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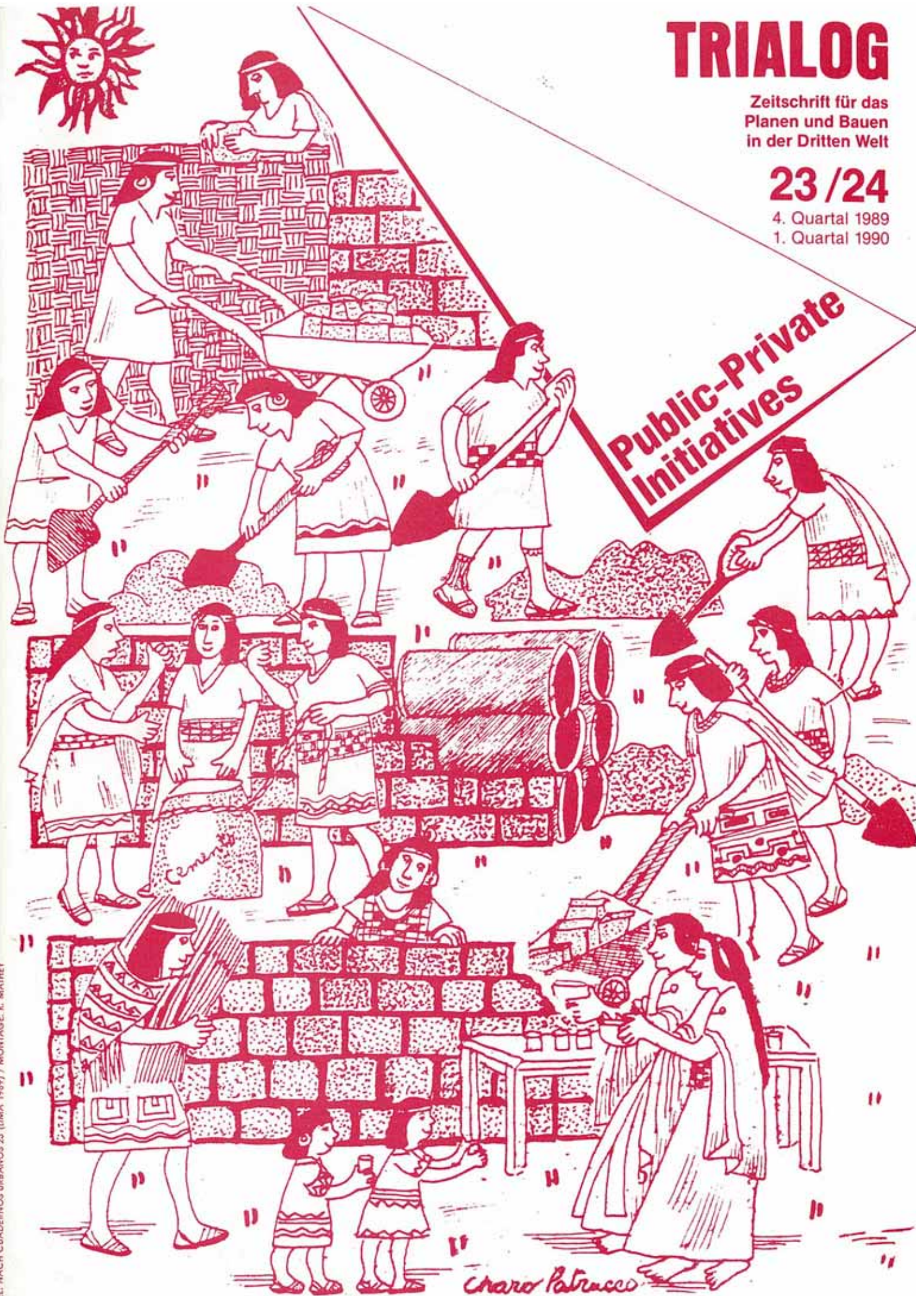
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Editorial

Trialog beschäftigt sich in der Hauptsache mit der Thematik räumlich-sozialer Ent-
wicklung in der Dritten Welt. Dennoch läßt sich dabei die Situation in den Industrie-
ländern nicht abkoppeln — dies gilt zu Beginn der neunziger Jahre mehr denn je. Die
Veränderung der Ost-West Beziehungen und die bevorstehende Ausweitung des
europäischen Binnenmarktes bleiben nicht ohne Folgen für die Lebensbedingungen
in der Dritten Welt. Die aktuelle Situation veranlaßt uns, hier nicht nur den Inhalt des
vorliegenden Heftes zu kommentieren, sondern einige allgemein gefaßtere Reflektio-
nen anzustellen.

Das Konfliktpotential zwischen den drei Welten wächst unaufhaltsam. Der beschei-
dene Beitrag privater und staatlicher Entwicklungshilfe vermochte nicht, die absolute
Verschlechterung des Lebensstandards für dreiviertel der Menschheit in den Ländern
Afrikas, Asiens und Lateinamerikas aufzuhalten, geschweige denn zu revidieren. Es
ist an der Zeit, die Problematik der Entwicklungsländer weniger unter dem umstritte-
nen Entwicklungshilfe-Aspekt und stärker im Zusammenhang globaler ökologischer,
ökonomischer und politischer Abhängigkeiten zu begreifen.

Ein kleiner Teil der Weltbevölkerung verschleudert die begrenzten Ressourcen dieser
Erde nach wie vor mit einer Geschwindigkeit, die für den anderen Teil und für künftige
Generationen die Überlebens- und Entwicklungschancen einschränkt und bedroht.
Diese Fehlentwicklung erfordert mindestens zweierlei Korrekturen: zum Einen muß
begonnen werden, mit den knappen Ressourcen insgesamt verantwortungsvoller
umzugehen; zum Anderen muß der ungleichen Verteilung des Reichtums unserer
Erde, dem 'negativen Ressourcentransfer', ein Ende gesetzt werden. Dies ist für eine
menschenwürdige Entwicklung für die Bevölkerung auf der südlichen Halbkugel eine
unabdingbare Voraussetzung, und würde die ohnehin unzureichenden Almosen der
Entwicklungshilfe letztendlich überflüssig machen.

Seit dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs haben rund 160 Kriege und Bürgerkriege die
Länder des Südens heimgesucht. Diese Kämpfe haben über 30 Millionen Tote ge-
fordert; der befürchtete Dritte Weltkrieg findet also bereits heute in der Verkleidung
von Dritte-Welt-Kriegen statt. Es ist kein Geheimnis, daß diese Kriege, die in
schwachen politischen Systemen und unter schwierigen gesellschaftlichen Rahmen-
bedingungen entflammten, geknüpft sind an die sicherheits- und wirtschaftspoliti-
schen Machtkämpfe der Industriestaaten. Die Regierungen des Nordens tragen eine
maßgebliche Mitverantwortung an den Kriegen durch Billigung, Begünstigung oder
aktive Förderung von Waffenlieferungen. Die politische Entspannung im Ost-West-
Verhältnis verschärft paradoxerweise den negativen Ressourcentransfer im Süd-
Nord-Verhältnis mit einem Boom der Rüstungsexporte, wobei die absatzgeschädigte
Rüstungsindustrie auf dubiose Dritte-Welt-Märkte auszuweichen versucht.

In den achtziger Jahren — insbesondere mit zunehmender Kenntnis über die Trag-
weite der Umweltverschmutzung seit etwa 1985 — schien es möglich zu sein, einen
neuen Umgang auch mit den Problemen der Entwicklungsländer zu finden. Der
Brundtlandbericht verknüpfte die globalen Zusammenhänge der Umweltproblematik
mit der Frage der Entwicklungsfähigkeit. Einer breiteren Öffentlichkeit wurde die

ökologische Dimension der Armut verdeutlicht, die sich z.B. manifestiert in der Auslagerung gefährlicher Produktionsbereiche in die Dritte Welt, der sog. Schuldenkrise, den erwähnten regionalen Konflikten, der Zerstörung der Regenwälder, Überweidung von Grasland, und nicht zuletzt der galoppierenden Urbanisierung.

In den vergangenen vierzig Jahren hat sich Anzahl der Menschen, die in den Metropolen der Entwicklungsländer leben, um 300 % vermehrt. Nach UNO-Prognosen wird die Stadtbevölkerung in den Ländern des Südens bis zur Jahrtausendwende um weitere 750 Millionen zunehmen. Das heißt, daß die dort ohnehin schon defizitäre Wohnversorgung, Infrastruktur, Dienstleistungen etc. innerhalb von 10 Jahren um 65% aufgestockt werden müßten, alleine um den Status quo zu erhalten. Doch wir sind uns auch um der Grenzen des Wachstums bewußt und wissen z.B., daß die Wasservorräte vielerorts erschöpft sind und den Bedarf der großen Städte schon jetzt nicht decken können, daß die Müllhalden nicht einfach beseitigt werden können, und daß eine Eingliederung der verarmten Bevölkerung in städtische Industrien nach dem weitgehend obsolet gewordenen Vorbild europäischer Städte keine realistische Alternative darstellt.

Ein Lichtblick in dem 'objektiv' betrachtet alarmierenden Szenario ist das verstärkte Engagement von Basisgruppen in den achtziger Jahren, und zwar sowohl hier in Europa wie in der Dritten Welt selbst. Alleine in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland wurden in den vergangenen vier oder fünf Jahren mehr als 50 kommunale Nord-Süd-Initiativen gegründet, worin sie durch den Kölner Aufruf, die Nord-Süd-Kampagne des Europarats, die Mainzer Erklärung, das Klimabündnis der Gemeinden und ähnliche Resolutionen überregional gestützt werden. Diese Gruppen verstehen sich einerseits als Partner für die Basisgruppen in den Entwicklungsländern, andererseits aber auch als Motor für eine entwicklungspolitische Neuorientierung, die sich nicht alleine auf die Kompetenz und Initiative von Politikern und Experten verläßt. Wenn es diesen Gruppen gelingt, sich mit den Partnern in den Entwicklungsländern zu vernetzen, kann ein Sprachrohr entstehen, das durchdringend genug ist, der aktuellen Ost-West Euphorie deutlich den notwendigen globalen Bezug hinzuzufügen. In einem künftigen TRIALOG Heft werden wir uns mit den konkreten Möglichkeiten gemeinsamer wie paralleler Strategien — insbesondere im ökologischen Bereich — auseinandersetzen.

Die im Süden beheimateten Initiativen und Selbsthilfegruppen widmen sich naturgemäß primär dem Ziel, das unmittelbare Wohnumfeld der Betroffenen erträglich zu gestalten, und ihr gemeinsames Interesse gegen Behördenwillkür oder Spekulationsgeschäfte zu verteidigen. Zahlreiche Strategien und Erfahrungen in diesem Kontext wurden 1988 auf einem Seminar am *Massachusetts Institute of Technology* unter dem Titel "Communities, Planning, and Partnerships" diskutiert, was auch der Anstoß für die thematische Zusammenstellung dieses Heftes werden sollte: Ein Teil der Beiträge wurde von Teilnehmern dieser Veranstaltung geschrieben. Hierzu gehören die Aufsätze von Sanyal, Marcuse, Mitra, Wakely, Burrus, Hamdi & Goethert, die Überschneidungen wie Unterschiede von *Dezentralisierung, Selbsthilfe, Partizipation* theoretisch wie an erprobten Beispielen exemplarisch aufzuzeigen versuchen. Wie im Zusammenhang der europäischen Initiativen werden hier Aufgaben angegangen, die bisher weder Staat noch Kapital alleine zufriedenstellend lösen konnten, wo aber eine Kooperation beider Kräfte mit der Bevölkerung sinnvoll erscheint. Die übrigen Beiträge dieses Heftes wurden in Ergänzung der Thematik vorranging deswegen ausgesucht, weil sie die Anwendung derselben Prinzipien in den eingangs erwähnten Zusammenhängen erläutern: Ökologie, sozialistische und gemischtwirtschaftliche Rahmenbedingungen, Angepaßte Technologien, Infrastrukturversorgung, der informelle Sektor...

Hassan Ghaemi, Thomas Heinrich, Rita Mrotzek-Sampat

In eigener Sache:
Wegen der Erscheinungsweise als Doppelheft hat sich der Intervall zum Vorheft gegenüber den gewohnten drei Monaten verdoppelt, hinzu kam eine zusätzliche Verzögerung wegen der langen der Postlaufzeiten aus dem Ausland (Poststreik). Die einzelnen Redaktionsgruppen bemühen sich um regelmäßiges Erscheinen, doch wegen unserer dezentralen Arbeitsweise auf ausschließlich freiwilliger Basis lassen sich Pannen und unerwartete Verzögerungen nicht immer vermeiden. Wir bitten unsere Leser/innen um Verständnis — und um verstärkte Mitarbeit als Autor/inn/en bzw. Mitglieder/innen der Redaktionsgruppen.
Der Bezugspreis von TRIALOG konnte seit 1984 unverändert auf seinem niedrigen und nicht kostendeckenden Niveau gehalten werden. Die Preisentwicklung der letzten Jahre, insbesondere die Portoerhöhung der Bundespost, zwangen uns jetzt zu einer geringfügigen Anhebung der Preise — siehe Impressum; auch hierfür hoffen wir auf Ihr Verständnis.

Contents / Inhalt

In Favour of a Human Right to Sustainable Habitat

Jürgen Oestereich

The Urban Explosion

In the past thirty years, from 1960 to today, the total population of the so-called „developing contries" (Dcs) has nearly doubled[1], while its urban population has nearly tripled. Some cities like Dacca, Lagos and Nairobi have even grown four times and more within a generation. For the period to 2020, the staticians forsee only a slightly decreased multiplication factor for the DCs' urban population (2.5 instead of 2.8) except in Africa (where the cities will be catching up with the other regions). Its 200 million urban dwellers of today will become 770 million and, instead of every fifth as was the case 30 years ago, every second African will be living in towns. In South Asia[2], development will raise the present half a billion urban dwellers to 1.4 billion, which means an increase of 900 million in the towns as compared to only 200 million more in the villages. Even a drop in urban growth rates from 4% to 2% p.a., as is expected for Latin America, will bring the number of city dwellers there from today's 310 to 610 million in 2020 to make up 80% of the total population. Of course these developments will not stop there. The number of urban dwellers will probably double again during the following generation before the population eventually stabilizes.

The next two or three generations to come will see some 120 urban centres in Dcs grow to become what has been called a „megalopolis", that is an agglomeration exceeding the 4 million mark. A number of them, like Mexico City, Sao Paulo, Calcutta, Bombay, Seoul, Jakarta and Lagos, might become super-agglomerations reaching 20 to 30 million inhabitants. The „megalopolis" category is expected to expand far beyond the average: in 30 years time the 65 million now living in the agglomerations of Latin America will become 170 million, the 16 million in Africa's current-super cities will multiply to 260 million, and by 2020 South Asia's giant cities will house at least 380 million instead of the present 52 million. These developments are bound to overwhelm the local and regional resources of water, food or fuel, to contaminate the soil or the water supplies by destroying the regeneration capacity of the hinterlands. Lest one or another super-city end up in a global catastrophy such as the Brundtland-Report warns, an enormous preventive effort will be necessary. Our planet can only remain habitable if it is treated so as to remain a sustainable habitat for all living things.

The Failure of Planning Efforts

Compared with present urban growth, the past urban expansion in the northern hemisphere has occured at a slower pace with more funds from public and private investments and with more administrators and planners serving fewer people. The administrative machineries in the South — based more or less on old northern models — tend to run idle in spite of occasional infusions of funds and expertise. Professionally sound advice and offers by donor agencies for decisive development measures, like the *Korangi* scheme in Karachi, are meet with indifference by the ruling groups who prefer ad-hoc measures. For example, when the *National Nuclear Research Centre* claimed the ground on which the *Tanata* squatter community was built, the Bombay authorities, who had been in a climate of mutual confidence with the community on various matters, declared it „a refuge of criminals to be eradicated". And, to lure the inhabitants away, the government was suddenly and miraculously able to offer fully serviced freehold plots elsewhere. When the people refused to move, realizing that their livelihoods were better assured at the old place, they were forcibly packed up and dumped on a unprepared site. After the old settlement was bulldozed, representing a material loss alone of about 5 million US$ to these very poor people, the authorities forgot their promise of land titles and services.

The UN Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat) in Vancouver 1976 already emphasised people's participation in mobilizing their own resources for building as well as in decision-making and thereby attempted to encourage respect for existing settlements, including slums, and consequently to promote an approach for improving or upgrading them. But the authorities around the world — in Jakarta, Dakar, Santo Domingo or Bogota — even if officially in favour of upgrading, have been reluctant to put these settlers on the same level with „ordinary owners". The strategy of allowing the people to pour the glass half full but not more, and of being able to condemn it as half empty and pour it away, allows the arbitrary exercise of administrative power. However, this cheap and effective device works only if there is no serious planning to limit and bind the authorities.

Under current economic conditions the national and local authorities' funds, always meagre, have more or less vanished. In compensation, it is hoped that foreign donors, development agencies and NGO's will make up for it. The problem is that those who now pay and could call the tune, are neither supposed nor inclined to do so, also not being very familiar with the subtleties of local politics. The Addis Ababa Municipality tries to maintain local control by allocating individual neighbourhoods for upgrading to interested NGO's. The Capital Development plan drawn up by the National Planning Office cannot function because of the lack of means to undertake development; it serves merely as a background for justifications and arguments for routine reporting by NGO's and other agencies, a state of affairs similar to that in other countries.

The Urban Habitat Structure

Urban expansion occurs within the more or less established patterns of urban grouping: the Arab-Islamic pattern of neighbourhood quarters is found from Casablanca to Karachi, with its Sahel variant from the *quartiers populaires* of Dakar to the *haras* of Khartoum and its Eastern variants in India and Bangladesh; there is the *Kampong* pattern of the South East Asian cities resembling the village concept prevalent in Black African cities.

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Latin America's cities seem to be in the process of developing their own specifically local patterns of *barrios, campamentos, pueblos jovenes, favelas*, etc[3].

Most of these territorially and socially defined habitat groups practice a mixture of formal and informal economic activities, which allows them to survive within the existing local fabric of production and consumption. Through its heterogenity the informal economic structure is particularly adaptive in minimizing inputs other than labour and maximizing recycling and regeneration activities. There is a network of mutual dependance and of symbiosis with formal production and commercial activities, very visible in cities like Cairo or Calcutta, where there is a tradition of poverty. This allows for survival under conditions or scarcity and environmental risk and contributes to the gradual forming of sustainable habitats.

Like all non directed structures, the network of habitat groups look weak compared to hierarchical infrastructure and service systems sustained by modern politics and bureaucracy. However, without ever having heard of Taoist wisdom, local groups — taking their losses in material, time and life — manage to pierce their way through petrified institutions, form coalitions at their own level and also affiliate to as many strong allies as they can.

Here the NGO's should come in, especially the „Habitat International Coalition" (HIC), itself an association of various forces[4]. Although the NGO's see themselves as „enablers", it is clear from what has been said that their main role should really be that of „mediators", in the most basic terms, between the principle of hierarchy and that of non-directive self-determination. It may well be that for development both principles will have to be reconciled: the one for optimizing access to resources on the global and regional level, the other for optimizing the creation of sustainable habitat on the local scale.

From a Human Right to Shelter to a Human Right to Sustainable Habitat

In 1948, long before urban supernovas started to blow up and before the territorial patterns and the NGO's had become important, the United Nations stipulated in article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: „Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing and housing..." This has always been understood as a rather vague right of the individual to having his main basic needs — including shelter — satisfied through Government action. Lately a UN-appointed Rapporteur has tried to qualify, with respect to the basic human need for food — and this applies also to the need for housing — as a legal and suable right that Government should „...respect the freedom of indivi-

duals and groups for taking necessary action and the use of resources against third parties and fulfil the expectations of all for the enjoyment of the right to food." Accordingly, the Government is supposed to secure the availability of the ingredients for cooking (and for housing), but not necessarily itself to cook (or to build) for all its citizens.

The Habitat Conference in 1976 adopted the „Vancouver Guidelines for Action" which state under Point 8: „Adequate shelter and services are a basic human right, which places an obligation on Governments to ensure their attainment by all people, beginning with direct assistance to the most disadvantaged..." and under Point 10 that „Basic human dignity is the right of people, individually or collectively, to participate directly in shaping policies and programmes affecting their lives..." (which to my mind includes the shaping of their environment). Both aspects are promoted by the HIC in its efforts to have „Human Settlement" defined as a legal right. The claim to basic resources, land, potable water and urban services, to credit facilities, to decision-making and management power is necessary, but is, however, not enough. I hope the above analysis has shown that the Human Right to Housing must be broadened to include long-term control of the living environment by the habitat group concerned. This is indispensable for all future life on our planet.

The HIC, therefore, should demand what could be termed the *Human Right to Sustainable Habitat*: a habitat fully controlled by its own inhabitants, the local community.

Notes

1) The figures are based on: UN-Urban and rural population projections 1950—2020; The 1984 Assessment, New York, 1985, and: UNCHS (HABITAT) Global Report on Human Settlements 1985, Oxford 1987

2) This is the whole of Asia from Turkey to the Philippines except East Asia (Soviet Union, China, Corea and Japan) which are left out here for the sake of the argument, like Australia, Polynesia, Europe and North America, too.

3) see John Friedmann; Collective Self-Empowerment and Social Change; in: ifda dossier 59, January 1989, p. 3—14

4) To use, in the context of NGO coalitions and local groups the term „Community-Based Organisations" (CBO's) misses the main point: their territoriality as opposed to their social and economic fluidity. The term CBO must have been coined by someone biased towards the institutionally manageable aspects of the phenomenon.

Does Development Trickle Up?

Bishwapriya Sanyal

„Development from below", „grassroots development", „development as if people mattered", „self-sustaining development", „self-empowering development": these are just a few of the labels that were coined by planners, some fifteen years ago to support an alternative model of development for poor countries. Implicit in these labels were assumptions as well as assertions about what was wrong with the development model which the poor countries had pursued till then. Development had been pushed from above by the state, many argued; and that was the principal cause, they claimed, for the distorted outcome of accelerated industrialization (Korten, 1981; Stohr and Taylor, 1981; Schumacher, 1973). This anti-state sentiment soon became popular, particularly among Western donor countries who had, till then, provided much of the foreign assistance for development projects in the poor countries. By the mid-1970s, new development projects were introduced to correct the top-down bias of the previous decade. The alternative model on which the projects were based called for less intervention by the state and more involvement of the beneficiaries in the design and implementation of the projects. To foster such an approach, the use of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and private voluntary organizations (PVOs) became popular. These organizations were assumed to be more efficient as well as equitable in the management of development projects. They soon became the new agents of development, implementing numerous grassroots projects all over the developing world. By the beginning of the 1980s, this alternative model had become the dominant paradigm in developmental thinking.

It is time now to assess the performance of the alternative model. As the developing countries enter a new phase in problem solving, as a result of the debt crisis and general slowing down of the global economy, it is important to take stock of the efforts which, in essence, have tried to

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bypass the state. Should we continue to pursue this approach amidst the current crises? Can we really bypass the state and create both political and economic development from below? This paper attempts to throw some light on these questions by drawing on evidence from Bangladesh — a country in which NGOs and PVOs have played a significant role in facilitating development from below.

This paper presents a brief historical overview of why and how the alternative development model emerged and of its assumptions and expectations regarding institutional arrangements for minimizing state involvement in the development process. It then evaluates whether the empirical evidence from Bangladesh confirms or rejects these assumptions.

Historical Origin of Development from Below

The emergence of the alternative paradigm can be traced back to widespread disillusionment with the conventional development model whose conceptual framework had been laid out by Sir Arthur Lewis in 1954. According to Lewis, economic development required industrialization, agricultural modernization, and urbanization, which the developing countries were to achieve by exploiting the existing inequalities in sectoral, spatial, and social relationships. Sectorally, Lewis had argued, industry was to receive investment priorities over agriculture because of the differential in the rate of return between the two sectors. Spatially, investment locations were to be concentrated in large urban areas, which provided economics of scale and agglomeration benefits. Socially, the entrepreneurial class — whom Schumpeter had earlier identified as the driving force behind every expansionary economy — was to be encouraged to save and invest so that the rest of the country could be employed. In advocating these strategies Lewis had acknowledged that in the short run, the existing inequalities between sectors, regions and social classes may be exacerbated, but he had predicted that in the long run, inequalities would lessen as

the agricultural sector became mechanized, rural wages increased to the level of urban wages, and income trickled down the social hierarchy.

Rural-urban migration was to be the central mechanism for facilitating the developmental process. It was to be actively encouraged to transform the „abundance" of small, subsistent farmers into a low-cost urban industrial work force. This transformation was considered essential on two counts. First, it alone could reduce the overpopulation of rural areas, thereby reducing the percentage of the „disguisedly unemployed", in agricultural activities and increasing the per capita income and consumption of the remaining households. Second, the disguisedly unemployed could be productively utilized in the urban work force, where they would help create a competitive labor market. This, the argument went, would reduce wages, thereby strengthening the comparative advantages of these countries in the international market. Foreign exchange, earned as a result of increased exports, could then be used to purchase capital goods with which the industrial base could be further modernized.

By the early 1970s, however, many development planners had begun to question the efficacy of this development model, despite a significant increase in the aggregate economic growth rates of the developing countries. The grounds for dissatisfaction were many. Some, like Albert Fishlow (1972), indicated that income distribution had become more unequal in many countries even with high growth rates. Regional inequalitites had also increased. Rural-urban migration had been selective, leaving the rural areas with a disproportionately higher percentage of children, women and older persons. As a result, food production had decreased to a level where more food had to be imported to meet domestic needs. Rapid urbanization had also created numerous problems for the cities: urban unemployment and underemployment were steadily increasing; slums and shanty towns were mushrooming daily and could not be controlled by the city authorities; and starkly visible discrepancies of we-

alth between the elite and the rest of the population created the basis for political protests against the ruling governments. In many countries, the government had responded to political protests with harsh, authoritarian measures. Political democracy, which was to accompany capitalist economic development, was being suppressed in increasing numbers of developing countries.

Who was to be blamed for this unexpected outcome? And, what was to be done differently from before? The answers varied across a wide spectrum. On the one end were a few economists who argued that things were not as bad as one was made to believe; and they recommended staying the course with a few minor modifications. On the other end emerged the dependency theorists, who assigned global capitalism as the primary cause of „underdevelopment" of the poor countries, and argued that nothing short of a major restructuring of the capitalist production process, both nationally and internationally, could ease the crisis (Frank, 1969; Amin, 1977).

Somewhere in the middle of these two polarities emerged a consensus about what had gone wrong. The consensus view was eclectic. It diagnosed the problem as one of „hyper-urbanization", where the urbanization rate had surpassed the rate of industrialization. The mismatch between the rates of urbanization and industrialization was explained by several factors, including lack of adequate stress on rural development (as opposed to agricultural growth), preference for big farmers and capital-intensive big industries, population growth, and so on.

In explaining these mistakes, the Third World governments became the major targets for criticism. The complaints against these governments were many. Some blamed them for inappropriate and unjustified intervention in the capital, labor, and commodities market. This, they claimed, resulted in an urban bias which distorted the normal functioning of the market and produced both inequitable and inefficient outcomes. Others blamed the burgeoning bureaucracy for corruption, lethargy, and gross mismanagement. They argued that, subjected to the pressure from the newly formed national elite, the governments were more interested in importing luxury goods than in producing essential items for the basic needs of the citizens. The increasing population growth was also blamed on faulty government policies and ineffective implementation procedures. Lastly, many Third World governments were condemned, though not as openly as for the other mistakes, for violating democratic principles in the governance of the countries.

What emerged from the criticisms was an altered version of the old development model, with a clear anti-government bias. „Development from below" became the

label for the revised approach. The term implied that the new initiatives for development were not to be generated by the government from the top, but from people at the bottom of the social hierarchy. The assumption was that the less the bureaucracy is involved in manipulation the development process, the more the people are likely to generate innovative initiatives on their own. Implicit in this discussion was a vision of a new politics which would be free from, and in some ways an alternative to, the mainstream political process. The assumption was that the mainstream political process, controlled and manipulated by the state, the official political parties, the elite, and in many cases the army was not responsive to the real needs of the poor. Hence, what the poor needed to do was to organize themselves, not as another political party that could be co-opted by the system, but as territorially bounded, autonomous small groups. These groups were to function as democratic cells, eventually culminating in a system of self-governance in the Gandhian tradition.

Small-scale income-generating projects for the poor became the primary mechanism for initiating development from below. Typically, these projects involved small groups of poor families in rural as well as urban areas who had neither any assets nor a steady source of income. Credit was made easily available to these families for starting small business enterprises. These enterprises ranged from basket making and similar non-agricultural activities in the rural areas to the production of low-cost wage goods and the provision of various services in the urban areas. The assumption was that these activities would generate profit, savings, and investment at the bottom, thereby eliminating the need for income to trickle down the social and spatial hierarchy. These activities were also to serve as the basis for organization of the poor into small „solidarity groups", which would enable them to break away from the traditionally exploitive relationship with the local elite and the state actors.

PVOs and NGOs, and not the government were regarded as the appropriate agents for fostering development from below. There were are least five reasons to support this shift away from working with the government. First the NGOs and PVOs because of their small size were considered to be less bureaucratic in their operations than the government. Second, these organizations were thought to be free of corruption because of truly committed employees and volunteers who were not linked to either the local elite or government officals. Third, these organizations were regarded as more appropriate for fostering a decentralized pattern of development because they were locally based and not centralized in terms of their internal operation. Fourth, PVOs and NGOs were generally perceived as more innovative in thinking than the government. This

was attributed to their close relationship with localized problems and the possibilities for learning within these organizations — again, because of their small size and non-bureaucratic decision-making structure. Finally, they were viewed as particularly capable of fostering participation by the poor in the creation of solidarity groups. In contrast to governments which were thought to be interested only in cooptation or repression of the poor, these organizations were assumed to be genuinely committed to the empowerment of the poor. In short, the NGOs were seen as the „good guys" and the governments as the „bad guys" in the development process.

Bottom-up Development and NGO: An Assessment

To what extent is the good guys/bad guys notion a correct assessment of the role of NGOs and governments in the development process? Can development be truly generated from below, aided by NGOs and without government involvement? Empirical evidence from Bangladesh indicates[1] that the good guys/bad guys notion may be a simplistic and incorrect portrayal of a complex reality where neither are NGOs all good nor is the government all bad. The evidence also indicates that as development does not trickle down from the top, neither does it effervesce from the bottom. Development requires a synergy between the top and the bottom: a collaborative effort between the government and NGOs, each with a different comparative advantage in the development process[2]. Let us elaborate this general statement with three specific findings:

I. If the top stagnates, the bottom stagnates too!

This was evident from the evaluation of numerous income-generating projects which showed, in general, very low rates of return, even when labor cost was assumed to be zero[3]. These projects also did not create much employment. Most of the small business these projects funded remained one-man operations even after five years of production. This was contrary to the expectation that autonomous growth at the bottom could be generated, if only the poor were provided credit, technical assistance, and other imputs which they lacked access to in the top-down development approach.

What explains this lack of growth at the bottom? To be sure, it was not due to lack of effort on the part of the poor. Most of them had worked for long hours and had tried to manage their businesses quite well. The problem was elsewhere. Bangladesh's general economic performance during this period had been slow, with very low rates of growth in both industrial production and agricultural output. This stagnation at the top could not be overcome by fostering little enterprises at the bottom, because the top and the bottom

are inter-linked in many ways. For example, because industrial production was slow, the demand for low-cost wage goods which the micro-enterprises were to produce was low too.

This sort of connection between the top and the bottom circuits of the economy was never acknowledged when „development from below" became a slogan in the early 1970s. On the contrary, every effort was made to portray the top and the bottom as totally different and disconnected. The top was portrayed negatively as capital-intensive, geared towards external demand, large-scale, and so on, while the bottom was assumed to have all positive attributes which were totally opposite to those of the top. This simplistic and dualistic approach had led many to think that broad-based development could be generated by just nurturing the positive attributes of the bottom. What we have learned from Bangladesh's experience is that a dualistic interpretation of the development process may not be very useful. Not only does it ignore the critical linkages between top and bottom, it also fails to recognize that both the top and the bottom may have good as well as bad characteristics. It is to the elaboration of the last point that we turn next.

II. The Limitations of NGOs/PVOs

Contrary to our expectations, NGO/PVO are not necessarily democratic and participatory in their operations. The Bangladesh experience indicates that successful projects were often initiated by NGOs with strong leadership which imposed strict rules on projects beneficiaries. Also, the successful leaders did not come from the lower strata of society. They belonged to the uppermost social echelons of Bangladesh, and used their social position and networks quite effectively in mobilizing resources for their organizations. This is not to say that these leaders were not concerned about the poor. They were quite committed to the cause of poverty alleviation, but they themselves were not poor. In fact, precisely because they were not poor they were able to get things done by depending on their connections with powerful individuals within the bureaucracy, the military, and the private sector, including private banks which provided loans for the micro enterprises in their project areas. In other words, to be successful the so-called bottom-up projects require strategic linkages with institutions at the top which may be best provided by leaders who are not from „the grassroots".

There is another finding that challenges the established notion about NGOs/PVOs. Contrary to our expectation that these organizations represent models of cooperation and are driven by noble motives beyond their self-interests, they are unable to cooperate with each other precisely because they are concerned about

self-preservation. NGOs are more than often dependent on donations and grants which they are able to attract by claiming that their particular organization was most effective in helping the poor. To sustain such claims, every NGO or PVO tries to show the donor community how it alone has been good at generating innovative ideas and implementing them. Though, in reality, successfull projects usually result from cooperative efforts, particularly between NGOs and the government, the NGOs always describe such projects as if they were solely to be praised for the outcome. If an NGO or PVO were to acknowledge that a project was successful because of cooperation from other NGOs, or the government, it could not then claim that it was the only organization that was doing good work and should be funded. As a result, though the NGOs often instruct and advise the poor to cooperate with each other, they themselves do not follow this advice.

The lack of cooperation among NGOs/ PVOs, and also their unwillingness to work with the government limits the impact of their activities. Even if they are successful in some cases, their projects remain isolated success stories without any kind of institutional arrangement for large-scale replication. There is a dilemma which characterizes the NGO efforts with regard to this problem of replicability: the NGOs are particularly effective in managing small, isolated projects away from the official eye, yet they also recognize that unless their scale of operation is expanded, they cannot alter the socio-economic conditions of the poor in a significan way. Most NGOs try to resolve this dilemma not through cooperation with other NGOs and replicating each other's effort, but by expanding their own operations. In the process, they lose the comparative advantages of being small and focussed in one activity or in one geographic location. Instead, they typically break apart because either the scale and array of problems become unmanageable, or the original leader is challenged by others who break away from the parent organization, taking with them some of the best workers. This, in turn, makes cooperation among the NGOs even more difficult, thus undermining their ability to create a unified, broad-based institutional arrangement independent of the government.

