furnished with facilities such as elevator, pump station, garbage troughs and bicycle garage for the convenience of the dwellers. The toilets are a little bit larger than the conventional ones to meet the future requirement of accommodating a washing machine and shower heater. On the ground floor, there are gardens and backyards for each family to insure safety and to reduce noise and visual interference. All this will enhance the living quality.

3. The roof can be accessed by the dwellers. Together with the service balcony, especially the wide main balcony with a depth of 2 meters, provide to the long-term upstairs dwellers valuable spaces for semi-outdoor activities and places for mutual communications such as morning exercise, and enjoying the cool in the evening.
4. Each family has three sides facing the exterior, permitting good ventilation, natural lighting and field of view.
5. The floor height is as low as 2.8 M. This will reduce the cost of construction.
6. The shape of facade is pleasing, liberal and colourful. The eaves are integrated with the parapets, with different colours within a quarter which look like traditional Chinese roofs. The designer took the economical possibilities and living standards up to the end of this century into account, adopted mainly natural ventilation and illumination. In the present, the designer improved the service facilities (e.g. elevator) and popularized the use of family electrical appliances (e.g. shower heater) to increase the comfort of the residences. In the future, when the people's living standard get still higher, each floor can be turned from being occupied by four families to two families and this residence can be turned into villa type, averaging one room per person. Therefore, the „Southern Residence“ has comparatively strong adaptability and long-term stability.

### Improvement of Living Environment

The residential quarter planning is a basic component for the improvement of the living environment. There is no doubt that the residential district planning is very important. However, analysis of the dwellers (workers and staff members, the elderly, the children, etc.) shows that most of their activities in daily life and in spare time are taken within a small circle with their residences as centers. The author thus considered the residential quarter planning — as a planning in a smaller scale — even more important for the improvement of living environment. Nowadays, people are tolerably well off, but they require further psychological sa-

tisfaction and need to enrich their spiritual life. Such needs are in a higher level. For example, people are not only content with having an apartment, but also desire to decorate the rooms and beautify the environment so as to have an ideal space for social life and outdoor activities. In a word, a higher demand for good environment of living is now advanced. To meet the people's needs, the author considered that a good residential planning should have the following features: *safety* (public order and security), *markedness* (architecture style, shape, colour, road sign, and symbol etc.), *convenience* (shopping, schooling, transportation), *social activities* (cultural and social life) and *information* (TV cable, public phone, mail box). Besides, there are four aspects which require special attention:

1. Since a graceful living environment should be kept clean and neat, the residential quarter is required to have a good management and a good service. Hence, in making a residence clean, we should provide rooms for management and service.
2. In order to make the residential district pleasing, park or garden areas should be made as large as possible. These green areas should match with the flowers planted on the roof decks, balconies and window stools and make a vertically green screen or form a multilevel green decoration. The plants will have effects on purifying the air, improving the local climate in the residential area and raise the quality of living.
3. The residential district should provide indoor and outdoor spaces for dwellers' activities such as morning exercise, strolling, enjoying the cool etc... Such spaces are especially important for the elderly and the children where they can amuse themselves and have social contacts with the neighbours.
4. Various facilities should be provided as convenient as possible for the elderly, the children and the handicapped. For example, the slope of the sidewalk should be gentle, slopes should be provided at entrances for the wheelchairs, chairs or benches should be mounted in public gardens or parks, the slope of stairs in houses should not be steep and the raise of the steps not too high, etc...

Recently, the completed 1st residential quarter of the 19th district in Baoan County, *Shenzhen City* as well as the residential complex for the senior cadres in *Guangzhou* reflect the author's attempts to carry out such improvements.

The 1st residential quarter of the 19th district in Baoan County is shown in Fig. 2, which is located to the north of *Qianjin Rd.*, the main road of the town, occupying a lot of 23,954 Sq. M. The total building

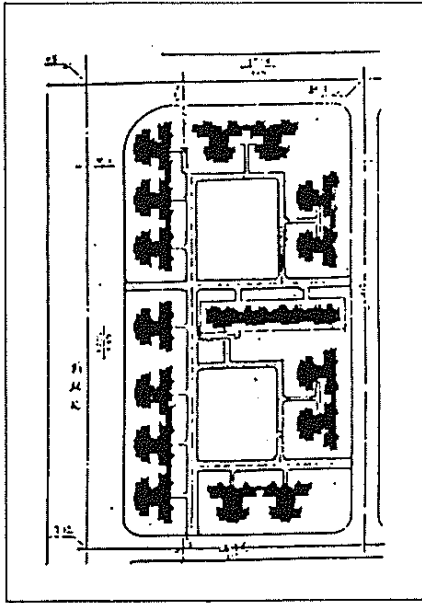


Fig. 2: Layout of the first residential group

area is about 32,276.8 Sq. M. with a volumetric ratio of 1:1.35. The west and the north of the lot is about three meters higher than the south and the east. The buildings are designed for average citizens, they are set up along the lot and designed using the staggered floor level scheme. The wide open area surrounded by the buildings is arranged as public green land. In the middle of the residential quarter, there is a building rectangular in plane, the ground floor of which is arranged for the office of the residential committee, the kindergarten, grocery and bicycle garage. For one thing, this building can provide various service to the dwellers, for another, it separates the wide garden into two so that the flow of people can reasonably be organized. Herein, the traffic organization is worth mentioning. Due to the difference in height of the lot, steps are designed at the east, south and west entrances while the way leading to the north exit is a gentle slope for the wheel chairs and other vehicles. Such traffic organization avoids the passing through of foreign vehicles and keeps the environment peaceful and quiet.

The three-dimensional green area design also has its special feature. In addition to the public green lands, the green plants on balconies, window stools, flower slots and eaves match with each other to make a green decoration and a graceful environment.

This quarter has now been occupied, its planning and design have been received well by the dwellers, the construction unit, the leaders of the County and of the Shenzhen City Committee. These buildings also get favorable comments from the Japanese visitors. Type A residence has won the 3rd prize for excellent design from Guangdong Province as well as the 3rd prize for excellent design from Guangzhou City.

The residential complex in *Shuiyin Rd., Guangzhou* is built for the retired senior cadres, having a comparatively high standard. This residential complex is located to the north of *Shuiyin Rd.*, occupying a lot of 13,216 Sq. M. The total building area is 20,533 Sq. M. with a volumetric ratio of 1:1.56.

Concerning the space planning and organization of the residential complex, there are three different grades of living units:

- a) ordinary residences (Type C and F, averaging 65 Sq. M. per unit), they are arranged along the northwest side of the lot with eight storeys.
- b) the middle level residences (Type A, about 100 to 125 Sq. M. per unit), they are arranged staggerly along the *Shuiyin Rd.* with 5 to 6 storeys.
- c) the high standard residences (Type B, about 185 Sq. M. per unit).

The four-storey buildings at the southeast are lower than those at the northwest, and those in the central area are the lowest. This planning could result in good ventilation, a wide field of view and rich in outline. Such arrangement could appropriately meet the needs of different kind of people in spite of the limitations of a building lot.

Concerning the environmental design, there is a small garden placed at the northwest corner. Such arrangement not only can provide a graceful place for outdoor exercise and social activities, but also can increase the safety distance from a nearby inflammables' store house which is located northwest of the lot. In addition to the vertical green decoration made by public green lands, balconies and window stools, special attention has been placed on the organization of gardens on the ground floor and on the roof deck. Presently, people usually dislike the ground floors because of noise, visual disturbance and safety problems. For this reason, some measures have been adopted which include a recess from the street and arrange exclusive gardens for the ground floor residents. This semi-private space-division has appropriately solved this problem. Type B residences of high-standard are designed as duplex type.

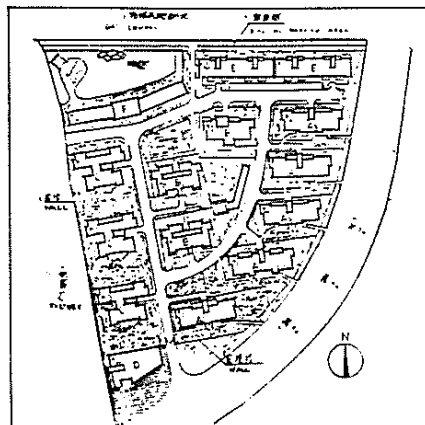


Fig. 3: Site Plan of the Residential Complex for Senior Cadres

The first two floors of this four-storey building consist of one unit, using the ground garden, while the third and fourth floors contain another unit, using the roof deck garden, where we set up racks and eaves troughs for planting. Thus, the dwellers in every unit have their own space for outdoor activities. At the same time, it further improves the living environment of this residential complex.

As to the design of service facilities, there is a children's playground so that the main residents, the retired aged, can have a nice place to stay with their grandchildren and enjoy family happiness. There are a pergola and a pavilion placed in a small grass land at the center of the residential complex. This is a good place for the elderly to take a walk and chat. In southern part of the small park, a group of garden facilities including recreation rooms and a gym are set up. The elderly can play billiard, bridge and do exercises there. In the middle of the 1st floor of Type E, there is a garage for 12 cars. In the west of the 1st floor, there is a clinic, providing medical care to the dwellers. At the southwest corner, a public building with seven storeys is set up. On its 1st to 3rd floors there are stores, restaurants and snack bars. On the 4th to 7th floors there are hostels. In front of the building, there is a parking lot for visitors. The residents may go shopping in the stores, entertain their guests in the restaurants and find accommodation for the visitors in the hostels. Furthermore, in the residential complex, the footwalks are smooth, the entrances of public buildings have gentle slopes, the stairs are also gentle. Considerations have been made in all respects for the elderly, the children and the handicapped.

Concerning the management of the residential complex, the administrator is the residential committee, which is responsible for the various services such as purchasing of chief daily necessities (fuel, rice, cooking oil, salt etc), house keeping, painting and gardening, and for security etc... The office of the committee is located in the east of Type E building, near the entrance. For security consideration, enclosing walls are built. Two main gates are placed in the east and south, respectively.

The carefully designed residential complex has been well received by personalities of various circles. Based on the current economic condition, the quality of living environment of this complex has reached an appropriate degree of comfort.

In conclusion, the improvement of residence and living environment is a long-term task. It is bound up with the national economy and the development of science and technology. It is also lashed by modern style of living. Therefore, house planning and design usually need coordinating and improving. Through the designers' efforts, the quality of housing and environment will certainly be improved and enhanced.

## Self-help Housing again

Wouter Turpijn.

A reply to Hans Harms' comment on my "Self-Help Housing in West Europe" in TRIALOG 18; page 40-42.

In Trialog 18 (3. Quartal 1988) I published an article about "Self-Help Housing in West Europe". I'm very honoured by the fact that Hans Harms made a comment on this article in the same volume of Trialog. It is for sure that he is one of the leading thinkers on self-help housing in our days. Therefore I regret to notice that Harms did not seem to have read my article very well. In the following I will make this clear.

In my article I first gave a definition of self-help housing or self-help by dwellers: "all activities concerning the realization and maintenance of the built environment, carried out by the dwellers themselves for the benefit of their own housing, with a minimum of interference from authorities and other professional institutions. These activities may concern the often more *individual* (re-)building and maintenance of dwellings, so-called do-it-yourself work, but also such matters as *collective* promotion of interests through a dwellers' organization, squatting of buildings to create dwellings, activities of communal groups of dwellers in fulfilling their own housing needs, or the presence of citizen guards in housing areas."