III. Development requires participation by the state, market, and civil society.

Perhaps this finding is obvious, but it needs to be stressed because the central assumption of the bottom-up development approach was, in essence, anti-state. The Bangladesh experience indicates that to be successful, development projects must incorporate three overlapping domains of action — namely, state activity, market interactions, and efforts on part of civil society and its institutions, such as NGOs and PVOs. Action in any

one domain, however well intended, is not enough. Also, though there are obvious differences among the three domains in terms of their central purpose, they need not be viewed as if they are in constant tension: the government and NGOs are not always in conflict; state intervention in the economy is not always anti-market; and civil society's initiatives need not circumvent the market forces at every turn.
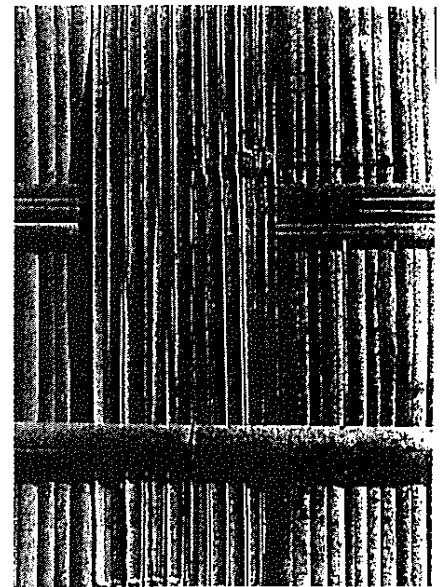
Three successful development efforts in Bangladesh provide examples of the possibilities for tripartite alliance between the state, market, and civil society. The first is the creation of the Grameen Bank which now provides credit to some 165,000 poor families in rural areas. This project was initiated by a professor of economics, Mohammed Yunus, who had provided personal guarantees to a local bank for small loans to twenty-five poor farmers. The Bank had agreed to provide the loans because Professor Yunus was one of its most valued customers. But, the Bank had insisted that the borrowers repay the loans at market interest rate. This provided a sense of market discipline for the ways the loan funds were used by the farmers. Aided by Yunus's close supervision of their activities, the farmers were able to increase their production and re-

pay the loans in time. The scale of operation expanded significantly when the government of Bangladesh provided assistance to the local banks in terms of both technical assistance and cash for lending to large numbers of poor landless families. The interest rate was maintained at the market level, and Yunus continued his close supervision of the project beneficiaries by insisting that they begin to save from their earnings for future investment. As the scale of operation expanded, the government of Bangladesh created a new bank, named the Grameen Bank, to provide credit to a steadily increasing number of poor clientele.
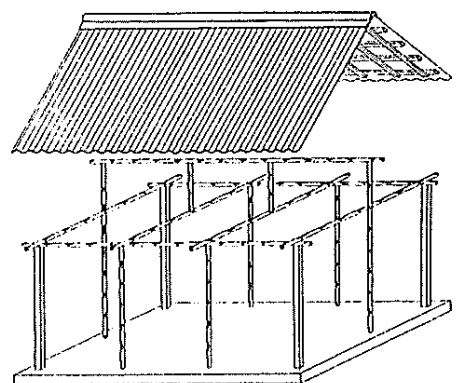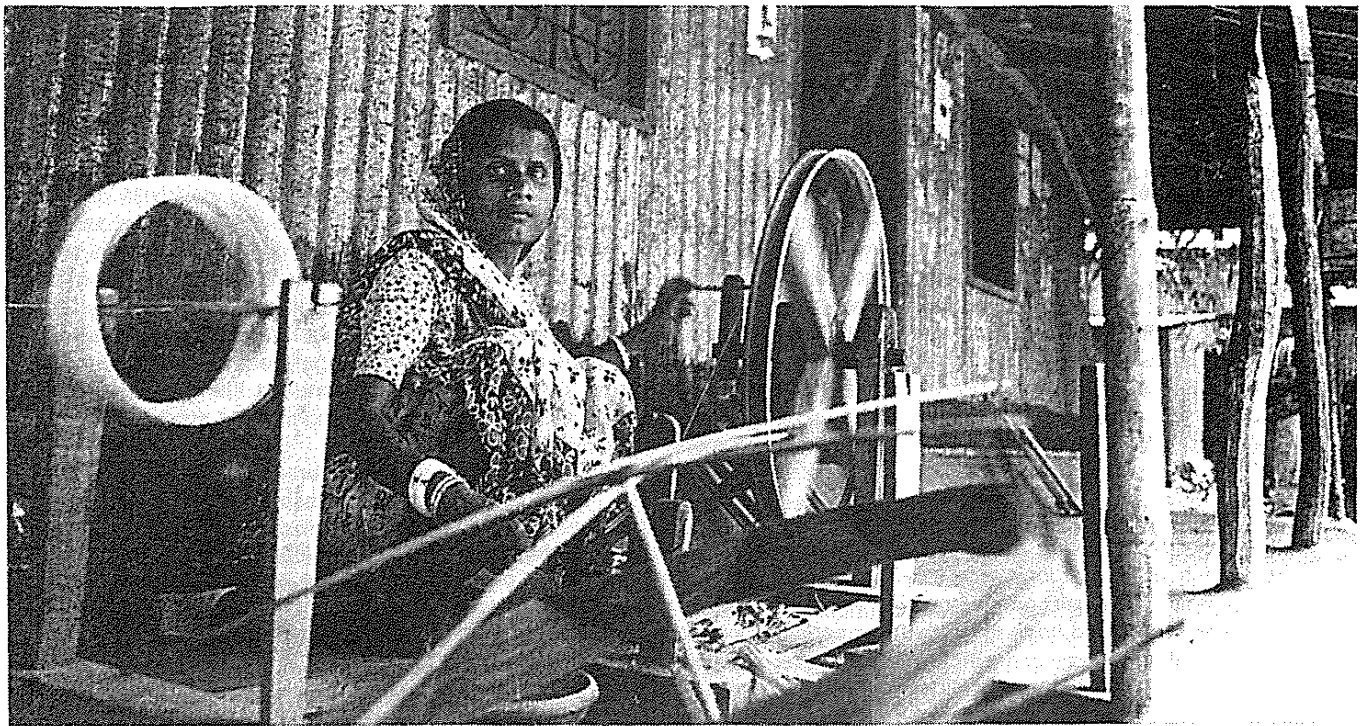
The second example of successful cooperation between government, civil groups, and market institutions was a poultry farming scheme by an NGO called BRAC[4]. According to this scheme, landless families were provided credit to start poultry farming as a way to generate income. The key to the success of this project was, however, a government scheme that provided vaccination for poultry that was raised by the poor families. BRAC had also studied the market for poultry before starting the project and had helped the poor families to market the poultry quickly.

Similar cooperation between the government and an NGO named Proshika marks the third successful attempt at income generation for the poor. According to this scheme, landless families were provided water pumps, as a credit in kind, by a private bank. The poor families used the water pumps to provide irrigation to farmers in return for payment. This project was successful for two reasons. First, the government had passed a directive requiring that private banks must provide such credit. It had also imposed a strong tariff

on private purchase of water pumps to dissuade the farmers from purchasing their own pumps. Second, Proshika, the NGO, had done a careful market feasibility study of the use of water pumps for irrigation. This study indicated that the introduction of high-yielding varieties of seed had created a new demand for irrigation which the conventional water supply system was unable to meet. This astute understanding of how the market operates, aided by right government policies and NGO effort, raised the income for the landless families significantly.

If there is a common lesson to be learned from the three successful cases of income generation, it is that there are comparative advantages and disadvantages for the institutions of the state, market, and civil society in the development process. The state can institute or repeal regulations and provide the institutional home to innovative ideas which usually emerge at the bottom. NGOs can facilitate the generation of new ideas and provide close supervision of projects based on such ideas. This is a difficult task which governments cannot perform effectively. Market institutions provide an economic discipline which is critical for successful projects and is usually not provided by either the state or the NGO. However, governments can influence the working of the market through regulations. They can also provide the institutional mechanism for large-scale replication of innovative activities.

Photographs Hossein Anwar

Notes

1. I spent four weeks in Bangladesh during August-September of 1986 assessing a range of income generating projects which were funded by the Ford Foundation between 1974 and 1984. The methodology of my assessment is explained in detail in my report to the Foundation, which was completed in February 1987.

2. These findings from Bangladesh are very similar to the findings from other developing countries. See Tendler (1987) for a review of government-NGO relationships in Egypt, India, and Kenya.

3. The internal rate of return of most projects was in the range of 2 to 3 percent, even when labor-cost was assumed to be zero. When labor time was valued at the minimum wage level, the internal rate of return was found to be negative in many cases.

4. BRAC is the abbreviation for Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee. It was started in 1974 by a person with a social background very similar to that of Mr. Mohammed Yunus.

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Why Self-Help Won't Work

Peter Marcuse

Self-help policies are very appealing to a wide variety of people, for a wide variety of reasons. Self-help policies conform to moral laws: God helps those that help themselves. They are efficient: people work better, harder, when they work for themselves. They are economical: people use their own resources, and don't call on those of government. They are aesthetic: people can express themselves in their housing, and diversity flowers. They contribute to economic development: skills learned and investments made can be translated into outside income and economic opportunity. They foster freedom, self-expression, self- confidence, control over one's own environment: neither the heavy hand of government nor the light hand of the market dictates how people will live. They are flexible and promote innovation: nothing stops individual experimentation. They are democratic: decisions are made directly by those most affected. They can even lead to an expansion of democracy and economic growth in other areas: what people learn in building for themselves can be applied in politics and in business too.

The only problem is: self-help policies aren't likely to work. It depends, of course, on what definitions you use. If you include in 'self-help' everything but social housing directly built by government (as some Eastern European discussions now seem to do), then of course self-help can do much. If you mean by 'work' that something is accomplished that isn't accomplished without self-help, then self-help 'works.' But if you mean by self-help efforts by individuals,[1] with their own labor and without

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significant government assistance, to improve their housing, and if, for a housing policy to work, you want it to provide a socially acceptable minimum standard of shelter and neighborhood for the majority of people, including poor people, then self-help won't work.

The purpose of this paper is to present in a brief but systematic way some reasons why self-help might be expected not to work. It is not a review of the past evidence, nor a discussion of any present or proposed programs. Nor is it an argument that self-help will never work, or should not under particular circumstances be tried. It is not a criticism of those many individuals who have worked to improve housing conditions in many places through self-help, and have indeed accomplished much of real benefit through their efforts. It is certainly not an argument that self-help, in combination with other policies, specifically substantial governmental subsidy and regulation, is not a useful, indeed perhaps an essential, ingredient of a sound housing policy, particularly in countries outside of the most industrialized market economies.[2] It is, however, an attempt to provide a perspective on what can and what is unlikely to be accomplished with pure self-help activities; it is, in other words, an outline of the problems of pure self-help in housing. To list the problems, then:

I. Self-help cannot be a substitute for resources indispensable for housing provision.

Self-help can substitute only marginally and inefficiently and exploitatively for labor. The higher the standard being pursued, the more skilled labor will be involved; but even for some of the simplest forms of construction, the difference between experienced and inexperienced, skilled and unskilled, labor is substantial. For most householders engaged in self-

help, the time invested could, if other work were available, be much more productively used outside of the self-building enterprise than within it, and for some part of the work in self-building, outside assistance is generally indispensable.

Land, materials, expertise, infrastructure, must all still be provided. The direct appropriation of land by a prospective user, i.e., squatting, can be thought of as a form of self-help, but clearly not one that can be officially incorporated into a housing policy, at least *ab initio.* Materials can to some extent be scavenged, or in a few instances naturally produced, but some must always be obtained through more conventional channels. Infrastructure provision is not an individual possibility, at least where many households in relative proximity are involved. And, without some expertise, if only that of others having gone through the process before - which in turn requires more than simply the householders own work - what can be accomplished, and how well it will be accomplished, will be severely limited.

II. Self-help cannot deal with the host of problems that require centralized decisionmaking; it violates sound and necessary planning principles.

Housing is a major, the major, single expenditure for most households; for nations, similarly, it generally absorbs a significant share of gross national product. The allocation of resources to housing is dependent on national priorities, national decisions. If long-term growth could best be fostered by export-oriented economic development, for instance, that possibility cannot be taken into account if housing policy is focused on self-help activities; the introduction of criteria for resource allocation from a sphere in which self-help participants have nothing to say will inevitably pro-

duce conflicts and disillusionment. Self-help policies provide no mechanism for the balancing of competing interests in the allocation of national resources.

Even if a self-help project could influence the allocation of resources for its own needs, the system-wide allocation based simply on the competing claims (and therefore competing power) of individual self-help projects will hardly result in an optimal distribution. Separate self-help projects will compete against each other, solidarity will be undermined, cooperative efforts made more difficult.

The shortcomings of self-help are particularly evident in the allocation of land and the planning of infrastructure, the provision of utilities, transportation modes, community facilities or services effectively provided only on a city-wide or national basis. Neither should be done on a project-by-project, certainly not on a house-by-house, basis. Nor can self-help deal with the impact of actions outside its immediate area. Actions elsewhere affect every project. Focusing decision-making within a single project leaves it subject to the uncontrolled impact of developments elsewhere. The uses of neighboring land, pollution, soil erosion, congestion, all require policies by which housing is integrated in some broader planned approach to the built and natural environment; self-help is likely to make such broader approaches more difficult.

III. Self-help is likely to produce only temporary solutions to immediate housing problems.

No housing program, of course, can ensure a permanent solution to the problems of those who participate in it, but self-help is likely to provide more limited help to fewer persons for a shorter period of time than, for instance, a program of social housing provision. It offers no help for ongoing costs of maintenance and operations, or repairs. It permits those market processes that explain housing shortages in general to operate within its confines also: price escalation, speculation, landlordism, segregation, inadequate incomes for ongoing expenses. It does not address those societal conditions that produced housing shortages to begin with, and thus leaves the door open for a new cycle of the same processes to displace or unhouse those initially benefited by the self-help.

IV. Self-help provides no evaluative mechanism, no way of building in the future on the accomplishments and lessons of the past.

Self-help is an activity of individual users; once their own needs are met, the logic of their continued involvement transcends self-help, and must be handled on a differently organized basis. The more remote from the immediate bartering of labor and skills for immediate needs is, the more unlikely such sharing to take place, absent broader organization. Nor does self-help provide for any evaluative or lesson-learning experience; each house or each project must learn for itself anew the lessons others may have learned in the past. It provides no evaluation procedure, no feedback that others can use, no learning experience that is internalized where it will be of use in other projects.

V. Self-help is inefficient.

The difference between the efficiency of an experienced and an inexperienced worker, even in the simpler of housing construction activities, can be substantial; the higher the standards, the greater the difference, the longer the on-the-job learning time. The prospective user working on his/her house has no chance to built up expertise, develop skills, increase efficiency. What is learned will rarely be useful in the future. By the time some level of efficiency is reached approaching that of a skilled worker, the need for the skills acquired will have passed for that individual.

At the project or group level, inefficiencies are predictable also. Either each household works on its own, in which case efficiencies of scale and specialism (in buying materials, using technical assistance, completing specific operations) are lost; or the work is organized collectively, requiring greater skills and, in an informal organization, risking frictions and disorganization. Bureaucracy is hardly the ideal model of efficiency either; but the gain in flexibility is likely to be offset by the losses arising dependence on particular individuals, the subjection to personal vagaries, the lack of depth in leadership, the absence of rules and predictability. The capacity for influencing the allocation of resources broadly, whether city-wide, nationally, or through international agencies, is limited; it is unlikely to be developed in a project where the primary motivating force is simply to get a home of one's own.

Because the skills available through self-help are limited, excessive reliance on self-help in building either leads to a lowering of standards or a distortion of efficient building procedures. What is done depends on what the particular individuals participating can do; their skills may or may not match an efficient building process. Maximizing the use of available labor is likely to produce a quite different pattern of construction than maximizing the use of available materials, or proceeding by an efficient timetable.

VI. Self-help is economically regressive; it does nothing to redistribute social resources in accordance with need.

Across that spectrum of need in which it operates, the better off, those with more resources, more education, more skills, are likely to be able to accomplish more for themselves, the worst off the least. Within the circle of participants, what redistribution there is will likely be regressive. Outside the circle of participants, self-help produces no redistribution whatsoever. Yet rapid or major improvements in housing conditions for the worst housed are unlikely in any part of the world without significant redistribution. Self-help may make redistribution achieved elsewhere more effective, but, with the possible exception of squatting, is not itself a contributor to changing the existing distribution of resources.

VII. Self-help results in a lowering of housing standards.

Successful self-help must maximize the use of local materials and the generally unskilled labor of its individual participants. The higher the proportion of self-help, the lower the proportion of governmental or outside financial assistance, the greater must that reliance be. Materials are thus not chosen because they will contribute to the best housing, but because they are there; labor for the optimal construction is not available, so something less is made to do. The result is likely to be a unit built to substantially a lower standard than the formal economy would provide. And the lowering of standards is then likely to be defended by those most affected by it, because the product of their own work and better than the alternatives made available to them in a policy promoting self-help.

VIII. Self-help can be politically reactionary.

Housing problems arise to a large extent from the maldistribution of resources. Self-help can distract from the type of political actions that must be taken to address that maldistribution. The major distributional problems are national, or indeed international, in scope; self-help fails to address those major policy decisions that can only be made centrally. It can create illusions about what can be done without governmental action or governmental reform; it can thus shield the status quo when that status needs to be changed. That result is not inevitable,

of course. If successful self-help is a mixture of governmental assistance and private initiative, then private initiative without governmental assistance will quickly breed frustration. If that frustration results in political action to increase the level of governmental assistance; the result can be progressive; if it results in intensifying the effort to make private initiative do without governmental assistance, it will be conservative.

Even where political action is stimulated by the frustrations of self-help, self-help will tend to focus attention on the problems of the individual unit or project, away from more general problems. The primary objective will normally be the solving of the particular problem, whether more general issues are addressed or not. Worse, the emphasis on the success of an individual project may be an incentive to avoid broader and more controversial issues – the kind of co-optation that many low-income development groups have found a constant concern.

Further, even within its own framework and at its own scale, self-help may not contribute to democracy. If organized on a group basis, self-help may promote democracy within the members of the group (although it may also easily lead to factions, schisms and small-scale domination); the smaller the group, or if done on an individual basis, the less the immediate experience of democracy will be. As to outsiders, self-help builds up the separateness of interests, the self-protective and insular interests of the direct participants; it leads away from an identity of interests from others similarly in need of housing, unless coupled with strong ideological/moral convictions. Those not affiliated with the project are not naturally considered in its execution. And on an individual basis, self-help makes major demands on time and energy; that much less is left to act on a directly political basis. That holds true both form the direct participants and the organizers.

IX. Self-help can be socially divisive.
It mitigates against collective action; its power comes from the desire of an individual household to provide for its individual needs. Collective action is a means to that end; if other, better, means appear, even if the principles of collective action are violated, those other means will be used. That holds even on a project basis; participants in each project have a primary concern only about the success of that project, rather than in the establishment of conditions favorable to the success of all projects. In the hands of a manipulative governmental leader-

ship, the possibilities of coopting individuals and project leaders becomes that much greater.
Even among individuals and projects, reliance on self-help may pit one group or neighborhood against another in the competition for limited resources. The more direct a person or groups involvement in a particular self-help project is, the greater the temptation to focus on the measures that will promote individual success rather those that will in the long run promote the greatest expansion of housing resources for all.

Internally, self-help by itself may open the door for uncontrolled free market operations, to the detriment of other participants and non-participants alike. It may result in landlordism, renting out or subdividing and overcrowding units beyond their original design, speculating in the purchase and sale of units, etc. There are, of course, ways to avoid these possibilities, but they are not likely to be high on the list of concerns of those struggling to initiate a self-help project under the adverse conditions that make most of them necessary.

X. Self-help exploits the labor of its participants.
This is the aspect of self-help that has probably received the most attention in the critical literature. Hour by hour, the labor invested in self-help housing by its participants is probably remunerated at well below the payment that would be received if that labor were to be utilized within the normal economy. In situations of high unemployment, of course, measures of opportunity cost are needed, and opinions differ on the calculations. Per se, self-help is self-exploitation; in some circumstances, such action may be rational, but it is almost never the optimal use of the labor involved.

It results in concealed exploitation of labor. The exploitation ultimately runs to the dominant forces in housing and in the political structure, but because the exploitation is apparently self-motivated, so 'resistance' is hard to mount. The exploitation is invisible, so that its character, let alone its extent, is not known. And the form of the exploitation is indirect and private/individual, so collective action for changed circumstances is rendered more difficult.

All of these weaknesses of self-help are not unknown to policy-makers that press for self-help as a cornerstone of housing policy. Self-help emerges as governmental policy where redistribution and social equity are low priorities. It is put forward, by its establishment sponsors at

least, as a substitute for subsidies, direct governmental construction, direct aid. In fact, self-help can make a significant contribution to the improvement of housing conditions for poor people in many parts of the world, but it can only do so if it is a supplement to other policies, a small piece of a package of approaches that is fundamentally redistributive, democratic, willing to change fundamental features of the system of producing housing, and thus generally radical in its tackling of housing shortages.

One could spell out some of the specifics that would be necessary to make self-help a progressive and viable contribution on the road to a solution to the housing problems of low-income households, by looking at those actions that would minimize or negate the dangers of self-help listed above. Those specifics would include:

1. Collective, rather than individual, self-help;
2. Limited equity ownership, with rigid resale and rental controls;
3. A collective democratic decision-making structure, open to others seeking housing;
4. A non-exclusive, 'expansionist,' structure, involving those in need of housing but not participating in the immediate project to influence the expansion of the scope of activities; and
5. A strong association with a social movement or political group focussed on influencing governmental actions.

In such a context, self-help has a real contribution to make. Otherwise, self-help simply won't work, at least to improve the housing conditions of those that are the worst housed today.

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1. Or by small groups of users. Once the collectivity goes beyond the immediate users, the 'self' of self-help disappears, although the results may be much greater.

2. For a fuller statement of the policy issues involved in the United States, see Marcuse, 'On the Ambiguities of Self-help in Housing,' Division of Urban Planning Papers in Planning, Columbia University, October 1983. For a discussion of the concept in the current East European context, see Marcuse, 'Housing Reform in Eastern Europe,' Division of Urban Planning Papers in Planning, Columbia University, July 1989.

Rapid Site Planning and Refugee Camps: Deciding on Methodology

Nabeel Hamdi

Reinhard Goethert

Foreword

Recognizing the relative permanency of many refugee camps, the research team was asked to **design a methodology and prepare two handbooks**, one for the physical planning of refugee camps, and the second for the planning of „durable" and potentially self-sustaining settlements. This article is about methodology, and describes the methods adopted for the physical planning of camps. The terms of reference demanded a process that would be fast, and would include where possible, the refugees themselves in the planning process. The handbook was to set out some elementary principles which enabled management to be more coordinated in their response to site planning, and yet would offer maximum flexibility to field staff and refugees to innovate and improvise as necessary.

The research team recognized that many handbooks in this context were either too general to be locally useful, or too specific and of little general value. The team premised their approach, therefore, on the assumption that detail problems of site planning could not be solved generally. Problems instead could only be tackled locally, with some general help, which this handbook could offer if properly designed.

In response, the methods developed and outlined here **provide a basic and general decision-making structure** which can be used in a variety of ways, on a site by site basis. It is a structure less designed to tell what to do but rather, **tells how to decide what to do** and then how to find out how to do it. As such, its intention is to teach principles rather than to dictate solutions. It provides the opportunity for a coordinated response when preparing a plan of action, which in view of the short time

usually available, the enormous number of vested interests at stake, and the wide range of conditions encountered, is difficult to achieve at best.

The book on which this article is based is for generalists. It enables them to be familiar with the various specialist fields, to be more prepared to know what to ask and to

know what to check. It is not directed at dealing with emergencies.
In preparing the handbook, background research was based on observation and survey of a variety of reception centers, camps and settlements in Sudan, Somalia, the Philippines, Mexico and Belize and on intensive consultations with management staff, field staff and refugees.

Fig. 1: Conflicts of interest

What are potential conflicts of interests among the major actors?

2.20   One of the most common bottlenecks in site planning is how to resolve conflicts among those parties with vested interests in the project. Differences in objective, unless they are resolved during the planning phase, can delay and can often lead to solutions not in the best interest of the refugees themselves.

UNHCR	HOST GOVERNMENT	REFUGEES
Site Location		
Away from border. Close to urban/rural centers.	Away from border. Away from centers.	Close to border. Close to Centers.
Close to natural resources.	Away from natural resources.	Close to resources.
Layout Characteristics		
Organized to facilitate monitoring and protection.	Organized to facilitate management.	Prefer to be organized around cultural or village groupings.
Should lead to permanency and self-sufficiency.	Should not be seen as permanent.	Wants option whether permanent or not.
Centralized administration, warehousing, and essential services; decentralized washing, schools, and community centers.	Centralized public facilities for ease of management; decentralized water and washing facilities.	No interest in efficiency, interest in-convenience and personal gain.
Standards		
Minimum but upgradeable.	Fit national norms.	Fit cultural norms

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Introduction

It goes without saying, that refugee camp and settlement planning is a complex and dynamic activity, driven more by local, regional and international politics, rather than good principles of planning. Even if given adequate time for good planning, much is still left to the whim and good will of host governments and to the commitment of volunteers and the intuition and managerial skills of field officers and refugees, who with their ingenuity, improvise and make do as best as they can. Much is still left to the kind of ad-hoc „hit and run" approach, which includes a lot of hoping for the best, simply because most times, it is the only way.

When it comes to planning, the field is characterized by enormous conflicts of interest, amongst a large number of interest groups and very little methodology (Fig. 1). Setting goals, selecting appropriate sites, establishing standards of layout, construction and utilities, all of which are troublesome given the best of conditions, become unwieldy and ad-hoc processes. It is a field in which few of the rigors of planning school apply. Uncertainties about how many refugees, how camps will grow or diminish, how often they may have to be relocated, how long they will stay, what refugees can and cannot do for themselves, how far they can be „integrated" or want to be integrated of become „self sufficient", challenge conventional planning wisdom. The idea that you cannot start doing until you have finished thinking cannot apply. Conventional principles of planning, with their statistical models and projections, their phasing plans and their regional development intentions, all of which rely on fairly accurate information, are largely invalidated.

Even well-understood components of good planning (although not always well practiced) like community participation, are questionable despite good intentions[1]. It is an environment where refugees are unprepared to make a commitment to stay, where they have learned to be dependent on donor agencies and where what they build is unlikely to accumulate as wealth and unlikely therefore to be passed on as inheritance to children. Motivations to participate, understandably, are low.

On top of it all, and in the face of highly contrasting and fluid sets of political circumstances, geographic and climatic conditions, cultural and ethnic settings, most prescriptive responses — packaged in one place and intended for another — become superfluous, even irresponsible except during the initial phase of an emergency. It is indeed mostly a contest in which to decide how to proceed and how to plan from a range of rather poor and ill-defined alternatives.

And yet unquestionably, planning is needed. The question is, how much planning before the planning process itself gets in the way? What kind and who does it?

Setting objectives

During the course of an emergency, priorities inevitably focus on planning relief to save life. Site planning, under these conditions, ranks low on the ladder of priorities, and remains perhaps, necessarily ad-hoc. As reception centers consolidate, either by intention or by fact of their existence for longer than intended, and as sites are selected for new camps, due consideration to improved site planning becomes of prime importance because:
— It will minimize the need for difficult corrective measures later on.
— It will lessen the burden of managing and maintaining services and utilities.
— It will facilitate the integration of settlements, when possible, within the overall regional development plans.
— It will assist the management of resources more effectively, particularly of land, services and utilities.
— It will ensure the efficient planning of utilities networks and so save money on materials and fuel. And in the longer term leave open the option of connecting to regional infrastructure systems.
— It will help to link camp planning to settlement planning with its emphasis on longer term development.

These objectives of planning are of course easily stated. But, what kind and how much information is necessary to ensure their effective implementation. What minimum demands, and what standards, if any, should be set for each of the various phases of planning from site selection to the design of shelter, roads, food distribution centres and so on? Can some of the most relevant problems be adequately generated so that symptoms can be recognized and dealt with before they disrupt the workings of camps? How can lessons which are embedded in the minds and habits of all concerned be effectively passed on to others? What do the questions and the context in which they are set mean for both the content and form of site planning?

Establishing premises

A number of key theoretical considerations begin at least to inform these questions and help to build a workable method for camp planning.

First, we need a way of working which does not rely for its efficiency on „certainties" nor on „complete" information. Instead, three key ideas become a basis with which to develop the methods and build on local capabilities, a way of tapping the ingenuity of refuges and field staff: spontaneity, improvisation and incrementalism. Spontaneity, because most problems appear and change in fairly random fashion, and need to be dealt with accordingly. Like a shooting arcade, your target appears randomly, and there are usually too many to shoot down all at once[2]. One therefore has to be selective, knowing that once one target has been dealth with another will appear equally randomly. And when you have run out of resources, but not out of problems, you improvise. You invent rules, tasks and techniques as you proceed. Improvisations then, become a means of solving problems, a process full of inventive surprises which characterizes the informal way in which many refugees gain employment, make money, build houses. The third idea is incrementalism. Refugee camps, like most settlements, grow, consolidate, change and even disappear in a series of increments. Small businesses grow in a similar way, as do houses and communities. The question is, to what extent these changes are inhibited or supported; and having answered that question, what kind of interventions are appropriate at the various developmental stages?

Second, we need to include flexibility and coordination. Flexibility for field staff to make locally specific responses, and with their local counterparts and if possible, with refugees to discover locally rational ways of doing and planning; balanced with the need for a coordinated and planned response from management, so that resources can be allocated where they are most needed. Too much coordination (planning) usually slows things down. Worse, it inhibits the ability to act spontaneously, finding this usually threatening to its order. Too much spontaneity, on the other hand is threatening to governments and international agencies, who legitimately look to control camp development, to distribute food, to monitor health and deliver services.

Third, no book and no method is a substitute for professional competence and resourcefulness, nor for „common sense". Indeed, no book and no method for planning, because of their general nature, are good at solving problems. Problems can not be solved generally. Problems can only be solved locally, with some general help. Out intention, therefore, was not to produce a problem solving book. Instead, we needed one which indicated alternative paths that could be explored locally in search of solutions. It *indicates how to proceed, and what to expect as one proceeds.*
We know that good methods do not, in their own right, produce good products or results. Good judgement, tempered with experience and intuition does. Good processes facilitate good judgement, which is what methods set out to do. Their efficiency is measured in their capability to adapt and change and yet remain relevant, and not in the ability to predict nor in their capacity to control.

Fourth, and because of the proven inadequacies over the larger term of prescriptive methods, we need to consider a methodology less directed at telling what to do, and more on how to find out what to do, and then how to go about doing it.

Most management and field staff and most refugees more often than not, know quite well what needs doing, in the face of conditions they encounter. No one need tell that garbage needs to be more efficiently disposed, shelters need to be built, good agricultural land needs to be acquired or densities need to be controlled, although much time and money is spent on studies and surveys which wind up telling people what they already know. The question is: *how* to get it done. What people lack is the breadth of knowledge and experience about technical alternatives which may be available, how to deal with the vested interests at stake, and how to acquire the skills and expertise to do the job. And what they lack, once they know, are the resources which will enable them to meet their objectives. In other words, we need not only the skills and knowledge, but also the capability to act. Planning methods will therefore need to avoid the strictly technically rational approach as the only basis for decision-making. Very often, what one knows, what one must do given the technical considerations, is simply not doable given the circumstances.

What we need therefore, is a structure for decision making which can define the issues and components of planning, identify alternative ways of dealing with them, and considers selective tradeoffs and implications, all as a basis for knowing how to proceed.

For all of these reasons, any site planning methodology will need to be dialectic. The same issues or questions will need to be confronted in a variety of ways and by all the actors concerned, so that questions can be answered more precisely and issues understood more comprehensively. The sizing of lots or clusters is one example which will be ill-considered if decided exclusively on the grounds of densities, sizes of families and costs, and without due consideration to cultural habits, or to prevailing laws of inheritance, some of which may have their basis in religious doctrine. Certainly, one effective and quick way of practicing this dialectic process is through the media of the community based design workshop, to which we will return later.

Finally, the challenge in designing the handbook was to ensure that it was at once generally useful, and locally relevant. Handbooks which are too general lack the specificity to be locally useful. Conversely, those which are too specific have little general value. The task, therefore, was to avoid gross generalizations (all layouts should contains clusters) and overly specific standards (all clusters should be for a maximum of 30 families, or all roads should be 15 meters wide). At the same time, there are clearly well-known frames of reference for fire protection, clean water, infrastructure design and so on. The task is to establish what these limits are on the basis of commonly held principles of planning and design — the form of the book — as distinct from its content or program.

The result is a book which has a lot of structure, but whose content can be filled in, in different ways, to suit the enormous diversity of circumstances and conditions. The result is a book which we hope can serve managers, placed in central offices, and lots of individualized books, reflecting local needs, produced locally, completed as a result of practice, and serving practitioners.

Fig. 2: Summary of site planning steps

Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4	Step 5	Step 6
UNDERSTANDING REFUGEE CHARACTERISTICS	SELECTING THE SITE	DECIDING THE PROGRAMME	MAKING THE LAYOUT IMPLEMENTATION	PREPARING FOR	TROUBLE-SHOOTING
Issues:	Issues:	Issues:	Issues:	Issues:	Issues:
What cultural characteristics should be considered in the design of the layout and the physical components? How will these considerations shape the site layout and the design of components of the site?	What should be considered when choosing a site? How does one decide among several alternative sites?	What should be included in the plan and how is it expected to work? What will be the dimensional and locational characteristics, and the general strategic approaches of each physical element?	What hierarchy of groupings are appropriate? What interrelationships of components are key in structuring the layout?	How do you expediate construction? What can you do to support the growth of the community? How can the process be monitored?	Does it all make sense when one steps back and reviews the entirety? Is it doable? Would the proposal have any adverse impacts which have gone unnoticed?
Procedure:	Procedure:		Procedure:	Procedure:	
Identify social characteristics related to issues and goals set for site. Undertake a quick survey of representative refugee reception area, and determine social-cultural characteristics. Translate characteristics into their physical implications.	Prepare list of criteria. Prioritize the criteria list. Determine site characteristics through field visit. Assess layout implications. Rate the sites and select the most suitable.	Procedure: Develop a list of physical elements and their programmatic requirements. Develop a general planning strategy for each. Define the programmatic requirements and their layout implications.	For entire site: Divide site into community areas. Locate facilities for entire site. For each community: Allocate communal components. Connect main community components with vehicular network. Allocate areas for smaller cluster groups. Connect cluster groups with pedestrian network. Further subdivide cluster groups. For components: Size and sketch components, and provide specifications.	Make a list of things to be done. Make a list of actions to take. Determine who will act and how actions are to be carried out. Determine linkages among things to be done, both opportunities and problems. Rank thing to be done, and identify pivotal components.	Procedure: Identify symptoms, problems, and possible causes. Consider alternative actions and implications. Decide most suitable course of action.

Basis structure

The handbook is arranged in four parts: the first part sets the context for camp planning, outlines how the manual is organized and explains how it can be used. It sets out the general principles for planning camp layouts, defines the key physical components, identifies some key actors and defines their responsibilities.

The second part deal with the planning process. This includes: understanding refugee characteristics, selecting the site, deciding the program, making the layout, preparing for implementation and reflecting on outcomes.

The third part summarizes the most common problems encountered after the camp has been completed. It is arranged in three sections. The first two contain a list of symptoms and problems encountered in a camp. The last part combines the symptoms with the most probable underlying problem, and presents a more detailed discussion of possible alternative actions to overcome the problems. It is intended as a continuous documentation of hurdles and bottlenecks encountered during planning, as a resource to others.

The fourth part includes a series of technical supplements for further reference. These include: when and how to use experts, how to make social surveys, how to assess the advantages and disadvantages of the most common ways of delivering water, and disposing of sewerage, and how to make a sample budget.

The pivotal part to which all others relate is the second part: *physical planning and design of the site*. This is characterized by six sets of activities, each driven by a number of general questions *(Fig. 2)*:

1. Understanding Refugee Characteristics
— What cultural characteristics should be considered in the design of the layout and physical components?
— How will these considerations shape the site layout and the design of components?

2. Selecting the Site
— What should be considered when choosing a site?
— How does one decide among alternatives?
— What are the available resources in the given sites?
— How many families can each . site accommodate?
— What is the level of full self-sufficiency that can be achieved?
— How does the size and components of the site fit the first schematics?

3. Deciding the Program
— What will be the dimensional and locational characteristics, and the general strategic approaches of each physical element?

4. Making the Layout
— What hierarchy of groupings are appropriate?
— What interrelationship of components are key in structuring the layout?

5. Preparing for Implementation
— How do you expedite construction?
— What can you do to support the growth of the community?
— How can the process be monitored?

6. Reflections on Outcome
— Does it all „make sense" when one steps back?
— Is it „doable"?
— Would the proposal have any adverse impacts which have gone unnoticed?

The sequence is quite flexible. In some cases, for example, the site is already given whatever its shortcomings. It is therefore the starting point to the planning process. In other cases, one may start the process by reflecting on outcomes of camps already completed and working in the same region drawing lessons and building experience. Did it all make sense? Was it doable in the manner intended? Did it have adverse impacts that could not be predicted? What would we do differently this time?

Categories of Information

Whatever the general order (determined largely by circumstances) each of the above sets of activities are facilitated by five discrete categories of information — things one may need to know about or refer to, to help things along. These are: procedural information, experiential information, illustrative information, evaluative information and finally, technical information.

Procedural information

Under this category, a number of questions need to be informed. What general steps might one take to expedite the objectives set, to get things going, and in what general order? And then, how to go about each stage. Steps need not and indeed cannot be comprehensive. What they do is to outline the general structure within which other steps might be introduced if deemed necessary, to assemble data, validate information or reach consensus over sticky issues. The choice of steps, therefore takes substantial professional judgement. In site selection, for example, a first step might be to establish a list of criteria for site selection. Then, to prioritize this list, to determine site characteristics, and to judge whether these characteristics match the priorities as set, to assess the impact of the characteristics on site layout, to rate the site if there are a number to consider, and so to selct the most suitable *(Fig. 3)*.

Fig. 3: Procedural information:
„Steps: How to go about it"

STEPS	HOW TO GO ABOUT IT
1. DEVELOP A LIST OF PROGRAMMATIC REQUIREMENTS which need to be defined in designing the site.	- Make a list of physical elements which are likely to feature in the layout. Include the overall site development, the hierarchy of groupings, circulation, facilities, infrastructure, and shelter.
2. DEVELOP A GENERAL PLANNING STRATEGY or objective for each programmatic requirement.	- Determine the general approach to be followed in the design of each of the components. For example, for shelter, how much would be provided: how much land will be involved, how much self-helpcontribution?
3. DEFINE THE PROGRAMMATIC REQUIREMENTS AND THEIR LAYOUT IMPLICATIONS in sufficient detail to provide guidance to a designer.	- Establish the DIMENSIONAL characteristics of each of the components; for example, for lots: size, how many each size, proportion, expected uses on lot, location of shelter on lolt, etc. Similar characteristics need to be identified for all of the components. - Establish LOCATIONAL characteristics of each of the components; for example, for lots: where to locate the different types of lots, bigger lots along larger streets, smaller lots on walkways?

How to go about each stage or work deals largely with how to establish criteria, how to prioritize needs and how to discover alternative ways to tackle problems, make plans and build programs. This takes the form of an action list of things to do, and where a number of helpful techniques for doing them can be introduced. They may or may not be used, but they are there in the general library of resources to be tapped if and when needed.

For example, when prioritizing sites, if alternatives are available, prior to selection, a numerical weighting system can be introduced, to average priorities and so reflect the consensus view. Or, if conducted in the context of a workshop, various gaming techniques might be tried to negotiate priorities among vested interest groups and so reach concensus. It should be clear, however, that these techniques are only a guide to making final decisions. Decisions in the end are usually judgemental, and will in many cases be politically biased. No amount of statistical modeling, or any number of input-output diagramming will convince, for example, a government that a given site is inappropriate if its political purpose is to segregate rather than integrate refugees, or if indeed the hidden agenda is to prevent rather than build self-sufficiency.

Experiental Information

As work proceeds, each decision and each subsequent action will need to be informed about potential risks, hurdles and well-tested techniques. People will need to be aware, if they are not already, of „things to consider", things to watch out for or to worry about, drawn from ex-

Fig. 4: Illustrative information:
„Food sorting and distribution facilities"

perience both national and international. This experiential information is key to consolidating the basic structure of the process. It brings to bear experience and resources of knowledge from previous project work and provides an indication to the likely implications which each decision may have on planning. It is in many ways a reflective process, one which at this stage in the process is developmental (used to make things) rather than evaluative (to judge how things work). This information is presented in two ways: First, some indexes drawn from a broad range of case studies may be useful here, offering technical rationality and reflecting the performance of previous projects. Second, and based on experience, one can reflect on problems and hurdles one expects to encounter, the kind of bottlenecks that always seem to appear despite all the planning and preparation. One may ask: What hurdles can be anticipated before, during and after implementation? What contingency plans might one prepare based on existing knowledge of potential bottlenecks? How do you deal with equipment that does not meet the specifications? What if the latrines are not used at all, or as intended? How would you deal with fire hazards? What if the plots become overdeveloped and density becomes too high? How do you deal with encroachment on roads and other areas? Will refugees be allowed to sell lots or rent their shelters to non-refugees? What if the influx of refugees is greater than expected? What if there is inadequate supply of water at standpipes?

In setting up this information, one can identify the specific problems encountered with a clear definition of symptoms which help identify its existence, as well as possible causes. And on that basis, one can already suggest alternative ways of dealing with the problem.

We have called this activity „troubleshooting" rather than problem solving, because in the end, that is what it does.

Illustrative Information

Under this category, specific case examples are presented as responses to a given set of conditions. These largely focus on discrete components of the plan — schools, clinics, warehouses, food distribution centres and so on. Their purpose is to indicate in a wholistic sense, some by features of design and planning in response to climate, to easing management and maintenance and to function *(Fig. 4)*.

Evaluative Information

Evaluative information is induced from the plan itself. It is information one gets based on understanding what one has done or intends to do. This is undertaken in two ways. The first by **analyzing linkages** amongst the various components of the plan. The second by reflecting more broadly on the **impacts and implications** of what is proposed.

In the first case, three kinds of linkages are assessed. The first of these we call **consequential**. In other words, if one is to ensure the delivery of clean water, then there may be a number of consequential actions to ensure it remains clean to the point when it is consumed. This may trigger adequate and clean means of storage, some alternative means of compensation for those who may earn their livelihood through informal deliveries which may be threatened by any new proposal, and perhaps some training to build awareness of water borne diseases. The second linkage is **opportunistic**. For example, garbage collection is one necessary compo-

Food Sorting and Distribution Facility

Food is received from central warehouse, or if fresh, sometimes directly from supplier, and then distributed among refugees. Generally no food is stored here.

Components:	Description, Equipment
Distribution area	clean, large, hard surface
Food preparation area	cutting tables, preparation tables, washing basins
Truck loading/unloading	raised platform a convenience
Office	table, chair, file cabinet
Food storage (optional)	lockable area

Types and level of services:

Water: cleaning of fresh food, several taps

Drainage: provision for water run-off

Electricity: security lighting, only if food stored in facility

Special Considerations:

Cleanliness: must be easy to wash

Monitoring: must be easy to observe all activities = no walls (wire mesh?)

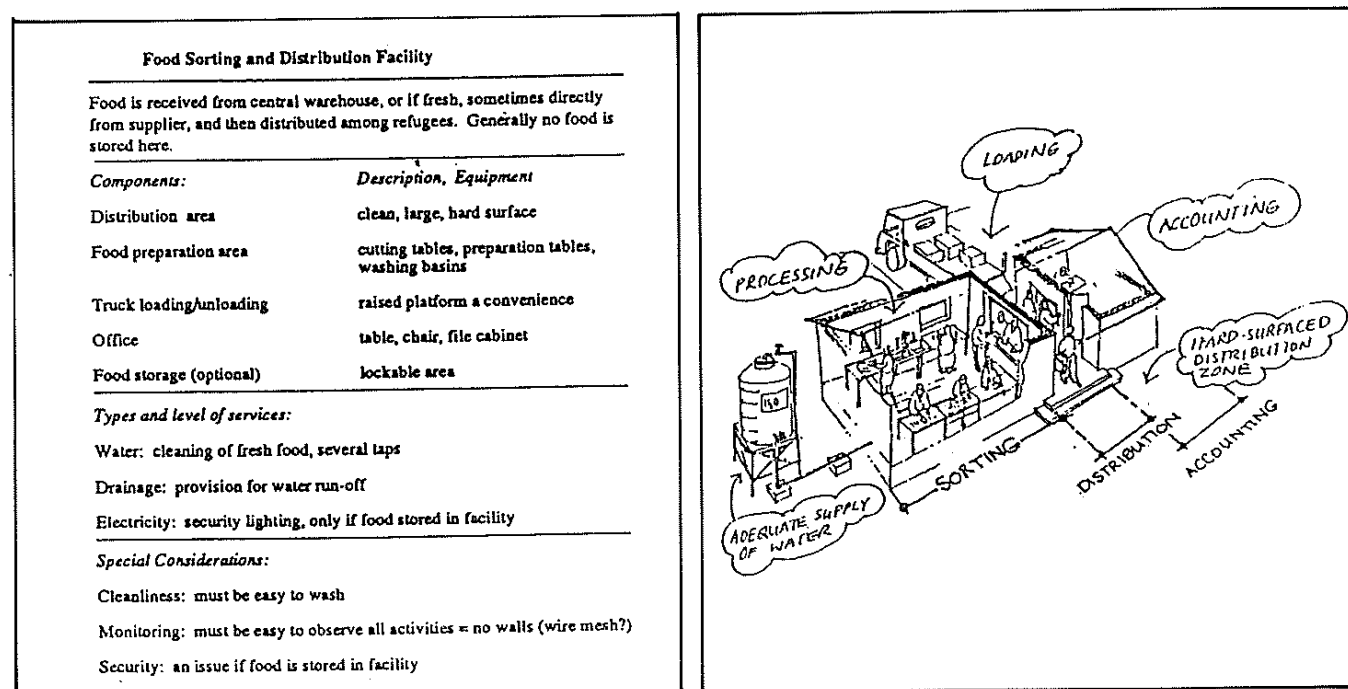Security: an issue if food is stored in facility

Fig. 5: Refugee camp in Africa

nent of planning and may be handled by community groups. (rather than outside agencies) as a form of income generation. In other words, we consider the various advantages inherent but not perhaps immediately recognizable in things we *have* to do, advantages which benefit refugees and even regional development plans.

The third kind of linkage is *conflict*. Which components of the plan seem to be in conflict as far as objectives are concerned. For example: Imported materials for the construction of shelter may enable speedy construction, but may also create future dependencies. The use of local materials for construction may be a desirable goal, but it may be in conflict with ecological objectives if for example, it results in large scale deforestation. In this case, some of the critical tradeoffs have to be considered and decisions must be based on informed judgement.

That judgement cannot be complete until an assessment is made, rudimentary and speculative as it may be, of the likely impacts of the plan, set in its regional context. This is the second kind of evaluation and integral to the assessment of linkages of conflict.

In general, we may need to consider the following: *economic impacts*, such as increase or decrease in local jobs related to construction or maintenance, the supply of subsidized foods to the marketplace, and the resources which may be consumed or saved. Consider environmental impacts, such as sanitary habits, pollution of natural resources (lakes, streams) due to increased density, the impact on land that increased grazing may cause, and the decrease or increase in the quality of services and facilities. Consider *commercial impacts*, where consumers may be affected by changing prices of goods and labor, and by higher prices of utilities. Consider *social impacts*, with the unclear associated effects of integrating different ethnic groups within the region, and their impact on land use and religious

habits. While these impacts are external to the camp itself, other impacts internal to the camp will need assessment. For example: How does the layout compare to indexes of effective land development and what do these indexes tell us about potential problems of maintenance and unanticipated costs? What specific aspects of the plan reflect the social /cultural characteristics of the target population? Is the plan buildable and manageable after building, given available resources.

Technical Information

The final category of information is *technical* and included as a series of technical supplements. These are intended for those occasions where in the absence of expert help, an overview is needed in order to expedite work. It is not, however, intended to replace the enormous number of effective technical handbooks that are available, each within specific fields of expertise.

Considerations in Conclusions

Finally, a number of considerations should be kept in mind for both the design and use of handbooks. First, most handbooks of whatever kind and whatever their designers may intend, are used in all sorts of ways. Some for example, tend to be used mostly when things go wrong. Others, such as game handbooks, may be used first to learn the rules of the game and then only if there is some dispute among players. Yet others, such as computer handbooks, we may refer to to discover possibilities which may not have been evident at the outset, although one may have learned quite well how to use the machine.

None of these books and certainly not „camp planning" handbooks, intend that those who use them become experts in the topic over night. They are not a substitute for expert help, but a supplement to it. They are therefore by necessity, selective of the information they contain.

Secondly, in the planning fields at least, one should be wary of handbooks and the methods they contain whose purpose may seemingly be directed to field work, but which in fact are designed for central management to control field work. While it is legitimate that certain standards should be met and do need to be enforced, books which are seen to inhibit local freedoms cannot succeed when used in the field. To the contrary, field personnel will be intimidated by a document intended for them but which they have not been party to and which would seem to reinforce a hierarchical decision-making structure which itself at times, inhibits rather than helps.

Thirdly, we would strongly recommend that the sections „Understanding Social Characteristics" and „Deciding a Program" be undertaken on location when possible, in short „action planning" session with the direct participation of community members, local administrative counterparts, technical professional teams and other non-government organizations. Experience suggests that these highly participatory sessions serve to better understand problems and issues from the points of view of the various participants as well as their relative priorities. Potential hurdles can be quickly identified on the spot and dealt with. Information can be organized more quickly and very often, more accurately, and the entire programming phase can be kept to within one or two days[3].

Finally, we have prepared this material specifically to elicit response and discussion. We see the draft handbooks and the methods they contain as part of a process with which to build a more sound theoretical basis for the site planning of camps. The question is not whether these methods are good or bad, or different, or any better than anyone else's. More useful, do they contain ideas which can be carried forward and built on? Can the methods employed offer greater equity or efficiency, or are they any more cost effective? Do they help unlock ideas and solutions which may otherwise remain hidden? Are people better off with or without this process, or does it largely benefit managers? We have only begun to inform some of these questions.

Notes

1. See: Clark, Lance. Promoting Refugee Participation in Assistance Projects. Refugee Policy Group. Washington D.C. 1987. See also: Cuny, Frederick, Refugee Participation in Emergency Relief Operations. Refugee Policy Group. Washington D.C. (Undated).

2. See: Yates, Douglas. The Ungovernable City. The MIT Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts. 1978.

3. See: Goethert, R. and N. Hamdi. Making Microplans — A Handbook for the Implementation of Integrated Upgrading Projects. Intermediate Technology Publications. London. 1986. See also: Silverman, J. Technical Assistance and Aid Agency Staff. WB Paper Number 28. The World Bank, Washington, D.C. 1984.

The Devolution of Housing Production: Support and Management

Patrick Wakely

The public works tradition of housing authorities

It is only over the last three or four decades that governments of most countries of the world have assumed a responsibility in the production of housing. Previously the public sector's housing activity was confined to the provision of accommodation for its military and some of its civil employees. Barracks, police quarters, cantonments, and civil lines were made available to government servants only while they were employed in the locality, invariably a very short time by comparison with the life of the buildings. Therefore there was little chance that any of the occupants could effectively participate in the design and construction of their housing nor, in any significant way, in its maintenance and management. Thus, housing production was clearly seen as an engineering function and so, for civil staff, housing was the responsibility and a minor activity of departments or ministries of public works. The management of government housing was viewed as the administration of an inventory and the maintenance of allocation procedures — the storekeeper functions of the quartermaster — and was typically vested in a housing department closely connected to the civil service commission, or the ministry of the interior.

Governments' intervention in the housing provision of the vast majority of citizens not in its employ extended only to attempts at the control of private and community sector initiative in the declared interests of public health, safety and amenity. These functions brought about the advent of public health acts, building regulations, planning codes and development controls. While this is not the place to argue the appropriateness of these measures, it is worth recalling that almost no household in the low income groups could afford to meet such rigorous standards set, nor could governments enforce them. Thus low-income,

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'substandard' housing areas, beyond the law, and consequently often beyond the reach of official welfare programmes, grew at a much faster rate than those that were officially recognised.

This growth of 'slums' and 'shanties' was interpreted not only as an inability of low income householders to afford 'decent' and legal housing but also as an inability to manage the design and construction of permanent dwellings. Therefore when governments, for a variety of political reasons, did assume an active role in the production of low-income housing for ordinary people, it seemed logical as well as straightforward that it should be done by extending the responsibilities and staff of the departments of public and municipal works.

Thus several decades later, housing departments and ministries — even though they may now be charged with managing sites and service projects and urban upgrading programmes — are staffed by engineers, architects, accountants and housing managers who still see their ultimate responsibility to be the design and production of permanent dwellings. Public housing agencies still set and have to meet targets in terms of number of new dwellings to be built to predetermined standards of construction, space and cost. Budgets for finite programmes of capital works are determined on the basis of previous years' performance and have to be committed or spent within a fixed period. Complex tendering procedures and contractual relationships between the public sector and private contractors for the execution of civil engineering and construction have to be officially maintained.

The designers and producers of such public housing perceive little need to have direct contact with the users of their products and very rarely do so. Priorities for investment in different housing and community goods and services are those of the professional staff of housing departments who may have recourse to some sample surveys of consumer demand but usually rely solely on their own beliefs of what people need or ought to have. Any

real attempt at understanding the immediate demands or longer term aspirations of households and communities, of classes or cultures different from their own, is rarely a prelude to design. Housing units — completed dwellings or serviced sites — are allocated on an assumption of a beneficiary's ability to pay for them based on a series of coarse grained categories of household income. This classification rarely takes into account the number of people that have to be kept on a household's earnings; neither can it incorporate consideration of household 'wealth' or access to savings that might be mobilised for an investment as important as a new house.

In short, many departments and ministries of housing throughout the world view their role to be that of the design and provision of products of the engineering and construction industries. Where possible, these should be completed dwellings — houses, apartments, tenements — if only to ensure that 'adequate' and uniform standards of construction are maintained. Where, for economic reasons, building cannot be completed by the central authorities, they are wont to exercise controls and constraints on the building activities of others in an attempt to achieve the same ends. But above all, the basic decision making and management of the production of dwellings and the domestic environment are almost entirely out of the control of those who will use them. Thus the adaption of an approach to housing production the basis of which is the devolution of decision making and managerial responsibility demands considerable structural as well as procedural changes in many public sector agencies.

The case for the devolution of housing production and management

The case for the devolution of responsibility for housing production has developed cumulatively through three types of argument. The first, most forcefully made by Charles Abrams and Otto Koenigsberger in the early 1960s, is best described as the 'if you can't beat them — join

them' argument. This points out that there is no way that governments can meet the demand for low-income housing by building (subsidised) dwellings for all. It goes on to argue that even the most 'sub-standard' slum and shanty shelters provide homes and should therefore be recognised as part of the urban housing stock, which is only depleted by official slum clearance programmes. Once informal 'self-help' housing and thereby the role of householder in its production has been recognised, the next step is to provide official assistance to them in order to raise the quality of housing.

The second line of argument, characterised by the policies of the World Bank in the 1970s and early '80s, follows the economic line of devolving responsibility for housing provision to the users. This argues that individual households can build their own dwellings with a much more effective or economic use of resources than can be achieved by centrally administered construction programmes. Only households themselves can programme the investment of their time and resources in housing in accordance with their other commitments and fluctuations in their often very unstable financial circumstances. They have access to cheaper (sometimes second-hand) building materials than could used by goverment contractors, and they can collect them over time and store them until they have accumulated sufficient and are ready to use them. People will ensure that they get the best value for money when they manage and supervise the construction of their own houses and they are prepared to accept their own mistakes, while those of someone else — a housing authority — are always bones of contention. In addition, by delegating the construction of housing to the householders government is not only releasing a large amount of capital that would otherwise be tied up in buildings but is also getting out of that part of environmental development that has the highest financial risks.

The third part of the case for the devolution of housing production is clearly identified with the writings of John Turner (who has also been central to the previous two lines of argument — both intellectually and historically) and argues that the production of houses is but a part of the process of housing which, in turn, is a net of dynamic relationships between a household and its immediate environment. And, if households and autonomous communities are in control of the basic decisions that shape the environment through its design, construction and management, it will provide a fundamental support to their own well-being, confidence, and development. This observation is backed by a growing body of empirical evidence from comparative studies in both centrally designed, constructed and managed housing projects and housing areas which have been developed and are managed autonomously by their users and occupants. The evidence very strongly indicates a high degree of social cohesion and environmental maintenance in the latter, in contrast to a tendency to social apathy or tension, neglect and vandalism in government-built and managed housing projects.

Thus the case is made for the devolution to the lowest effective level of all decision-making and managerial responsibility for housing.

The 'lowest effective level' in this context means the smallest social or political group that can economically support or claim the exclusive use of a good or service. For instance, to the extent that it presents no danger or inconvenience to others, a dwelling is surely the responsibility of those who 'own', occupy and use it; only they can responsibly decide what resources to invest in it; only they can determine what performance should be expected of it. On the other hand, although an individual household may choose whether or not it wishes to have (pay for) a direct connection to a pipe-borne water supply, it cannot reasonably support or manage the supply and distribution network that brings it to the dwelling. The management of the distribution must be undertaken at the level of community that uses it and responsibility for the supply usually must rest with a larger unit — the municipality or regional water authority.

'Devolution' of decision making should not be confused with the mere decentralisation of responsibility for the implementation of centrally taken decisions. This is common in sites and services and aided self-help housing projects where basic decisions of location, level of servicing, distribution of facilities and even type and standards of construction are determined centrally, leaving only decisions on the programming of house building to be taken locally. Devolution implies a genuine handing over and dispersal of responsibility by a central authority. This inevitably means a loss of some control over the use of some resources which generally is associated with a loss of power. The power of influence as opposed to that of control is not often recognised by bureaucracies. Neither is the very limited extent of their real control over the housing activities of vast numbers of the lowest income groups — squatters and slum dwellers — at the moment.

The first and principal task, then, in the process of promoting a rationalised housing production process is that of demonstrating the economic efficiency and the social and environmental benefits of the devolution of decision making and management of housing production. This is no easy task largely because of the lack of direct precedent in public housing programmes and the difficulty of convincingly translating experiences from other contexts such as traditional rural societies or upper-income private sector housing production. The universal conservatism of bureaucracies also mitigates ponderously against even marginal changes in public sector procedures and relationships. However, there are increasingly encouraging signs of a will to break out of the deadlock of a growing demand for satisfactory housing and diminishing public resources to satisfy it, if only to escape public and political scorn.

The implications of devolution and the identification of roles

Devolution does not mean that government should shed or reduce its activity in housing production. Indeed it requires a vastly more complex and demanding role than the caricature of its present concerns that is sketched above. This role is that of 'enabler' or 'facilitator' of individual and community initiative and effort; it entails the provision and co-ordination of a train of supports to local action that range from the provision of technical advice for individual households to the maintenance of a physical and social infrastructure that is responsive to the changing needs and demands of its users and managers.

Once the principal of real devolution of responsibility is accepted, the first step must be to establish unequivocally the roles of all the actors in each of the activities that go into the production and maintenance of housing. This, of course, has to be done at several different levels — with increasing degrees of precision — down to that of an individual project or discrete community. Thus the list of activities or tasks will range from fundamental decisions concerning location, and the use, distribution and tenure of land; through the establishment of levels and standards for the provision of physical infrastructure and community services and amenities; to the implementation of civil works and the construction of dwellings. It should not stop there, but also include all the activities that constitute the continuous maintenance and enhancement of the environment and the community that enjoys it.

Each activity must be identified by:
— *who decides* on the standards and norms that must be achieved and met,
— *who executes*, directs and manages its implementation,
— *who pays* for it. (This should not be confused with who provides finance for it).

And for each of these must be established:
— *what support* or assistance, if any, will be required to enable all actors to operate effectively,
— *who provides the support* and in what form.

What will become immediately apparent from the completion of such a matrix is the complexity of different 'partnerships' involving individual households, neighbourhood and community organisations, central and local government agencies and non-governmental organisations. However, general 'areas' of involvement of each of these groups of actors will emerge. Crudely, the users — households and community organisations — will have primary responsibility for the design and implementation of housing and community service provision. They will also be ultimately responsible for paying for at least those housing goods and services that are marketable. By contrast, government, non-governmental and voluntary agencies will have primary responsibility for supporting local and individual initiatives and endeavours with the provision of a legal framework and social, financial and technical assistance that will allow and enable effective local decision making and action. (Fig. 1)

The components of a support to local housing activities

A basic support to the lower income groups, that in most urban areas can only be provided by the authority of government, is the provision of access and security of tenure to appropriately located land for housing. Land is a fundamental 'element' of housing, yet because of competition for its use it has become an extremely costly market commodity in almost every town and city of the world. Even in societies where officially there is no individual freehold ownership of land, the 'unofficial' market in rights to its use is just as 'real' as elsewhere. Thus, only the most wealthy or powerful have access to any but peripheral or otherwise unsuitable land for their housing. In recognition of this, many governments have accepted that they must enter the open land market on behalf of the lower income groups. At the same time the need for absolute security of tenure to land is becoming re-understood as a precondition to individual investment in its development. However, in many urban societies all tenure rights other than personal freehold with rights to sell and bequeath, are viewed as insecure — long leases depreciate in market value (if their sale is allowed at all); the security of individual rights in collective land ownership is often mistrusted. As a result governments are left in a quandary as to how to recover the cost of land and frequently end up granting it to low-income householders, if not free, at enormously subsidised rates, thereby releasing it for speculative dealing at the expense of the public purse and often at the long-term expense of the original low-income beneficiaries as well. Thus titles that separate the use and bequest of land from those for its sale, need to be explored. For instance, low income households can be given the permanent and exclusive rights to the use of a (small) piece of land free or at a nominal charge that can be afforded. They would be at liberty to bequeath it to a nominated beneficiary who is generally accepted as bona fide. However, they will only be granted a freehold title deed after paying the full market value of the land. Thus should they wish to sell the land they cannot do so below the commercial rate. Only with the adoption of support strategies such as this can centrally located land be made available for housing for ordinary people without distorting the market to an extent that would be politically unacceptable, and therefore unrealisable.

Another basic 'element' that underlies the production of housing is access to affordable credit. As with land, the open and centrally administered finance market can rarely satisfy the requirements of low income house builders. Even if credit can be made financially accessible, it is not usually possible to administer its release and recovery with sufficient flexibility to meet the demands of householders with irregular incomes and unpredictable expenditure patterns. This can only be achieved if the management of individual loans is decentralised (not necessarily devolved) to a community or neighbourhood level at which social mores and pressures can take the place of material collateral and can also be used to dissuade potential defaulters. Many different forms of informal savings schemes, thrift societies and loans associations, that are used to support house building, exist amongst well established communities throughout

Fig. 1

PROJECT PLANNING CHECK LIST

(Reduced and adapted from a check list prepared for the Urban Housing Sub-programme of the Sri Lanka Million Houses Programme)

ACTIVITY	WHO			SUPPORT	
	DECIDES	DOES	PAYS[1]	WHAT	BY WHOM
1. Identification of possible sites for new housing and for upgrading programmes.	City Housing Authority	City Planners		Technical/financial/ procedural advice	Nat. Housing Authority
. Identification of beneficiaries for new housing by open advertisement; relocation from existing slum areas or upgrading projects.	City Housing Authority	City Hous. Authority		Procedural advice	Nat. Housing Authority
2. Site selection on basis of closest fit to the beneficiaries locational needs.	City Housing Authority	City Hous. Authority		Locational demand characteristics	Potential beneficiaries
3. Acquisition of land where not already in public ownership.	City Housing Authority	City	City/ Households	Finance	Nat. Housing Bank
4. Formation of community councils at neighbourhood/project level. Govt. community development officers may have to play leading role initially.	City Housing Authority	CD officers NGOs		Organisational/admin. advice	Nat.Hous.Auth. NGOs
5. Start savings and earnings programmes to initiate habit; to build up savings; to identify capacity for repayment.	City Housing Authority	Households	Households	Organisational/admin. facilities	Housing Bank NGOs
6. Selection of infrastructure provision system by type and level of all services.	Households	Community Org.		Awareness of needs Technical advice	CD officers/ engineers NGOs
7. Establishment of plot sizes and public space through negotiation and tradeoffs between space and cost.	Households	Community Org.		Social/Technecal advice	CD officers architects NGL.
8. Design of site layout based on Activities 6 and 7 and extensive presentation and modification of alternatives.	Community Organisation	City Hous. Authority		Technical advice	Nat. Housing Authority
9. Lay out site based on Activity 8 but incorporating on-site modifications and negotiated adjustments.	Community Organisation	Hous. Auth. surveyors		Supervision	Community Organisation
10. Establishment of financing procedures on the basis of actual site development costs; apportionment of subsidies; etc.	City Housing Authority	City Hous. Authority			
11. Plot selecection (allocation).	Households	Households		Organisation arbitration	Community Organisation
12. Undertake public works.	City Housing Authority	Contractor	Households	Supervision, Finance	Comm.Org./ City Hous.Auth
13. Establish maintenance procedures for public facilities. (Important to be established as soon as public works are complete).	Community Organisation	Community Org.	Households	Organisation	City Housing Authority
14. Release funds for house building/improvement.	City Housing Authority	Community Org.	Households	Administration	City Hous.Auth Banks
15. Build/improve dwellings.	Households	Households/ Contractors	Households	Technical assistance Finance	City Hous.Auth NGOs
16. Maintain loan repayments.	City Housing	Community Org.	Households	Administration	City Hous.Auth Banks

(1) All activities have a cost. However, to simplify the chart only those with a direct cost have been entered.

the world. However, their effectiveness is often curtailed by under-capitalisation which seriously restricts the extent to which they can meet real demand. And such informal associations, that to a certain extent must be founded on trust, do not exist in new communities which are often those most in need of financial support for home building and environmental development.

Therefore an important area of support to the capacity of community groups and individual householders to provide their own housing is not only access to credit finance that can be borrowed as small, short term loans, but also the provision of a system for its administration locally. This support will usually entail the establishment of a neighbourhood loans and recovery office (or officer), though in some circumstances it may take the form of training programmes and back-up banking facilities for the staff of community organisations. Though it is possible for such a service to be implemented by non-governmental organisations or voluntary agencies, to be effective on the scale required in most Third World cities it is likely to have to be managed by a department of government.

The third major component of government support to housing is the provision and distribution of basic infrastructure — water, sewage, surface water drainage, garbage disposal, and electricity. By and large, these services are supplied in a supportive way to recognised housing areas in most cities at present. However, their users are rarely involved in the initial selection of a sewerage system to be installed or the level of provision of water or electricity supply. Thus assumptions on household priorities for investment in service provision have often been wrong leading to the abandonment or abuse of the facilities provided at considerable capital cost. A common example is the construction of public toilets in the belief that individual sewerage connections to each dwelling would be considerable more costly and therefore unaffordable. In many instances, the difference in cost between the two systems may not be very great but has not been adequately calculated — notably where voluntary labour may be available — neither has householders' willingness to pay extra for the enhanced amenity been established. Parallel examples concerning the provision of water and drainage are frequent, as are those of the supply of electricity, though the extension of the latter from a street-lighting circuit to individual domestic supply at a later stage is relatively easy, unlike the 'upgrading' of a water supply or sewerage network.

The starting point for community involvement in the selection of infrastructure provision must be their own perception of the needs and benefits of such services. Very often low-income urban households, who may be first generation city dwellers, are not aware of the causes of common debilitating health conditions and thus cannot line them with the lack of, for instance, the supply of water or the adequate disposal of excrement and garbage. In the circumstances, therefore, before any concrete steps can be taken by the community or any agency supporting it, an educational programme for 'raising awareness' must be launched. This is likely to lead only to frustration and disillusionment if it is not immediately followed by support that will enable the newly appreciated problems to be solved. Thus, a chain of supports to environmental development must be set in train that can only effectively be handled as 'packages' of programmes that may well involve the provision of information and community education; the mobilisation of finance; the installation of infrastructure; connection to urban services; the provision of technical advice and training; and the organisation of management and maintenance procedures.

The technical advice and information that is required to support the development of a site and the construction of dwellings will inevitably concentrate upon reinforcing an understanding of the relative costs and benefits, both long and short term, between alternative courses of investment (action). It will have to provide households with adequate criteria by which they can make an informed choice between, for instance, initial cost and ultimate standard of amenity in the provision of infrastructure or between alternative tradeoffs between permanence of construction, standards of space, cost of maintenance, resale value of a house and the sacrifices that will have to be made in other expenditures from a tight household budget. Clearly, a very high level of design and technical competence and continuous access to technical innovation and costs will be required of the professionals who provide this type of support to individual home builders and communities. This, maybe even more than in other areas of advisory support, will necessitate the maintenance of an efficient network of information exchange. There could be great advantage in setting up a system of neighbourhood 'building clinics' to which householders can go for technical advice, design services and training, both in construction skills and in building supervision in order to help ensure that they get the best value for money out of the contractors that they employ. Such centres can also provide hire services for power tools and workshop facilities for the use of householders and their employed artisans. They can be developed for the local production of common building components — door and window shutters and frames, roof trusses, cement blocks, etc — thereby also providing a commercial outlet for local skills. If such a 'building clinic' or community workshop is located in a centre with other community support services — legal advice, health and child care facilities, credit administration — which can become a focus for neighbourhood activity, it will aid the fostering of community cohesion that is the prerequisite of effective local management of environmental development.

Such integrated programmes as those described above, incorporating the development of community awareness and co-operative effort, are rarely straightforward even in well established communities with clearly recognised leadership structures and some degree of unanimity and social cohesion. In new housing areas — sites and service projects — where householders may be meeting for the first time there will be no social cohesion or respected local leadership unless the occupants have been brought together before moving to the new site. This is usually extremely difficult to arrange, particularly where households are responding to an open advertisement to join a new neighbourhood. However, if the users of new housing area are to be responsible for establishing the norms by which it is to be planned and serviced and for which they will ultimately pay, they should do so before they settle on the site — though this does not have to be before they occupy it.

Clearly, site layouts will usually have to be prepared before householders can move onto new land. These should be designed on the basis of careful and sensitive study and discussion with the occupants of already settled areas that would be likely to have similar values, aspirations, and resources. However, such site plans should not preclude adjustments or even substantial changes to them that may be negotiated by and between the occupants after occupation.

A concern in the initial stages of making land available is the establishment of an appropriate size of neighbourhood and therefore of community. This is an issue of continuous sociological debate that can never be generalised. However, while there is probably no lower limit to the number of families that can cooperatively manage their immediate environment, there obviously is a maximum. Therefore, in the selection of land for new housing, small sites are more likely to be developed successfully than large areas where the identification of cohesive community groups can take a long time to get established. While big projects that allow the development of large areas of land provide an economy of scale for centrally administered housing programmes they can produce major diseconomies in the implementation of a support policy.

The implementation and management of supports

This brief overview of the principal institutional support roles required in an approach to popular housing production

that recognises the fundamental importance of the users in the process, indicates the sorts of changes that will have to be effected in the practice of most government planning and housing departments.

The sorts of measures that will have to be taken to provide appropriate and adequate access to land and credit that have been discussed above may, in some circumstances, require legislative changes at a national level or the introduction of new government powers. But very often, careful scrutiny will show that existing laws and authority can perfectly legitimately accommodate even quite radical changes in current practices thereby avoiding lengthy delays and exposure to opposition to change.

One area that does, however, require statutory change in most situations, is that of building and planning controls. In many cities of the world, planning by-laws and building regulations go way beyond the basic intention of ensuring public safety and convenience and themselve constitute a constraint to development by stipulating standards of construction and the use of space that cannot be afforded. Therefore there is an urgent need to review and redraft much of the legislation that impinges on environmental development. To be supportive it should be recast as a minimal set of simple proscriptive norms and advisory 'notes on good practice' that can be easily understood and appreciated by housebuilders as well as being maintained by local government officers. The growing practice of demanding lower standards and imposing less stringent regulations on some slum neighbourhoods and new low income housing sites by the declaration of „special areas" that are not subject to the high standards imposed elsewhere in a city, is both illogical and discriminatory and can only mitigate against the integration of the lowest income groups in the wider urban community to which they aspire.