In the article I described several examples of both individual forms of self-help housing and collective forms. In that way Harms' remark that I didn't go enough into these different forms of self-help housing, is not quite correct. Maybe I could have analysed these different forms a little further. Truth is that I already made this analysis in my "Shadow-Housing" (Turpijn, 1988). However, it is more important to mention that the main object of my article in Trialog was not to describe and analyse the different forms of self-help housing as such

### Zusammenfassung

Dr. Turpijn bezieht sich auf den Artikel "Self-Help Housing, Crisis, and structural Transformation" von Hans Harms in TRIALOG 18. Er widerspricht Harms in der Annahme, daß er (Turpijn) die Selbsthilfe-Bewegung eher *descriptiv*, nicht aber *historisch-analytisch* darstelle. Darüberhinaus korrigiert er Harms' Beobachtung eines Zusammenfallens von Selbsthilfe und ökonomischen Krisenepochen. Er weist u.a. darauf hin, daß auch das selbstgebaute Haus beträchtliche Mengen Kapital erfordert, die ein Bauherr eher in Konjunkturzeiten aufbringen kann. Diese Feststellung läßt sich am holländischen Beispiel belegen.

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but to describe *the differences between West European countries on the subject of self-help housing*. Harms didn't seem to notice this aim although he mentioned very briefly the differences between Holland and neighbouring countries such as the United Kingdom, West-Germany and Belgium as observed by me. Later on in this article I will tell more about these differences, because on that matter I did refer to Hans Harms.

First I have to react to another remark of Harms. Harms stated that I would have pointed out to be against a historical starting-point when describing self-help housing. This remark of Harms now is totally incorrect. I argued that one has to be very careful to choose a starting-point for description. First because such matters as self-help housing or a system of self-sufficiency are always relative matters. Even ages ago, when most people were productive largely for their own needs and only to a very small extent for the market, there was also mention of a division of labour, of professional crafts like carpenter and stonemason and of governmental legislation.

My second argument to be careful in choosing a historical starting-point is the fact that concepts are always related to period and culture. Concepts such as self-help cannot simply be employed in descriptions of periods and cultures in which they were or are unknown. Once known in a certain period or culture, the meaning of a concept in that period or culture must subsequently be taken into account.

Because of these two arguments I started the description of self-help housing and the comparison of West-European countries in this respect at about the middle of the nineteenth century. At that time the term self-help was first used in West Europe (Huber, 1848). So, I certainly did choose a historical starting-point!

Harms at last reproached me to give the impression that he (=Harms) did use concepts out of their historical context in which they emerged. Actually I never gave that impression. My argument about historical context was only meant and used to clarify my own starting-point for description as mentioned above. The only occasion that I referred to Harms, concerned his assumption of 1982 that a government likes to appeal to the self-help of the population in times of crisis. I showed that this assumption does not hold true in the case of Holland. In general, the Dutch government has always been highly reserved towards self-help housing. Also Harms' general proposition that the increase in the appearance of self-help housing coincides with crisis periods in capitalism can't be confirmed in the Dutch context. Certainly, nowadays there is mention of self-help housing in Holland in various forms. It is now a phenomenon of considerable proportions. However that development since the sixties didn't coincide with crisis periods. On the contrary, it coincided more or less with economic growth and welfare. For instance, during the economic recession in the years around 1980 many self-building dwellers lessened their building activities because of a lack of money. They only increased their activities again at the moment that house-repairs couldn't be postponed (Knulst, 1983: 12,18).

An important question of course is how the observed differences between Holland and other West-European countries on the subject of self-help housing can be explained. Why

has the Dutch government, as opposed to the governmental policy in other West-European countries, always been so reserved against self-help housing? Further research into this question is certainly necessary. Already a number of hypotheses can be formulated for such research, which may explain the observed divergence. The following factors could be considered.

Firstly, an important fact is that Holland, in comparison with neighbouring countries, has always felt the necessity of a relatively far-reaching and firm regulation of physical planning. From ancient times Holland has always had to deal with the threat of flooding and has sought solutions in a highly perfected water economy. In addition, Holland has always been densely populated; reasons of liveability in a small land have led to a high degree of regulation. In this context the relatively lack of official opportunities for self-help housing is understandable.

A second factor which may be considered is a possibly paternalistic attitude in Dutch culture as a result of the Calvinist tradition. Its influence on the activity of authorities and professionals is at any rate conceivable and may have had consequences for self-help housing.

A third possible element is the fact that the Industrial Revolution 'hit' Holland later than Germany, the United Kingdom and Belgium. Perhaps the Dutch learnt their lesson from the abuses that occurred elsewhere as side-effects of the Industrial Revolution, affecting the field of housing too. This could explain the preference of the Dutch government since 1901 for building rented dwellings and adopting strict regulation, rather than stimulating private ownership and the phenomenon of self-help housing. This third possible factor, the later advent of the Industrial Revolution in Holland, and what was learnt from it, can be seen as an example of the "Law of the Restraining Lead" of the famous Dutch historian Jan Romein (1948). During the Industrial Revolution Germany, the United Kingdom and Belgium were ahead of Holland, but the Dutch caught up again because they could learn from the other countries. With its strict regulation of physical planning and housing, however, the question arises whether Holland now has no "restraining lead" in respect to the other countries. That which was said about the United Kingdom in 1973 by Lord Goodman as chairman of the Housing Corporation goes, in my opinion, more strongly for present-day Holland: 'It is only in a society where we have a government working day and night on our behalf that the housing problems are insoluble' (C. Ward, 1974:7).

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# Aufruf

## Modernisierung bedroht Jakartas Altstadt

### HINTERGRÜNDE

#### Senen

Senen ist ein Stadtteil, in dem sich vorwiegend Chinesen angesiedelt haben. Viele der Familien prägten über Jahrhunderte hinweg das Gesicht des Stadtkerns von Jakarta, und auch heute noch leben vorwiegend Chinesen im verbliebenen Rest der Altstadt, dem Senen-Dreieck. Orang Betawi nennen sich die Alteingesessenen.

Ihr Mittelpunkt im Viertel ist die „Gang Kenanga“ (Kenanga-Gasse), heute Senen Raya II genannt. Rechts und links der Gasse drängt sich ein altes Haus an andere, das Zeugnis von chinesischer Architektur ablegt. Es herrscht ein geschäftiges Treiben. In zur Straße hin offenen Läden bieten Lederwaren- und Eisenhändler ihre Waren an; in kleinen Werkstätten geben seit Generationen Schreiner und Tischler ihre Fertigkeiten an ihre Kinder weiter. Dazwischen laden Restaurants zum Verweilen ein; und wer sich auskennt, findet rund um die Kenanga-Gasse auch den Weg zu legalen und illegalen Spielhöllen.

Doch Goldhändler und Goldschmiede waren es, die in Senen die größte wirtschaftliche Bedeutung errangen. Gold und Juwelen gibt es zwar heute auch in anderen Stadtteilen Jakartas zu kaufen, doch Einheimische, die Wert auf Qualität und gute Verarbeitung legen, kommen immer noch zu den Goldschmieden in die Kenanga-Gasse.

#### Die Modernisierung Jakartas

Anfang der 60er Jahre begann die Zerstörung Senens zugunsten einer Politik, die „Modernisierung“ auf ihre Fahnen geschrieben hat und dabei unterschiedliche Ziele verfolgt. Die Planung der Stadtsanierung Jakartas wird von der Weltbank unterstützt. Das Projekt nennt sich „Masterplan Jakarta 1965—1985“<sup>1</sup>. Die Stadtverwaltung und einige einflussreiche Persönlichkeiten gründeten 1961 die Gesellschaft PT. Pembangunan Jaya, unter deren Regie die „Sanierung“ der Altstadt eingeleitet wurde.

Manche der Teilhaber wie der frühere Gouverneur Soemamo und der Chef der indonesischen Zentralbank Yusuf Muda Dalam wollten sich beim damaligen Präsidenten Soekarno einschmeicheln, der solchen Bau-Gigantismus als wichtiges Mittel zur Bildung eines nationalen Bewußtseins ansah. Andere, wie der Großunternehmer Hasyim Ning und sein Bauingenieur Ciputra — der Direktor von Pembangunan Jaya — hatten vermutlich satte Gewinne durch lukrative Bodenspekulationen im Auge.

Die Tatsache, daß die Gesellschaft bei ihrer Gründung kaum Kapital hatte, hinderte nicht ihren rasanten Aufstieg zu einem riesigen Unternehmens-Konglomerat. Zwei für Indonesien wichtige Umstände lieferten dafür den Grund:

1. Das Agrargesetz von 1960, mit dem Indonesiens Gouverneure, Innenminister und Präsidenten zur Enteignung von Boden und Gebäuden ermächtigt wurden,
2. der politische Staatsapparat, der bestimmte Vorhaben als Projekte des öffentlichen Interesses deklariert und die Betroffenen zur „Beteiligung“ auffordert, was für sie bedeutet, daß sie gezwungen werden, ihre Grundstücke und Häuser gegen eine geringe Entschädigung dem Staat oder der Nation zur Verfügung zu stellen.<sup>2</sup>

Schon bei der ersten Modernisierungswelle im Jahre 1963 war die Verbitterung der Händler und Einwohner um den Senen-Markt groß. Denn die Entschädigungen waren so gering ausgefallen, daß kaum einer damit einen Laden in neuen Geschäftsräumen anmieten konnte, geschweige denn dazu in der Lage war, ein Baugrundstück in einem anderen Stadtteil zu erwerben.

Diejenigen, die damals noch nicht vertrieben wurden, setzen sich deshalb zur Wehr. Sie organisierten sich in einer Bürgerinitiative und konnten der weiteren Zerstörung eine zeitlang Einhalt gebieten. Im Jahre 1965 zerfiel jedoch diese Bürgerinitiative.

Ein Großteil der Aktiven waren Chinesen, die damals wegen ihrer Verbindungen zu

Organisationen der chinesischen Minderheit politisch verfolgt wurden. Für die Betroffenen bedeutete dies, daß nun jeder für sich allein versuchen mußte, seine Interessen mit Hilfe von Rechtsanwälten zu verteidigen. Für die mächtige Firma Pembangunan Jaya war es somit ein leichtes Spiel, sich Stück für Stück das Viertel anzueignen — bis eben auf das verbliebene 6,5 Hektar große Senen-Dreieck.

#### Korruption und Rassismus

So klein das Dreieck auch ist: Wie in anderen Metropolen auch, hat im Zentrum von Jakarta ein Quadratmeter Boden einen Wert von mehreren Tausend Mark. Die 6,5 Hektar des Senen-Dreiecks sind deshalb ein Spekulationsobjekt von Hunderten von Millionen Mark.

Die verschiedenen Gouverneure von Jakarta und die Firma Pembangunan Jaya hatten keine Hemmungen, die vertriebenen Bewohner auch noch zu hintergehen. Grundstücke, die ihnen als Ersatz versprochen worden waren, gingen gegen entsprechende Gefälligkeiten an wohlhabende Leute, die dort ihre Villen errichteten. Ladeninhaber, denen neue Geschäftsräume zugeteilt wurden, mußten feststellen, die diese Räume längst von anderen — offenbar zahlungskräftigeren — Interessenten bezogen worden waren. Oder den Vertriebenen wurden Ladenräume an Orten angeboten, die keineswegs für Geschäftsaktivitäten geeignet waren.