Without doubt the most taxing aspect of the institutional change needed for the introduction of a support approach to housing as national policy is at the project level of implementation. Few of the tasks outlined above are new to the gamut of social welfare and community development programmes that already exist and function in virtually all major cities of the Third World. However, the overriding differences lie in the scale, the consistency, and the degree of co-ordination that are required if they are to become effective supports to a sustained national or metropolitan housing strategy as opposed to just a few selected projects. Many such support functions are, and are expected to be, managed by non-governmental voluntary organisation. There is no question that NGO's and voluntary agencies should continue to play a major role in the provision of support to community and environmental development. But their

capacity will always be limited and the emphasis of their concerns will change. Therefore, it would be unreasonable and unreliable for government to abandon to NGO's and charitable or philantropic organisations all responsiblity for any particular aspect of its basic support to individual or community initiative.

The restructuring of the distribution of professional and technical staff to manage the range of supports required is unlikely ever to affect only one government department. Many different agencies of both central and local government have a major role in the provision of support — public works, water supply and drainage, municipal engineers, legal, health and education departments, and often many more besides. All, to some extent, will have to review their roles, staffing and styles of operation. However, the most radical changes will have to be made within the housing authorities.

As they withdraw from the management of a few large construction projects in favour of many small investments in land development and the administration of flexible, and usually short-term loans, it is unlikely that housing authorities will be able to maintain the traditional target based annual budget. A form of rolling account that can be more responsive to the vagaries of real demand for new and improved housing, and that is able to absorb fluctuations in both expenditure and income, may prove essential.

A major role that will usually fall to housing authorities is the coordination and programming of the many different agencies and bodies that will be involved. Clearly this can only be done at a project level in close collaboration with client communities and households and therefore must be done by a 'project officer' who generally holds a relatively junior post. However, decisions concerning the extent and timing of the participation of different public and voluntary sector organisations in a project — not to mention several simultaneous projects — will obviously affect institutions at many levels. Such coordination demands a level of interagency understanding and co-operation that rarely exists. However, in many situations there is more chance of it succeeding than the establishment of a single authority with a mandate over other agencies, which though simpler in theory and more efficient, in practice invariably promotes only resentments and interagency rivalries, and can have no reasonable authority over voluntary agencies.

Mangerial sensitivity to the project level not only concerns the coordination of different actors and actions but must respect and support the initiatives and decisions taken by field level staff. Unless sufficient authority is devolved to 'the front line with mud on their boots' and they are seen to have effective institutional support from above (or behind), there

is little chance of it being passed on to their client communities and households. This is likely to be a major constraint on the effective implementation of a support policy. In most bureaucracies, senior officers are as reluctant to delegate responsibilities for fear of loss of power — both official and unofficial — as are junior officers to accept them for fear of reproach for failures or irregularities.

In conclusion, the implementation of a support policy for housing production is not just a matter of the retraining and redirecting of the architectural, engineering and managerial staff of centrally administered housing authorities for new roles as technical advisers and community development officers. It entails major conceptual changes in the constitution, structure, and management of several government agencies as well as in the relationships between them. So, rather than start by studying possible bureaucratic reforms, governments should analyse the process by which people settle and develop land, form new communities and construct their houses on their own. Then the type and timing of assistance that would improve and hasten this process can be examined. Thus an appropriate machinery for the implementation of a support policy for housing can be designed. However, its commissioning will depend upon a strong political will and committed public administration.

Community Action Planning: A Case Study from Sri Lanka

Lalith Lankatilleke

INTRODUCTION

Fundamental Issues

Every National Government or Local Government which has a genuine concern and committment to solve the housing problem of the low-income groups, has to address two fundamental questions.

I. How to reach scale in order to satisfy the unprecedent demand for the new and improved housing?

II. How to reach scale with the limited financial, material and manpower resources available to National and Local Governments?

The Sri Lankan Response to these Fundamentals

The Sri Lanka response to these fundamental questions was very bold. It transformed conventional thinking and planning approaches into a new paradigm, the Support Paradigm.

The Support Paradigm was not born out of academic theory or expert knowledge and analysis but from fundamental realities of the housing process, the realities being:

— Housing is an activity of the People and not of Governments and therefore People should be at the centre of the decision making process.

— Government has an important gap to fill i.e. what people cannot do on their own, Government should step in — that is where support begins.

— Government's role is clearly not to do what people have been doing for centuries i.e. building houses and settlements but strengthening of the People's Process of doing it.

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— Start with the premise that people are resourceful, rich in initiatives and creativity, and need recognition, encouragement and support.

— Solutions to problems are found in the hands of the people and not with technocrats, bureaucrats or experts.

The Support based paradigm in the Million Houses Programme of Sri Lanka was founded on these fundamental realities. Although these fundamentals seem straightforward and obvious, it takes a lot of „unlearning" for the professionals to see the obvious. Sri Lankan housing professionals had to undergo a process of unlearning and relearning from the people and amongst themselves in the making of a support policy.
In the process of unlearning „Support" was articulated and developed to be a dynamic and an active process of realising people's initiatives and capacities for self and their communities' development.

What is Support?

The term „support" is used to cover a wide range of non-dominating but facilitating processes which assist all actors in the housing process e.g. Local Authorities, communities and individual families, in deciding and doing. The forms of support can be divided into Hardware support and Software support according to their attributes. The Hardware support, for example, includes physical attributes like land and infrastructure while Software support includes information, training, credit, health, community organization and management.

Software support mechanisms have been developed as methodologies, guidelines, procedures and tools. These mechanisms are not preconceived or predetermined from a rigid theory or a model but generated from the practice.

Community Action Planning and Management is such a methodology developed by the Million Houses Programme. It is a methodology for a variety of interest

groups within the communities to confront, discuss, listen, think, plan and decide their own development in partnership with officials.

THE SUPPORT BASED PARADIGM

The Evolution of the Concept

The Conceptual Framework of Community Action Planning and Management evolved from a range of community based activities done in the field. It is best stated as „an articulation of a clear and simple methodology generated from what actually took place in upgrading settlements in Colombo". Therefore the real authors of this methodology are the communities and officials who worked alongside with each other. This has developed into a clear frame of reference for the new practitioner, community leaders and officials to work within.

The conceptual framework is by no means a rigid model, but it is open ended and capable of absorbing new innovations and additions.

Conventional Practice vs.The New Paradigm

Community Action Planning and Management can be best understood when it is contrasted with conventional planning practice. In conventional practice, state money, material and knowledge were the primary resources. The bureaucracy claimed to have all the answers to all the problems of all settlements and it treated people as beneficiaries or objects of development. This invariably led to conflict between the „state process" and the „people's process". The absence of opportunity for people to decide on their development, alienates and marginalises poor people. The conflict and sometimes total rejection of imposed development plans by people was an experience that Sri Lanka had to undergo prior to making process a community exercise.
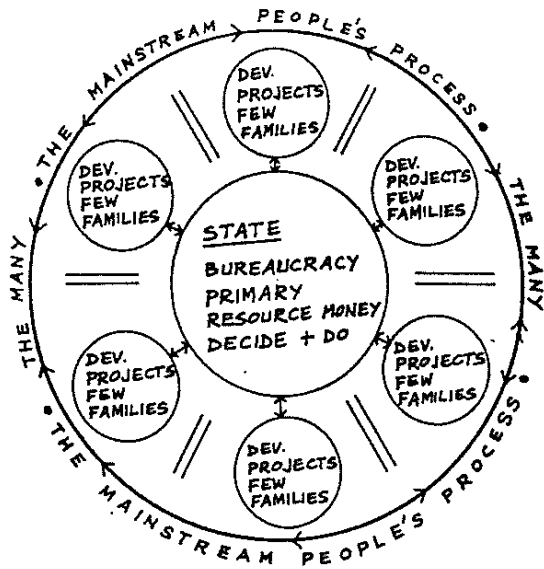
Fig. 1: The conventional practice

Fig. 2: The New Paradigm

Fig. 1 and Fig. 2 is an attempt to illustrate the conventional practice and the New Paradigm. In the conventional practice the state took all the decisions and provided all the primary resources. The result of such a state process is the creation of development projects which affect the lives of a few, while the majority of the people are marginalised and remain within their own process.

Based on the lessons learnt from the conventional practice, the Sri Lankan housing process was completely reversed to the New Paradigm — a paradigm where the people are placed at the centre of the process. In the New Paradigm the people are the Primary resource; the deciders and the doers. All what was considered to be primary resources in the conventional practice, have become complimentary resources. The mainstream of the people's process has become the only process of development.

The Conceptual Framework of Community Action Planning

.Fig. 3 illustrates the conceptual framework of Community Action Planning and Management. It starts with a two day Community workshop to prepare a development programme for the settlement. A representative group from the community and a group of planning, technical and health officers participate in this workshop. At the end of the two days a development programme is ready for implementation.

In the course of implementation, decisions arrived at on the development programme may require further consideration and detailing. At this stage, a short three hour workshop is held to discuss, think and work out how the problem is
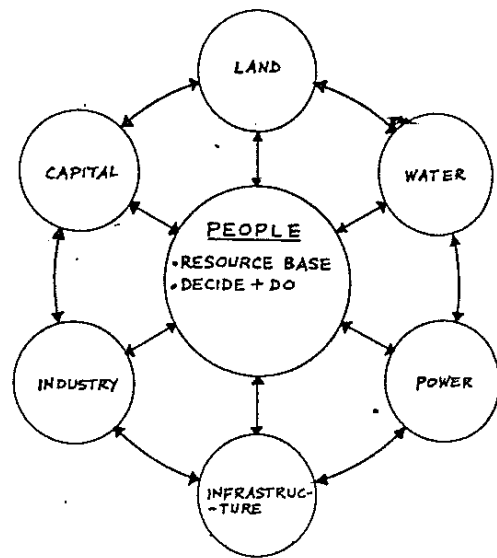
going to be tackled. „Community Land Regularization and Blocking-out Guidelines" are some of the issues that are usually confronted and tackled.

At every workshop, discussion and interaction with the community, generates information — information for community decision making. Therefore Community Action Planning and Management can be considered as an information generation process for communities to think, decide and act correctly.

PREPARATION OF A COMMUNITY UPGRADING PLAN

The Conventional Practice

The conventional practice is very familiar to all of us. It starts with socio-economic surveys and analysis to identify the needs of the people. It is a process of extraction of information for professionals to make decisions on behalf of the people. This assumes that the professionals know what is best for the community and that they have expert knowledge. In this process the prescribed solutions always run into conflict with community aspirations. This paternalistic tradition derives from the implicit ideology of social control by the dominant class while the „beneficiaries" had to receive what they were given. These methodological failings are a direct result of ideological errors based on concepts of social control.

The relationship between the dominant class and the dominated class has to be transformed in favour of a partnership for the genuine realisation of peoples' aspirations. Experience tells us that solutions prescribed by the professionals are invariably more expensive than what the community needs. It is because these so-

lutions are based on standards from books and theory, but the community reference point is something more intimate to their life, therefore they are simple solutions and often less costly.

The Community Based Methodology

In the process of implementation the Million Houses Programme has developed an innovative method for people for take all decisions on the upgrading of their settlement within a given framework. It starts with the premise that communities know what they need and the different ways of achieving them. Therefore the power of deciding on the needs, priorities and solutions should rest with the people. Every decision making process has a framework within which to operate. The role of the professional is to articulate this framework in partnership with the community.

In this process the „options and trade-offs" concept is imperative. There are several solutions to every problem, and these options have different trade-offs. The professionals have an important role to play in this process to explicitly articulate the trade-offs, but the selection of the option should be left entirely to the community and individual families.

The development of the Community Upgrading Plan is done over a two day workshop with a representative group for community members, health officials and planners. The workshop goes through six stages of Identification, Strategies, Options, Planning, Monitoring and Presentation.

I) Identification
    In the first stage the workshop groups identify, list, discuss and come to

Fig. 3: Community Action Planning:
The Conceptual Framework
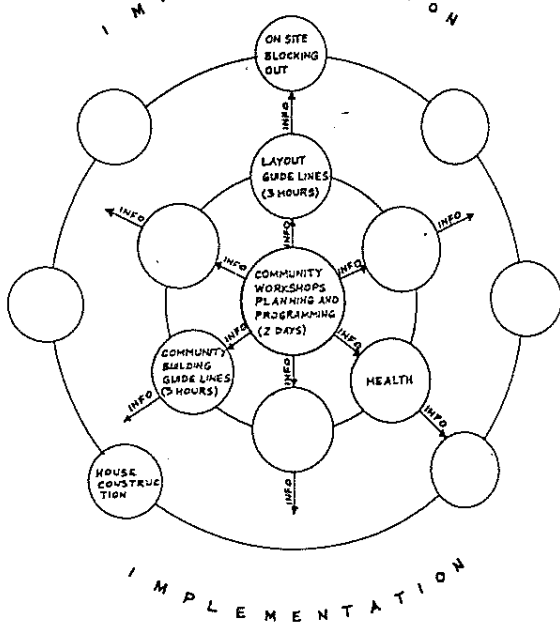
agreement on the problems to be tackled for the development of the settlement.

II) *Strategies*
In the second stage strategies are formulated by the groups and they are prioritised. The groups priorities are then discussed and negotiated in a general session to agree on the priorities.

III) *Options*
At the third stage options and trade offs to strategies are worked out by the groups. The options are presented to a general session to negotiate and select the options.

IV) *Planning*
The fourth stage is Planning for Implementation where the roles of families, the community, Local Authority officials and the planners are identified.

V) *Monitoring*
In the Monitoring stage a general session is held to assign responsibilities to individuals and sub-committees from the community to follow-up the actions agreed and to review and learn lessons from the experience.

VI) *Presentation*
At the final stage the community members who participated in the workshop presents the development Programms to all the members of the community at a general meeting.

The six stages of this workshop can be simply stated as follows:

Identification —
    What are the Problems?
Strategies —
    What are the Approaches?

Options —
    What are the Actions?
Planning —
    Who does What When and How?
Monitoring —
    How to Follow-up. What to learn?
Presentation —
    Make everyone aware of the Proposals

At the end of the two days a settlement upgrading plan prepared by the community members in partnership with the officials is ready for implementation. At the implementation stage certain issues require detailed planning and discussion. Whenever an issue is confronted, a short issue specific workshop is held by the community members to tackle the problem.

The process of developing the Community Upgrading Plan within the Community Action Planning and Management framework started in 1985—86 with a series of workshops conducted by the NHDA and MIT staff with funding provided by UNICEF, as a training programme for community leaders, local authority and NHDA/MIT staff members for the preparation of what was then called Micro Plans. The process had developed from that stage to integrate all community based activities into the Community Action Planning Framework.

COMMUNITY LAND REGULARIZATION AND BLOCKING-OUT

The Conventional Practice

The conventional approach to physical planning of settlement upgrading follows these worksteps:

First a detailed survey is done of the existing settlement including all its structures, services, access, trees and other important features. From this a survey plan of the existing settlement is prepared. This usually takes upto one year because the settlements are dense and it is difficult to measure exact distances. While this plan is being made changes are taking place in the settlement. Families are breaking and making houses and the plan will be out of date when it is ready.

This plan is then used by the planners to prepare a new layout plan. Decisions on plot sizes, access and infrastructure are made in the office.

This layout plan is then presented to the community for comment. The community may propose amendments and this process could go back and forwards between the community and the drawing board for sometime.

After the amendments are done the plan is given to a Land Surveyor to demarcate plots. The Surveyor translates the lines on the drawing exactly to the ground. Although this appears to be neat and tidy it leads to a large number of demolitions and distruption, and creates conflict between community members and between the community and officials.

Learning from this experience the Million Houses Programme has developed a participatory approach to land regularization and layout planning which is quick, simple and workable.

Preparation of Layout Guidelines

When the Community Upgrading Plan is ready for implementation one of the first physical activities that takes place is the blocking out of plots on the ground. Before this event takes place on the ground, the community has to work out and agree on certain guidelines of the layout. These usually cover such issues as plot sizes, the width of roads and footpaths and reservations for service lines.

These technical guidelines are worked out at a 3 to 4 hour issue-specific workshop. A representative group from the community take part at this workshop assisted by three technical officials.

The workshop has five sessions:

Identification of land use requirements —
    Group Session
Negotiate and agree on the uses —
    General Session
Determine sizes and locations for uses —
    Group Session
Agree on sizes and locations —
    General Session
Logistics for on-site blocking-out —
    General Session

The workshop starts with a general discussion to agree on a few fundamental principles. Usually these are:

— One plot to a shanty unit irrespective of the number of families living in it.

— Bona-fide residents, whether owners or renters are entitled to a plot.

— There should be minimum disruption to the existing settlement pattern.

— Permanent structures and places of economic and social interest useful to the community should be retained.

— All plots should fall within a minimum and a maximum range of sizes.

First the three groups will sit separately and identify the different needs for which land has to be allocated. Usually these range from housing plots, roads, footpaths, service lines, community centre, playground, wells, temporary water stand posts, clinic and shrine.

Each group presents their identified land uses to the general session and consensus is reached on the uses. It should be noted here that usually all upgrading sites have very limited space and therefore trade offs for different options are negotiated by the community members. In this process the technical official attached to each group has to work out the total area and the consequence of the decisions that the group is making.

At the third stage, the groups sit down to locate the agreed uses and allocate the land. The road pattern, location of the community centre and other uses are identified and plot sizes and road widths are assigned. If a base plan of the settlement is available it is used to draw the concept of the road pattern and to locate other uses.

The three groups present their plans to a general session where there is always a long discussion and a negotiation process to arrive at sizes and location.

At the final stage, a short session is held to work out the logistics of the on-site blocking out process. The workshop decides on which section to start the blocking out work and the dates.

On-site Blocking-out

The next step in the process is to go on site with tapes, survey rods and pegs and start demarcating the plots, roads, footpaths and other spaces. Clusters of household are informed by the Community leaders of the day that the blocking out exercise will be carried out in their area and are requested to be at home on this day. The entire community takes part in this exercise and it is generally a celebrated event.

Plot boundaries are determined by the families on the spot through negotiation and agreement. The process of negotia-

tion between families at these blocking out exercises, is the most subtle part of the planning exercise. The Officials' role in this exercise is to ensure that the dominant members of the community do not obtain more than what has been agreed. To help the officials to do this a check list of dimensions of plot sizes is helpful.

In this process all boundary disputes are settled on the spot and boundary stones are planted. Families can start house construction on these plots immediately. This process is very quick with very little involvement of the officials but with the total involvement of the communities.

The methodology has helped the Million Houses Programme to reach the urban poor in land regularization and upgrading rapidly.

COMMUNITY BUILDING GUIDELINES AND RULES

The Conventional Practice

Traditionally the setting of physical and building standards was the preserve of the professionals. In many developing countries these standards were direct translations of the standards of the colonial countries. These standards alien to the socio-cultural and climatic patterns of our countries have left over half the housing stock of our cities outside the law. These standards do not recognize what people can do for themselves.

Advocates of „Low Cost Housing" and Housing argue that standards should be lowered. What is more fundamental is Who decides on these standards, and not the standards themselves.

Community Generated Building Guidelines and Rules

Prior to the house building stage it is necessary for the community to establish and agree on certain standards. What one builds on his own plot should not adversly affect his own safety and health and that of his neighbours nor obstruct public utilities.

In the implementation of projects in Colombo, a participatory method of establishing standards and rules has been developed. It is done through an issue specific community workshop. A respresentative group of about 15 to 20 community members with 3—5 technical officials attend this workshop which is run over a period of about three hours. The workshop has to undertake three main exercises:

— Identifying and agreeing on Issues.

— Making proposals for Guidelines and Rules.

— Agreeing on the Community Guidelines and Rules.

In the first exercise the community members are divided into three groups. A technical officer is attached to each team to assist the group. The three groups will tackle one of each of the following issues.

I) How does one's own construction affect his own living?

II) How does one's construction affect the immediate neighbours?

III) How does one's construction affect the services and public spaces?

Issues that would arise in I, are such things as ventilation, light, smoke, stormwater, while in II, it would cover boundary stones, space at the front and rear of the houses, gutters, storm-water, smoke and kitchen waste. In issues III, such things as roads, footpaths, water lines, sewer connections and electricity lines would be discussed.

At the end of the first exercise the issues identified by each group are presented to a general session and agreement is reached on the issues that have to be tackled to make the guidelines and rules.

In the second exercise the issues selected for consideration are divided into the three groups and they have to make proposals as solutions to the issues. They take the form of Guidelines, Rules, Sanctions and Enforcement. At the third exercise each group presents the proposals to the general session where amendments and modifications are made. Once agreement on the Building Guidelines and Rules has been reached the community should observe them.

The Community Building Guidelines and Rules thus generated are printed and distributed to every household in the community. A copy of this is submitted to the local authority for their concurrence. Upgrading project sites are declared as „special project areas" that have standards specific to that area, and these standards are the Community Building Guidelines and Rules. A major part of the responsibility for the enforcement is in the hands of the community and from experience it has proved to be a more effective method than standard bye-laws.
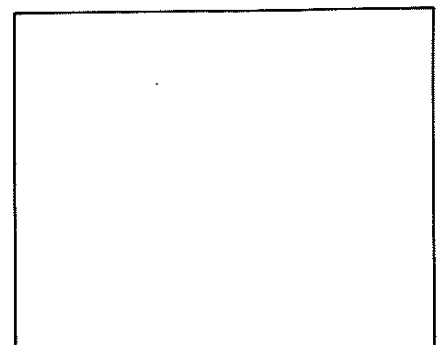
Local Initiatives versus Socialist Planning

Decentralization and Privatization Policies in the Developing World: The Case of Nicaragua

Kosta Mathéy

Introduction

In this article decentralization and privatization policies in Nicaragua shall be reviewed in relation to housing. Following some theoretical propositions, housing supply by the different sectors 'state', 'private', and 'cooperative' will be portrayed in its national context, and tenure alternatives, particularly home ownership, assessed. Private ownership of land, will be examined in a following section. The second part of the article concentrates on decentralization, both as a political and economic concept in housing and urban development. Popular participation is considered a key issue for national development in Nicaragua, and receives considerable promotion. Mass organizations are one of its instruments, and assume many roles which are filled by non-governmental organizations in other countries.

Is Housing a Social Service?

For a long time socialist states have pursued an orthodox 'social housing' approach and relied on central planning and government provision of housing. The ideological justification lies in the conviction – already elaborated upon by Friedrich Engels in "The Housing Question" – that private initiative can not guarantee access to a home for all citizens, a human right established in the constitution in most countries. Only recently, after state bureaucracies and economic problems failed to provide the promised service, and the population was fed up to depend on monopolistic public enterprises, socialist governments gave in and provided help and legality to private house building initiatives. Nicaragua, a mixed economy, still seeks to transform, not abandon, central control into local responsibility, and to separate private ownership from speculation and social segregation.

The Responsibility of the State

In Nicaragua, the state initiated direct building programs under the direction of the Ministries of Construction and other state institutions soon after the revolution. Although building by the state never became the only and exclusive channel of housing provision but was complemented by private self-help construction, the conception was that state provision would form the backbone of the housing policy, and would furnish turnkey houses and flats which could be used immediately by their inhabitants without further labour or immediate financial input.

However, housing provision is an extremely costly item, and the government had apparently overestimated its financial capacity to carry through the envisaged programs. Catastrophic economic developments, which not only depended on internal factors, were followed by drastic cuts in all social services, including housing.

Burdened with an extremely high foreign debt inherited from the prerevolutionary government, the prime development objective became the strengthening of the economic capacity of the nation, the means to achieve a positive balance of payments. This meant that "productive investment" was perceived as the most important requirement to reach self-sufficiency in food production and to expand exports. Social expenditure in the field of education and health were given second priority over housing, since it was thought that they would have a greater, and direct effect on stimulating the economy, and because they would reach a greater number of people with the same, or more limited, resources: it has been argued, for example, that the literacy campaign, which benefitted almost 2 million Nicaraguans, cost less than providing 2,000 families with a house (Arguello, 1985).

However, even the programs in health and education had to be curbed, together with most housing programs, since the war with the Contras absorbed an ever increasing share of the economy – eventually amounting to 60 per cent of all government expenditures. The share of the budget earmarked for housing, which had reached almost 3 per cent of the GNP in 1982-1983,[1] was cut back to about 0.5 per cent in 1986, 0.4 per cent in 1987, and again substantially reduced in 1988 and 1989 (Alcaldía de Managua, 1989:9) -- the fourth or fifth priority (Reyes 1988). Thus, more out of necessity than conviction, the Nicaraguan state cancelled its assumed responsibility to finance and produce popular housing directly. Whereas the number of completed government houses was 3,098 in 1982, the figure had dropped to 370 in 1987 (Morales, 1989:26). Instead, foreign aid has been explicitly declared a key source of funding for shelter projects (MINVAH, 1987:5), and better conditions were granted for private investment in housing.

Renters and Owner Occupiers

'Non-material' elements of housing policy can have a much bigger impact on improving the living conditions of the population than new construction. The major aspects of non-physical housing provision include security of tenure, and access to housing according to social criteria, not as a function of ability to pay. In this regard some socialist countries perform notably better than typically capitalist societies.

In developing nations, there is, generally speaking, no tradition of social housing; almost all housing used to be privately owned whether rented or owner occupied. Only in the last 30 years, under the pressure of rapid urbanization, some forms of social housing provision were introduced.

However, this had no noticeable impact on housing the poor. They continued to live either in inner city slums at exorbitant rents, or built shacks in the urban periphery on land which was either squatted or 'hire-purchased' without legal documents.

Nicaragua was no exception in this respect. After the revolution, the revolutionary governments immediately restricted exploitative practices by private landlords and land brokers and introduced legal guarantees for the poor. The underlying assumption of this legislation was that all private renting as a source of income is exploitative since it does not generate surplus value. Where rents are paid, they are considered to be payments on the loan or capital invested into the building of a house. Therefore, after a certain period of paying rent, the ownership of the property should be transferred to the tenant, and further payments stopped.

In pre-revolution Nicaragua, more than 30 per cent of the population was paying rent (Ruchwarger, 1987:171), and the majority of renters were the poor and without defence against unscrupulous landlords. Early in 1980, all rents were reduced to 40 to 50 per cent of their previous value (Ley de inquilininato, 1980). It was claimed that this measure benefitted some 75,000 families (Alcaldía de Managua, 1989:10). Furthermore it was ruled that in cases where the landlord did not provide appropriate maintenance and repairs of the property, the state could intervene on behalf of the tenant and carry out the necessary repairs out of the rent paid.

In 1982, a bill was proposed to abolish private renting altogether – on the principle that a tenant would have paid off a house after 20 years of rent payments. This bill was approved in 1983, but only after extensive discussion by the public at all levels, and substantial modification (Robinson, 1984:313). Thus, private rental housing followed the example set by the transfer of the housing stock owned or managed by the Nicaraguan government: ownership of these dwellings is automatically given to the tenants after a maximum period of 20 years.[2] Recently, many houses of the government stock were sold to the occupants before the end of the repayment period, since regular maintenance could not be paid for from the rent. Rents had decreased to meaningless amounts as the inflation rate multiplied, but they could not be raised for political reasons.

In contrast to the legal restrictions imposed on the rented sector, the principle of owner occupation was never challenged in Nicaragua, and individual credit

schemes,[3] are available for building new houses or repairing old ones. During the first ten years of the revolution, the rate of owner occupation almost doubled from 46 per cent to 82.6 per cent in Managua, and even reached 89.8 per cent for the lower income groups (Alcaldía de Managua, 1989:10).

The Land Question

Even if private ownership in houses is justified on the grounds of the need of private financial investment, there still is no social need for private ownership of land; and ownership will serve speculation. Therefore many socialist states nationalize land, particularly in the urban areas (where speculation is most rampant), and grant leases or other forms of occupancy rights. For the population in rural areas, however, ownership in land has been the most significant guarantee for survival for so many decades -- if not centuries -- that peasants will not easily depart from this goal. Therefore, in order to gain or maintain the support of the peasantry for the revolutionary case, far-reaching concessions have become necessary, or at least advisable, in this respect.

In Nicaragua, large farms belonging to emigrated or other landlords not using their land for production were expropriated, and land titles were given to small farmers. Although attempts were made to make small farmers join state farms or co-operatives, the fate of the co-operative movement was disappointing, probably because funds were lacking for sufficient incentives, because the soils were poor, and because agricultural co-operatives constituted one of the main targets in the Contras' warfare.

In the urban context, the government turned out to be less radical than most land owners and experts had expected after the takeover by the revolutionary army. In Nicaragua's mixed economy the co-operation of the private sector remains a political and economic necessity. Yet, as the country had suffered from excessive land speculation particularly by the former dictator's, Somoza's, family before the revolution, there was a consensus that their landholdings should be expropriated once the Sandinistas had taken power. However, no attempt was made to nationalize *all* land, since many smaller landowners had been supporters of the Sandinistas. Furthermore, for the middle classes, real estate had been one of the few hedges against the steep inflation.

The main interest of the revolutionary government was to rectify the injustices of

past land speculation and to inhibit its recurrence in the future. Soon after taking power, they prohibited the sale of deeds for unserviced land in and around the urban areas (Ley de Repartos Ilegales, 1979). They thereby stopped the practice of speculative land subdivisions where the poor had to pay exorbitant sums for small plots in slums -- without water, sewage, paved streets, etc. By a subsequent law, the land of the existing 420 shanty towns was expropriated, and the ownership transferred to MINVAH, the ministry of housing and human settlements. Any rents which the occupants of the land continued to pay, were to be reinvested by MINVAH in urgently needed services and infrastructure[4]. Eventually, the land title would be transferred to the occupants. Of the expropriated 84,000 sites, 13,000 were immediately turned over to the occupants, since their accumulated payments over 20 or more years were estimated to be equal or more than the land value (Ley de Titulación de Lotes, 1982; Alcaldía de Managua, 1989).

Private ownership of any land not used to satisfy the housing needs of its owner was further restricted in 1981 (Ley de Expropriación, 1981[5]) and 1983 (Ley de Bonos de Expropriación, 1983): any vacant urban land which had been zoned for residential use, could be expropriated if needed for development in the public interest – including housing. The owners were entitled to a compensation. However, since 1983 such a compensation has been paid in the form of certificates which can only be exchanged for money after 20 years. These provisions were intended to inhibit urban land speculation, and must not be seen as a step towards nationalization of land in general; indeed, some 30 per cent of the 377 hectares of land expropriated under this law had been re-privatized by 1984 (MINVAH 1984b). In fact, within the first 10 years of the revolution, the government distributed almost 34,000 urban building sites to the population (Morales, 1989:Cuadro No. 1).

For many years, the exchange of land required clearance by MINVAH. Mainly due to administrative delays almost no land changed hands between individuals under this provision. In 1988, when the Ministry was dissolved, the need for approval ceased as well. Currently, there are no restrictions of the land market (Reyes, 1988).

To summarize the land policy in Nicaragua, private ownership of land was maintained, and even sanctioned as long as the land was to be used by the owner himself. In fact, the number of landowners increased significantly as a result of the rural and urban land reform laws. Small

farmers or residents of sites-and-services projects (*Urbanisaciones Progresivas*) have obtained plots of land for free. However, a revision of this practice has been on the agenda for a number of years, but was deferred due to the chaotic economic situation with an inflation rate amounting to several hundred per cent a year. The idea is to make people pay the cost of development in the future, but not to charge a commercial price.

Spatial Decentralization

In socialist thought, exploitation does not only occur between classes, but finds its expression also in imbalances between different regions, and between town and countryside. The town is portrayed as a parasite living off the surplus produced in the rural areas, consuming more than it produces. Hence the relatively poorer living standards in rural areas compared to the wealth of the cities, and the migration flow towards the latter. Many socialist governments attempt to achieve a balanced development and fair distribution of resources in both settings. This means that they are not against cities in general, and may consider them functional to develop manufacturing and to provide certain social services, but they prefer a 'decentralized' and balanced pattern of urbanization throughout the country as a precondition to overcome 'underdevelopment'. Of course not all regions have the same resources and development potential, and to offset these differences remains one of the main functions of central planning.

Revolutionary Nicaragua also opted for a decentralization policy. The Somoza regime had caused extreme regional imbalances in the pattern of fixed capital investment, provision of services, and the distribution of wealth. The urbanization process in the cities proceeded in an absolutely uncontrolled manner and obeyed the requirements of transnational capitalism, which turned Managua, the capital, into a typical "primate city" (Linsky 1969/-72): although only 22 per cent of the nation's population lived in the city, 93 per cent of all sewage installations, 85 per cent of all construction investment, and 80 per cent of all other investments were concentrated in Managua (Tapia 1984:91, Curutchet 1987:95). To counterbalance this inherited pattern and to decentralize productive investment and political responsibilities, the Sandinistas reduced the share of all investments in the Managua region to 66 per cent in 1981, and to 42 per cent in 1983 (Curutchet, 1987:95). The long term spatial distribution of the population was planned in accordance with the estimated economic development potential of the regions. Assuming an

overall population of 5 million in the year 2000, a hierarchical but balanced system of towns and smaller population centers was planned, with an even distribution of services throughout the country. This plan, the *Sistema Urbana Nacional* (SUN) envisaged the following:

1. *Managua* would remain the most important administrative center, where the key services would be concentrated, i.e., government agencies, national broadcasting, specialized hospitals;

2. Nine centros regionales (regional centers) would contain populations of 20,000 to 100,000 each, and serve surrounding areas with an additional 50,000 to 500,000 inhabitants;

3. There would be 19 centros secundarios (secondary centres), each with a population of 10,000 to 20,000, and a surrounding area of 25,000 inhabitants;

4. Fifty-five new or existing settlements with a population of 2,000 to 10,000 inhabitants would become centros de servicio (service centres) to service an additional 5,000 to 25,000 persons living in dispersed villages.

The plan assumes 70 per cent of the nation's population living in towns of more than 1,000 inhabitants, and 30 per cent rural population. If rural population currently constitutes 43 per cent of the total Nicaraguan population (Third World Guide, 1989/90:422), we can see that further concentration of the population in cities seems to be intended and that Managua will be permitted to grow much faster (140 per cent) than the nation as a whole (66 per cent). Little thought seems to have been spent on how the negative social, ecological, and macroeconomic effects of such a rapid urbanization can be avoided.

Mainly because of the war, this decentralization (or: regionalization) plans has largely failed. With 60 per cent of the national budget spent on the military, all programmed economic investment in the provinces had to be rigorously cut. The remaining civil funds were reserved for the two most backward "special development zones" in the eastern parts of the country, but the money was hardly enough to repair war damages. After all, some 250,000 peasants lost their homes and means of production in the war and need to be rehoused. A number of new settlements were built near the frontier to offer better protection than the isolated hamlets. In addition, some roads were built in these regions. But the flow of

refugees from the war zone to the urban centers frustrated the decentralization policy and created a chaotic situation in the cities where thousands of people sought new homes.

De-Institutionalization and Local Autonomy

Decentralization policies can not be limited to the economic aspect, but must embrace the political element as well. However, typical Third World settings, with rampant corruption, a high illiteracy rate, and semi-feudal social relations make it difficult to introduce a functioning grass roots democracy after a revolution. Often enough, the revolution was carried by a few intellectuals or the army without massive support from the population. If the revolution was (or becomes) socialist, central planning will be introduced to substitute the market, thwarting any decentralization concepts. Hence, the transfer of control from central government to the regional and municipal level is usually only ventured after the path has been prepared by educational and economic crusades. Such a process usually takes decades and is rarely free from turbulences and backsteps.

Nicaragua underwent a process of political de-institutionalization by shrinking or abolishing central government agencies and transferring power to local entities (*'compactación'*). For example, the capital Managua was directed by the government-assigned 'Junta de Reconstrucción de Managua' during the first years of the revolution. During the general elections of 1984, the status of the local government was changed to an independent '*Alcaldía*' (local authority), run by elected representatives.