Die Gouverneure scheuten sich nicht, mit rassistischen Parolen Stimmung gegen die Bewohner Senens zu machen, sie als unloyale Staatsbürger zu diskreditieren. Da die Bewohner vorwiegend Chinesen sind, wurden die gängigen Klischees „vom Chinesen“ aufgegriffen, der unter der Kolonisation angeblich mit den Holländern kollaboriert und später die indonesische Armee ausgebeutet habe, aber nicht bereit sei, am „Aufbau der Nation“ mitzuarbeiten. Solche Vorurteile, die angesichts des Widerstands der Chinesen in Jakarta gegen die holländischen Besatzer absurd sind, werden immer noch als Alibi für den als Modernisierung ver-

brämten Kulturvandalismus in Senen benutzt. Selbst Ex-Gouverneur Ali Sadikin, der als demokratische Alternative für Indonesien galt, mischte damals bei dieser Hetze kräftig mit und drohte, die Chinesen ins Meer zu werfen.

### Neuer Widerstand

Doch die Bewohner des verbliebenen „Segi Tiga Senen“, des Senen-Dreiecks, trotzen den Betonklötzen, die als Planskizzen bereits auf ihren Einzugs lauern. Etwa 400 Familien, insgesamt rund 2000 Menschen, wollen sich nicht zur Manövriermasse kapitalstarker Spekulanten machen lassen. Ihr Kampf gegen die Vertreibung aus ihren Häusern ist der Kampf um ihre Existenz und auch der Kampf um die Existenz von weiteren rund 1000 Menschen — Straßenhändlern, Angestellten, Handwerkern, die dort ein Auskommen finden.

Trotz der Schwierigkeiten, die das Nebeneinander verschiedener Kulturen mit sich bringt, wächst — zwar langsam — unter der indonesischen Bevölkerung Verständnis für die Belange der Minderheiten — so auch für die Chinesen in Senen. Manche Zeitungen setzen sich schon offen dafür ein, das Senen-Dreieck in seiner kulturellen Eigenart zu erhalten. Die Einwohner werden von Teilen der Presse somit bei ihrem Engagement unterstützt, ihr Viertel gegen Spekulanten zu verteidigen.

Zugleich werden von der neuen Bürgerinitiative alternative Pläne für eine behutsame Stadtteilsanierung entwickelt, verbunden mit einem Sozialprogramm für die Obdachlosen und Straßenhändler des Viertels. Damit soll jedem Bewohner Senens eine Bleibe in der Altstadt gesichert werden — wenn es gelingt, die Zerstörung im Namen der Modernisierung Jakartas zu stoppen.

Wir appellieren deshalb an Sie, mit Protestschriften an die Verantwortlichen die Bevölkerung Senens in ihrem Einsatz gegen die Zerstörung ihres Viertels zu unterstützen.

Weiterhin fordert Sie die „INDAH — Indonesien Aufbauhilfe e.V.“ auf, mit Spenden den bedrohten Bewohnern zu helfen. Spendenkonto 520 10-600; Postgiroamt Frankfurt.

Bitte richten Sie Ihre Schreiben an:

Gouverneur Wiyogo Atmodarminto  
Merdeka Selatan 8—9, Jakarta, INDONESIA

Der Direktor von Pembangunan Jaya  
Ir. Ciputra, Jl Bukit Golf Utama Kav. III PA  
1—2, Jakarta, INDONESIA

Die Weltbank als Unterstützer des Masterplans Jakarta 1965—1985



Skizze: Ute Brehm

Barber B. Conable  
President, The World Bank  
1818 H Street, N.W.  
Washington D.C. 29433 USA

International Bank For Reconstruction  
And Development  
Jl. HR. Rasuna Said Kav. B. Lippo Bldg.,  
Jakarta, INDONESIA

#### Anmerkungen:

- 1) Für die Armenviertel gibt es das umstrittene Weltbank-Dorfentwicklungsprojekt „Kampung Improvement Programme“
- 2) Senen ist nach dem von der Weltbank erarbeiteten „Jakarta Masterplan 1965—1985“ als Hauptzentrum Jakartas vorgesehen (Bisnis Indonesia, 14.12.88).

Wir bitten Sie, eine Kopie Ihrer Schreiben an IMBAS zu schicken, damit wir diese an die Bürgerinitiative in Senen weiterleiten können. Solche Unterstützung ist für die Betroffenen eine ungeheuer wichtige moralische und psychologische Stärkung.

IMBAS — Initiative für die Menschenrechte aller Bürger der ASEAN Staaten, Postfach 600 422 / 6 Frankfurt/M.

#### Spendenkonto

INDAH — Indonesien-Aufbauhilfe  
Postgiroamt Frankfurt  
Konto 520 10-600

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The papers contained in this book include the conceptual premise and process of maldevelopment from both the Marxist and non-Marxist view points and from both the neo-liberal and neo-Marxist angles. The motivation for doing so is, rather, to open a forum for debate on overdevelopment, underdevelopment and dependent development with a view to find out the objective alternatives to overall maldevelopment.

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Bethany Books, Box 7444, 103 91 Stockholm, Sweden.

# Buchbesprechungen

## Habitat

Lawrence F. Salmen, LISTEN TO THE PEOPLE. A World Bank Publication. 149 Seiten, Oxford University Press New York, 1987.

Seit Anfang der Achtziger Jahre erprobt die Weltbank als Instrument für Projektevaluierungen auch die teilnehmende Beobachtung, welche zuvor nur für sozialwissenschaftliche und anthropologische Studien eingeführt war. Der Autor war mit der ersten Evaluierung dieser Art in Ecuador und Bolivien betraut, bevor er lokale Experten in diese Methode in anderen Ländern eingewiesen hat.

Das Buch ist in vielerlei Hinsicht spannend: in erster Linie interessiert natürlich die Methode an sich, die in anglophon-narrativer Erzählstil in Ich-Form leicht verdaubar beschrieben wird - womit sich der Band übrigens positiv von anderen Weltbank und UN-Publikationen abhebt. Ebenfalls typisch nord-amerikanisch abgefaßt sind die Empfehlungen für etwaige künftige Anwendungen dieser Methode, die in Kochbuch-Stil formuliert und nach inhaltlichen und verfahrensmäßigen Aspekten getrennt sind.

Die andere interessante Information des Buches betrifft die Projekte selbst, denn das Buch stellt gleichzeitig den Ergebnis-Report der Test-Evaluierungen mit 'Upgrading', 'sites-and-services' und 'core-housing' Elementen dar, und ist erstaunlich offen. So erfahren wir zum Beispiel (wieder einmal), daß Hausbau-Darlehen in diesen Weltbank-Projekten erstrangig von besser situierten Bewohnern der Projektgebiete in Anspruch genommen werden und die vorgesehene Zielgruppe nicht erreichen, daß dennoch die Schulner mit ihren Rückzahlungen mehrheitlich im Rückstand sind, daß die Teilnehmer des Projektes in der großen Mehrzahl nicht in Selbsthilfe baut, sondern bezahlte Arbeiter einstellt, und daß die Core-Housing Programme kein Erfolg waren, da die Besitzer dieser Häuser doch erst einzuleihen nachdem das Haus fertiggebaut wurde, sie aber andererseits die Kosten für die Fertigstellung des Hauses nicht bezahlen können solange sie woanders noch Miete bezahlen.

(Kosta Mathéy)

Ann Schlyter, WOMEN HOUSEHOLDERS AND HOUSING STRATEGIES IN THE CASE OF GEORGE, Lusaka. 156 Pages. NSIBR Gävle, Schweden, 1988. Bezug über: Almqvist & Wiksell, Box 45150, S-10430 Stockholm.

Der Forschungsbericht von Ann Schlyter entstand als Teil einer international vergleichenden Forschung über Wohnungs-Strategien von Frauen in Entwicklungsländern, an der außerdem in Botswana Anita Larsson, in Tansania Farida Sherif, und in Kenya Paula Parente-Nimpuno mitarbeiten. Die Studie basiert in der Hauptsache auf 40 qualitativen Interviews mit Frauen in Lusakas Stadtviertel George, das in der Vergangenheit als eines der ersten Upgrading-Projekte in Afrika bekannt wurde, und in dem die Autorin seit 1988 periodisch in einer Langzeit-Untersuchung arbeitet.

Mittelpunkt der Untersuchung ist die Rekonstruktion von Wohn- und Überlebenspraktiken von alleinstehenden Frauen, alleinerziehenden Müttern, und zusammenlebenden weiblichen Verwandten (Mutter und Tochter). Doch ein wichtiger Teil der Arbeit bestand auch in der Suche nach einem analytischen Rahmen für die Untersuchung, da, wie die Autorin vermerkt, ein solcher für Frauenstudien im Habitat Bereich trotz der zahlreicher werdenden Veröffentlichungen noch fehlt.

Die Ergebnisse belegen unter Anderem, daß Upgrading-Projekte für Frauen in Zambia größere Vorteile bieten als die Bereitstellung von Grundstücken für Neubauten, daß sie zwar größere Schwierigkeiten haben als Männer in der Koordinierung von Bauarbeiten, dies aber durch stärkere Anstrengungen und eine bessere Rückzahlungsmoral bei Krediten kompensieren. Der Grund dafür liegt in der Tatsache, daß das Heim für Frauen emotional und familien-geschichtlich eine wesentlich zentralere Rolle spielt als für das männliche Geschlecht. Dennoch sind die gesetzlichen und traditionellen Rechte der Frau in Bezug auf eine sichere Wohnung schlechter und bedürfen dringlichster einer Reform und spezieller Unterstützungsangebote. Die Studie

gibt einige Anregungen dazu, und nennt - was noch wichtiger ist - die Fakten und Argumentation um entsprechende Forderungen leichter durchsetzbar zu machen.

(Kosta Mathéy)

N. Jayaram, R.S. Sandhu (Eds.), HOUSING IN INDIA. 139 Seiten, Delhi 1988, Rs.95,-. Adresse des verlegers: B.F. Publishing Corporation, 28/9 Nangia Park, Shakti Nagar, Delhi 110 007.

Es handelt sich um die Veröffentlichung von neun Papers, die ursprünglich 1986 auf dem Weltkongreß der 'American Sociological Association' (Ad Hoc Committee on Housing and the Built Environment) vorgetragen wurden, und zwei zusätzliche Beiträge anderen Ursprungs. Die Mehrzahl der Aufsätze setzt sich kritisch mit den (unzureichenden) staatlichen Förderungsmaßnahmen im Wohnungsbau in Indien auseinander, wobei auch der Bezug zum ländlichen Raum mehr als gewohnt berücksichtigt wird. Zwei besonders interessante Beiträge fallen aus dem Rahmen: Kiran Wadhwa geht der Frage nach, unter welchen Bedingungen private Investoren kostengünstigen Wohnungsbau in Indien betreiben können, und S.K. Chandhoke analysiert räumlich-soziale Zusammenhänge in nordindischen Dörfern.

(Kosta Mathéy)

Don Bouzek, SHELTER AFRICA, 30 Min. Don Bouzek, HOUSING CONNECTION, 30 Min. Zwei Radioreportagen auf Tokassette. Erhältlich von Station 'J', P.O.Box 44, TORONTO, Ontario, Canada M4J 4X8.

In dem Programm 'Shelter Africa' werden die Strategien und Erfolge von Housing Co-operativen in Ostafrika vorgestellt, unter besonderer Würdigung der Undugu-Society und dem Mazingira Institut in Nairobi. Die eingestreuete Musik und die Original-Interviews machen das Zuhören zu einem plastischen und eindrucksvollen Erlebnis, obwohl der ausschließliche Bezug auf 'Success-Stories' der Glaubwürdigkeit der Sendung eher schadet als nützt.

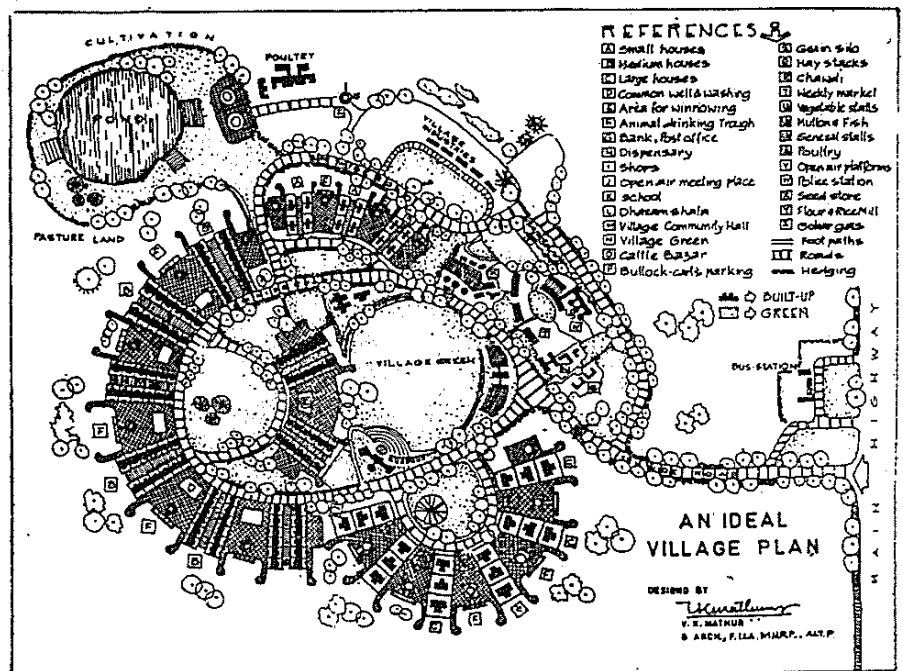
Die Sendung 'Housing Connection', die sich in der Hauptsache aus Sprechpassagen des TRIALOG-Autors Barry Plinsky (TRIALOG 4) zusammensetzt, entstand anlässlich des internationalen Jahres zur Bekämpfung der Obdachlo-

sigkeit und einer in Canada zu diesem Anlaß organisierten internationalen Konferenz. Zunächst wird das Ausmaß der Obdachlosigkeit in einem Industrieland wie Canada dargestellt, und gemeinnützige Ansätze zur Bereitstellung von Notunterkünften für diese Zielgruppe umrissen. Dann wird der Bogen geschlagen zur Situation in Entwicklungsländern, mit Berichten aus Chile und Indien. Als wichtiges Element der Konferenz wird die Begegnung und der Erfahrungsaustausch zwischen canadischen und Dritt-Welt-Initiativen zur Bekämpfung der Obdachlosigkeit angeführt.

Zielgruppe der beiden Programme ist ein Publikum, das zwar Bezug zu Fragen der Wohnungsversorgung, aber keine ausgesprochen fachlichen Vorkenntnisse hat. Verwenden lassen sich die Bänder auch als Diskussionsanstieg in von Dritte-Welt-Arbeitskreisen, oder bei Wohnungsco-operativen selbst, obwohl man/frau sich für diesen Zweck eine etwas differenziertere Darstellung der Praxis und möglicher Interessenskonflikte wünschen würde. (KM)

Noel Cannal, SOUS LES BIDONS, LA VILLE... 274 Seiten, L'Harmattan, Paris, 1988.

Eine Mischung aus Reiselagebuch und Projektbeschreibungen von NGO-Initiativen in Squattergebieten und ländlichen Kommunen in der Dritten Welt. Die beschriebenen Orte sind Manila, Hong-kong, Canton, Shanghai, Peking, Bangkok, Dacca, Howrah, Calcutta, Bombay und Mexico, und wer Projekt-Informationen zu diesen Orten sucht, kann in dem Buch fündig werden (mit Ausnahme der chinesischen Städte, wo sich der Verfasser auf eine reine Reisebeschreibung beschränkt). Die meisten Informationen beziehen sich auf das Jahr 1983, in dem der Autor offensichtlich 23 Projekte in diesen Ländern besuchte, und eine Tabelle am Schluß des Buches listet 50 Klein-Projekte der Monate Mai bis Oktober dieses Jahres in Asien und Lateinamerika auf. Unbekannt bleiben die Kriterien der Auswahl für diese Liste, was jedoch angesichts der unzähligen anderen offenen Fragen und zweifelhaften Behauptungen im Rest des Buches ein zweitrangiges Problem bleibt. (K.Mathéy)





## Stadtentwicklung

Vigier, F.: *Housing in Tunis*, Cambridge, MA. 1987. 113 S. (Bezug: Special Programs Office, Harvard University, Graduate School of Design, 48 Quincy Street, Cambridge, MA. 021380.)

Dieses knapp gehaltene, übersichtlich gestaltete Buch eröffnet die neue Teaching Monographs-Serie der Graduate School of Design, Harvard University, welche hierin vom Aga Khan Program For Islamic Architecture unterstützt wird. Ziel der Serie ist es, den dramatischen städtischen Wandel in der muslimischen Welt anhand spezifischer Städte aufzuzeigen. Speziell geht es um die morphologischen Charakteristiken der Stadtentwicklung, um die Identifizierung der wesentlichen Aspekte der Wohnungssituation und des städtischen Management. Für Unterrichtszwecke werden Karten, eine Reihe von Photographien und Beschreibungen typischer Wohngebiete und Bauten reproduziert.

Das Beispiel Tunis wird dargestellt anhand einer Einführung in den nationalen Kontext, die Entwicklung des Großraums Tunis, die Wohnsituation der Armen und die Wohnungspolitik und ihre Instrumente. Mit der Medina und einer unauthorisierten Stadttranssiedlung werden zwei beispielhafte „Low-income“ Wohngebiete erklärt. Beide Fälle repräsentieren weitreichende Fragen für die Wohnungszukunft. Sowohl die Medina wie auch die „wildern“ Stadttranssiedlungen sind für die Agence pour la Rehabilitation et la Renovation Urbain (ARRU) Experimentierfelder zukünftiger Wohnungspolitik.

In Hinsicht auf die Bedeutung dieser Projekte ist es allerdings bedauerlich, daß das Buch die jüngsten Entwicklungen in der Medina Rehabilitation (Phase II des Hafsia Projektes, seit 1986—7 im Bau) nicht mehr dokumentiert, und daß Ettadhamen als quasi einziger Typ der Stadttranssiedlungen vorgestellt wird. Florian Steinberg

IMBA (Hg.), *Indonesia: Irrweg Transmigrasi, Umsiedlung und Regionalplanung am Beispiel Ost-Kalimantan*, Frankfurt 1988, 216 S. (Albatros Verlag, Postf. 600171, 6 Fm 60; 25,— DM).

Dieses von der Initiative für die Menschenrechte aller Bürger der Asean Staaten verfaßte Buch ist eine kritische und wohlfundierte Analyse der Umsiedlungsprogramme („Transmigrasi“), welche seit der Unabhängigkeit ca. 3,2 Millionen Menschen von Java, Bali und Lombok nach Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Sumatra sowie Ost-Indonesien gebracht haben.

Der Grund für diese Umsiedlungspolitik ist in der Überbevölkerung der genannten Inseln, v.a. Javas zu sehen, und bisweilen wurde Transmigrasi selbst zu einer Frage von Leben oder Tod der Nation (Sukarno) hochstilisiert. Transmigrasi wird von vielen Kritikern zurecht als ein Transport von Armut in die unterbevölkerten Gebiete Indonesiens bezeichnet, und oft hat es den Charakter von „Verbannung“ wie im Falle der pedicab-Fahrer, Bettler und Armen, deren Transmigrasi als Alternative zu ihrer schwierigen Situation auf Java gesehen wird. Die Devise lautet denn auch: „Bettler haben nicht zu wählen.“ Die Regierung fördert die Transmigration durch begleitende Programme der Aufbauhilfe bis zur ersten Ernte der „Neu“bauern.

Neben der allgemeinen, staatlich betriebenen Transmigration gibt es auch einen kleineren Anteil von spontaner Migration; insgesamt ist in den letzten Jahren das Volumen der Transmigranten, vor Jahren noch mit 100.000 pro Jahr veranschlagt, auf 2–3000 pro Jahr zurückgegangen. Transmigrasi hat viel ausländische Hilfe erhalten, u.a. von Weltbank und GTZ. Zu den Schwierigkeiten des Programmes gehören nicht nur, daß anstelle von einer Assimilierung der Ethnien von einer Javanisierung gesprochen wird, die viele Konflikte zwischen den ethnischen Gruppen bewirkt, desweiteren gibt es zahllose Berichte von Durchführungsschwierigkeiten (und Korruption).

Die Unsicherheit der Siedler, die sich oft allein gelassen fühlen, resultiert auch in Rückwanderung oder Mißerfolg in der Landwirtschaft, zwingt sie zur Wanderarbeit in die Städte, ihre isolierte landwirtschaftliche Tätigkeit stimuliert sogar erneuten Kinderreichtum. Bedeutend sind die Umweltprobleme, die Rodung des empfindlichen Regenwaldes zur Gewinnung landwirtschaftlicher Flächen, welche zur Zerstörung der Ökosysteme (vor allem Kalimantan), zu Dürre und Waldbrandgefahr führt — im Namen der „Rettung“ Javas. Die Veränderung ethnischer Minderheiten, ihre Umsiedlung (und Modernisierung) ist weitere Folge, welche die Autoren zum Vorwurf des langsamen, geplanten Ethnozidis veranlaßt. An diesem Irrweg maßgeblich beteiligt ist die GTZ mit ihrem Transmigrasi Area Development (TAD) Projekt, das ausführlich beschrieben und kritisiert wird. (Als Beispiel positiver und kenntnisreicher „integrierter“ Entwicklung kann TAD, das schon oft in der deutschen Presse kritisiert worden ist, sicherlich nicht gelten; aber eines ist sicher: es war unbeschreiblich teuer und hat nur fragwürdige Ergebnisse gebracht).

Das Buch enthält viel unliebsame Kritik, die jedoch gut belegt ist, vor allem durch die sinkende Popularität von Transmigrasi selbst, nicht nur bei den Opfern (den „beneficiaries“), sondern auch bei vielen Geberorganisationen.