With respect to spatial planning and housing, the revolutionary government created the *Ministerio de la Vivienda y Asentamientos Humanos*, MINVAH (Ministry of Housing and Human Settlements) in 1979, a merging of the previous *Viceministerio de Planificación Urbana* (Town Planning Vice Ministry), the *Oficina de Inquilinato* (Rent Office), and the *Banco de la Vivienda de Nicaragua* (Housing Bank). The ministry had two main departments:

* The *Dirección de Desarrollo Urbano* (Physical Planning Office), in charge of town and regional planning. It prepared master plans and development plans, but could not make investments.

* The *Dirección General de Vivienda* (Housing Department), responsible for planning, programming, supervising,

and implementing all investment by the ministry. Its functions included the construction and management of state housing projects, the redistribution of land, and the coordination of infrastructure and services, including those to be provided by other agencies.

MINVAH, in spite of its great range of responsibilities and a larger number of staff than most other ministries, ultimately depended on the Ministry for (economic) Planning which allocates monetary resources. Yet, MINVAH had subsidiaries of its own, such as the *Empresa de Construcción de Viviendas Nacional*, COVIN (State Building Companies). Other state agencies, like the *Ministerio del Desarrollo Agropecuario y de la Reforma Agraria*, MIDINRA (Ministry of Agriculture) and municipalities, had their own planning boards, could develop land and build houses, but had to obtain approval from MINVAH before they could implement their schemes.

Eventually, MINVAH grew into a "superministry" by number of staff, but its budget declined because of the war. In February 1988, MINVAH was dissolved, and its responsibilities were transferred to the municipalities and other independent institutions, emphasizing decentralization and greater popular participation. Managua as a special case maintained an independent office of urban development, infrastructure, and housing. MINVAH's national planning responsibilities were taken over by the *'Nicaraguan Institute for Territorial Studies'* (INETER), whereas construction is handled by the state enterprise COVIN as an agency in its own right. In late 1989, a new Housing Directorate *('Dirección de la Vivienda')* was formed within the Ministry of Construction, primarily to take over MINVAHs legislative and research functions.

Popular Participation

Most socialist states maintain, apart from the elected parliamentary system, a formal system of popular participation -- and political control. These mass organizations, by which the population can occasionally influence the decisions of the central level, often build on former popular support for the revolutionary armies. In Nicaragua, the revolution could never have succeeded without the backing of large sectors of the population. After the war, the reconstruction had to rely on intense co-operation with the local population, since a new, effective state apparatus was yet to be built.

The Sandinistas pronounced popular participation to be an essential ingredient of national housing policy in two domains:

political control and implementation of policy. The main instruments of participation are the *mass organizations*, in particular the former CDS, or *Comité de Defensa Sandinista* (Sandinista Neighborhood Committees); the MPS, or Milicias Populares Sandinistas (Militia); the AMLAE, or *Asociación de la Mujer Nicaraguense Luisa Amanda Espinosa* (women's organization); the *Juventud Sandinista 19 de Julio* (Sandinista Youth Clubs); and the labor unions. Initially most of these formed a formal part of the Sandinista Party System FSLN (Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional). But since these organizations are locally based and primarily concerned with day-to-day problems, many citizens joined without being a member of the party. (For a detailed analysis of mass organizations in Nicaragua see: Ruchwarger, 1987). Reflecting this variety of different political standpoints, and in recognition of the need of grass roots activities for the reconstruction of the country, the neighborhood committees were made independent in 1988. The women's organization followed suit soon after. The latter changed its name into *Movimiento Luisa Amanda Espinoza* (MOLAE), the former were renamed "Community Development Committees". The CDSs/CDCs play a key role in popular participation and are primarily concerned with issues of local self-government and administration (Light, 1988). The CDSs/CDCs operate at the block and street level, the neighborhood level, where they were named *Comité de Barrio Sandinista* (CBS).[6] Here, they take care of specific tasks, such as vaccination campaigns and preventive medicine (i.e., sanitation awareness), cooperation with solidarity groups abroad, cultivation of communal gardens, improvement of infrastructure, reforestation etc. (Mathéy, 1984:117). Sometimes the local groups organize or coordinate voluntary house building and infrastructure improvement (Curutchet, 1987:69, Darke, 1987:110). Also in straight housing matters, the CDS/CDC exert some control. They do this either directly, as in the allocation of new houses built by the government (on the grounds that they know most of the applicant's objective housing need and merit in terms of helping to solve neighborhood problems), or indirectly as members of various joint committees. These include the CRALOMBA, or *Comité Regional de Asignación de Lotes y Módulos Básicos*, which distributes sites and building materials (MINVAH; 1984:13, Ruchwarger, 1987:170; Morales, 1989:-42). Another joint committee on the regional level is the *Comité Regional de Asuntos Habitacionales* (CRAH), which was established in 1984 to settle any disputes over the local committee's rulings and tenancy conflicts (MINVAH

1984a:18). The claim for grass roots democracy is based on the fact that the ultimate power lies with the delegates of the mass organizations, which form the majority in both committees.

"Non-Governmental Organizations"

Reflecting the general failure of governments in developing countries to gain control over the ever-growing housing problem, international experts promote executive bodies outside the government system, particularly in situations where governments are corrupt, non-democratic (dictatorships), chronically transitionary (recurrent coups d'états) or just too bureaucratic. These kind of organizations fall into two main groups, the true NGOs (Non Governmental Organizations) which mostly assume the role of intermediaries, and locally based CBOs (Citizen Based Organizations), representing the "target group" (Turner, 1988).
In Nicaragua the CDRs and CDCs are typical examples of CBOs. Since they represent(ed) the majority of the population, there is no competition for resources among different CBOs operating in the same neighborhood.

Nicaragua is a poor country and depends on foreign assistance, including from NGOs. In fact, a substantial number of foreign-based non-governmental agencies and solidarity groups have supported development projects in Nicaragua since 1979; many of them addressed local housing conditions. However, this kind of cooperation harbors the potential of conflict between the local community and central state institutions (Curutchet 1987-:97). Organizations abroad had often established partnerships with specific neighborhoods in Nicaragua. Personal relations evolved, and helped to mobilize funds in Europe of North America to support a particular development project tailored to a specific community. Such projects did not necessarily conform to the priorities set by the central planning authorities to balance the limited resources. Furthermore, the state tried to control and coordinate the help offered by foreign NGOs through a central office to insure that all financial transactions were handled by the National Bank and exchanged at the official (but unfavorable) 'commercial' exchange rate. As the funds of the ministry of housing dried up as a consequence of the war, and inflation raged unchecked, NGOs were granted more liberty to set their own priorities since 1986. Because NGOs tend to work directly with the local communities, it is difficult to measure their the overall impact; but at least since 1986, more houses have been built with NGO finance than with government funding.

Conclusions

Most developing countries underwent a policy shift away from the welfare state towards privatization, commodification, and more autonomy at the local level (decentralization) in the housing sector. This tendency also extends to mixed and socialist economy states, although their ideology of equality, central planning, and distribution of goods and services according to need instead of ability to pay might suggest a different road.

Nicaragua has explicitly promoted decentralization (to balance disparities between city and countryside) in which it linked economic planning and investment to spatial planning and development. In this process housing provision became an important policy instrument; it largely failed because of the ongoing war. Politically this process was accompanied by reforms of the democratic electoral and administrative system, whereby most housing decisions were transferred to the local authorities.

The reinforcement of the private sector was reflected in the relative drop of housing completions in the state sector, probably more an outcome of the catastrophic economic situation of the state budget than the result of a political decision. In addition, owner occupation had always played an important role in the Nicaraguan society and was never seriously challenged by the Sandinistas, and experienced a boom in consequence of tenant protection. The negative aspects of a private housing system are speculation, high housing expenses, weak security of tenure for renters and less prosperous owners, gentrification, and social segregation. The Nicaraguan example shows that these effects can be reduced when cheap or free land is made accessible to all classes, and when tenants are protected by law.

Privatization policies also include promotion of Self-Help housing in many market economy states, and are sometimes viewed as a political anti-mobilization (or: pacification) strategy. This is because urban social movements are often based at the neighborhood level, and include housing issues as a central claim. By providing, or -- at least promising -- better housing conditions, and by involving the most energetic members of the population in time consuming administrative and construction activities, less energy is left for political ventures. Through the prescription of formal organizational setups as a precondition for access to sites, building materials, and finance, there also exist a mechanism to monitor and atomize popular unrest, and to ma-

nipulate local leaders. For example, after the Cuban Revolution, the US-financed 'Alliance of Progress ' specifically aimed at preventing similar uprisings in the rest of Latin America through massive social assistance programmes, and housing was a major ingredient. In this respect the approach in Nicaragua is antithetical, and rather synthesizes the concepts of privatization and decentralization by actively promoting **collective** action and management at the neighborhood level through the community based mass organizations (particularly the CDCs/CDSs). These form an interesting alternative to the NGOs and CBOs which moved onto the center stage in the professional and political debate elsewhere. The advantage of these mass organizations is that they really are democratic by encompassing the entire community, not a selective minority.

Notes

1   The figure was extrapolated from statistics published by MINVAH (1987). In 1981, 2376 dwellings produced representing 2.01 per cent of GNP in 1982, 3476 (2.92 per cent); in 1983, 4121 (2.74 per cent). Other sources indicate lower figures: 1.1 per cent in 1982, 1.6 per cent in 1983 (Alcaldía de Managua, 1989:8)

2   The exact length of the renting period depends on the income of the tenant, since the rent paid is calculated not to exceed 15 per cent of family income – and is revalued periodically in line with inflation. (MINVAH, 1987:5)

3   Créditos Hipotecarios from the Banco Hipotecario for periods between 1 and 20 years, at an interest rate of 14–20%. If the credit is intended for purchase of a house, the applicant must provide securities; for repairs there is no such requirement (MINVAH, 1987:6).

4   This provision did not imply, that all the substandard neighborhoods could expect an instant improvement of their conditions: For example, while MINVAH had collected 20 million Córdobas from the residents in all substandard neighborhoods (MINVAH, 1984:19), plus 68,5 million córdobas derived from all 35,000 dwellings and 50,000 sites under its management in 1982; only 8,85 million córdobas were reinvested in the improvement of not more than 353 dwellings (Tapia, 1984:98).

5   Expropriation of sites in Central Managua.

6   The CDSs were also represented at the municipal (zona), the regional, and at the national levels, but their central representation lost most of its powers following the reorganization of 1988.

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Self-Help and „Step-by-Step-Housing" in China: Its Potentials for Housing Renewal

Florian Steinberg

The Concept of „Self-Help"

Many governments in developing countries but also in the developed world are discovering the importance of self-help contributions in housing and in neighbourhood related services.

In 1976 the United Nations HABITAT Conference put a strong emphasis on the official recognition of self-help housing approaches as a contribution to housing solutions. The International Year of Shelter for the Homeless in 1987 again re-emphasized the importance of this concept, and particularly in housing. Self-help is by definition not seen any more as a limited action of auto-construction but as a dweller's contribution to planning, production, maintenance and management of housing and services. Hence, the dwellers could be involved in all these stages of the „housing-span" (which is the life-span of housing) or contribute only to some aspects of it; but it is essential to note that there is the implication of some considerable influence of people *for their own housing* matters.

The idea of self-help housing is in principle not new, it is every day practice of a large part of the world's population, be it rural or urban and it is usually performed without any or with only rather limited professional assistance.
Self-help housing originates out of the need of people who can not wait until a government, a company or anybody else can *provide* them with housing and services, or until they can personally afford to purchase or rent a house which is on the market.

Thus the concept of self-help by itself is a recognition of three basic realities:

a) the failure of the welfare approach to provide (subsidized) housing and services in sufficient numbers and quality for *all* citizens;

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b) the capabilities of people, and even of poor people to mobilize a considerable amount of resources such as labour, know-how, their own private savings and sometimes the very creative use of natural local materials or the recycling of available waste materials for construction purposes;

c) a state support for and a promotion of self-help housing can distribute the available public resources more equally, can assist in the production or improvement of *more* housing for *more* people.

Self-help housing can have a very wide ranging socio-economic impact as a tool in achieving housing goals, and its application can cover both new construction or upgrading of old housing stock.

Certainly, the self-help housing concept is not very popular among all groups of society, because some of its products may not look like „high-standard modern housing". Or for some administrators and professionals self-help approaches may challenge their primacy of technical knowledge which they do not want to share with normal people.

Housing renewal and self-help

In the context of the so-called developed countries there exist many examples of housing renewal with a strong component of dwellers self-help and participation.
This Self-Help has actually two characters, firstly it is a contribution to plan formulation for the neighbourhood (housing) renewal concept, and secondly a contribution in the actual implementation of housing renewal through self-help construction during the physical upgrading of dwelling units, be it either completely through self-help or in co-ordination with period skilled labour/contractor's inputs.

Examples of self-help in the field of housing renewal can be found manyfold in Europe (in Germany, Italy, The Netherlands, United Kingdom) and USA and many local governments have supported the self-help and participation approach because it contributes to an increase of the actual renewal/upgrading involvement of more of the poor households in the housing renewal/upgrading process. Additionally an important side-effect of this self-help (and participation) in hou-

sing development is the stimulation of user motivation to keep involved in the later operation and maintenance of their own upgraded residential environment.

In the developing countries there are — so far — very few cases of such self-help involvement in renewal/upgrading of inner city housing areas, because there are so far virtually only very few examples of such inner-city housing renewal. But there exists, nevertheless, a wide experience of self-help and participatory housing initiatives which were even moulded into schemes of upgrading. These examples can be seen as points of reference for renewal of inner city housing areas as well.

Support for self-help housing

As organized and promoted self-help can also include a considerable aspect of *participation* in decision-making processes it certainly requires a reorganization of planning, plan execution, management and maintenance, involving the capacities of private initiatives as much as possible in activities which were formerly concentrated and executed centrally.
This implies the need for a decentralization of local government to be most *supportive* and responsive to self-help contributions of individual families.

To support such self-help housing processes a new, different relationship between professionals and local residents' communities is required. Contrary to the model of conventional housing practices the professionals are no more as a technical function of the centralized housing delivery system.

Instead the idea of *support* for self-help introduces a new relationship between:

A: state agencies or collective bodies as sponsoring agents,
T: technical executive bodies (professional support of planners, architects, engineers) and
C/F: the community of residents (families, neighbourhood groups, residents associations, co-operatives, etc.),
f1—x: the families/households.
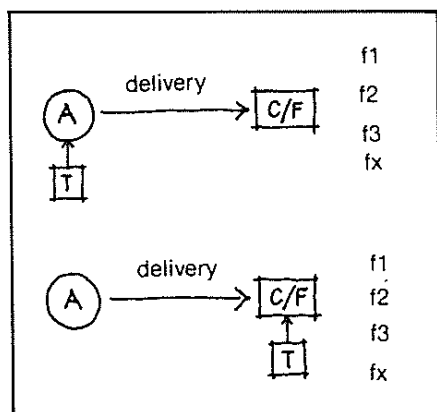
The former relationship of a formalized delivery process excluding user contributions and participation in the creation of the physical housing product itself is replaced by new models which bring the residents in closer contact with the technical executive bodies which now give direct professional advice and assistance concerning planning, implementation, maintenance and later changes and growth of built structures.

The support for self-help housing can be further accomplished by a set of instruments such as:

— small scale construction loans (eventually partially in the form of direct supply of building materials), provided with low interest rate;

— technical support and guidance on the spot where needed, eventually located in small neighbourhood offices;

— assistance in building materials supply (at subsidized rates), distributed from decentralized „builders' yards".

The concept of „step-by-step-housing"

Conventionally planners and architects are also dealing with „finished" housing, which neither incorporates the potential for self-help nor the later need for growth, changes, and adaptability of housing.

Hence, the search for a new, appropriate response towards low-income housing inevitably has to acknowledge the dwellers' own resources, be it their skills and self-initiative or material assets which can be incorporated and invested in housing. The paradigm of „People's Housing Action" involves so far unused, untapped resources for a much more effective and far reaching housing approach.

„Step-by-Step-Housing" incorporates into the design and implementation process people's action. Constant changes in functions of residential or working needs are reflected by the possibility for constant transformations.

The concept of „step-by-step-housing" is based on two major criteria:

a) the *right* of each family to *develop their own dwellings* according to their own priorities, needs and resources,

b) the introduction of *time* into the *process* of design which gives the necessary provisions for later gradual developments and changes. Both criteria can be applied to dwellings as much as to infrastructure development.

Above: The conventional model
Below: Technical support model for „Step-by-Step" Housing

In principle „step-by-step-housing" can be applied in two distinctively different fields:

— the creation of new settlements on vacant land, with or without a specific morphological urban texture being prescribed (i.e. it can be low-rise, medium-rise or even multi storey housing), and

— the „filling in" into existing and recognizable morphological patterns.

Step-by-step growth of housing: examples from China

Even a rather limited overview of Chinese residential circumstances in urban and rural areas can already confirm the assumption that step-by-step housing has its relevance: Although neglected (and at cases discouraged) there exists ample evidence of dwellers investing in materials and labour to improve to expand and change their built environment through minor or major physical interventions.

Within *older urban areas* one of the most striking, typical form of house expansion is the construction of additional rooms into closed or relatively secluded courtyards. At times buildings are even vertically expanded through additional rooms or a full storey on top. In some instances house expansions were even executed by encroachments on public land, directly facing major streets.

Very common in the context of „old terrace" housing — such as Shanghai is the vertical expansion on verandahs and roofs which can also require a relatively large investment. Nevertheless it is noticeable that in some instance local authorities (like the Shanghai Housing Mana-

Shanghai: Private and informal investment into vertical house expansion
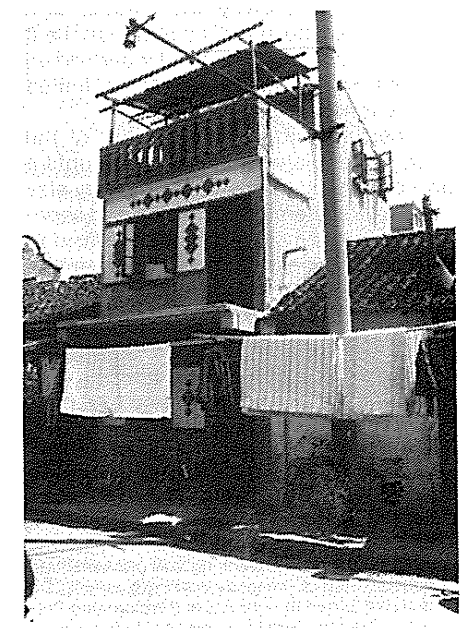
gement Bureau) have used this concept themselves for an improvement programme for old, publicly managed and maintained housing stock which is overcrowded and badly needs expansion of habitable space.

These cases of public investment into house expansions are usually — due to their standard and quality — rather easily recognizeable and differentiatable from other, unauthorized extension, done by individuals and executed with lower, often provisional standards.

Within *new urban areas*, usually consisting of multi-storey (3—5) or highrise residential construction there is an obvious tendency for private small-scale investments such as balcony enclosures and various forms of projecting storage containers fixed onto the outer facades. In relatively young housing estates this phenomenon is still rather infrequent while in older ones its occurance is more likely.

Within the *rural context*, for example in the rich Jiangsu Province in South-Eastern China, there is a phenomenal private house building activity since 1987 transforming whole villages of traditional farm houses into modern, semi-rural, (semi-urban) settlements of a rather standardized type: These units, partly subsidized by state or collective funds, partly financed through the savings of the newly rich rural families disclose a very substantial private investment capacity, originating from combined agricultural and rural industrial activities.

Not being compelled to seek approval for every modification and extension of their houses they keep on building, changing and expanding their houses as they like and can afford it.

All these examples reveal and re-emphasize the universal need of people to become involved into the creation, maintenance and control of their housing and residential environment.

Although some of the examples illustrate emergency situations of extreme lack of space this kind of self-help also shows the possibilities of even minor contributions by residents under the presently given conditions. It creates more, often badly needed living space and mobilizes financial resources which the state or collective enterprises are unable to provide. In that sense it contains an important policy implication that should deserve further exploration. The promotion and support of private house building activities in China — in the hands of individuals or organized community groups — could find its technical expression through the concept of „Step-by-Step-Housing".

The flexibility and incrementability of „Step-by-Step-Housing" can accord the factors of (slowly) growing standard ex-

pectations and changing user needs. The requirements of a step-by-step financing procedure as well does comfort private contributions to housing investments and does relax public housing budgets.

Increasing Habitable Space
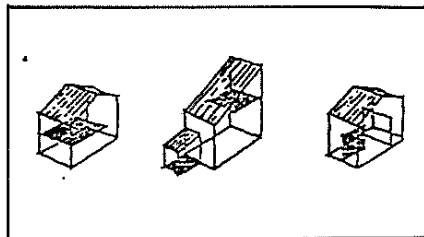
Applying the concepts of „self-help" and „step-by-step-housing" in China

In the course of the present housing policy reforms in China the following two questions have been addressed regularly:

— How could more private housing investment be mobilized?

— How could raising standard expectations be met in a technical sense; how could houses grow with the changing needs and economic possibilities of people?

The concept of self-help and step-by-step-housing could be a major contribution to a solution of these issues, as it represents the starting point for participatory involvement of dwellers' control over resources and the actual house building processes, be it in new construction or in the field of housing renewal.

An interpretation of the new Chinese housing policy guidelines shows the raising demand for flexible housing design approaches. Within this context of present housing reforms one should evaluate the feasibility and practical implications of self-help and step-by-step-housing as they unite two principal requirements: they perform a high degree of flexibility and they represent an expansion of private initiative thus creating a new, productive state citizens' partnership in the planning, production and management of housing.

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Family investment following official squatter settlement upgrading programmes in Bhopal

Banashree C. Mitra

Introduction:

This paper is concerned with shelter conditions in squatter settlements. Based on empirical evidence from Bhopal it investigates the general belief that government can „facilitate" house improvement by families through „support" programmes. For public agencies these programmes boil down to providing new sites with services or upgrading infrastructure and regularising tenure in existing settlements.

Current urban housing policies of most Third World countries, including India, show a definite inclination towards such approaches on the following basic premises. When they have security of tenure, people invest in the construction of their own houses. And even if affordability is low, a high level of shelter consolidation can be achieved over time through incremental building. This, along with the provision of physical and social infrastructure can lead to reasonably good living conditions for a large number of people without heavy public expenditure. In this paper it will be shown that these premises can be questioned.

In Bhopal, the granting of leasehold tenure or „patta" to squatters has only had a limited impact on shelter improvement. The same is true for environmental improvement schemes. It is not that these measures are not valid, but rather that by themselves they do not necessarily lead to family investment in shelter or to improved living conditions for the poor. Before going into these details an overview of squatter settlements and government policy in Bhopal is presented.

Background of squatter settlements and government housing policy

Bhopal is one of the fastest growing cities in India. The upward trend in population increase began in 1956 with the declaration of the city as the capital of M.P. State (Madhya Pradesh), followed by the buil-

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ding of the Capital Project and setting up of the public sector BHEL (Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd.) plant. The population figures jumped from 102,000 in 1951 to 223,000 in 1961. Since then the city's enlarging role in every sphere of urban activity has sustained a high rate of growth (7.4 percent per annum) resulting in 671,000 inhabitants in 1981. 26.5% of them are housed in 163 squatter settlements.

Over the years the squatter population has grown even faster than the city population. The reasons are not difficult to find: the city has plenty of jobs but not enough suitable formal housing options for the poor. There are large areas of unused government land, land of disputed ownership and areas of second choice (steep slopes, floodable lake sides and valleys) which make squatting easy. Once settlements come up they are explicitly or implicitly recognised. Thus squatting is quite safe. By 1984 squatters had occupied 320 hectares of land (97% of which is government owned) and had grown to 31,227 households from 1,741 in 1969.

In 1976 the MP slum (Clearance and Im-

provement) Act was adopted and in 1980 the MPSCB (MP slum Clearance Board) set up to implement the Act. However, up to 1986 only 24 settlements (including inner city) have been declared as slums and 15 of these taken up for improvement under EIS (Environmental Improvement Scheme). Prior to the Act, 1200 squatter families had been rehabilitated in sites and services or tenement schemes between 1957 and '76.

At the policy level, however, MP and Bhopal have been very progressive. Ever since 1957 housing for the urban poor has been considered important. In the MP State Housing Policy of 1981 and again of 1988 the government has committed itself to solving the low income shelter and settlement upgrading programmes. The Development Plan for Bhopal too proposes similar measures specific to the city.

In 1984 the state government took an even more definite stand by enacting the „**Patta Act**" or the M.P. Nagariya Kshetro Ke Bhumihin Vyakti (Pattadhruti Adhikaron Ka Pradan Kiya Jana) Adhiniyam (Act for granting of leasehold tenure to landless

A view of Om Nagar, the settlement on steeply slopping land, occupied mostly by formal sector workers
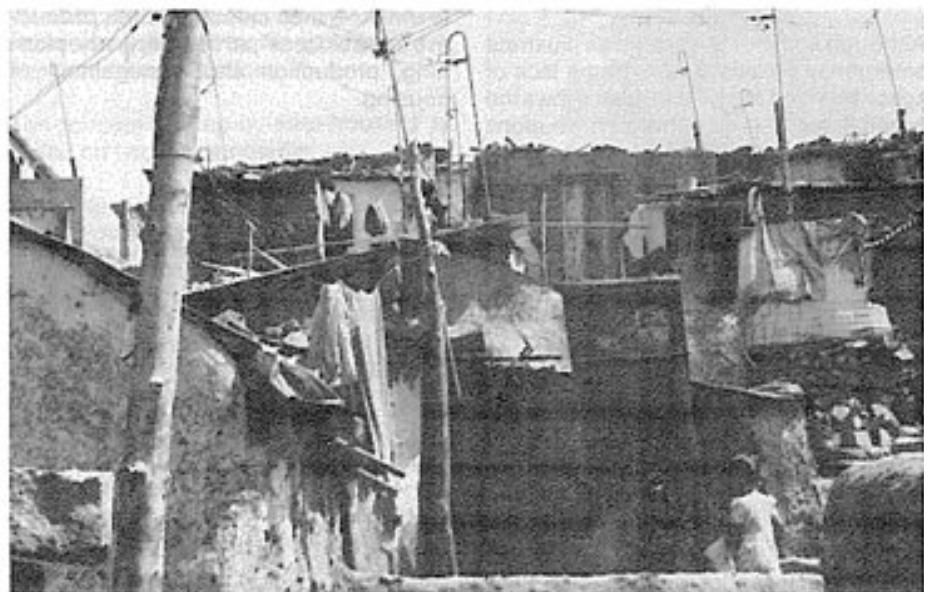
persons in urban areas of MP). Under the Act any 'landless' person occupying up to 50 sq.mts. of lands for residential use on 10th April, 1984 is considered eligible for nontransferable leasehold rights (Patta) either over the land occupied by him or other officially identified land up to 50 sq.mts. In Bhopal altogether 103 settlements have been given 30 years' pattas (Patta 'Kha'); 27 settlements have been granted annual leases (Patta 'Ga') as these settlements are to be relocated elsewhere and 33 settlements with a total of 9,525 huts have not been granted any tenure, being located on land belonging to central government organisations or private parties or being of disputed ownership. Even in settlements with patta about 7700 huts are not eligible for various reasons.

On the eve of the National Independence Day celebrations in 1984 the state wide programme of giving to every house, a single point electric connection at a nominal cost, was extended to those with 30 years pattas. Up to 31.8.1986 MP State Electricity Board had given 12,577 of the targetted 18,500 connections for Bhopal.

The research which we carried out in 1986—87 essentially sought to determine the impact of the Patta Act, the EIS and the single point programme on shelter improvement by individual families.

Considering the main objective of the research, case study settlements were selected to represent all possible combinations of tenure and infrastructure conditions while other factors likely to affect shelter consolidation were kept as constant. Thus all four settlements have the common features of being in New Bhopal, close to work centres, on public land and out of the 'gas affected' area. The squatter census undertaken prior to giving pattas in 1984, by the Department of Urban Welfare and field visits, formed the basis for selection of the case study settlements.

Practical considerations led to the adoption of a two-level approach for data col-

lection. First, a quick survey was conducted covering all plots in the settlement. This was followed by an in-depth survey of households in a 10 percent sample, drawn from the plot census. These were supplemented by unstructured interviews with local leaders, corporation councillors and officials in government departments. Altogether 1,173 plots were covered in the census and 121 households in the sample survey.

Improvement of shelter conditions in squatter settlements

Physical condition of shelter is characterised in terms of type of structure, plot and house area and plot level facilities.

To what extent shelter conditions are influenced by tenure regularisation and infrastructure upgrading was established firstly by documenting the timing of improvements; secondly by guaging the reaction of squatters towards patta and infrastructure improvement, and thirdly by establishing the relation between spatial distribution of infrastructure and shelter improvement.

The shelter consolidation process was documented in terms of improved physical attributes of existing houses and construction of new dwellings after distribution of pattas. The process can be understood better in the light of the profiles of case study settlements.

At the time of the survey there were 437 plots in Shiv Nagar, 203 in Om Nagar, 177 in Vallabh Nagar and 356 in Anna Nagar.

a) Improvement in structural quality:

For classifying structural conditions a shelter consolidation matrix was developed. It consists of materials of construction of wall and roof arranged in descending order of permanence along the two axes. Combinations of wall and roof materials make up the shelter typology ranging from I to VI in descending order.

Settlements with 30 years pattas have better shelter quality. For individual plots the correlation coefficient for shelter typology and patta is 0.56. In the case of Shiv Nagar the rate of improvement after patta distribution is much higher than before. But on Om Nagar the opposite is the case. In fact there has been some deterioration in the wall material after patta. In Vallabh Nagar, improvement has been faster after getting patta even though only annual pattas have been distributed. Anna Nagar presents an overall situation that is not very different from the other settlements though it does not have patta. Again the pattern of change in shelter typology does not differ much for plots with and without patta.

The following observations can be made about structural conditions and improvement characteristics:

1) Better structural conditions and improvements are not necessarily the outcome of higher investment. In all cases the predominant walling materials are available in or near the settlement (stone, mud). Only in Anna Nagar have housebuilders paid for wall construction (packaging wood), in other settlements the material has been excavated at site. Therefore the risk factor usually associated with more permanent construction under tenural insecurity is hardly relevant.

„No change" does not mean no investment but no improvement in typology. Similiarly „deterioration" in all cases has come about because of house collapse and subsequent rebuilding. In any case poor quality houses require constant maintenance for which the family invests labour and money.

2) It is difficult to draw conclusions on the role of the environmental improvement scheme in bringing about shelter improvements but at the same time it cannot be discounted. Firstly, Shiv Nagar, the only settlement with E.I.S. and single point electric programme at the same time has had an impact. Secondly, in all settlements better shelter types are located near community taps and along the improved accessways (Shiv Nagar). At the same time, the study shows that these are the houses of the more influential (leaders, 'richer' households) in the settlement, who seem to have had a say in the placement of infrastructure.

3) Improvement in security of tenure rather than legal tenure by itself has influenced consolidation. Even before 1984, Shiv Nagar and Anna Nagar were designated as „slums for improvement" implying a high de facto security of tenure. Om Nagar was to be relocated; but because of no specific alternative use for the land and its steeply sloping terrain, the authorities we-

Shiv Nagar: Better houses are on plots without legal tenure

re never serious about the location. The people knew this. Vallabh Nagar had no security of tenure before pattas were distributed. It is too visibly close to the Administrative Complex and has faced several demolitions. Therefore, even the annual patta is sufficient to spark off improvements long overdue.

4) People's capacity and willingness to invest eventually determine whether or not material improvements occur beyond the use of locally available material. The survey results show that the monthly household income structure of all settlements consists of a predominantely low income population, earning less than Rs. 600/—. Better quality houses belong to households with higher incomes, but house improvements have been made by all income groups. After distribution of pattas the higher rate of improvement in Shiv Nagar as compared with Om Nagar can be attributed to the employment and occupation structure. Selfemployed persons who constitute a substantial proportion in Shiv Nagar have mobilised finances for investment in shelter, whereas in the case of low income salaried workers as in Om Nagar, the capacity to invest at short notice is limited. But in future shelter improvements can be expected because most formal sector salaried employees in Om Nagar are thinking of applying for housebuilding loans by mortgaging the patta.

b) Addition to the living space:

Plots of 10—20 m² predominate and most plots are smaller than 30 m² (the smallest permissible plot size according to the M.P. Bhoomi Vikas Rules, 1984). There is a high percentage of plots 10 m² in Vallabh Nagar (38.4%). The average plot size is highest in Anna Nagar (25 m²) and lowest in Vallabh Nagar (16 m²).

In Shiv Nagar 172 plots with patta have extended living space, in Om Nagar 32 and Vallabh Nagar 22. Extensions have taken the form of defined open spaces for private use, verandahs and rooms. Since pattas were given only for the built up area in 1984, such extensions are illegal. It is difficult to conclude whether extensions would have taken place irrespective of legal tenure, or whether legal tenure implies less vigilence and therefore greater security for further encroachments. In the case of Shive Nagar the role of the local leader in ensuring immunity and protection is very strong. On the other hand, cases of increase in the number of rooms are many more before than after patta. Moreover, most households want to add more space as and when resources permit, making patta a minor issue.

Shiv Nagar: The average house on plot with 30 yr. tenure

c) Improvement of plot level facilities:

Plots with patta have access to electric connections through the single point programme they cannot be considered as a response from households.

In settlements with 30 years pattas even plots without patta have clandestine connections. Apart from that, no improvement in plot level facilities has taken place for sample households. In fact a large number out of the 39 private wells in Shiv Nagar fell into disuse after community taps were installed as part of E.I.S. No laterines or bathing spaces had been added.

d) Construction of new houses:

Between 1984 and 86, 11 new plots and houses have been added in Shiv Nagar, 60 in Om Nagar, 44 in Vallabh Nagar and 135 in Anna Nagar. Their tenure is illegal but the perceived security of tenure is fairly high as demonstrated by better material of construction.

Owners of new houses bank on the associational security of tenure they get from being part of a recognised settlement especially as local leaders assure protection. The large increase in Anna Nagar can be attributed to the hope, that it is only a matter of time before pattas are given. Besides this, of course, are the advantages such as access to infrastructure and social linkages already existing in settlements, which would result in expansion even without patta.

In settlements with patta, there is evidence to show that many new houses came up just before patta was distributed. The interesting example is of joint families 'breaking up' into several houses to lay claim to plots. For instance in Shiv Nagar two of the sample households started off by occupying one plot but built 5 houses each in 1984 and got as many pattas.

This indicates substantial investment in housing just before pattas were given, and could easily be one of the reasons for limited investment immediately after.