Anders ist dagegen das Buch von U. Beyer: *Ein Volk zieht um, Indonesiens staatliches Umsiedlungsprogramm und die Kirchen*, Verlag O. Lembeck, Frankfurt:

„Die hier vorgelegte Untersuchung bemüht sich, die gegenüber dem Programm geäußerte Kritik ernst zu nehmen und Gelingen und Scheitern des Projekts einer objektiven Beurteilung zu unterziehen. Sie kommt zu dem Schluß, daß Indonesien keine überzeugende Alternative zur Transmigration hat, so daß die entscheidende Frage heute lautet, wie sie möglichst wirkungsvoll und zum Besten der Menschen durchgeführt werden kann. Untersucht wird auch der Beitrag der evangelischen Kirchen Indonesiens zu einer erfolgreichen Umsiedlung. Die Kirchen bemühen sich, Umsiedler durch materielle und geistliche Hilfe sowie durch Schulungskurse die Verwurzelung zu erleichtern und Einheimische und Zugeiste im kirchlichen Leben zu verbinden.“ Zur Bewertung des Umsiedlungsprogramms bezieht sich der Autor auf Grundsätze ökumenischen Miteinander-Teilens. Er deutet die Umsiedlung als das Bemühen, wirtschaftliche Gerechtigkeit für die Armen in Indonesien zu schaffen und so wenigstens ihre Grundbedürfnisse befriedigen zu helfen.“ (F. Steinberg)

Christoph Sigrist, *Kommunal Finanzen und Politik in Santo Domingo. Eine Studie zu Möglichkeiten und Grenzen städtischer Dienstleistungsfinanzierung in der Dritten Welt*. ISBN 3 8039 0343 2, Weltforum Verlag 1987, Köln, 279 S., DM 48,—.

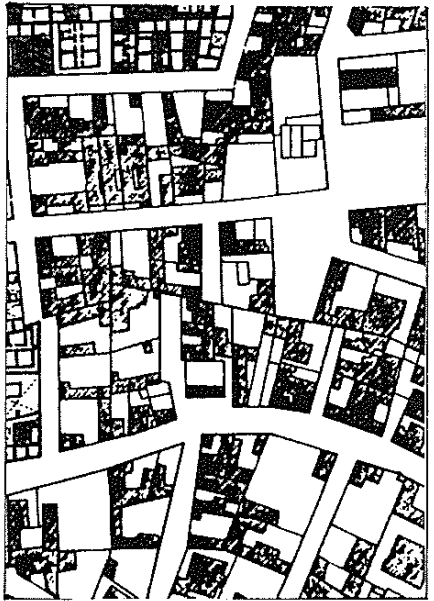
Daß zwischen öffentlichem Finanzgebaren und politischen Interessen eine Beziehung besteht, ist alltäglich und wird, wenn die Beziehung zu eng erscheint, als „korruptionsverdächtig“ in unserem Bewußtsein abgebuht. Gegen diese vor Moral oft blinde und vorschnelle pauschale Beurteilung, zu der wir im Entwicklungsländerkontext schneller neigen als im eigenen politischen Umfeld, wird in dem vorliegenden Band das Verhältnis von Kommunal Finanzen und Politik in der Dominikanischen Republik systematisiert. Durch eine detaillierte Analyse der politischen und finanziellen Beziehungen zwischen nationaler und lokaler Ebene wird ein Beitrag zur Dezentralisierungsdebatte geleistet, der es erlaubt, die inzwischen oft normativ vorgebrachte Forderung nach der Ausweitung kommunaler Kompetenzen, mit der immer auch die Forderung nach Erhöhung kommunaler Einnahmen verbunden ist, zu überdenken. In der vom Caudillismus geprägten politischen Kultur der Dominikanischen Republik bewegt sich die Kommunalverwaltung zwischen den Polen des Klientelismus und wachsender Dienstleistungsaufgaben. Ihre Dysfunktionalität im Sinne technischer Dienstleistungen entspricht einer machtpolitischen Funktionalität.

Die Untersuchung beginnt mit Hypothesen zur Erklärung wachsender Staatstätigkeit von eher allgemeinem Charakter, in denen die Herausbildung der Staatsfunktion in der Dritten Welt kaum analysiert wird. In der Darstellung der Rolle der Gemeinden mit den Varianten ihrer Aufgaben und deren Finanzierung sowie der Ausweitung des Anforderungsprofils an städtische Dienstleistungen im Zuge der rapiden Urbanisierung Lateinamerikas wird Bekanntes prägnant zusammengefaßt. Die Darstellung der jüngeren politischen Geschichte der Dominikanischen Republik, ihrer wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung und des Verstärkungsprozesses führen in die Fallstudie ein. Steigende Anforderungen an städtische Dienstleistungen bei äußerst unterschiedlichem Ausgangs- und Anspruchsniveau führen zu sehr heterogenen Anforderungen an Stadtverwaltungen. So leben in Santo Domingo 42,7 % der Bevölkerung auf 10,7 % des Stadtgebiets und fordern eine Verbesserung der Basisversorgung in den dicht besiedelten unterversorgten Stadtteilen, während die flächenmäßig übergroße Ausdehnung der Stadt durch mittlere und obere Einkommensschichten hohe Infrastrukturkosten verursacht, obwohl der Beitrag dieser Gruppe zur Finanzierung der Dienstleistungsaktivitäten aufgrund regressiver Abgabenerhebung gering ist.

Der Autor belegt die zunehmenden Versorgungskosten und zeigt die steigende Lücke zwischen Ansprüchen und Angebot anhand der sinkenden Prokopfgaben der Gemeindeverwaltungen. Dabei ist in der Dominikanischen Republik der Anteil der Gemeinden mit 4,6 % der Staatsausgaben äußerst gering, die Zentralregierung hat eine Reihe von Gemeindeaufgaben übernommen und die Gemeindeverwaltungen konzentrieren sich auf die personalintensiven Bereiche der Müllabfuhr und des Straßenbaus. 2/3 ihrer Einnahmen beziehen sie aus externen Quellen — hauptsächlich als Zuweisung von der nationalen Regierung. Ihr Eigenanteil sinkt ständig.

Die Schilderung der Erhebung der öffentlichen Einnahmen der Stadtverwaltung mit ihrer geringen Effektivität, oft am Rande der Legalität, nach willkürlichen oder ungeeigneten Bemessungsgrundlagen,

und die Darstellung der selektiven Gebühren- oder Steuereintreibung und der politisch diskretionären Entscheidungen zum Abgabenerlaß, ist eindrucksvoll. Bei steigenden Zuweisungen vernachlässigen die Gemeinden ihre eigenen Einnahmen. Eine bessere Finanzausstattung wirkt sich nicht kausal auf die Verbesserung der Dienstleistungen aus, sondern führt primär zu Beschäftigungseffekten. Die meisten Neueinstellungen (nach Regierungswechseln) rekrutieren sich aus wenig qualifizierten Minimallohnbeziehern, die mehr als 2/3 der Gehaltsempfänger ausmachen. Trotz Institutionalisierungsversuchen zur Festlegung der Gemeindezuweisungen haben diese den Charakter eines politischen Verhandlungsgegenstandes zwischen lokalen und nationalen Entscheidungsträgern behalten. Während die direkten Parteilieferanten der Unter- und Mittelschicht über Ämterpatronage versorgt werden und die Demokratie damit auch politisch stabilisiert wird, wächst die Unzufriedenheit mit der Steuerlast, und das geringe Dienstleistungsniveau der klientelistischen Verwaltung gefährdet politische Erfolge. Ankündigungen von Reformen zu einer gerechteren Verteilung der Abgabenlast sind Verhandlungsangebote an die herrschende Klasse, aber ihre Institutionalisierung ist politisch nicht durchzusetzen, ohne diese ist aber eine Verstärkung der Einnahmen der Gemeinden und größere Abgabengerechtigkeit nicht zu erwarten. Politische Entscheidungsträger stehen im Zielkonflikt zwischen Demokratisierung und Arrangements mit den ökonomisch mächtigen Minderheiten. Die Untersuchung ist eine Warnung gegen blauäugige Dezentralisierungsforderungen und gegen politisch nicht abgesicherte Versuche der technischen Effizienzsteigerung kommunaler Verwaltungen, aber auch als Fallstudie sehr informativ.



Jamel Akbar, *CRISIS IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT. The Case of the Muslim City*, 258 Seiten, Minnar Books Singapore 1988, Pb. US \$ 24,—, geb. US \$ 45,—, Vertrieb: Brill Publishing, P.O.Box 9000, NL-2300 PA Leiden.

Der Verfasser stellt sich die Frage, warum traditionelle islamische Städte früher weniger verwahrloset und darüber hinaus räumlich besser gestaltet waren als dies heute der Fall ist. Dazu entwickelt und verwendet er das analytische Konzept der „Submission“, d.h. der relativen Dominanz von Eigentümern, Nutzern und Verwaltern von Häusern, aber auch des öffentlichen Raums. Dabei stellt er die gegenwärtige Situation alten Fotos und Postkarten gegenüber. Seine Erklärung der sich verschlechternden Situation weist auf die zunehmende Trennung der drei genannten Funktionen auf unterschiedliche Personen hin, womit er gleichzeitig einen Denkanstoß — aber explizit kein Rezept — für eine Korrektur künftiger Stadtplanung und Stadtentwicklung gibt: empfohlen wird implizit eine Übertragung von Eigentum und Kontrolle auf den Nutzer (denn nur der Nutzer ist naturbedingt die einzige Konstante in diesem Denkmodell) — und ungewollt bewegt er sich damit ganz im Sinne der klassischen Turner Philosophie und der aktuell grassierenden Privatisierungseuphorie. Als weiteres Buch über „die islamische Stadt“ propagiert diese Publikation eine konzeptuelle Herangehensweise, die sich von den bisherigen Standardwerken zu dem Thema unterscheidet, und somit eine anregende Lektüre abgibt. Die hervorragenden Reproduktionen aller Silche und Postkarten von islamischen Städten sind ein zusätzlicher Bonus. (Kosta Mathéy)

Gustavo Massiah, Jean-Francois Tribillon: VILLES EN DEVELOPPEMENT. 320 Seiten, Paris 1988, 150 FF. Erhältlich vom Verleger: Editions la Découverte, 1, Place Paul-Painlevé, F-75005 Paris.

Die beiden Autoren, Dozenten an der Architekturakademie von la Villette, beschäftigen sich bereits seit vielen Jahren mit Urbanisierungsproblemen in der Dritten Welt, hauptsächlich im frankophonen Afrika. In ihrem hier vorliegenden Buch, das sich in zwei Teile gliedert, diskutieren sie zunächst verschiedene Stadtbildungsmodelle, bevor sie dann auf einzelne politische Instrumente zur Beeinflussung der Stadtentwicklung eingehen. Angenehm und ehrlich ist, daß sie dabei nicht den Versuch unternehmen, bestimmte Lösungen zu propagieren oder Instrumente anzupreisen, sondern sich bemühen, möglichst überzeugend das Pro und Contra konkurrierender Alternativen aufzuzeigen. Das Werk enthält weder Illustrationen noch Ortsbeschreibungen, aber die umfangreiche Bibliographie ist nützlich. (KM)

Gabriele Geiger, FRAUEN - KÖRPER - BAUTEN. 520 Seiten. München 1986. Erhältlich für DM 48,- vom Profil Verlag, Postfach 220380, 8 München 22.

Obwohl die Verfasserin Psychologin ist, stellt diese Doktorinnen-Arbeit über weibliche Raumwahrnehmung am Beispiel 'Stadt' sozusagen eine frauenspezifische Synthese von Erkenntnissen und Reflexionen auch vieler anderer Disziplinen dar, wobei insbesondere die Anthropologie, Soziologie, Kunst, Philosophie und - last but not least - Architektur und Städtebau mit eingebaut werden. Formal gliedert sich das vorliegende Werk in zwei Bände, die inhaltlich wie auch als Doppelband eine Einheit darstellen.