Summary of Findings

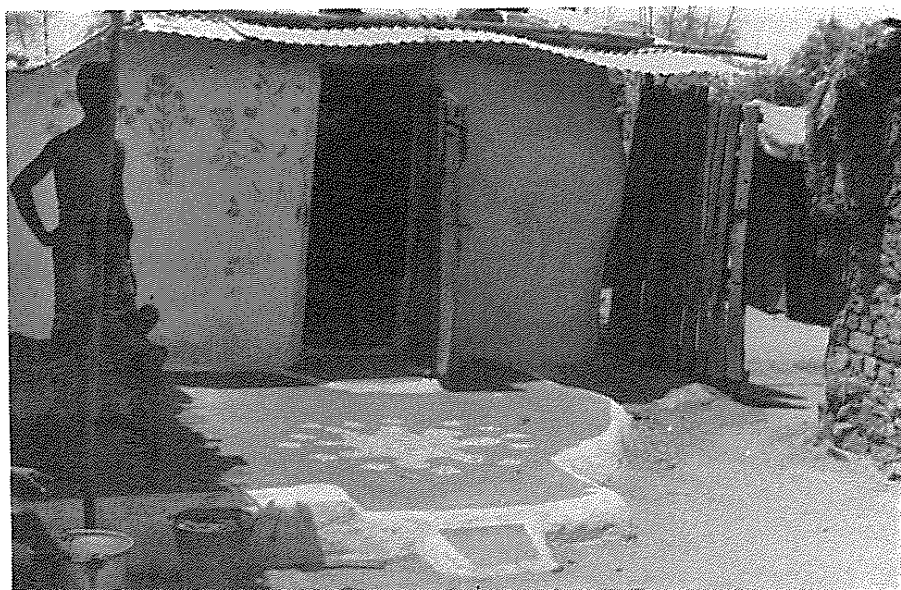Shelter consolidation has occured in case study settlements in three ways:

  a) Qualitative improvement in the materials of construction.
  b) Increase in living space.
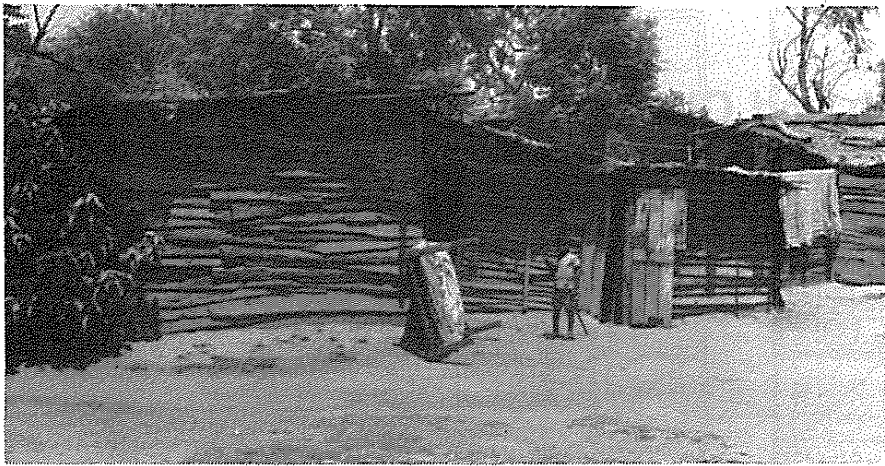 c) Construction of new houses.

Legal tenure and infrastructure are just two of the numerous factors that have played a part in shelter consolidation. In attempting to relate shelter consolidation with legal tenure and infrastructure improvement, only indications and assumptions could be established. This is because it is difficult, if not impossible, to isolate two out of the many factors that influence shelter consolidation. **Definite cause-effect relations can only be established at the cost of over-simplification.**

Legal tenure has been of direct relevance in the case where de facto security of tenure was previously very low (Vallabh Nagar). In the case of Shiv Nagar the combination of EIS, patta and people's ability to invest has resulted in shelter improvement. Im Om Nagar, on the other hand, even with 30 years patta improvements have not been made because of the low investment capacity of households. In Anna Nagar improvements have taken place inspite of no patta.

Differing structural conditions in different settlements can also be attributed to the availability of certain materials at or near the site.

Extension of living space has taken place beyond the legal plot limits delineated by the patta, implying that families have perhaps used the immunity of living in a re-

cognised settlement to extend their shelter area according to family need and ability. It is likely that such extensions would have taken place anyway even without patta. In this regard it is relevant to note that not building activity is legitimate, inspite of patta, because it does not have the approval of BMC.

The indirect impact of patta is the construction of new houses that hope to benefit from association with recognised settlements; or that hope to get patta alongwith the rest of the recognised settlement. But again, new houses could have come up even without a patta programme.

The unintended building activity (extension; new houses) sparked off as patta has given rise to political leadership at settlement level, with leaders extending patronage and protection. The leaders also seem to have influenced, to their advantage, decisions regarding location of whatever little infrastructure that exists. The impact of infrastructure improvement on shelter is also related to these locational decisions. That patta is not a major issue to squatter owners is displayed by the lack of care of the patta document and also in the general ignorance of the terms and conditions mentioned in it.

Though not dealt in detail in this paper, the case studies reveal that other expected indirect impacts of legal tenure and improved infrastructure in the form of population mobility, changes in plot occupancy and plot use are negligible.

Conclusions:

Impact of tenure regularisation and infrastructure improvement on shelter consolidation

To recapitulate a point raised in the introduction, in Bhopal the granting of leasehold tenure and implementation of E.I.S. have had only a limited impact on shelter consolidation. The research findings show that there is no reason for it to have

been otherwise. The reasons are given below:

1) The objective of E.I.S. is „...to create better conditions of health and hygiene in areas that are environmentally poor."
The granting of patta has the „...objective of bringing them (squatters) into the mainstream of (the) State's life..." and fostering „...state protection and promotion of people's rights." Therefore shelter consolidation is not the objective of any of the programmes. To this extent the research has documented an impact, that was not a stated programme objective.

2) When people settle and build, they look for security of tenure and access to basic infrastructure for living, essentially water. The research has shown that both these are available even without govt. programmes, which then become largely irrelevant. This is especially true for low-intensity, large scale programmes such as the ones considered here. Even so, convergence of several programmes at the same time can trigger off house improvements (as in Shiv Nagar). In addition to that the minimal improvements achieved do not make settlements attractive enough for downward raiding by higher income groups.

3) The advantage of tenure regularisation by itself can be felt in settlements of no or very little de facto tenural security (as in Vallabh Nagar). To those who can get access to loans for housebuilding too, formal legal tenure is of importance. This group basically includes formal sector employees (as in Om Nagar). But people who are excluded from access to regularised tenure, once it is given, have to depend indefinitely on exhortive local patronage for security of occupation.

4) It can be argued that the time period of two years is too short to register an impact and that legal tenure, in the long run, can lead to higher levels of shelter consolidation as compared

with situations where tenural security is only implicit. The experience from Bhopal shows that this does not always lead to improved living conditions because other conditions necessary for improvement do not exist. Firstly, in a situation where households have a low capacity to invest on housing, legal tenure alone cannot lead to investment. Secondly, by limiting pattas to the built up area existing in 1984, any further possibility of legally expanding the house is eliminated. Only single storeyed construction is permitted as per the conditions laid down in the patta. Moreover, since most of the plots are smaller than the smallest plot size specified in the building rules, BMC does not even entertain building applications. Finally, layout and site conditions in most settlements are such (narrow winding lanes, small plots, steep slopes, floodable valleys) that only limited improvement in living conditions are possible. In fact under such conditions shelter consolidation can even have a negative impact as plots get built up with more permanent materials and houses extend into whatever little public space that exists.

These findings, of course, do not imply that legal tenure and infrastructure improvements should not be provided, but rather that these should not be the end in themselves. They can infact prove to be environmentally regressive unless backed by measures such as changes in building regulations and provision for necessary settlement restructuring. In certain cases, financial assistance for shelter improvement may also be required. As remarked by a squatter leader, the policy of „partial facilitation" leaves a man nowhere: He has legal right that he did not want over a bit of land that is in no way fit for building; at the same time ownership of this plot disqualifies him from applying for another. What this implies is that unless properly defined for each situation the notion of „facilitator role" of public agencies cannot be expected to have a positive impact on the low income housing situation.

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Negotiating for Growth and Change: A Study of User Initiated Transformation of Formal Housing

A.S. Dasgupta

Introduction

Traditionally settlements have developed with the residents enjoying maximum control over their built environment. The changes in the residents' life-styles and needs were reflected in the evolving pattern of development of the settlement. The neighbourhood evolved through the constant additions and alterations undertaken by the residents. Contemporary settlements however reflect a different pattern of responsibility where the government is vested with the power to control and regulate development. In this situation the users are left out of the decision making process and their means to negotiate for change are severly restricted. Instead rules and regulations proliferate to maintain a pre-conceived orderly state of affairs. Self-initiated efforts by the users to appropriate the physical environment through mutual understanding are forbidden.

Public housing is a typical example of such a control system. Conceived and built as a finished product, users are not allowed to undertake any modifications of the structures on their own. The official design is envisaged to be so perfect that future interventions by the residents are thought to be unnecessary hence undesired. Nevertheless we come across examp-

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les of public housing estates where the residents have taken over control and through a continuous process of spontaneous redesigning have transformed the settlement altogether. Such changes are largely introduced through informal and unauthorised transformation of the dwelling units. They manifest the desire of the people to organise and reorganise the physical elements that they use and share as part of their changing needs. The resultant development may look haphazard. They are however not chaotic. The irregularities are not planned but are the outcome of the decisions and actions of the residents. The developments are based on self-interest and initiated to maximise the use of and control on the neighbouring spaces — the physical products are the direct outcome of the negotiations and mutual understandings reached among the households in their effort to remould their dwellings.

This paper describes the process of changes brought about in a public housing estate in Kalkaji, Delhi, India. It is based on a survey carried out to document the transformations of the dwelling units through the additions and alterations made by the residents themselves. A total of 128 dwelling units consisting of 141 households were surveyed and form the basis of the observations.

The Settlement

The settlement is one of the refugee rehabilitation projects built by the Central Public Works Department during the early fifties as part of the government programme to provide accommodation to the families affected by the events of partitioning of the country. Built as a series of nine square blocks around internal common courtyards, each block consisted of 64 dwelling units arranged on two floors with common toilet facilities located at the four corners. Fig. 1 illustrates the planned provisions.
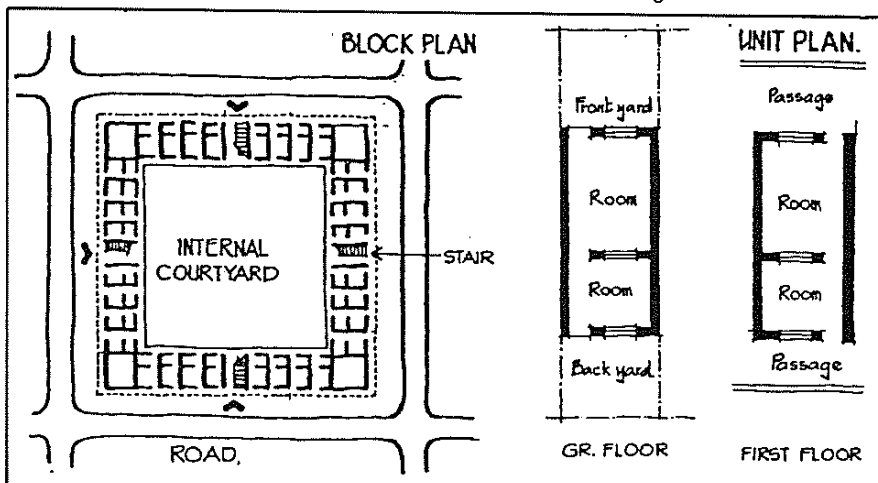
User initiated changes

Due to the changing needs of the residents, the dwelling units have been transformed heavily with large scale additions and alterations to the existing structures. Most of these modifications are unauthorised, self-managed by the households either to reorganise or increase the dwelling area for the extending family or to derive additional income by locating an income producing activity in the house. Encroachment onto the common or public land through expansions of the unit or by extending the influence of private control and locating over-spilled household activities is also part of the transformation process.

Alterations and additions

In almost all the dwelling units certain amount of alterations have been carried out. Common amongst them are alterations of walls, door and window positions, entry to the house and room or space usage. Many households have converted the front room or part of it or else created additional rooms to locate income producing activities like groceries and vegetable stalls, general merchandise, tailoring and knitting shop, electrical appliance repairing, video lending outlets, sweat-meat and fast-food counters, laundries etc.. The corner units have, in some cases, altered the toilet block by annexing the adjoining toilet unit to the living area thus enlarging the dwelling space. Others

Fig. 1 Planned Provision

BLOCK PLAN

INTERNAL COURTYARD

STAIR

ROAD.

UNIT PLAN.

Passage

Front yard

Room

Room

Room

Room

Back yard

Passage

GR. FLOOR   FIRST FLOOR

have altered the toilet unit by converting it into a shop and rented it out. A few cases of complete change in the usage of the dwelling unit for commercial purpose were observed. Combining two adjacent units to form one house was also observed.

Owing to the need to enlarge the area of the dwelling units, the households have utilised all means and opportunities to create additional rooms or extend the „plot-boundary" including encroachment onto the common areas. The ground floor units have extended outward both toward the front (roadside) and rear (courtyard side). The upper floor units likewise have extended outwards horizontally in both directions (front & rear) as well as vertically by constructing rooms on the roof-tops. Most of the roof-top additions are utilised to accommodate the extended family or are rented out. Extensions towards the rear were undertaken to enlarge the living quarters, to construct private toilets, create rental accommodations, open up shops or locate small scale home-based production units, e.g. manufacture of printed labels and automobile airfilters. Expansion towards the front likewise was undertaken to create additional living space for own use or rental purpose, for locating income producing activities or renting out for commercial purpose. For the corner units, extensions towards the side margin in front of the toilet blocks were undertaken to locate shops or extend the living area. Figs. 2 and 3 illustrate some of the transformed units.
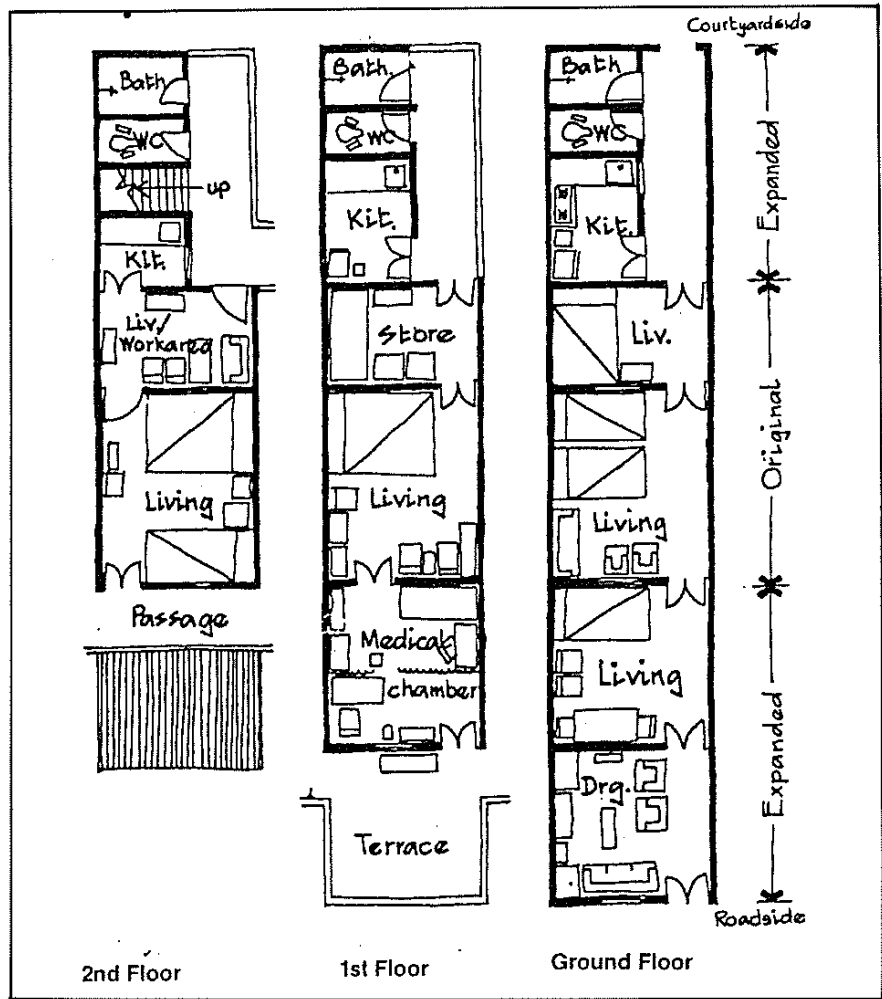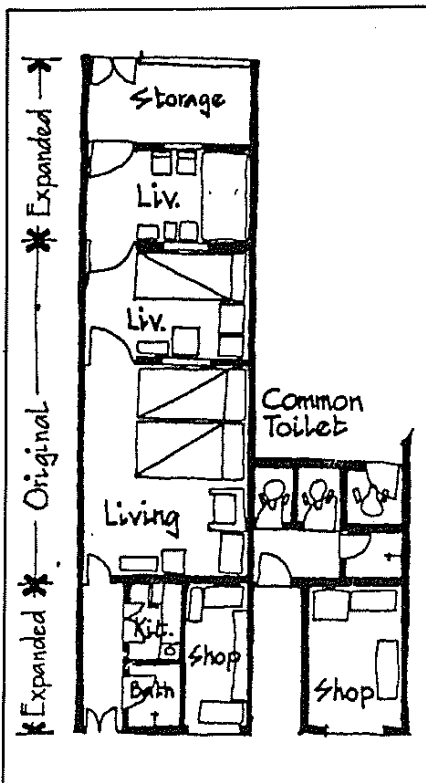

Fig. 3 Transformed Unit

Fig. 2 Transformed Unit

Negotiations and mutual agreements

To undertake the modifications of the dwelling units specially through expansions, the residents negotiated with their neighbours and arrived at mutual understandings on the type and extent of the transformation. The resultant development was not merely an enlargement of the dwelling space. It also transformed the neighbourhood from a purely monofunctional one to one containing varied activities and multi-functional spaces. The physical outcome of the transformation process was the fruitful conclusion of a series of negotiations among the households and reflected their abilities to overcome conflict situation collectively.

The negotiations were spontaneous based on self-interest and were undertaken between households affected by the proposed development. Needless to say, all negotiations were informally arranged and depended on the initiative of the negotiating households, their requirements and capabilities, social position enjoyed within the neighbourhood and the general pace of transformation in the surrounding areas. Through negotiations and mutual understanding the household could realise its intentions of enlarging

and modifying the existing dwelling or bringing about a larger area under control.

Types of agreement

Usually three kinds of agreements were found — 1. Physical, i.e. agreement on the amount of space to be utilised and the type and location of the structures within that space, 2. Usage, i.e. agreement on the share and use of the space as well as the structures and facilities located in the negotiated area and 3. Financial, i.e. agreement on the share of expenditure and mode of payment for the new construction, alterations or payments for extending the right of use on the negotiated area.

Depending upon the requirement of the household intending to expand the dwelling and the perceived conflict situations that may arise due to the expansion proposed, the household accordingly negotiated with the neighbours of the ground floor and the first floor. Negotiations falling under the first type, i.e. physical were of various kinds. For expansion towards the front it was normally the first floor household who took the initiative to nego-

tiate with its neighbour directly below. In case of locating an income producing activity in the front, the ground floor household seldom negotiated, instead simply went ahead with the expansion according to its needs and capability. For later extension of the first floor unit, permission to utilise the existing structures or to locate the structural members had to be obtained.

If the existing expansion below was not of the required load bearing type then both the parties had to agree to pull it down and build anew or else strenghten it appropriately. In such cases negotiation would be undertaken to decide on the extent of the expansion, type of structure required, the financial liability, i.e. the share falling on each household and their willingness to hear it. The petty contractor or mason who would likely be employed to realise the expansion had also to be identified and negotiated. Existing works, i.e. constructions already undertaken by him and the experiences of those households decided his engagement. To this extent some of those households were invited to the negotiations for their opinion and observations.

The extent of expansion was also influenced by the relative location of the units within the settlement, i.e. facing the main access road, secondary accessway or internal approach roads. As the transformation activities were unauthorised, the type of structure put up and the extent of encroachment onto public area greatly depended on the relative location hence exposure of the builtup area. The degree of negotiation for expansion towards the rear or courtyard side was greater in case of residential purpose. The concern of both the parties was high as the pattern of locating the wet-cell (kitchen, WC or bath) affected the position and distribution of the service lines. Locating an income producing activity and extending towards the rear for that purpose had also to be negotiated.

For the second type of negotiation, i.e. sharing the use of the extended space and locating the structures in it, the negotiation depended upon the intended usages and the type of structures contemplated to be built. Sharing the extended space and locating services facilities like garbage-bin, underground water reservoir, domestic water-pumps etc. for common use were undertaken. Locating man-holes and connecting the sewage pipes for mutual benefits were also negotiated.

The utilisation of a part of the ground floor area for access to the upper floor and the ground floor structures to place the staircase were also negotiated. In case the accessway was meant to serve the rental accommodation created on the upper floor (seperate access enhanced the rents) financial negotiation had often to be negotiated by the first floor household with the neighbour downstairs. This allowed the first floor household to have right of use for the access passage which was transformed into a common passage
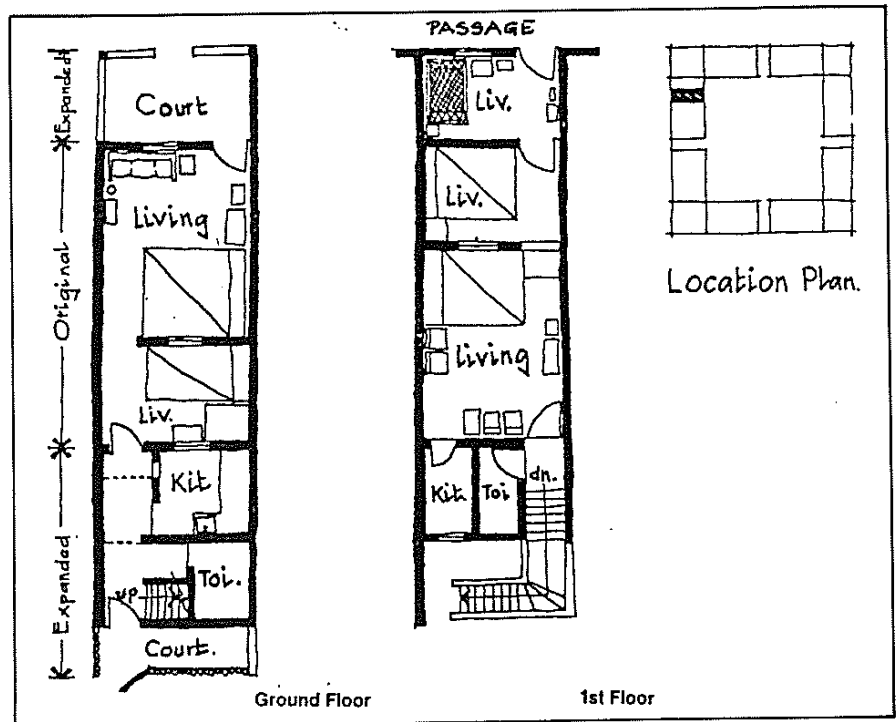

Fig. 4 Negotiating for use of extended space

way for both the households. Fig. 4 illustrates such a development. It may be noted that the roof-top of the toilet block of the ground floor has been used as a landing of the staircase, whereas the stair-slab has been utilised as the roof of the ground floor kitchen. Trade-offs such as these to the mutual benefits of the households were common and expected.

Financial agreements were made to share equally the cost of construction or alterations at the time of expansion of were negotiated at a later date when the house-

hold who expanded the unit lager and used the already built structures initiated fresh negotiations. The amount of finance to be provided for extending the right of use or modifying or strengthening the structures were negotiated and paid directly to the other party or provided in kinds, i.e. building materials. Some of the common type of negotiations in this regard was modifying the columns or piers, roof or ceiling, rain-water pipes or outlets and sewer lines (redirecting, relaying or making new connections) etc.. Fig. 5 illu-
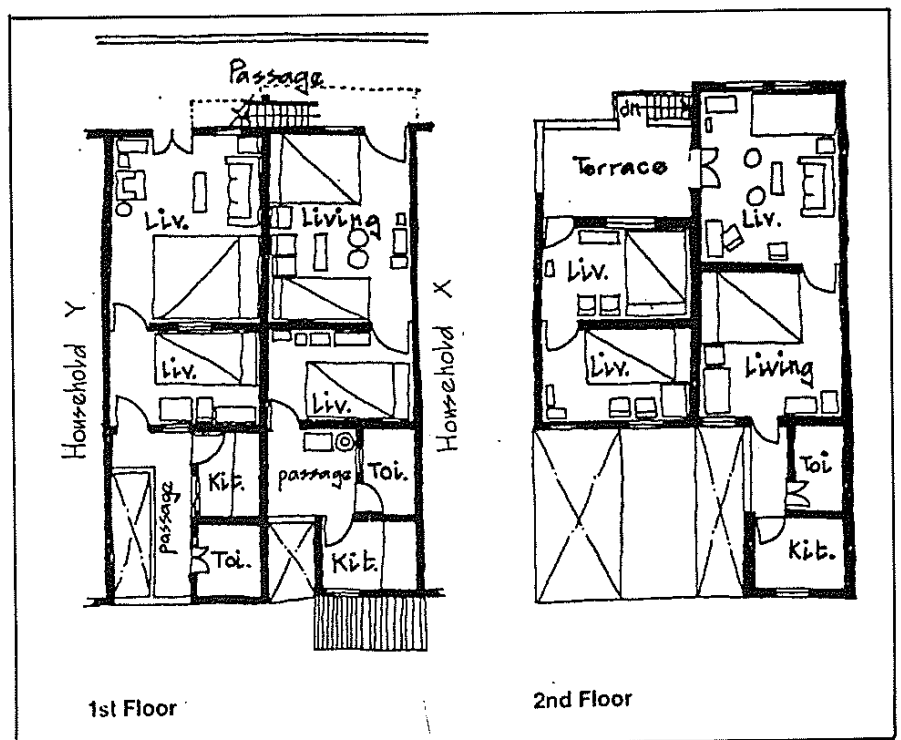

Fig. 5 Roof-top additions

strates a typical case of negotiated expansion of this type. Access to the roof-top additions was negotiated by household X to locate a metal stair in front of household Y's passage and use Y's roof-top as the entrance passage to the 2nd. floor rooms. For this purpose, household X had to bear the expenditure on strengthening and modifying the support wall, roof-terrace and the passage way on the first floor all of which were under the control of household Y. When household Y expanded the dwelling unit by constructing roof-top rooms, negotiations with household X was undertaken of using the metal staircase for access to the roof-top rooms. This was allowed subject to household Y leaving a part of the terrace as a common accessway for both the houses. In the process household Y could not utilise the entire roof-top but saved on constructing a new staircase.

The agreements between the households were of temporary nature, i.e. undertaken and valid for a particular situation or construction. For future expansion or extension in other directions fresh negotiations had to be undertaken.
To a casual observer this may appear odd and cumbersome, however the system suited the residents. Owing to the fast changing life-style due to economic consolidation and the high turn-over rate of ownership, the household's requirements tended to change rather requently as also the negotiating parties would tend to change with subsequent or new owners replacing the original owner-occupier. In fact, more than fifty percent of the households surveyed were subsequent owners. Existing agreements if passed on to the later occupiers could create conflicts with the felt needs for change and unnecessarily lead to disputes.

The agreements on the additions were undertaken only for the basic or support structure and responsibility for internal subdivision and finishes were left to the individuals. Cases of conflict were found, though very few, where the parties failed to arrive at any understanding. In such situation, the first floor household had to locate its support structures clear off the plot-boundary or use-zone staked out by

the neighbour below. This resulted in the first floor household extending more than what was required or intended (at additional expenditure), whereas for the ground floor household it meant dark interiors due to overhead projection and limitations in choice of internal subdivision and facade treatment due to columns placed awkwardly. Negotiations amongst three or four adjoining households on the ground floor for usage and location of facilities and swapping of part of the front margin or plot area were noticed.

The corner situation presents perhaps the most interesting example of negotiated expansion. The block layout is such that it does not provide enough opportunities of outward expansion for the corner dwellings as compared to the other units. Fig. 6 illustrates this diagramitically. To overcome the restriction, the side margin arroung the common toilet block was appropriated by the neighbouring corner households to offset their limited expansion capacities towards the courtyard side. The expansion towards the courtyard side again called for negotiations to leave an access to the toilets. Fig. 7 illustrated the negotiated arrangement. In the process of appropriating the corner areas, the toilet units are being converted to various usages. It will be interesting to observe the negotiations and reutilisation of the toilet-blocks once all the households construct their private toilets. This will take some time, however the process is already underway.

Conclusions

The process of self-initiated transformation of the neighbourhood clearly established that housing is an ongoing process of development aimed at evolving multifunctional usage of the neighbourhood area in accordance with the changing needs and life-styles of the residents. The transformation does not result merely in the enlargement of the residential area but also in the emergence of various activities and use spaces thereby reducing the severe limitations imposed by the planned monofunctional residential usage.

The transformation activities are boosted by the process of negotiation and this greatly increases the range of options available to the residents. Through negotiations individual households can realise their intentions to effect changes in the physical environment and maximise the useability of the different spaces. In this process ambiguous public areas are transfered to private control and put to productive use. The negotiations not only allow the residents opportunities for collective decision making and greater resource mobilisation but also allow them to achieve much better utilisation of resources than what could have been achieved through the formal system under the plethora of rules and regulations and cumbersome procedures the merits of which the residents can hardly fathom let alone understand.

The housing situation in the developing countries have created a new learning process for the professionals. They gain useful insights from studying the traditional and informal settlements and are inspired to develop design principles and guidelines to facilitate growth and change in formally produced housing. However only a beginning has been made and there remains a lot before we will really be able to understand the self-initiated, informal and non-professional efforts made by the people themselves and to this end documentation and study of such efforts must be kept ongoing.

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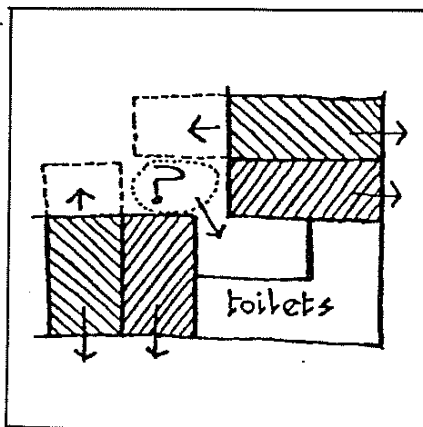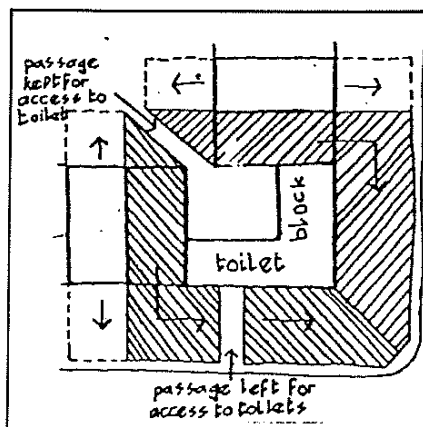
Fig. 6 Problematic corner situation

Fig. 7 Solution for corner situation

Angepaßte Technologie für ländlichen Hausbau: Ein Ansatz für nachhaltige Entwicklung in Südindien

Bernhard Glaeser

Das Jahr 1987 ist von den Vereinten Nationen zum „International Year of Shelter for the Homeless" deklariert worden. In diesem globalen soziopolitischen Rahmen sollte das Forschungsprojekt „Appropriate Technology for Rural Housing" des Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB), das sich mit sozialen und ökologischen Problemen des ländlichen Hausbaus in Südindien befaßt, einen konzeptionellen Beitrag leisten, der für die konkrete Dorfentwicklung nutzbar gemacht werden kann.

Zielsetzung

Das Ziel des Projekts bestand zum einen darin, gleichermaßen kostengünstige und umweltverträgliche, in der Nähe des Siedlungsgebiets vorhandene oder produzierbare Baumaterialien zu bestimmen und geeignete Hausbautechniken zu identifizieren. Zum anderen sollte ermittelt werden, unter welchen Voraussetzungen die in den Dörfern ansässige Bevölkerung bereit und in der Lage ist, das staatliche und nichtstaatliche Wohnungsangebot bzw. angebotene technische Innovationen anzunehmen. Die zentrale Einheit bei Konzeption, Planung und Implementation war das Haus bzw. der Haushalt als soziales und ökologisches System, welches die sozialen Zusammenhänge und Interaktionen auf der einen Seite sowie Fragen der Versorgung und Entsorgung, des Material- und Abfallrecyclings auf der anderen Seite umfaßt. Das Projekt wurde in enger Kooperation zwischen dem Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB) und der Abteilung für Bautechnologie des Indian Institute of Technology, Madras (IIT Madras), bearbeitet.

Die folgenden Forschungsergebnisse waren geplant:

— Publikation der sozialwissenschaftlichen Befunde,

Bernhard Glaeser arbeitet am Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung im Forschungsschwerpunkt Technik-Arbeit-Umwelt. Alle Fotos von B. Glaeser.

— Umsetzung dieser Befunde in ingenieurwissenschaftliche Technikentwicklungen und -anwendungen (Lehmblockpresse),
— Erarbeitung eines Handbuchs über Lehmblockkonstruktionen auf englisch und tamilisch zur Nutzung in den Dörfern.

Das Untersuchungsgebiet

Der Bundesstaat Tamil Nadu liegt an der nahezu tropischen Coromandel Küste im Osten Indiens und erstreckt sich bis zur Südspitze bzw. dem Deccan Plateau im Westen. Die Einwohnerzahl beträgt 50 bis 60 Millionen. Das Untersuchungsgebiet befindet sich südwestlich der Haupt- und Küstenstadt Madras in einer Entfernung von 20 bis 70 Kilometern. Die interviewten Haushalte setzen sich überwiegend aus landlosen Arbeitern und Tagelöhnern zusammen; daneben gibt es Bauern mit eigenen Parzellen sowie Fischer und Weber. Die meisten Befragten sind Hindus, vorrangig den untersten Kasten zugehörend; hinzu kommen Christen und Mohammedaner.

Eine sozialwissenschaftliche Erhebung in südindischen Dörfern

Informationen über Habitat-orientierte Bedürfnisse, verwendete und bevorzugte Baumaterialien, die Reparaturanfälligkeit der verschiedenen Haustypen sowie die Innovationsfähigkeit ihrer Bewohner wurden mit Hilfe von strukturierten und unstrukturierten Tiefeninterviews mittels einer Umfrage bei 300 Haushalten in 20 Dörfern sowie durch ergänzende Beobachtungen erhoben. Die Umfrage wurde computergestützt in Berlin ausgewertet.

Bei der Durchführung der Erhebung traten folgende methodische Probleme auf: Die Dorfbewohner sind Interviewer durchaus gewohnt; sie verbinden damit jedoch in aller Regel die Erwartung von Regierungszusagen auf finanzielle Hilfe. Zum anderen ist natürlich das Auftauchen „weißer" Gesichter im Dorf von äußerstem Interesse, so daß die Beantwortung der Fragen von diesem sozialen Ereignis unter Umständen „geschönt" wird. Schließlich besteht die Gefahr, daß in europäischem gedanklichem Kontext entwickelte Fragen von den Befragten nicht
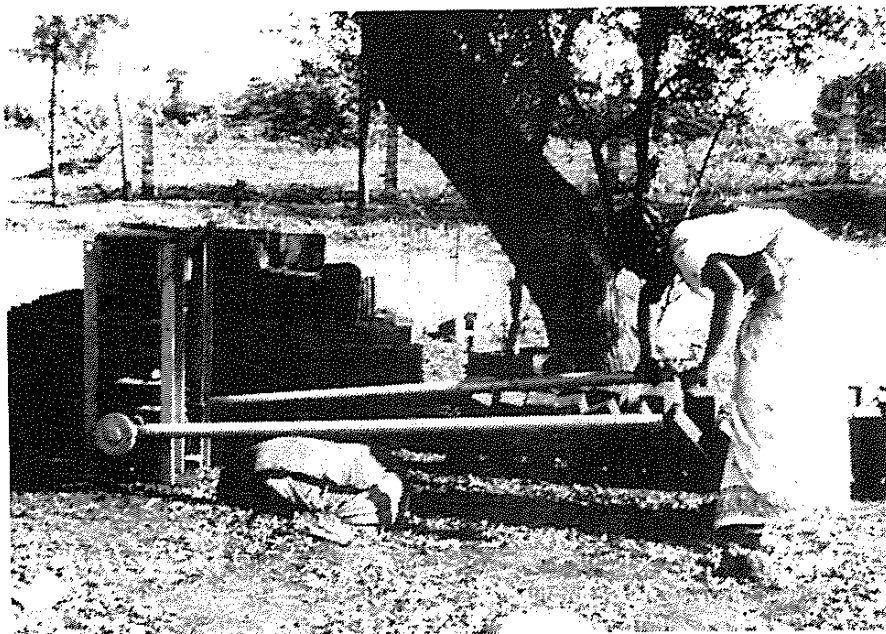
eigentlich verstanden werden. Zur Vermeidung oder zumindest Eindämmung dieser Schwierigkeiten wurden verschiedene Vorkehrungen ergriffen wie Konsultationen lokaler Experten, Pretests der Fragebögen und Einsatz von Interviewern, die die südindische Sprache Tamil sprechen.