In ersten Band mit dem Titel 'Tour d'Horizon' finden wir eine historische Aufarbeitung des Verhältnisses von Frauen zur gebauten Umwelt, in der fünf wesentliche Epochen identifiziert werden: die ersten beiden Kapitel widmen sich dem Altertum unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der pompejanischen und der kreischen Kultur. Die 20000 Jahre alte Menschheitsgeschichte, die bis dahin durch das Patriarchat bestimmt war, entwickelt jetzt zunehmend patriarchale Kulturen, was sich nicht zuletzt in der gebauten Umwelt ausdrückt. In der griechischen Antike zum Beispiel erfolgt bereits die Trennung zwischen Natur und Kultur, wobei der männlich besetzte Raum der Polis der Kultur zugeordnet wird, während das Naturhafte mit dem Weiblichen assoziiert wird. Kultur wird Verstanden als Beherrschung der Natur - wodurch implizit auch das Machtverhältnis der Geschlechter neu definiert wird. Das Mittelalter, als nächste analysierte Epoche, engt den bereits abgetrennten weiblichen Raum durch Behinderungen der Frau in der Öffentlichkeit ein, während die Renaissance mit dem Einsetzen des Kapitalismus den Frauenraum mit patriarchalen Produktionsformen überfrachtet bzw. annektiert, und damit einen echten Wendepunkt in der Geschichte markiert. In der Folge leben Frauen - wie am Beispiel des 19. Jahrhunderts exemplarisch illustriert, im 'enteigneten' Raum - dessen Wiedergewinnung sich somit als feministische Strategie erklärt.

Der 2. Band ist überschrieben mit 'Plädoyer für eine feministische Gesellschaft' und widmet sich der Suche nach einer feministischen Sozialtheorie und einer den Frauen adäquaten Architektur. In Abgrenzung von rigiden, eher männlichen geprägten Wissenschaftsvorstellungen und -Praktiken wird eine 'weiche Wissenschaft' propagiert und erprobt, die über viele Wege schließlich zu einer Utopie findet, 'wie Frauen unter veränderten Bewußtseins-Bedingungen Raum wahrnehmen, erschaffen und nutzen können'.

Die Vielfalt an interessanten Gedanken, die in dieser umfangreichen Doktorinnenarbeit in dazu sprachlich sehr schön gefaßter Form festgehalten wurden, sprengt den Rahmen einer üblichen Dissertation und läßt sich auch in einer kurzen Rezension nur unvollkommen umreißen. Fest steht, daß die Arbeit als Referenz und Anregung für eine weiterführende frauenorientierte Forschung mit räumlichen Zusammenhängen gleichzeitig Fundgrube und Pflichtlektüre darstellt. (Dorothy M. Ferlich)

## Gesellschaft und Politik

David Slater (Ed.), NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THE STATE IN LATIN AMERICA. 295 Pages, CEDLA, Amsterdam 1985. Vertrieb durch: FORIS, P.O.Box 509, NL-3300 AM DORDRECHT.

Das Konzept der 'Urban Social Movements' wurde von den progressiven Stadtsoziologen in den siebziger Jahren entwickelt und bezog sich in erster Linie auf Stadtkämpfe in den Barrios Südamerikas, gelegentlich auch auf Guerillabewegungen. Eine zentrale Idee lautete unter anderem, daß in den Periferiegebieten der formale Produktionssektor zu schwach ausgebildet sei, um soziale Veränderungen durch die organisierte Arbeiterschaft durchsetzen zu können, und war für viele Kollegen als Konzept überzeugend genug, um bis heute Kämpfe im Reproduktionsbereich als wichtige Strategie des Klassenkampfes interpretieren zu können (verg. Fadda in TRIALOG 13/14). Die praktische Realität allerdings ist nicht mehr wie früher: vielerorts verlagerte sich der Schwerpunkt der Kämpfe aus den Städten heraus wie in Peru oder El Salvador, und in den Städten besteht ein - wenn auch beschränkter - Spielraum für Partizipation und Verhandlungen. Mit dem Ziel einer Bestandaufnahme und möglichen Neudefinition der Sozialen Auseinandersetzungen in Lateinamerika hat das Forschungsinstitut CEDLA

1983 zu einer Konferenz eingeladen, deren Papers in dem vorliegenden Band veröffentlicht sind. Die Beiträge subsumieren sich unter die Aspekte 'Theoretische Ansätze' (E.Lacau und T.Evers), 'Städtische Bewegungen' (Kowarick, Vink, Henry), 'Regionale Auseinandersetzungen' (Slater, Glanott) und 'Soziale (Möbent)widersprüche' Inclusive der Frauenthemen (Coraggio, Molnyaux, Reddock). Der Band zeichnet sich durch eine Fülle an stimulierenden Denkmotiven aus, dem bedauerlicherweise eine wenig ansprechende und ermüdende Druckform entgegensteht: monoton heruntergeplappert Schreibmaschinensatz ohne optische Gliederung oder eine einzige Illustration. (KM)

D. Dimoser et al. KINDER OHNE KINDHEIT. Lateinamerika Analysen und Berichte Band 12. 227 Seiten, Junfermann Verlag Hamburg, 1988. DM 24,80.

Wie jedes Jahr vereint das Jahrbuch eine Aufsatzsammlung um ein zentrales Thema herum mit aktuellen Länderberichten aus Lateinamerika. Das Jahresthema sind diesmal die Kinder, die, wie mit den Texten erschreckend deutlich wird, in Südamerika heute wesentlich brutaleren Einflüssen ausgesetzt sind als noch vor zehn Jahren. Minderjährige und Kinderbanden ernähren sich nicht mehr nur vom Gelegenheitsklauf, sondern werden in Abhängigkeit vom organisierten Verbrechen immer häufiger für den Drogenhandel, Mordaufträge, Prostitution und unfreiwillige Organspenden mißbraucht. Durch das Thema bestimmt ist die Lektüre des Bandes sicher keine 'Entspannung' für den Leser, - dem spätestens zu diesem Zeitpunkt bewußt werden muß, daß die Uhren auf fünf vor zwölf stehen. Denn die Situation der Kinder ist ja nur ein mittelbares Symptom für die Not eines ganzen Kontinents, wenn nicht der Hälfte der Erde.

Die Länderberichte dieses Bandes beschäftigen sich mit Argentinien, Bolivien, Brasilien, Haiti, Kolumbien, Kuba, Panama, Uruguay und mit dem Mittelamerikablock. (KM)

Jean Stubbs, CUBA: THE TEST OF TIME. 142 Seiten, London 1989. Erhältlich vom Verleger: Latin American Bureau, 1 Amwell St., LONDON EC1R 1UL oder in Deutschland von LN Vertrieb, Gneissaustr. 2, 1 Berlin 61. Preis: P. £ 3,95 oder ca. DM 15,-, Geb. £ 12,95.

Anläßlich des 30-jährigen Bestehens der cubanischen Revolution gibt der Autor einen Überblick über die wichtigsten sozialen, politischen und wirtschaftlichen Erfahrungen dieses Landes, und informiert über aktuelle Probleme und Tendenzen. Die einzelnen Kapitel setzen Schwerpunkte in den 'Rectifications'-Prozess der vergangenen vier Jahre, die unterschiedlichen Organisationsformen landwirtschaftlicher Produktion (Staatsgüter, Genossenschaften, Kleinbauern), die Widersprüche zwischen materiellen und ideellen Leistungsanreizen, Ideologie und Religion, Cubas Beitrag zur Süd-Süd-Co-operation, und Außenbeziehungen mit östlichen wie westlichen Industrienationen.

Der handliche Band ist nicht nur angenehm flüssig geschrieben, sondern enthält eine erstaunliche Menge an Insiderinformationen, die auch bei langjährigen Cuba-Spezialisten so manches Licht aufgehen lassen. Ebenso bemerkenswert ist die Aktualität der Daten und erwähnten Ereignisse, die den Zeitraum bis Ende Dezember 1988 einschließen - nur zwei Monate vor dem Erscheinen des Buches! Kurz, ich habe noch kein Buch über dieses Land in den Händen gehabt, das ich mit größerer Überzeugung empfehlen könnte als dieses. (Kosta Mathéy)

Karin Stahl, KUBA - EINE NEUE KLASSENGESELLSCHAFT?, 431 Seiten, Heidelberger Dritte Welt Studien Band 23, Heidelberger Verlagsanstalt Heidelberg, 1987, DM 36,-.

Diese Dissertation wurde am Institut für Politische Wissenschaft der Uni Heidelberg vorgelegt. Die zentrale Fragestellung lautete, inwieweit die cubanische Gesellschaftsformation seit der Revolution als sozialistisch angesehen werden kann. Dabei erfolgt die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Thema hauptsächlich anhand einer Analyse des gesellschaftlichen Wandels in den sechziger und siebziger Jahren aufgrund von offiziellen Dokumenten des cubanischen Staates und der im Westen erschienenen Sekundärliteratur, da in dieser Epoche empirische Untersuchungen im Lande durch ausländische Forscher noch nahezu unmöglich waren (konkret beschränkt sich die unmittelbare Landeskenntnis der Autorin auf eine kurze Touristenreise im Jahre 1980). Diese, bewundernswert detailliert vorgenommene, aber naturgemäß dennoch eingeschränkte Informationsgrundlage führte dann zu der meiner Ansicht nach zu pauschalen Schlussfolgerung, daß die cubanische Gesellschaft keinesfalls sozialistische Züge hätte, sondern eher als Staatskapitalistisch zu interpretieren sei: Im Verlauf der ersten 20 Jahre der Revolution hat der Staat seine Kontrolle über den Produktionsprozess immer weiter ausgebaut und gefestigt. Die Arbeiter hätten nach wie vor keine direkte Verfügungsgewalt über die Produktionsmittel, die sich der revolutionäre Mittelstand als neue privilegierte Klasse angeeignet habe, welche in dieser Funktion auch einen Teil des national erwirtschafteten Mehrproduktes abschöpfe.

Innerhalb der selbst gesetzten Parameter ist an der Arbeit zu kritisieren, daß einem Urteil über das Vorhandensein einer sozialistischen Entwicklung in Cuba die Definition von Sozialismus (in Peripheriegebieten?) vorangehen müßte, was aber versäumt wird. Die Autorin setzt sich zwar kritisch mit verschiedenen Entwicklungstheorien, insbesondere mit den Varianten der Dependenztheorie, auseinander, aber diese Grundlage ließ bestenfalls die Probe zu, ob es sich statt Sozialismus in Cuba um peripheren Kapitalismus handelte oder nicht. Obwohl die Autorin eine 'neue Klassen-

gesellschaft' diagnostiziert, scheint sie damit nicht den peripheren Kapitalismus zu meinen, denn sie unternimmt auch nicht den Versuch, die Merkmale der zitierten Kapitalismustheorien in der cubanischen Realität nachzuweisen. Mangels anderer Alternativen fällt dann das Urteil schließlich auf 'Staatskapitalismus', zu dem freilich noch viel weniger ein verifizierbares theoretisches Denkmodell angeboten wird (bzw. verfügbar ist). Weiterhin wäre anzumerken, daß die Fixierung der Autorin auf die wachsende Macht des Staates dazu führt, der Situation der arbeitenden Bevölkerung selbst unzureichend Aufmerksamkeit zu schenken: Ist es nicht so, daß in Cuba auch die Kontrolle der Arbeiter über den Produktionsprozess im Vergleich zu Ballsta's Zeilen extrem zugenommen hat, und weiterhin stufenweise wächst? Und angenommen, es gibt die neue Herrschaftsklasse, worin liegen Ihre Privilegien, was verändert sich im Reproduktions- und Konsumbereich? Wenn die politischen Führungskader mit dieser Klasse gemeint sind, so liegen deren Einkommen und Konsumverhalten nicht auffällig über dem der Arbeiter (die Sache wird weiter dadurch kompliziert, daß viele Arbeiter gleichzeitig Volksvertreter sind). Wenn aber die Nutznießer der halb- und illegalen Schattenwirtschaft gemeint sind, fehlt denen zumindest die Kontrolle über die Produktionsmittel.

Über den von der Autorin selbstgesteckten Analyse Rahmen hinaus ist bedauerlich, daß der Mitte der Achtziger Jahre einsetzende Korrekturprozess der 'Rectificación de los Errores' zwar am Ende des Buches erwähnt, aber nur oberflächlich interpretiert wird. Gerade er kennzeichnet ja die Fähigkeit zu politischer Flexibilität und ein überraschendes Erneuerungspotential der Revolution. Schließlich wäre bei der Frage nach einer sozialistischen Entwicklung (gerade im Vergleich zu den 'kapitalistischen' Nachbarstaaten) die Einbeziehung der Verteilungssektors insbesondere auf die immateriellen Sozialleistungen wie Bildungschancen, Gesundheitsversorgung, oder Lebensqualität und Angestreben im Allgemeinen (Kündigungsschutz, Sicherheit des Arbeitsplatzes, quasi-Grundrente durch hochsubventionierte Grundnahrungsmittel, freie Arztleistungen etc) als Kriterium in Erwägung zu ziehen.

Trotz der angeführten Kritikpunkte handelt es sich um ein höchst aufschlußreiches, gewissenhaft dokumentiertes, flüssig geschriebenes, und gut lesbares Werk, dessen Lektüre allen Kuba-Forschern and Herz gelegt wird. (Kosta Mathéy)

Rolf Hanisch, PHILIPPINEN. 148 Seiten, Beck Verlag München, 1989, DM 17,80.

Im Rahmen der Serie 'Aktuelle Länderkunden' erscheint dieser Band, der in kritischer Weise Hintergrundmaterial zu den Philippinen zusammengetragen hat. Eine Charakterisierung der verschiedenen im Land operierenden Guerillagruppen finden sich in dem Buch ebenso wie eine Auseinandersetzung mit den internationalen wirtschaftspolitischen Zwängen, die konkret auf die nationale Produktion und Situation der Philippinen bezogen wird. Damit eignet sich die Publikation nicht nur als 'handliche' Reisevorbereitung, sondern auch als aktueller Ergänzungslektüre zu umfangreicheren, aber veralteten, Standardwerken.

Rolf Schwendter (Hrsg.) GRUNDLAGEN ZUR ALTERNATIVEN ÖKONOMIE.

Band 1: DIE MÜHEN DER BERGE, 292 Seiten, Band 2: DIE MÜHEN DER EBENEN, 300 Seiten, Beide Bände 1986, in der Reihe 'Selbstverwaltung'; erhältlich vom Verleger: AG SPAK, Adlzreiterstr.23, 8 München 2, für je DM 24,-.

Jeder der beiden Bände gliedert sich in die Abschnitte 'Zur Geschichte der Alternativen Ökonomie', 'Zur Zeitgeschichte der alternativen Ökonomie', 'Zur alternativen Diskussion', und 'Zur nächsten Zukunft der alternativen Ökonomie'. Teil Eins enthält noch ein weiteres Kapitel 'Die grundsätzliche Kritik an der alternativen Ökonomie' und legt ein etwas größeres Gewicht auf die politisch-analytischen Aspekte des Themas. Im Übrigen sind zwischen den beiden Bänden keine großen Unterschiede festzustellen: beide bestehen aus einer reichhaltigen Sammlung themenrelevanter Aufsätze von zusammen über 60 Autoren, unter ihnen Rudolf Bahro, Joseph Huber, Robert Jungk, Karl Marx, Klaus Novy, Rolf Schwendter, Michael Vester, Ernst von Weizsäcker, Claudia von Werlhof, der Wohnbund. Es ist unmöglich hier detailliert auf die einzelnen Beiträge einzugehen, doch für TRIALOG Leser besonders relevant dürften die Aufsätze sein zum Genossenschaftswesen in Deutschland und Spanien, neue Kommunen, Selbsthilfe, die Stellung der Frau in und außerhalb der Bewegung, ökologisches Siedeln, Vertrieb von Nicaragua Kaffee, den Kibbuz als 'Dritter Weg', und ähnliches. In jedem Fall handelt es sich um Bücher, auf die der/die Käufer/in immer wieder zurückgreifen wird. (Kosta Mathéy)

Martina Fackl (Hrsg.), FRAUEN(T)RAUM IM MÄNNERRAUM 342 Seiten, München 1988, DM 28,-. Verlag: AG Spak, Adlzreiterstr. 23, 8 München 2.

Die Kernfrage dieses Sammelbandes mit dem intelligenten Wortspiel im Titel lautet, ob selbstverwaltete Betriebe für Frauen ein Stück konkrete Utopie darstellen können, oder - als Minimalforderung - nur Arbeitsplätze für diese in der Berufswelt fast immer benachteiligte Gruppe beschaffen. Vom Globalen zum Persönlichen, vom Pragmatischen zum Utopischen reichend werden in 32 Einzelbeiträgen Erfahrungsberichte aneinandergereiht, in denen sich LeserIn wie Leser ohne die zusammenfassende Einleitung unweigerlich verlieren würde.

Die Idee zu diesem Buch wurde im dem "Überregionalen Theoriearbeitskreis Alternative Ökonomie" (TAK AO) der Ag. Spak, der sich seit 1978 regelmäßig drei bis vier Mal pro Jahr zusammenfindet, geboren, doch die (bis auf zwei Ausnahmen ausschließlich weiblichen) Autor/Innen sind in ganz verschiedenen Arbeits- und Diskussions-Zusammenhängen behelmatet. Nicht zuletzt diese gut sortierte Mischung ermöglichte die Produktion dieses in der Bundesrepublik wahrscheinlich einzigen Buchs, in dem in so reicher Vielfalt Frauenprojekte nicht nur dargestellt werden, sondern die spezifischen Vor- und Nachteile femliner Arbeitszusammenhänge auch im Detail analysiert werden. Nicht vergessen werden darf die Relevanz dieser Erkenntnisse hinsichtlich einer Übertragbarkeit auf Frauenprojekte in Entwicklungsländern, für die nur die Selbstorganisation eine Unabhängigkeit von festgefahrenen, und im Allgemeinen auch patriarchalisch dominierten Ausbeutungsverhältnissen auf lokaler Ebene garantieren kann.

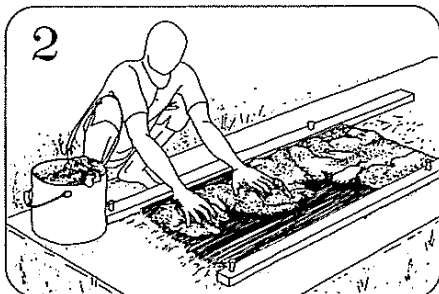
C.N. Parkinson, M.K. Rustomji: **MANAGEMENT FÜR AUFSTIEGER**. 222 Seiten, Norman Rentrop Verlag Bonn, 1988.

Der Autor Parkinson macht neugierig: schließlic ist er der Verfasser des ersten nach ihm benannten Gesetz, nach dem jede Arbeit soviel Zeit in Anspruch nimmt, wie für sie zu Verfügung gestellt wird. Auch ein zweites Gesetz wird ihm zugeschrieben, das begründet, warum so viele Nieten in Führungspositionen sitzen: sie werden aus relativ einfachen Aufgabenbereichen, in denen sie sich bewährt haben, solange auf höhere Positionen befördert, bis ihnen die Aufgabe über den Kopf wächst und sie nicht weiter befördert werden. Von dem berühmten Bürokratieforscher (welches Entwicklungsland hätte nicht mit Bürokratie zu kämpfen?) erwartet sich der/die Leser/In in seinem neuen Buch weitere verblüffende Entdeckungen, wird aber enttäuscht. Stattdessen finden wir 198 meist sehr banale Empfehlungen für Inhaber von Führungspositionen. Möglich ist allerdings, daß der inzwischen achtzigjährige Parkinson gar nicht verantwortlich ist für den Inhalt des Buches, denn die/der Leser/In wird darüber im Unklaren gelassen, ob der Text nicht größtenteils, oder vielleicht ganz, von dem kleingedruckten Mitautor Rustomji, einem indischen Journalisten, stammt. Jedenfalls das neuseitige Interview mit Parkinson am Ende des Buches ist ohne Zweifel authentisch, lohnt aber für sich die Anschaffung des Buches nicht. (KM)

## Umwelt und Technologie

Roland Stutz, Kiran Mukerji, **APPROPRIATE BUILDING MATERIALS. A Catalogue of Potential Solutions**, St. Gallen Neufassung 1988, erhältlich von SKAT Publications, Varnbühlstraße 14, CH-9000 St. Gallen.

1981 erschien die erste Fassung dieses Standardwerkes zum Bauen mit Angepaßten Technologien und wurde mehrfach nachgedruckt. Doch gerade in diesem Wissensgebiet wurden inzwischen wichtige neue Forschungen abgeschlossen und Erfahrungen in konkreten Projekten gesammelt, zudem haben Leser und Nutzer des Buches Anregungen und Zusatzinformationen beigetragen, was eine Überarbeitung des Buches anraten lies. Diese Überarbeitung wurde jetzt von Kiran Mukerji vorgenommen, wobei nicht nur der Umfang der Publikation gewachsen ist, auch die oftmals eher stichwortartigen Ausführungen wurden durch relativ ausführliche Beschreibungen und Anwendungshinweise ersetzt. Beibehalten wurde die Gliederung in einen Katalog der Materialien, Beispiele der Anwendung nach Baulelementen und Funktionen, und diverse Anhänge. Erkennungsmerkmale an den Schnittkanten erleichtern die Orientierung und ersetzen auch zum Teil die fehlenden Querverweise. Kurz gesagt, es handelt sich um ein unersetzliches Nachschlagewerk für alle, die bei Bauvorhaben in Entwicklungsländern (aber auch woanders) nicht auf - per Definition unangepaßte - Standardlösungen angewiesen sein wollen. (KM)



**GLOSSARY OF URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE MAINTENANCE**, 48 Seiten, ISBN 0-8213-0871-4, The World Bank, Washington D.C., 1988, US \$ 7.50.