Wohnbedürfnisse

Folgende Hauptprobleme und entsprechende Bedürfnisse wurden von den Befragten bezüglich ihrer Haus- und Wohnsituation genannt: Das Fehlen einer angemessenen Waschgelegenheit (Badezimmer) und Toilette, zu wenig Wohnraum, Mangel an Elektrizität und Trinkwasser, schlechter Dachzustand und ungenügende Kochgelegenheit (Küche).

Diese Angaben sind allerdings weiter zu differenzieren. Als sozioökonomischer Indikator wurde die Dichotomisierung der bewohnten Häuser nach Baumaterialien eingeführt. Während die (wohlhabenderen) Bewohner „permanenter" Häuser (Zement, gebrannte Ziegel, Dachziegel) sich vor allem über mangelnden Komfort wie fehlendes Badezimmer oder ungenügenden Wohnraum beklagen, leiden die (ärmeren) Bewohner weniger permanenter Häuser (Lehmbau, Stroh- und Blätterdach) unter den schädlichen Folgen von Umwelteinwirkungen wie Regen während der Monsumzeit und Feuchtigkeit von unten.

Fast 40 Prozent der Befragten müssen 900 Meter oder mehr zur nächsten Trinkwasserquelle laufen. Dies hängt ab von der Lage der Dörfer, unabhängig von Einkommen oder sozialer Position.

Baumaterialien

Baumaterialien spielen beim Hausbau naturgemäß eine Schlüsselrolle: Sie bestimmen nicht nur die physische Stabilität, sondern auch das psychologische Image des Hauses. Nahezu unabhängig vom bewohnten Haustyp werden permanente Materialien wie Zement, gebrannte Ziegel und Dachziegel bevorzugt. Allerdings hängt die gewünschte Kombination ebenso wie die gewünschte Hausgröße vom Einkommen ab.

Das Image des Hauses wird durch positiv und negativ bewertete Eigenschaften definiert. Positive Eigenschaften sind neben permanenten Materialien moderne Errungenschaften wie Elektrizität, aber auch traditionelle Einrichtungen wie eine Veranda. Negative Eigenschaften sind geringe Größe, schlechter Zustand und weniger permanente Materialien. Dennoch kann auch ein kleines Haus mit einem ordentlich gedeckten Palmblätterdach positiv bewertet werden. Von Wichtigkeit sind darüber hinaus Kühle während der Sommerhitze und zentrale Dorflage.

Unabhängig von Wünschen und Image werden überwiegend traditionelle und natürliche Baumaterialien, also die weniger permanenten verwendet. Lehm dient zur Konstruktion des Fundaments sowie der Wände und wird für Fußböden und als Bewurf genutzt. Bambus und Palmblätter sind die vorherrschenden Dachmaterialien.

All diese lokalen Baumaterialien sind im Dorf zwar physisch wie ökonomisch am ehesten zugänglich, sind aber keineswegs mehr freie Güter, sondern kosten ihren Preis. Dieser Preis kann sogar höher sein als derjenige der modernen und permanenten Materialien, wenn man Haltbarkeit und Reparaturhäufigkeit berücksichtigt. Im Erhebungsdurchschnitt erreichen die Reparaturkosten eines permanenten Hauses alle 9,2 Jahre dessen Gestehungskosten, die eines weniger permanenten Hauses alle 2,6 Jahre.

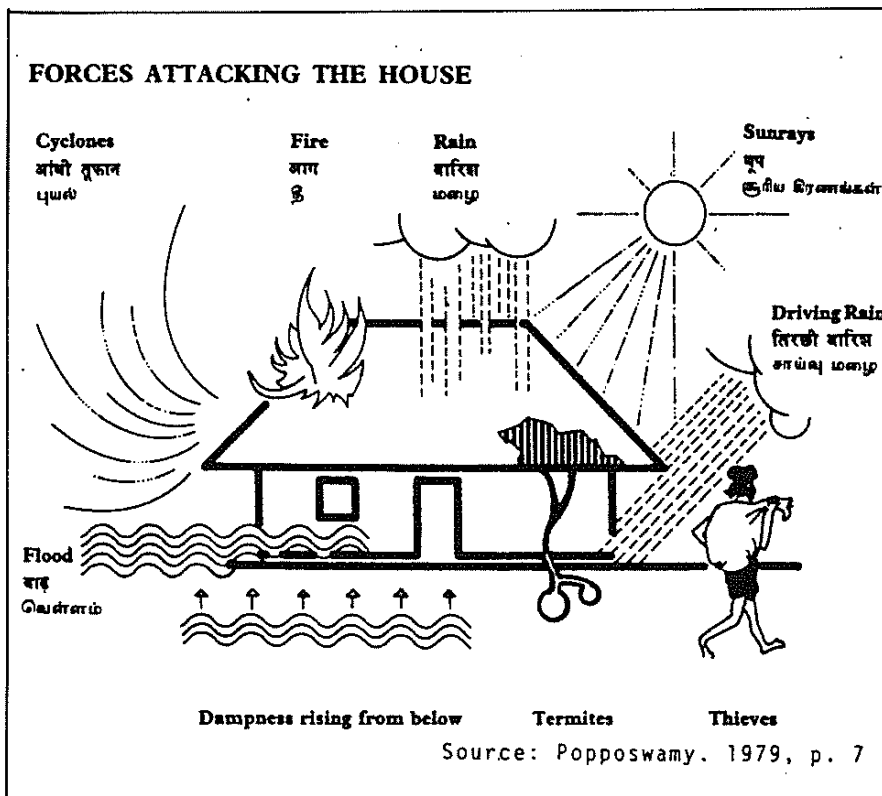## Ökologische und soziokulturelle Bedingungen

Neben technischen und wirtschaftlichen Engpässen unterliegen Hausbau und Wohnen in Südindien auch ökologischen und soziokulturellen Bedingungen. In einem Gebiet, das weithin abgeholzt ist, wird es immer schwieriger, Holz als Baumaterial oder als Brennmaterial — dem traditionellen Energieträger — zu erhalten. Küchengärten in der unmittelbaren Nähe des Hauses sind durchaus erwünscht, jedoch selten in der Realität anzutreffen, da zum einen die Bewässerung schwierig ist, zum anderen der zusätzliche Arbeitsaufwand von den hierfür zuständigen Frauen kaum geleistet werden kann.
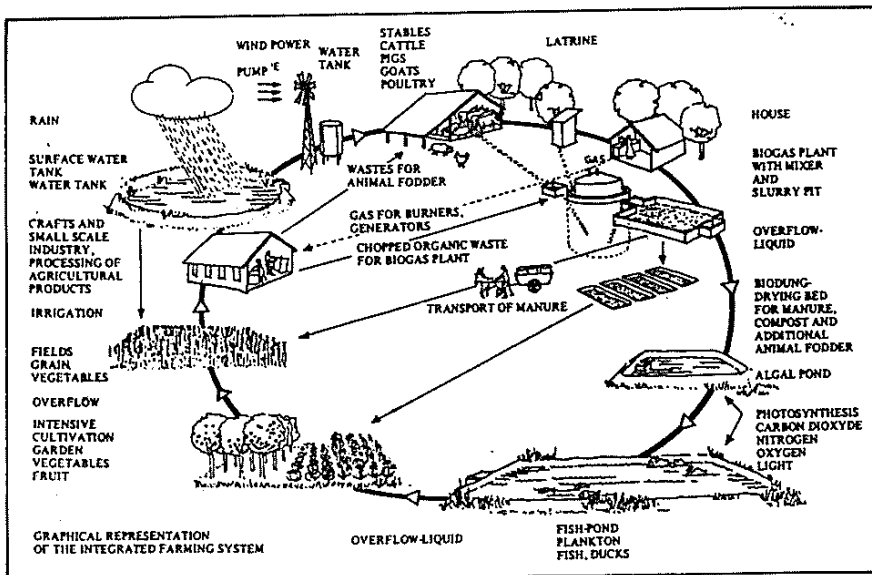
Bauliche Aktivitäten — Neubau oder Reparaturen — werden auch vom Rhythmus der Jahreszeiten sowie von religiösen Gebräuchen bestimmt. Jahreszeitlich gesehen sind Zeiten mit landwirtschaftlichen (oder anderen beruflichen) Arbeitsanforderungen zu vermeiden, außerdem die Hauptregenzeit (Monsun) in den Sommermonaten, während der vielfach bauliche Schäden an den Lehm- und Strohhäusern entstehen. Ein wahrer ländlicher Bauboom ist somit regelmäßig vor Einsetzen oder nach Beendigung des Monsuns zu verzeichnen.

Hierfür sind in der temporalen Feinabstimmung allseits bekannte Tabuzeiten zu vermeiden. Priester und Astrologen helfen beim Auffinden besonders günstiger Stunden. Vor allem aber werden Baubeginn, Fortgang der Arbeiten und ihr Ende durch jeweils unterschiedliche, auch zwischen Dörfern, Kasten und Familien variierende Zeremonien begleitet.

Kaste und Klasse

Soziale Dorfstrukturen werden nach wie vor vom traditionellen Kastenwesen beherrscht. Ganze Dörfer oder zumindest Teilkolonien setzen sich aus Mitgliedern derselben Kaste zusammen. Während Kasten in der hinduistischen Philosophie ursprünglich vor allem als funktionale Berufsgemeinschaften gedacht waren, trat in der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit eine immer stärker werdende hierarchische Komponente hinzu, die etwa in unterschiedlichen Reinheitsgeboten und Eßritualen ihren Ausdruck fand und beispielsweise dazu führte, daß soziale Kontakte mit sogenannten Unberührba-

FORCES ATTACKING THE HOUSE

Cyclones | Fire | Rain | Sunrays

Driving Rain

Flood

Dampness rising from below | Termites | Thieves

Source: Popposwamy. 1979, p. 7

Wohnen und Landwirtschaft im integrierten Habitat
Quelle: Eggeling et al., 1980

ren und Kastenlosen (outcasts) auszuschließen waren. Ein solches Verhalten kann noch immer in der Nachbarschaftshilfe beim Hausbau beobachtet werden, wenn hierfür die Angehörigen bestimmter Kasten ausgeschlossen sind. Eine hierarchische Kastenstruktur konnte in Beziehung zu Einkommen, Beruf, Erziehung, Zugang zu Energiequellen und Wasser festgestellt werden.

Ohne sozialen Wandel im Sinne einer Veränderung dieser durchaus klassenähnlichen Strukturen, worum die indische Zentralregierung nach Kräften bemüht ist, wird sich eine ländliche Entwicklung schwertun. Dies gilt insbesondere auch für Hausbau und Wohnstrukturen, die ja nur Ausfluß und Indiz der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Verhältnisse sind.

Das Los der Landfrauen

Ein besonders schweres Los haben — jenseits aller beruflichen und sozialen Unterschiede — die Landfrauen zu tragen. Hausarbeiten wie kochen, säubern, abwaschen, Wäsche waschen, einkaufen, Wasser schleppen, füllen den Tag. Hinzu tritt das aufwendige Herbeischaffen von Holz oder Kuhdung als Kochenergie. Frauen stehen in der Regel eine Stunde früher auf als die anderen Familienmitglieder und sind oft noch nach dem Abendessen tätig — unabhängig davon, ob sie überdies beruflich auf dem Feld oder als bezahlte Straßenarbeiterinnen (Steine klopfen) beschäftigt sind.

Auf den Hausbau bezogen, obliegt den Frauen neben dem Herbeischleppen von Wasser, Sand und anderen Baumaterialien das Legen des Lehm- oder Zementfußbodens, das Anlegen des Vorplatzes sowie das Verputzen und Glätten der Wände, während Dach und Stützpfeiler

von Handwerkern erstellt werden und der Mann die Wände hochzieht.

Angesichts all dieser Tätigkeiten fällt auf, daß die Frage nach individuellen Tagesläufen bezüglich der Männer recht differenziert beantwortet wurde, während männliche ebenso wie weibliche Befragte die Frauentagesläufe oft sehr pauschal oder gar nicht behandelten — ein Zeichen wohl der minderen Wertschätzung von Frauentätigkeiten, die auch in der geringeren Entlohnung zum Ausdruck kommt.

Empfehlungen

Aus den Forschungsbefunden des Projekts lassen sich die folgenden Empfehlungen ableiten, deren gemeinsamer Nenner darin besteht, daß damit eine sozial und ökologisch nachhaltige Entwicklung in den Dörfern und ländlichen Gebieten angeregt und gefördert werden soll. In einer Zeit des Umbruchs im Wertegefüge der Dorfbewohner erscheint es wichtig, darauf hinzuweisen, daß Maßnahmen zur Verbesserung der Lebenssituation sowohl traditionale als auch moderne Elemente enthalten können, und zwar in Abstimmung mit den Bedürfnissen der Bevölkerung.

Dies gilt insbesondere für Baumaterialien, die so ausgewählt werden sollten, daß ein Kompromiß zwischen Haltbarkeit und „moderner" Erscheinungsweise einerseits sowie örtlicher Verfügbarkeit und traditioneller Verarbeitung andererseits erreicht wird. Ein gutes Beispiel hierfür bilden ungebrannte, gepreßte Lehmziegel, die ihre Festigkeit durch Druck erreichen, ohne knappes Brennmaterial zu verheizen.

Im Gegensatz zu Lösungen dieser Art, die im Dorf und mit dessen Mitteln umgesetzt

werden können, wird ausdrücklich nicht empfohlen, neue überregionale Hausbauprogramme mit quasi vorfabrizierten Einheitshäusern aufzulegen. Derartige „housing schemes", soweit sie überhaupt vollständig durchgeführt werden und Mindeststandards der Bauausführung genügen (was beides häufig genug nicht der Fall ist), nehmen oft weder auf regionale Besonderheiten — klimatische Bedingungen und kulturelle Gewohnheiten — noch gar auf individuelle Wünsche — berufliche Erfordernisse etwa — Rücksicht. In aller Regel werden teure Baumaterialien wie Zement verwendet, die zudem energieintensiv und umweltbelastend hergestellt und über weite Strecken herangeschafft werden müssen. Ihr gravierendster Mangel besteht jedoch darin, daß sie Einkommen und Expertise in den Städten und industriellen Standorten erzeugen und damit die Dörfer und ländlichen Gebiete entwicklungspolitisch aufzehren. Eigenmittel und Fördermittel verlassen das Dorf und regen den Wirtschaftskreislauf anderswo an, womit sich die globale Entwicklungsproblematik im kleinen Maßstab wiederholt.

Alternativ erscheint es sinnvoller, Entwurf und Konstruktion der Häuser den Betroffenen, ihren Familien, helfenden Nachbarn (soweit noch vorhanden) und lokalen Bauhandwerkern zu überlassen. Hier (und nur hier!) fühlen sich die Bewohner dann auch für die Erhaltung der Bausubstanz verantwortlich. Die Summe der benötigten Fördermittel dürfte aller Erfahrung nach bei gleichem Bauvolumen und vergleichbarer Zufriedenheit sogar geringer ausfallen.

Es besteht kein Widerspruch zu dem bisher Gesagten, wenn weiter vorgeschlagen wird, offenkundige technische Mängel traditioneller Baukonstruktion zu beheben oder zumindest zu verringern. Dies betrifft vor allem die Anfälligkeit von Konstruktion und Material gegenüber Witterungs- und Umwelteinflüssen wie Feuchtigkeit, Sturm und Feuer. Da die jährlichen Reparaturen beträchtliche Teile des privaten Haushaltsbudgets verschlingen, ist es vordringlich, die Reparaturanfälligkeit bestehender und künftiger Bauten einzudämmen. Zu entwickeln sind vor allem regenresistente Anstriche für den Lehmputz sowie preiswerte regen- und feuerresistente Dächer.

Maßnahmen angepaßter Technologie sollten jedoch jenseits der technischen Probleme die sozialen und ökologischen Ziele nicht aus den Augen verlieren. In erster Linie betrifft dies das Arbeitszeitregime der Landfrauen, deren tägliche Bürde zu erleichtern wäre, etwa durch den Einsatz von Biogas als Kochenergie. Hierdurch würden zum einen die Wälder mehr geschont als bisher. Zum zweiten ist die Wartung der Anlage eine „männliche" Aufgabe. Vor allem aber würde das zeitaufwendige Sammeln von Brennholz

simplified 'modernised' system
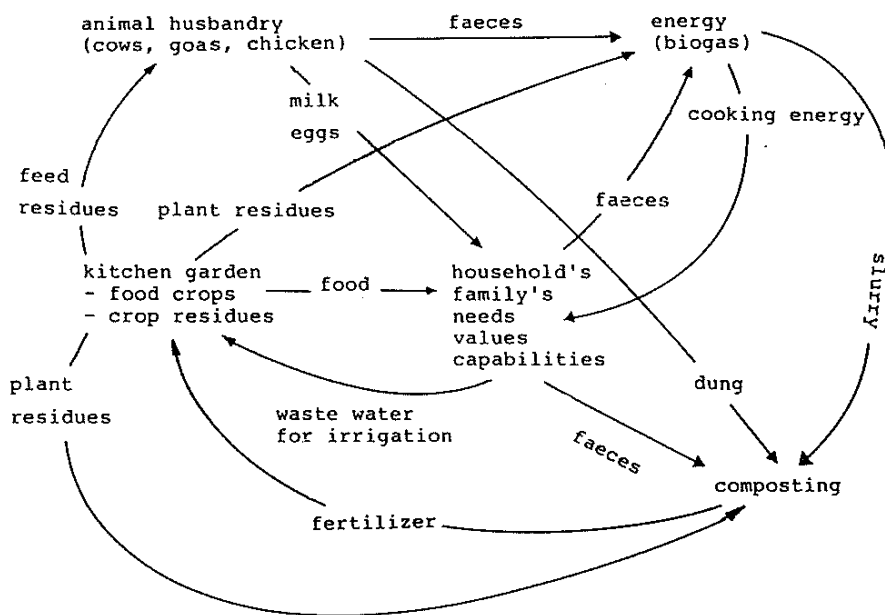
(durch Frauen) überflüssig, wodurch die ökonomische Basis zur Anlage eines subsistenzorientierten „Küchengartens" geschaffen wird, vorausgesetzt, Land und Wasser sind vorhanden. Biogas und Hausgarten sind die Kernstücke des „Ökohauses" im Sinne eines ökologisch integrierten Habitats, das auf der Kreislaufwirtschaft aller organischen Produkte von Pflanze, Tier und Mensch beruht, die im Haus und außerhalb erzeugt werden. Die Früchte des Hausgartens dienen der Nahrung. Pflanzliche Biomasse und menschliche Exkremente sind Rohstoffe zur Erzeugung der Biogas-Kochenergie. Deren Abfälle wiederum kehren als Dünger in den Küchengarten zurück.

Im Ökohaus-Habitat ist eine notwendige und in Teilen traditionale Grundlage für nachhaltige Dorfentwicklung zu sehen. Auf dieser Basis können modernere kommunale und andere berufsbezogene Maßnahmen aufbauen, um Arbeitsplätze im Dorf zu schaffen.

Umsetzung der Ergebnisse

Seitens der indischen Kooperationspartner sind inzwischen die Festigkeit der luftgetrockneten Lehmziegel erhöht und der Prototyp einer Lehmblockpresse entwickelt und verbessert worden. Die Presse wird bereits von verschiedenen Dorfgemeinschaften genutzt, wobei eine Frauengruppe sich als besonders innovationsfreudig erwiesen hat. Ein entsprechendes Handbuch zur Anleitung in den Dörfern wurde auf englisch und tamilisch erstellt.

Die Umsetzung der Projektergebnisse in den Dörfern wurde in Zusammenarbeit mit drei indischen regierungsunabhängigen Organisationen (NGO's) vereinbart. Alle drei Organisationen waren an der Durchführung der Befragung beteiligt und haben bei den Umsetzungsmaßnahmen die Vermittler- oder Mediatorenrolle zwischen den akademischen Institutionen in Berlin und Madras auf der einen Seite sowie der Dorfbevölkerung auf der anderen übernommen. Insbesondere sollte die vom IIT Madras entwickelte Lehmblockpresse als Teil einer ökonomisch, ökologisch und sozial angepaßten Bautechnologie zur Unterstützung des Hausbaus und zur Verminderung der Reparaturanfälligkeit in den Dörfern angewandt werden.

Im Frühjahr 1989 hatten beispielsweise „Roofs for the Roofless" in dem Weberdorf Indranagar auf diese Weise bereits 25 Lehmblockhäuser einschließlich Werkstätten unter Beteiligung der Familien und bezahlter Arbeitskräfte erstellt. Der Grundriß beträgt etwa 30 Quadratmeter; die Kosten belaufen sich auf Rs. 8.000 (etwa DM 1.000,— nach dem Umrechnungskurs von 1989) je Haus. Ein positiver Nebeneffekt für die Dorfentwicklung ist darin zu sehen, daß Arbeitsplätze entstehen und die dabei benötigten handwerklichen Berufe gefördert werden.

Table 16.2	Calculation of a plastered mud block house cum workshop (300 sq. ft.)			
I wages				
foundation	collecting round stones	Rs	100	
	mason (2 days, 8 persons)		200	
wall	manufacturing 2,000 mud blocks		160	
	manufacturing 3,000 straw mix bricks		300	
	mason (fixed sum)		300	
	whitewashing		100	
roof	carpenter (fixed sum)		200	
door	painting (incl. paint)		100	
		Rs	1,460	
II materials				
foundation	stone (3 lorry loads, 1 load Rs 280)		840	
	mud (1/2 lorry load)		240	
	cement (6 bags: each 50 kg, 1 bag: Rs 65)		390	
wall	1,000 fired bricks		550	
	mud		75	
	plastering cement (11 bags, 1 bag Rs 65)		715	
	lime for whitewashing		60	
roof	rafter (30 pieces of 12 ft., 1 ft. Rs 2)		720	
	reaper (600 ft, 1 ft Rs 0.75)		450	
	center beam		100	
	tiles (600, Rs 1.55 each)		930	
	top row tiles (17 pieces)		105	
doors and windows	1 door		450	
	4 jalis (20 Rs each)		80	
		Rs	5,705	
III Voluntary labor: own contribution worth at least		Rs	160	
		wage	1,460	
		non-wage	5,705	
		voluntary labor	160	
		total	7,325	

Source: Roofs for the Roofless, 1989

Local Government and Popular Movements: Towards Access to Clean Water

Ana Sugranyes

Introduction

Central America, after sustaining a 25 year period of economic growth (1950—1975) is immersed in a profound political, social, and economic crisis, one that has created military conflicts which preclude diplomatic solutions in the forseeable future. This crisis has been furthered by natural disasters, impacting economies already plagued by a strong dependency on the agricultural sector, inadequate and devastating uses of land, high population density in many risk zones, weak social infrastructure, and a lack of opportunities for a large sector of the population.

One of the effects of the prevailing economic development model, there has been rapid growth in the population of the urban centers. These centers at the same time reflect segregation, profound social conflicts and a deteriorating environment.

Of the countries on the isthmus, Guatemala has experienced the highest rates of industrial growth. And though Guatemala City possesses the region's largest urban concentration, it is marked by the lowest rate of urbanization in the region.

From a review of services, offices and studies, directed at popular organizations, the Institute for Central American Social and Economic Development, IDESAC (a private developmental organization that works only in Guatemala, despite its name), seeks to share reflections on how a local settlers' organization confronted the administration and subsequently, how they incorporated themselves into the municipal structures to resolve a case of water allotment in a precariously located urban area.

Guatemala City, its facilities and services

The city inherited its current crisis from

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the preceeding decades. Inequality — which is provoked by an agro-export economic model and the social and military conflicts generated in it — rapid population growth and a lack of urban and regional planning policies and programs have produced a concentration of economic activity in marginal areas. In turn, urbanization has accelerated in the city center and the problems are extending the boundaries of the city.

A centralization of production and technological development does not facilitate an adequate response to the social costs derived precisely from this political organization of space in the Metropolitan Area. Given this centralization, the rest of the country suffers as well. As such, the urban crisis extends, in its origins and its consequences, beyond the strict limits of the capital.

The Metropolitan Area is not very spacious. Its problems, among others, are apparent in the exhaustion of resources that permit the utilization of urban space; social necessities that can not be met in the context of the privatization of land. At the same time, the current generation, with a different urban texture — extended and dispersed — is troubled by shortages and/or high costs in services and infrastructure, especially in the periphery. The population increase in the area ringing the center of Guatemala City leads to a reduction of residential spaces: inhabitans are forced into increasingly precarious housing situations, farther from the center and ever more costly.

Therefore, this situation generates an inequality in the Metropolitan Area. The inequalities in the use of the land in the periphery do not facilitate a preservation of the center, which is deteriorating through the increasing population density, consumption of free spaces and the destruction of the national culture, which is marked by abrupt changes in the urban architecture in its contextual surroundings.

Guatemala City and its areas of influence, known as the Metropolitan Area of Gua-

temala (MAG), is the principle urban center of the country, with a fifth of the national population (1.8 million inhabitants from approximately 9 million in the country). Occupying only 2% of the nation's total territory, the city concentrates the majority of the country's economic activity: manufacturers, factories, businesses and financial services, which operate and administer facilities that serve the rest of the country.

The concentration of the infrastructure, services and facilities in the Metropolitan Area does not signify that the distribution of such is equal, or that it functions for the well-being of the urban population as a whole. In general terms, the city's resources for services are distributed in such a way that many services are in areas of low density, with few services in areas of greater density and higher need. On the other hand existing facilities are poorly utilized. The frequent collapse of such services as water, sewage, transportation, health and education, affect the middle and lower classes and make for high costs, low quality or outright shortages. The inequality can be seen in the contrast between the Municipality of Guatemala and its surrounding neighbourhoods.

The local and state governments' administrative capacity has not kept pace with the demands on the infrastructure made by increasing economic activity. In keeping with the goals of fiscal reduction, the municipalities have not implemented tax structures capable either of generating new installations, or of supporting the operation and maintainence of existing facilities. This aggravates the economic crisis already subject to fiscal demands and prevents possibilities of generating other types of financial resources.

In part, circumvention or evasion of existing legislation accounts for the deficiencies in the urban public services. The officials responsible for distributing lots are required by law to earmark a certain proportion, for public services, the the State and Municipality. Despite this protective legislation, some officials, motivated by financial gain, find ways to evade

the law. Such sacrifice of public land contributes to the city's current horizontal expansion and its anarchy. These practices, which scatter and destroy the urban environment, raise the city's deficit and accelerate its deterioration in the medium and long term, and ultimately will fall back on the population.

Since its creation at the end of the 18th century, Guatemala City has known severe water shortages. With the growth of the Metropolitan Area in the last decades (from 350,000 inhabitants in 1950 to nearly two million in 1990), the valley's fragile hydrolic equilibrium has been deteriorating rapidly, heading towards a disaster that primarily affects the poorer neighborhoods. As such, access to clean water has turned into one of the principle public demands and has become a rallying point for the residents of the city.

The Municipal Water Company, EMPAGUA, semi-autonomous within the Municipality of Guatemala, has jurisdiction in the city and in some parts of the colonias of Mixco, Chinautla and Villa Nueva (three co-urban municipalities of MAG). Sixty percent of the population of this urban territory relies on domestic connections, and the remaining 40% is supplied by communal taps for filling jugs, public tanks, water delivery trucks and clandestine instalations. In the rest of MAG, the percentages are even more alarming.

An aspect evident in the enormous inequality of water services is the cost of the same. A resident with a water allotment of half a tank pays Q. 5.25 a month, with a cost of Q. 0.18 per cubic meter. His neighbor may be supplied by water trucks and pays Q. 100 per 54 gallon barrel, that is Q. 5.00 per cubic meter (27 times more).

An initial proposal to upgrade the City's water service (according to appraisals by EMPAGUA) called for an investment of 140 million dollars, equivalent to 50% of the proposed national investments for a year, an amount that reflects the magnitude of the problem and the need for long term planning of the city's water resources within the national projects under consideration.

The Metropolitan Area of Guatemala and its Administration

The zoning of the Metropolitan Area of Guatemala has generated urban hierarchies and political-administrative divisions. The municipalities, historically rooted in 13th century European aqueduct systems, have retained the centralized model. Even when the 1945 Constitution promoted municipal autonomy, decentralization was limited to the technical-administrative scope.

With regard to land planning, the primary aspects that characterized the period

from the 1950's onward coincide with the region's phase of economic growth. Initial urban regulations were enacted but failed to reach their objectives, and in fact lost ground. For example, a law called for a deadline in which the Municipalities would endow a regulating plan. This never happened.

During the sixties, specific regulations were formulated. Lacking corresponding national urban-development policies, they could not, however, support a recovery of the city's territory. The end of the decade saw an admirable inter-institutional attempt at urban planning. But despite good intentions, this effort benefited only the owners of great tracts of urban land, who were left with real estate that greatly appreciated in value.

The 70's were characterized by a strong impulse for urban planning. The principle project was the declination of the city in base line zones. But construction interests blocked publication of the ruling, and the base lines were never applied. Of particular importance in this period was the creation of cooperative contracts among the municipalities. Concurrently emerged the concept of establishing the central district as a solution to the problem of urban development. This position was, however, at odds with the policies of decentralization and municipal autonomy that had been in practise since 1945.

The changes provoked by the 1976 earthquake obliged an urgent return to the themes of urban living and development. The earthquake created a receptive climate, particularly in the technical quarters of the institutions involved in the programs of reconstruction, and enacted valuable mechanisms of coordination, as well as establishing a reliance on an urban development plan. In the end these efforts were discarded or lost to the bureaucracy that was to implement them.

At the beginning of the 80's, attention returned to urban development issues, focusing on planning and creating models of political administrative organization. But the potential for such initiatives have sunk under the worst social-political crisis that the country has experienced. In the spaced created by the accession to power of the current administration (1986—1990), there appears to be another attempt to decentralize through the creation of the Law of the Council of Development. Application of the law has been frustrated by a decree that it is unconstitutional on the part of its principle base, the Local Councils on Development.

A concept currently emerging is of an autonomous municiple regime. Enactment of such faces difficulties however, due to the lack of new political-administrative organizations that can coordinate between the various municipalities of the Metropolitan Area. Missing as well are tax reforms that can guarantee

equal distribution of income. It is thus that such inequalities of resources are multiplied on the part of the Municipal of Guatemala and the other local governments in the MAG.

The Poor Neighborhoods: The Principle Factor in Local Management of Services

The participation of poor neighborhoods in the construction and function of the city is an undeniable reality. In Guatemala, little has been analyzed of practices, initiatives, and contributions made on the part of such movements. These sectors have confronted the problems of poverty, oppression, the „informalization" of the economy and urban shortages of land, housing, and services and facilities. Such hardships have compelled the development of collective action that has permitted the resolution of these social necessities; in some cases with high levels of conflict against the State. The expression of these urban movements are the demand of rights to services, without consideration of the environmental conditions that these deficiencies imply.

Faced with rising real estate costs, and the laws governing the exchange of property, the answer has been the shift to unoccupied territory. These new settlements, some of which have been consolidated, form new areas that contradict the norms and institutional mechanisms established by the city. This option can be explained principally by the power of the aquisition of these poor sectors and by the opportunity to attain housing outside of existing neighborhoods.

The urban problems are not created exclusively by those that are „roofless", although these are the most evident. Other collective processes originate partially from aspects of the urban crisis, and concern urban consolidation, access to equipment and basic services, and most urgently, access to water.

Currently, in the narrow margins of grass roots movements, these demands are motivating struggles within the same organizations, as a result of the interaction with the public utilities. When conflicts do not reach negotiation, and resolution is postponed, alternatives develop which, while maintaining the limits of legal order, respond to individual initiatives. The demands of such movements transcend the needs of equipment, services and problems of collective use. The families are also motivated to develop these survival strategies in face of the hardships of the current economic crisis.

Although it is difficult to define the predominate structure and organization of the grass-roots participation, one can note that the power of mobilization and social representation surges with legitimate and democratic practices inside various expressions of social organization. This is

the reality which government institutions find difficult to accept.

Collectivization, solidarity, and community order depends not only on the character of the organization, but also on the nature of the conflicts which shape the society. In general, given the political condition in the city, the demands and resulting actions arise in limited political spaces and with distinct gradations of confrontation against the public entities. In some cases, an organization will expire at the moment in which it achieves its objective. In other spontaneous demands, attitudes are manifested to reject unpopular methods, and result in the application of pressure for solutions without the mediation neccessary for an organization. Such organizations occur episodically and last but a short time, and are not conveyors of widespread or sustainable projects. It is hope that such experiences become formative stages for future social movements.

On the part of the local governments, the interest in controlling and co-opting these local struggles reflects the importance of this social force, or its political dimension. The intervention of the municipality, especially in this pre-election year (Guatemala's general elections are scheduled for November 1990), reflects an attempt to establish vertical control directly over local organizations, exercising in general, paternalistic measures, mediating support which enable the temporary and superficial reinforcement of the bonds between the community and the government. To diffuse the pressure on the state apparatus, the practice can be seen of supporting or creating special organizations whose nature is particularly susceptible to co-optation by its own elites or its client network. Thus these same organizations themselves distract attention from the state, and legitimate solidarity and the power to mobilize weakens.

In some instances in the demand for services, as in the case of water, a complimentary dynamic is created between grass roots organizations and municipal agencies, manifested between the popular demands and the urban agencies with the intermediation of non-governmental organizations (NGO's). Such private development agencies act as catalysts, either as philanthropic intermediaries, or through a proposal of accompanying the process of structuring the collective life and formation of the foundations which result in the direction of grass roots movements.

An Experience: Creating Access to Potable Water

La Limonda is a settlement that emerged some 30 years ago from the occupation of

land at the bottom of a steep ravine, just 500 meters from the center of Guatemala City. The mobilization of several hundred families to this site represented the most cohesive moment in the history of these settlers, which have since then lived among internal conflicts, stemming from the struggles of subsistence living. The community has also been marked by confrontations with the state and environmental disasters in the ravine, through which runs a major portion of the city's sewage water.

The settlement grew quite rapidly within a few weeks after initial occupation. The population has maintained its high density throughout the years, reaching its current estimated level of 12,000 inhabitants. External intervention, be it political, religious or programs of aid, has generated internal conflicts among the leaders appointed to such projects, and has divided the settlement into five sectors officially recognized as seperate „Colonias".

During the thirty years of its existence, the settlement has yet to obtain legal title to its land holdings. Despite government decrees in 1975 and 1976, which authorized the individual titling of each lot, the political and social reality has prevented the legal titling of the land. The registration of the lots is under the control of an agency of the Ministry of Public Works, which operates with neither institutional or structural organization. Officially, this agency facilitates the informal exchanges of property between residents, according to the law of supply and demand. The demand for housing remains high. The cost of one cottage, 15 square meters, can reach US$ 1,000, including building materials and labor but excluding the price of real estate.

Behind the logic of this law established for the housing market, the legalization of land holdings does not correspond to the most pressing needs of the settlers. They feel that the risk of eviction is minimal and in contrast have expressed their needs in the following manner: allocation of rights to water, basic drainage, education, health care, a campaign targeted at teenagers to combat drug abuse and the right to settle into privately held lands in the canyon to ease the high population density. Additional services such as street lights and telephone have also been requested.