Rund vierhundert Fachausdrücke, die bei Infrastruktur- und Siedlungsplanungen in der Entwicklungsländer regelmäßig Verwendung finden, sind in diesem zwar nicht voluminösen, aber dennoch praktischen Wörterbuch aus dem Englischen ins Spanische und Französische, und vice-versa übersetzt. Worte, die nur Spezialisten bekannt sind, werden zusätzlich kurz (auf Englisch) erklärt. Ein nützliches Instrument beim Verfassen und Lesen von Reports! (KM)

World Meteorological Organization, **Special Environmental Report No 7: WEATHER, CLIMATE AND HUMAN SETTLEMENTS**. 45 Seiten, Genf 1978. Erhältlich von: WMO, 41 Giuseppe-Motta, Case Postale 5, CH-1211 GENEVE 20.

Auf relativ knappen Raum werden diejenigen klimatologischen Phänomene kompetent beschrieben, die Auswirkungen haben auf menschliche Siedlungen (Wirbelstürme, Blitze etc.). Auch die Wechselwirkung zwischen Urbanisierung und Verunreinigung von Luft und Wasser wird gut dargestellt. Doch die Broschüre beschränkt sich nicht auf eine fatalistische Aufzählung dieser Zusammenhänge, sondern nennt auch Schutz- und Vermeidungsstrategien, die Planer berücksichtigen können und sollten. (KM)

Eduard Neuwenschwander, **NIEMANDSLAND - UMWELT ZWISCHEN ZERSTÖRUNG UND GESTALT**. 200 Seiten, Birkhäuser Verlag Basel, 1988, SFR. 58,-

Kein leichtes Buch zu besprechen! Alles ist anders bei normalen Büchern: ein "edler" Einband aus Packpapier, die Seiten sehen mit ausschließlic Großbuchstaben und übergroß gesetzten "Reizworten" eher wie Poster aus; die vielen farbigen Fotos zeigen teils Natur, teils zerstörte Natur, gute wie schlechte bauliche Eingriffe, manchmal ist die Zuordnung auch nicht sofort ersichtlich. Es ist ein bisschen wie im Leben, das dem Betrachter auch unterschiedliche Interpretationsmöglichkeiten einräumt. Auf jeden Fall regt das Werk zum Blättern und Nachdenken an, doch auch praktische Hinweise zum Erhalten bzw. Einrichten von Biotopen finden sich eingestreut zwischen all den anderen Eindrücken. (KM)

Philippe Boudon & Frédéric Pousin: **FIGURES DE LA CONCEPTION ARCHITECTURALE**. 11 Seiten, Dunod Paris, 1989, FF 120,-

Beabsichtigt ist mit dem Buch eine Zeichenlehre für Architekturstudenten, und zwar nicht mit dem Ziel einer Abbildung von bestehenden Objekten oder dem des künstlerischen Selbstausdrucks, sondern als Hilfsmittel der entwerferischen Konzeptfindung und deren anschließender Konkretisierung. Somit haben nicht eine Sammlung ansprechender Architekturzeichnungen vor uns, noch sonst ein in anderer Hinsicht leicht verdauliches Durchblätter-Buch, doch als didaktisches Hilfsmittel im Unterricht erscheint das Werk durchaus brauchbar. (KM)

## Architektur

The Aga Khan Award for Architecture (ed.), **Architecture Education in the Islamic World**, Singapore (Concept Media) 1986, 211 S., US \$ 10.

Wieder ein Seminarbericht des rührigen AKA, der sich seit längerem die Aufgabe gestellt hat die architektonischen Transformationen in der islamischen Welt zu analysieren und ein Revival der „Islamischen“ Baukultur zu initiieren. So beschäftigen sich auch mehrere Beiträge nicht nur mit einer Übersicht der jüngsten Entwicklungstrends des Baugeschehens in der Islamischen Welt, sondern auch mit der Frage, ob es eine „Islamische“ Architektur überhaupt gibt. Die meisten Länder des Islam befinden sich in einem sicherlich fort dauernden Modernisierungs- und Säkularisierungsprozess, in dessen Zuge die Baukultur unweigerlich mehr den Zwängen des Marktes als den Anregungen und Bedürfnissen „Islamischer“ Lebensphilosophie folgt. Zwar drücken einige Beiträge des Buches sowie Stellungnahmen der dokumentierten Diskussion den Wunsch aus, daß allein die kulturellen Wurzeln des Islam und die Schriften seiner Lehrer den Weg in die Zukunft zeigen können, doch die Mehrheit der AKA Redner steht doch auf realistischerem, „säkularisiertem“ Boden: einerseits kann bei der kulturellen Vielfalt der islamischen Länder keineswegs von „der“ Islamischen Architektur gesprochen werden, selbst die Klischees einer introvertierten Architektur der ariden Länder des Mittleren Ostens lassen sich nicht mehr endlos wiederholen, und die islamisierenden Bögen und Schmuckelemente einer ansonsten modern-westlichen Alltagsarchitektur wurden heftig attackiert. Speziell I. Serageldin hebt hervor, daß in den kommenden Jahrzehnten ein Großteil der Bevölkerung islamischer Länder arm sein wird und sich von daher für die Architekten eine spezielle Verantwortung ableiten wird. Das Bauen soll nicht nur die Lehren der kulturellen Vergangenheit einbeziehen, sondern auch seine soziale Verantwortung in grundbedürfnis-orientierten Projekten umsetzen. Zu lange sind die Architekten der Islamischen Welt schon baudeologisch auf die Vision von New York fixiert. In dem Sinne sind mehr „architekten für kulturbezogene, lokale „Alltagsarchitektur“ nötig statt Vertreter der hehren „Architektur, die nur elitär ist.

In Bezug auf die Problemanalysen ist das Buch eine Fundgrube interessanter Konzepte und scharfsinniger Betrachtungen, doch zum Thema „architekturenausbildung trägt es relativ wenig bei. Wenige konkrete Perspektiven für Zielsetzungen, Anforderungsprofile und Aufgaben der zukünftigen „architekten werden formuliert, es bleibt mehr bei Allgemeinplätzen. Die Darstellung der Architekturausbildung in einer Reihe von Ländern ist deskriptiv und ohne Orientierung auf die Frage, wie der kulturell und sozial bewußte „architekt ausgebildet werden kann, wie denn das Revival einer Architektur des „genus loci“ durch eine veränderte Ausbildung erreicht werden kann.

Allen Anzeichen nach stehen die Vertreter und Freunde vernakulären und kulturspezifischen Bauens immer noch recht hilflos vor dem Phänomen der internationalen Verwestlichung der Architektur... (F. Steinberg)

## Neuerscheinungen

Ronald Daus „Manila — Essay über die Karriere einer Weltstadt“. Babylon Metropolis Studies, Ursula Opitz Verlag, Berlin, 1987.

Anne Piepenstock: „Mensch-Natur-Verhältnis in einem Hochgebirgsökosystem — Gesellschaft und Landwirtschaft in präspanischer Zeit“ Entwicklungsperspektiven Nr. 31. Lateinamerika-Dokumentationsstelle FB 6, Gesamthochschule Kassel, Nora-Pleitel Str. 5, 3500 Kassel.

Stefano Varese: „Die amazonischen Ethnien und die Zukunft der Region“. Entwicklungsperspektiven Nr. 30 über Lateinamerika-Dokumentationsstelle, Kassel.

Nicolas Hall: „Thatching — A Handbook“ Intermediale Technology Publications, 1988, Russel Press Ltd., Nottingham, U.K.

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26.3.—1.4.1989, Honolulu, USA. International Workshop „Urbanization and Population Distribution Policies in Asia“. Infos: East-West Centre or United Nations Centre for Regional Development, Nagono 1-47-1, Nakamura-ku, Nagoya 450, Japan.

7.4.—9.4.1989, Ammersbek. Seminar „Frauen und Technik: Regenerative Energien“ für interessierte Frauen. Veranstalter — Verein Natur und Technik und DÖ. Info: Dienste in Übersee. Gerokstr. 17, 7009 Stuttgart 1. Tel: (0711) 21050-0.

10.4.—14.4.1989, W. Berlin. Meeting on Findings of the International Decade for Water Supply and Water Facilities. Info: Bundesministerium für Zusammenarbeit, Karl-Marx-Str. 4—6, 5300 Bonn 1. Tel: (0228) 5351.

11.4.—13.4.1989, Wesseling. Fachtagung „Frauen tragen die Last der Entwicklung — Zur Rolle der Frau in der Dritten Welt“. Veranstalter und Info: KAS, Institut für Politische Bildung, Postfach 1331, 5047 Wesseling.

Blockkurse, Zürich, Schweiz.

17.4.—21.4.1989 „Projektauvaluation“  
8.5.—12.5.1989 „Soziale und Religiöse Wirkungsfaktoren in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit“  
16.5.—26.5.1989 „Projektplanung“  
Veranstalter — ETH-NADEL Program, Volenstr. 24, CH—8092 Schweiz.

26.4.—28.4.1989, Lyon, Frankreich. International Tagung „Le Génie Urbain: Quels acteurs de demain en Europe et dans le Monde“. Info: Institut National de Génie Urbain, COURLY, 20 rue du Lac, B.P. 3042, 69399 Lyon Cedex. Tel: (33) 78.43.37.84.

25.5.—28.5.1989, Hamburg. 13. Bundeskongreß entwicklungspolitischer Aktionsgruppen. „Kultur und Widerstand“ Arbeitsgruppen, Workshop „Dritte-Welt-Liederbuch“, Medienbörse, Ausstellungen, u.a. Info und Anmeldung: Bundeskongreß entwicklungspolitischer Aktionsgruppen, Nernstweg 32—34, 2000 Hamburg 50.

19.6.—23.6.1989, Paris. Kongreß „La qualité pour les usagers des bâtiments à travers le monde“. Info: CSTB, 4, av. du Recteur Poincaré, 75016 Paris. Tel: 45.24.43.02.

30.6.—2.7.1989, Münster. Studententagung „Zur Rolle der Nicht-Regierungs-Organisationen in der Entwicklungspolitik“. Franz-Hitze-Haus, Kardinal-von-Galen-Ring 50, 4400 Münster, Deutschland.

3.7.—7.7.1989, Schweiz. Kurs „Monitoring und Evaluation in Wasserversorgungs- und Sanitationsprogrammen“. Veranstalter: SKAT, Varnbühlstr. 14, CH—9000, St. Gallen, Schweiz.

13.7.—28.7.1989, London. Short course „Environment and Development“. Info: Development Planning Unit, University College London, 9 Endsleigh Gardens, London WC1H 0ED, UK.

6.9.—9.9.1989, Zürich. Round Table Conference „Wire Rope Discard Criteria“. Info: Institut of Lightweight Structures and Ropeways. ETH-Hönggerberg, CH—8093 Zürich. Tel: 1 377 25 10.

1.10.—5.10.1989, Paris. Conference „Urban Strategy and Economic Development“. Theme: Recent developments in private and public development policy. Fees — 1200 Hfl for members. Info: INTA/AVN Nassau-Dillenburgstraat 44, 2596 Den Haag, Netherlands.

15.10.—19.10.1989, Manila, Philippines. World Communication Congress 89. Theme: Communication for Community. Info: WACC, 357 Kennington Lane, London SE11 5QY, UK.

25.10.—28.10.1989, Halifax, Canada. International Conference „Thirty Years of the Cuban Revolution: An Assessment. Topics — Social Change, Economic Development, Political, International Relations. Sponsors: Canadian Association of Latin American and Caribbean Studies. Info: Cuba Conference Co-ordinator, International Development Studies, St. Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, B3H 3C3.

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