Although the entire settlement is aware of these needs, the number of persons that are ready and willing to mobilize towards concrete actions in pursuit of solutions is quite small: some ten to thirty persons per colonia, with no more than 70 persons in the whole of the settlement. This relatively small response to major needs reflects the social-political reality throughout the country. Thirty years of struggling for the recognition of their right to stay in the ravine (which they have de facto obtained), and the few improvements in the

quality of life have been achieved at a social cost: short-lived organizations have been co-opted by the state and private agencies, in pursuit of their own interests. Leaders have suffered repression and conflicts within the local organizations have resulted in difficulties in gaining acceptance by the community.

Despite the past four years of political space generated by the current administration, the groups of 70 activists has been reluctant to express the settlers' unification. The groups approached IDE-SAC, soliciting legal aid for the formation of the new organization, asking for additional forms of support for home improvements projects in the community.

The first request was for the allocation of running water in each home. Previous petitions had resulted only in communal or shared taps, with one tap for example serving up to 70 families, and water available only 8 hours a day. The goal of obtaining running water in each house, beside enabling obvious improvements in health and hygene, would save time waiting in line, and contains a social dimension: the lines that continually appear at the communal taps are an additional source of conflicts and aggression.

This public water system is one part of the services provided by EMPAGUA. Because of the precarious location of the settlement, EMPAGUA charges Q. 2.00 each month per family. The automatic accounting system reflects the politics of the local government and fails to account for the management capability of local organizations. EMPAGUA appoints one person in each neighborhood, (preferably a single woman), to collect the monthly payments. As a measure of payment pressure, EMPAGUA gives the payment collector a „key" with which to cut off the water supply. Officially the collector does not receive any remuneration for her services, though the settlers are aware of the entitlement that this „informal functionary" receives. To avoid the complete shut down of water service, the settlers are indirectly obliged to apply pressure to their debting neighbors, which in turn creates another dimension to the conflicts surrounding each tap.

In Guatemala City, to have access to running water in the home requires: certification of ownership of the house, purchase of the „half allotment" (the use right of consumption of 30 cubic meters water a month) at US$ 400; the payment of the right and the cost of installation at US$ 100; and the payment of monthly water use, at approximately US$ 3 a month.

Returning to the case of La Limonada. As of the end of 1989, the first project of household allotment of water was completed, benefiting one of the 5 colonias with its 343 families. In summing up the activities, we present the following data:

— 3 years of negotiation on the part of the local organization with EMPAGUA, to conduct the household census and obtain the budget.

— 3 years of additional negotiations, before private development agencies — in the last case IDESAC — to secure financial support for the construction of the branch distribution of water.

— 1 year of preparation of the project, with technical and social assistance provided by IDESAC. These acitivites included: a self-census of the Colonia (including tabulation of the data), reorganization and legalization of the committee responsible for the project, selection and training of 23 section leaders — almost exclusively women — organization of community cooperation for the digging of ditches, and the formation of new political cells. In this last case, teenagers were principly targetted and supported by the older community leaders.

— Actions coordinated by the new community organization are being legalized for representation of the entire settlement of La Limonada.

— The establishment of a community fund, through the contribution of US$ 15 by each family for their use right to the general water system. This fund, which is managed by the community under leadership of the 11 member Committee is a revolving loan fund and will provide funds for re-investment in other projects to benefit the community.

— EMPAGUA is to supervise and inspect the construction of the trenches. EMPAGUA, however, operates according to its own time-table, and does not consider the danger that the open trenches, one meter, in width, pose.

— The construction costs of the water branch system, excluding the in-kind contribution of the 343 families, rose to approximately US$ 20,000, which IDESAC facilitated in the form of a donation, and of which US$ 1,200 was paid to EMPAGUA for the inspection of the trench construction.

.— Then followed 4 months of waiting for EMPAGUA to connect the branch system. The lengthy wait was attributed to the loss of the project's documents within the offices of EMPAGUA, which consequently diminished motivation within the community.

— The Committee has had to go through complex procedures with EMPAGUA and the Ministry of Public Works (responsible for the endorsement of the legal titling of the land in the ravine) in order to obtain a recognition of the local organization. Through this action, EMPAGUA would sell the rights of individual access to water only to those families who have complied with all the community requirements (the

contribution of the 15 days of labor and payment for each's share into the revolving community loan fund).

— In this manner began the steps for individual enforcement, in which the families are obliged to pay „half the allotment" of the right and installation of the water system in each house. This pre-requisite is beyond the financial capacity of most of the families. Therefore the Committee has undertaken further discussions with EMPAGUA with the goal of negotiating a 10 year payment plan. They have also organized a form of community savings, principally with contributions by women, in order to enable families to make their required „half allotment" payment.

From the perspective of the intervention of IDESAC in this project (in the form of periodic evaluations undertaken with the Committee of the colonia), we have arrived at the following conclusions:

In spite of the high cost for each family (US$ 15 + $ 30 + $ 400 + $ 100), the project has responded to long term community hopes.

The experience of the project's preparation and its execution has presented a new level in organization and skills in the Colonia. There now exists a new generation of political cells, amply supported by the older leaders, and aware of the potential support that could extend throughout the entire settlement of La Limonada.

The community obligations — the contributions of labor and payment into the revolving community fund — have been translated into mechanisms of legitimizing the local organization. The Committee is capable of making use of other opportunities and instruments to continue implementing new improvement initiatives in the Colonia.

In accounting for the politics of the service of EMPAGUA, at present the project has neither publicly denounced the agency, nor arrived at a concrete resolution. It is a challenge that we should re-examine at the level of IDESAC. We propose:

— to support other similar projects in La Limonada;

— to systematize these experiences and those of other popular judgements in the Metropolitan Area of Guatemala, seeking to raise a public discussion about the politics of basic services;

— and to detail a plan of investigation, with the participation of local organizations and with the coordination of other Central American agencies, to arrive at alternatives to these models of local management.

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Leserbrief

Richtigstellung zum Artikel „Defizite staatlicher Wohnungspolitik als Grundlage der Selbstorganisation illegaler Siedler. Das Beispiel Kartoum." [Trialog 22, 1989, S. 28—32].

Ich möchte an dieser Stelle klarstellen, daß die eklatanten Fehler in dem unter meinem Namen veröffentlichten Artikel allein in der Verantwortung der Redaktion liegen. Daß etwa Worte wie squatter mal als „sqautter", mal als „schaudern" wiedergegeben wurden, gehört zu den kleineren Ärgernissen. Wirklich gravierend sind dagegen die inhaltlichen Fehler, die durch Kürzungen und Änderungen meines Manuskripts entstanden sind. Exemplarisch seien nur folgende Fehler genannt:

— Die Überschrift „Ein konkretes Beispiel einer Etablierungsstrategie" (S. 31) ist falsch. Sie muß vielmehr Ein Selbsthilfeprojekt lauten und sich ausdrücklich auf den Typ 3 der illegalen Siedler beziehen.

— Der Absatz, der der Überschrift „Eine Etablierungsstrategie" (S. 31) nachfolgt, wurde vollständig verstümmelt und ist, wie alles, was dem unvollständigen Satz Auch die Rolle lokaler 'leaders' ist," nachfolgt, einfach inhaltlicher Nonsens.

Leider ist es mir unmöglich, in dem mir von der Redaktion zugestandenen Rahmen [2000 Anschläge] alle Fehler aufzuzeigen und richtig zu stellen. Daher erscheint es mir am sinnvollsten, den Interessierten das Angebot zu machen, ihnen meine Arbeit zum Selbstkostenpreis [ca. 25 DM] zukommen zu lassen:

„Probleme räumlicher und sozialer Polarisierung in Khartoum [Sudan]. Theoriegeleitete Untersuchung zum Spannungsfeld zwischen staatlicher Wohnungspolitik und Selbstorganisation illegaler Siedler." Freiburg 1989, 175 S.

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The Informal Sector:
An Opportunity for Economic Growth in Latin America

William Burrus

Elizabeth Rosenberg

On Calle Rodriguez, in the central market of La Paz, Bolivia, hundreds of women sell fruit, vegetables and household goods. Men sew, repair saws and sharpen knives, and children play with the goods their mothers sell. Although they can't talk to her, everyone on the street knows Petrona Lopez. Petrona, like many others, sells potatoes, „tuntas" and „chuños" (dried and dehydrated potatoes).

Petrona and her brother were sent by their parents from Lima to La Paz as children. They were both born deaf and dumb. In La Paz, the family Guayacha took them in, and the Peruvian children served as household help. As they grew older, Petrona and her brother began to work in the market. She helped other vendors sell; and he helped carry merchandise for vendors as well as clients. When earnings were low, both brother and sister also begged in the street.

In July, 1987, Hilda Guayacha learned of PRODEM (Fundacion para la Promocion y Desarrollo de la Microempresa), an ACCION International affiliate, and went to solicit a loan. There, in lieu of collateral, each borrower forms a „solidarity group" with 4 other people, and the group receives a single loan, which is divided among members. Each borrower is responsible for the payback of the entire group loan. Since Hilda is a vegetable vendor and had been like a second mother for Petrona, she asked Petrona to join her group. They have received five loans in 13 months, totalling $646 per person.

People like Petrona Lopez crowd the streets of Latin America. These are the self-employed who scratch out a living through a myriad of economic activities: selling fruits and vegetables on the streets, cobbling shoes, making furniture, repairing radios, recycling bottles and newspaper, etc. These „micro-entrepreneurs", as they are commonly called, employ between 30—60% of the labor force

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in Latin America and provide many of the essential goods and services needed within each country. They also serve as the principal source of on-the-job training for those migrating from the rural areas, and allow for a broader distribution of wealth within society. Important skills, such as sewing, building, repairing, etc. are learned through apprenticeship with micro-entrepreneurs. Unsubsidized, marginated from legal structures, commercial banks, and access to credit, this sector of the population has been identified as the 'informal sector'. Any successful strategy for creating income and employment opportunities among the urban poor today must involve assistance to the micro-entrepreneurs of the informal sector.

These small-scale businesses are family-owned and usually operate out of homes, rudimentary workshops or market stalls. Often, several family members are involved in a single business and any personal savings make up the only collateral for the start-up of the business. A large percentage of the micro-entrepreneurs are women who sell produce, sew handicrafts and clothes in their own homes, prepare food on the street, etc.

Although they exist and operate outside of the formal, structured economy, these tiny businesses now account for about

one-half of the GDP of developing countries. This informal sector of small-scale businesses is extremely important in national economies. In addition to serving as a primary job source and an arena for vocational training, they are a vehicle to distribute wealth among the poorest of the economically active. These businesses also provide needed goods and services within low-income communities in appropriate quantities, i.e. a handful of charcoal, one razor blade, one cigarette, relying almost exclusively on locally produced inputs. The informal sector also takes advantage of abandoned materials such as paper, glass and metals by recycling them, and serves as a secondary supplier to larger firms. Micro-enterprises provide a source of innovation and new ideas, and encourage „self-realization", especially among women. Participants build a sense of dignity and self-reliance that enables them to escalate economically.

Micro-entrepreneurs are not without problems, however. Money lenders prey upon the informal sector charging interest rates as high as 10—20% per day, preventing the borrower from profitting from the business. Due to excessive bureaucracy, cost and the time necessary to register a business in Latin America, most micro-entrepreneurs operate outside the legal structure and at times are labeled as 'the black market' (This term is misleading, though, because these tiny business owners are involved in legal activities). Their unclear legal status means they have no access to insurance, legal contracts or the judicial system.

Most importantly, micro-entrepreneurs have no access to commercial credit in lending institutions. Their few assets and lack of credit history prevent them from being considered for a loan. Due to their inability to afford formal training, their chances of upgrading their management skills are limited. Finally, the sector as a whole has no forum for organization: they have no legal representation or lobbying body to influence policy. The informal sector lacks leveraging power and a voice in government.
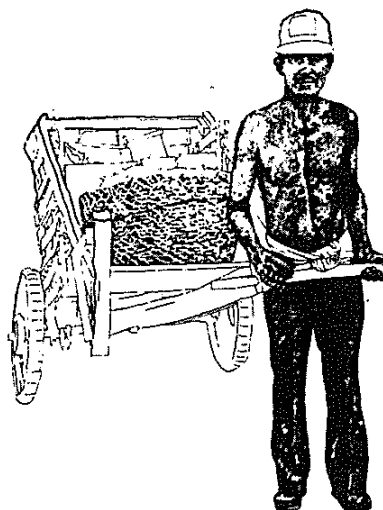
This vicious circle tends to affect self-employed women especially. More often than not, women are less likely to have assets or personal savings. Most have children to care for and are obliged to face a hostile environment alone. Consequently, the informal sector, finds itself revolving in a vicious circle with little hope for change.

Small loans to this informal sector can be the passport out of poverty for the poorest in Latin America. Fifteen years ago, loans to this sector were non-existent. Today, there are many successful experiences around the world which demonstrate that the provision of credit and training to micro-entrepreneurs can have an impressive impact in creating jobs and income for the poor. ACCION International, a private, non-profit organization based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA, began working with micro-businesses in 1973. It determined that many other problems could be solved by the people themselves if they had a source of income and a stable job. Credit and management training became the key elements for success. ACCION has developed a network of 38 local private organizations in fourteen countries that together provide over fifteen million dollars a year in loans to small businesses throughout Latin America. Starting with loans of US$30—50 (the average loan is $199), micro-businesses have proven themselves to be most reliable clients. Default rates are less than 2%. ACCION's overall experience indicates that participant income will rise on average 30% per year and that one job can be strengthened or created for approximately $750 extended in credit.

Evaluations of the impact of ACCION's affiliates in the Dominican Republic and Honduras prove this point. Both show impressive gains in creating or strengthening jobs and in generating more income for those who receive credit and training. The Dominican Republic is located in the eastern part of Hispaniola next to Haiti, the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere. The average annual per capita income in the Dominican Republic is $948, and over 75% of the population lives with substandard conditions of health, education, and nutrition. Among this poverty and unemployment, ACCION and other members of the local private sector, created ADEMI (Asociacion para el Desarrollo de la Microempresa) in 1983 to increase income and employment opportunities among the poor in Santo Domingo, the capital of the Dominican Republic. Since its start up date, ADEMI has disbursed US$7,342,684 in loans, with an average loan size of $485. There is a 20% participation of women in this program. According to an outside evaluation, 100 randomly selected participants increased their income by an average of 37% reaching a total of RD$13,198,833 with an average per micro-business of RD$4,746. In addition, the program overall created 2,566 new jobs, strengthened 13,909 previously

Program participants meet for management training courses

existing ones, and directly impacted a total of 16,475 jobs in the informal sector. In the words of Maria Antonia Cuevas, a participant in the program, „since I joined with ADEMI my business has grown and grown ... before, I just worked with my sister but now we are four: two employees, myself, and my sister."

Even though it is one of the poorest countries in Latin America, second to Haiti, Honduras presents a similar story. Between 1979—1986, the average per capita income fell by 13.5% to $730, and real wages have experienced negative growth rates in the decade of the 1980's. A deep recession in the early 1980's caused the rate of under and unemployment to double from 1974, affecting one quarter of the

economically active population. Refugee migration from neighboring countries has also increased the unemployment problem. In 1986, ACCION began to assist ASEPADE (Asesores para el Desarrollo) to set up a micro-enterprise development program in the capital city of Tegucigalpa. In its first two years, the program disbursed a total of US$2,322,757 in loans averaging US$194, providing credit and training to 800 participants of whom 49% were women. According to a study performed by Rebecca Reichmann, ACCION's Director of Research, Training and Evaluation, of 100 participants studied, 50% had experienced an increase in income. Of these, 30% had at least doubled their income in less than a year, and 25% had increased their fixed assets. In addition, for every four businesses supported with credit, three jobs were generated at an average cost of $870. Angelina Flores is grateful to ASEPADE because it „has provided me not only with credit, but also with enthusiasm and the support to really advance."

In order to have a real impact on jobs and poverty, as well as strengthen the relationship between the informal and formal sectors, more importance should be placed on micro-enterprise lending. It is estimated that 100 million new jobs must be created in developing countries in the next 15 years to absorb the burgeoning labor force. Most of these will be created in the informal sector. It is imperative that future development strategies of host country governments and the international donor agencies view this informal sector as an opportunity for growth and broad distribution of income.

Petrona Lopez in the central market of LaPaz, Bolivia.

Ethnic segregation:
a heritage of the colonial past or a model for all future cities?

Paola Somma

1. It is recognized that ethnic segregation is one of the main features a colonial minority imposes on a colonized city (where the colonizers are in a majority they generally prefer to destroy the native inhabitants). The forms of colonial settlement are not indifferent to the pre-existing level of urban development. Thus, where this is minimal or non-existent, as is usually the case in tropical Africa, new cities are created where the European residents develop primitive examples of the patterns found in their home countries, while the native population is concentrated in extremely poor, unplanned agglomerations. On the other hand, where the colonizers come into contact with more highly developed urban civilizations, as in the case of Northern Africa, the ancient centres, coherent and closely-knit, were left untouched and the European cities grew up beside them, using their military encampments as a development base.

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Though manifesting different forms, depending on whether the „European", „Western" or „modern" city is an extension of a pre-existing settlement or an entirely new creation, the residential separation of the various population groups is a constant feature of urban development throughout the colonial period.
This feature is indeed so important that it overshadows the differences between the various developments, which nevertheless exist and which are due to the fact that in most cases the urban development principles adopted reflected those of home countries of the colonial powers. Thus the garden cities of the English colonies are different from the cities founded by the French, and different planning instruments were used in their development, depending on whether forms of social control or legislative measures prevailed, but in all cases, segregation of the native population was systematically practised.

In some cases, the colonizers' action took place in a situation where segregation on

a tribal basis was already established. This type of „voluntary" segregation was sometimes endorsed locally; in Jakarta, for example, there were fifteen districts defined on a racial basis. But this is considered to be of secondary importance compared with the fundamental distinction between districts for natives and districts for Europeans.

2. The importance of racial segregation is such that „by definition" the colonial city comprises a native sector and a European sector, each with clearly defined characteristics. The European part features wide open spaces, divided into large plots, with extensive parks and other facilities and, especially in capitals, monumental buildings. Between the two territories filter or buffer zones are created, often occupied by a native market area, a suq or bazaar or by physical obstacles such as railway lines or factories. In some cases considerations of a public hygiene nature led to the creation of a „decontamination belt" where no building development was allowed. In actual fact it is only for the European

LEOPOLDVILLE: Diagram of the 1930 urban development scheme. The European city stretches along the banks of the river while the African township is more compact in shape.


I Résidencl – Gouvr. Gen?
II Clubs
III Port
IV Hôpitaux
V Station T.S.F

LEOPOLDVILLE
ECH.
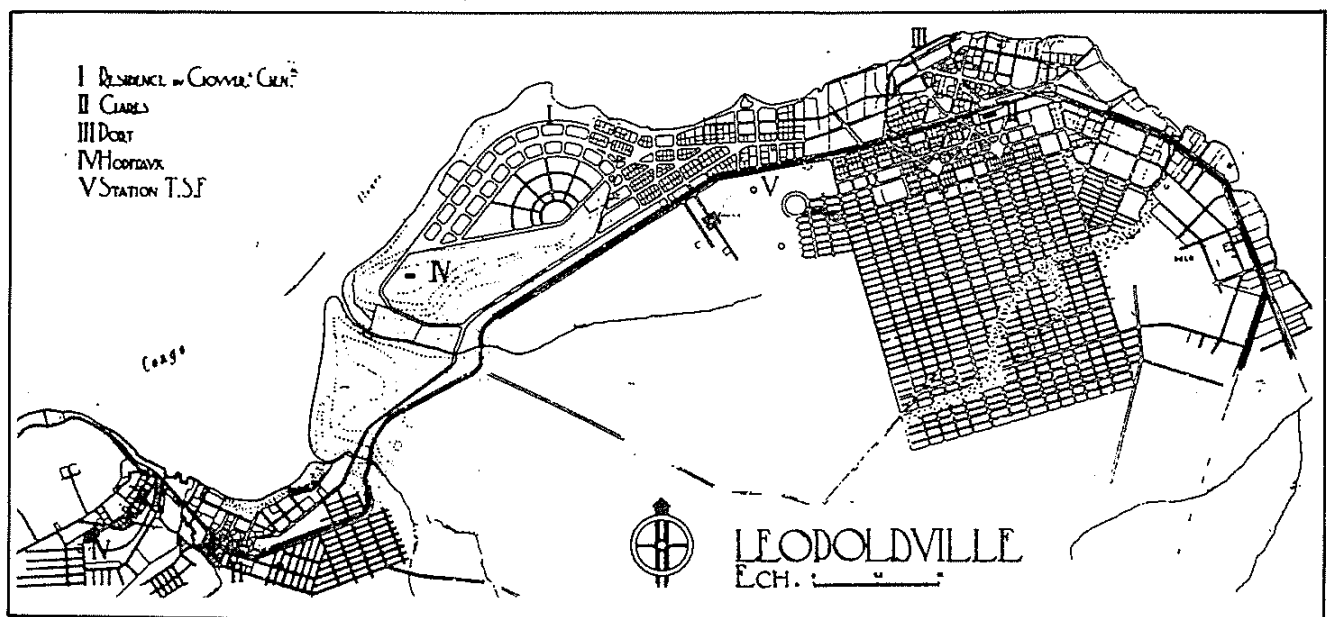
Plan of Addis Ababa (Italian Ethiopia), 1936—37: zoning and ethnic distribution in the residential quarters.

The principle of ethnic zoning was one of the planning principles characteristic of urban development schemes in the colonies. For Addis Ababa, which was supposed to become „the mirror of Fascist civilization in the barbarous lands which had been conquered", it was established that „the two populations should be accommodated in two, clearly separated urban nuclei. The national (Italian) district should have practical, simple, dignified buildings, with a wealth of frescoes, mosaics and sculptures, which should especially in the case of the principal buildings and in town-planning, be the best possible demonstration of contemporary Italian art's capacity for expansion. The white population, mainly composed of people in managerial or commercial positions, was to work in the areas around government buildings and military command posts in architectural developments which were neither overbearing nor unassertive: the native populations were to live in their own „black" districts quite separately from the European zone and there should be as little contact between the two as possible".
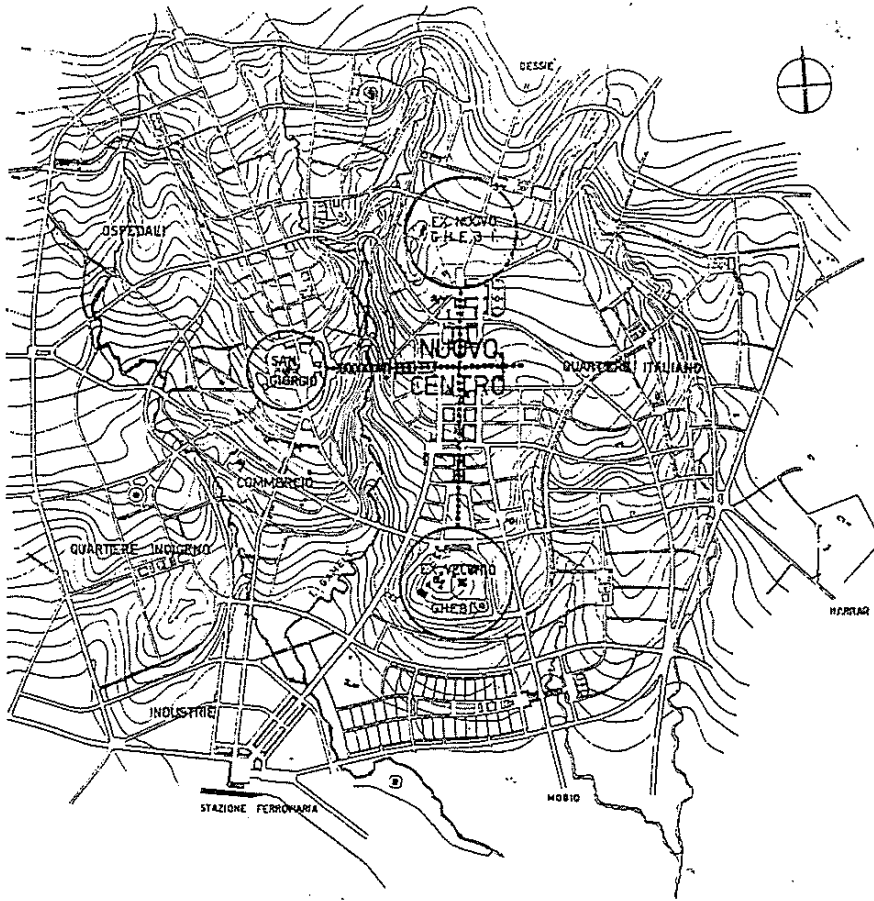
Abidjan
Diagram of the 1926 development plan for the city. On the right, the European residential area can be seen with its park and the governor's residence, on the left, the centre, and top and bottom the two native villages, identifiable from the more intricate nature of the layout and the smaller plots.
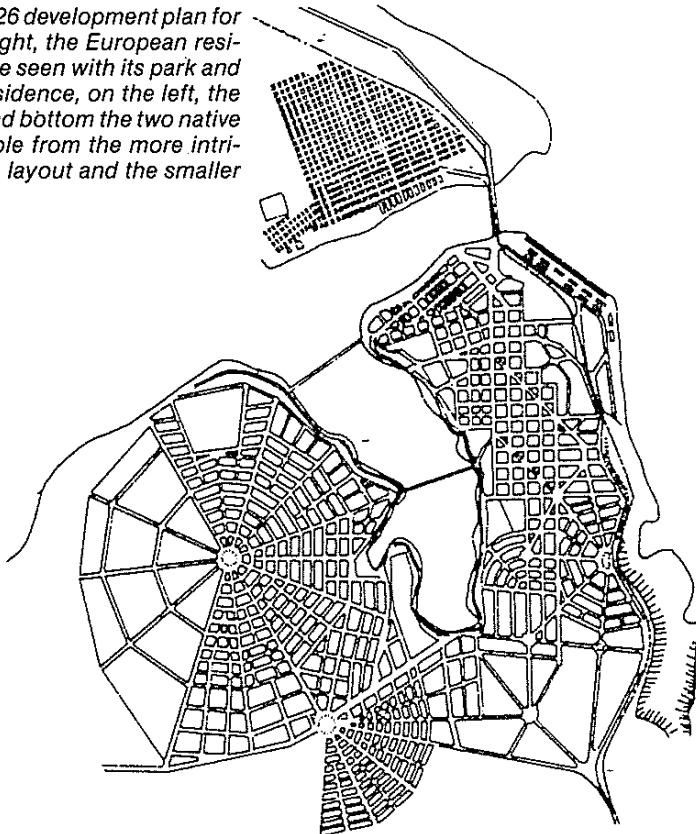
part that one can speak of „building" a colonial city. The part destined for the native population was often left to the initiative of employers, who had to provide shelters for their workers, or to the inhabitants themselves, who had to construct their own dwellings inside clearly defined areas called *cités* or locations. These areas tended however not to be big enough, with the result that growing masses of people crowded into the old city or created makeshift settlements at the edge of the European city.

3. The typical colonial city has now been analyzed by many scholars, who have revealed how it embodies an interweaving of features born of the need for social and military control and in response to economic and cultural factors, in other words how it is the result of a multiplicity of elements, all acting to reinforce the colonial power structure. As well as the need to consolidate and make visible the differences between conqueror and conquered and to be able easily to isolate native districts in the case of disorders or conflict, a number of economic mechanisms which are necessary to the creation of the colonial model are particularly important. Among these, as has rightly been pointed out, a fundamental factor is the availability of urban land. In most cases, in fact, the

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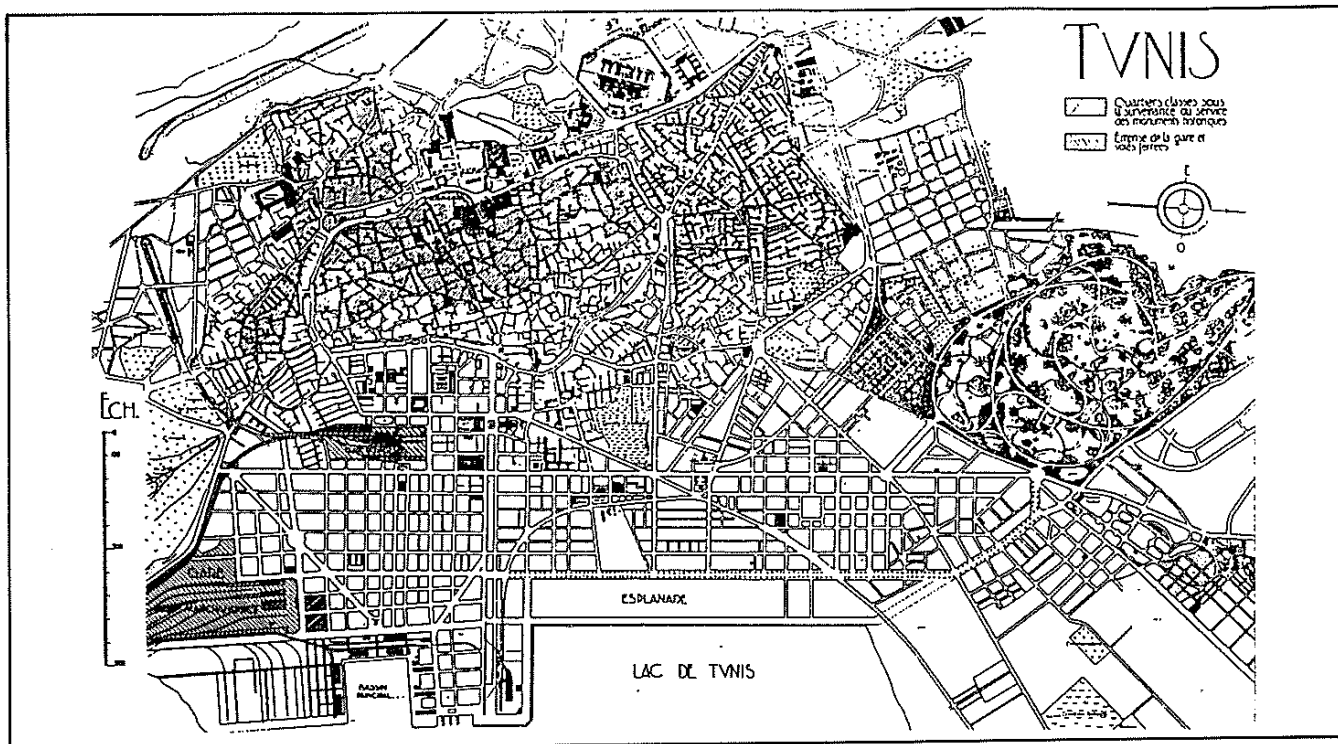
imposition of rules and regulations by colonizers has led to the removal of land-ownership rights from natives and to measures preventing them from settling in the better areas. In Moroccan cities, for example, not only was expropriation for the sake of public utility practised on a vast scale but an area merely had to be designated for development as a European district for it to be declared a public utility zone. In many English colonies too, governors systematically manipulated land use procedures, and around the turn of the century, a double administrative structure was developed, involving the creation of „Improvement Trusts", which were independent of the municipal administrations and obviously concentrated their interest on the European areas and ignored the native agglomerates.

Together with the adoption of different standards for the two cities, both in terms of population density and in the provision of infrastructures and services, the „lack" of land for the natives subsequently proved to be one of the main obstacles to every attempt to readjust the balance between the cities.

4. The physical and functional model of the racially segregated city is not only the product of political decisions; a significant factor in their creation was the contribution from experts who argued in favour of segregation and who prepared the necessary plans. On the one hand, therefore, there were the directives of Maréchal Lyautey for French North Africa, which laid it down that there should be as little contact as possible between the two types of city, „with minimum alteration to the native city and the establishment of the European city in the vast empty spaces nearby"; on the other, the sugge-

stions offered by architects who, as happened at the 1937 Congress of Italian Town-Planners, went so far as to urge that „from the beginning, there should be as clear a separation as possible between European and native residential areas in the cities of the Empire".

Manuals for town-planning in the tropics openly theorized about racial segregation and there are numerous examples of street-plans, residential types and quantitative standards to be applied in order to give a „variety of solutions" to the basic problem of how to enforce domination and control in colonial territories.

5. After the Second World War and in the decade preceding independence, the pattern of the colonial city was reinforced still further. Everywhere, the old parts and the native districts of colonial cities became increasingly rundown because of the overcrowding produced by the rising birth-rate, the urban development of rural zones and the lack of investment. Then, during the 1960s, almost all colonial countries gained their independence, but this in itself was not enough to bring about the abandonment of segregated city model. On the contrary, the model was now used by the new elites, who superimposed economic and class division criteria on the old racial factors. The most recent immigrants occupy the areas of the old city and the native city and the elites move to the newer cities which are better equipped and serviced. The zoning principles embodied in master plans are no longer based explicitly on race but operate according to income, and housing density is the decisive element in allowing or preventing the settlement of specific population groups. At the same time tribal type divisions reacquired importance and often, as in Nigeria, represented an

element which facilitated access to power.

6. Finally, it may be observed that the segregation principle operates not only in ex-colonial cities, and not only in the apartheid-influenced setting of South Africa, but as the phenomenon of immigration from third world countries expands so segregation is more and more frequently and systematically applied in European cities; and the phenomenon appears destined to grow. Obviously, given that racial segregation goes against the principle of equal rights proclaimed by democratic countries, it is not implemented in an explicit way and there is no mention of it in town-planning theory publications or in the rules and documents governing land use; rather, the same ends are achieved by adopting regulations which can only be complied with by certain groups of citizens and most importantly of all by operating a differentiated distribution of housing opportunities. This latter method is certainly one of the most effective ways of creating or consolidating areas of ethnic homogeneity in cities and it is used equally by the public and private sectors through manipulation of the criteria adopted for choosing sites for subsidized housing developments and the criteria for allocating such housing, and by ensuring that the housing market is segmented into distinct sectors, each catering for a clearly defined population group. Though it is denied by those who observe that it is immigrants themselves who evince a clear tendency to wish to concentrate together in specific areas within the city, this apparently „voluntary" process of racial segregation is really based on economic forces, prejudices and discrimination and is now firmly rooted in many important cities of European origin.

INTERVIEW

The Global Shelter Strategy of HABITAT

The following interview with Dr. Arcot Ramachandran, Executive Director of UNCHS (HABITAT), has been conducted in 1989 by H. Steiner (architect) and A. Dzikus (geographer) in Nairobi.

Interviewer: Today it is a well known fact to citizens of developed countries under which enormous hardships their fellows daily have to fight for survival in rapidly urbanizing developing countries. Today more than one billion people live in inadequate shelter. The number of homeless increases in these less fortunate countries of our world society and in the large cities some 30—50% of the population live in slum and squatter areas. Before the background of this challenge to solve the housing problem by the year 2000 in a unified effort, what is the Global Shelter Strategy of HABITAT to the Year 2000 generally about?

Dr. Ramachandran: The Global Strategy for Shelter to the Year 2000 is essentially comprised of national shelter strategies in each country to formulate and implement a programme to enable all people to have adequate shelter by the year 2000. The action is at the national and local levels. The international action is that of catalysing, stimulating and assisting in the formulation and implementation of national shelter strategies. The fundamental principle of the Global Shelter Strategy is based on an *enabling or facilitating strategy.*
There are many obstacles that are faced by low-income people in the provision of shelter. I can mention a few: building codes and regulations which most countries have inherited from the former metropolitan powers are of a standard that really meet only the needs of the upper half of the income groups. By that I mean the kind of materials that can be used. These are things that inhibit low income groups from building their own shelter. Next to food, all people put shelter as their highest priority. They are even prepared to invest their savings in improving their shelter provided they are assured that whatever they invest, whether in labour or in finance, is allowed to be secure — I refer to security of tenure — and that this will enable them to gradually improve

their shelter conditions and living conditions.
What they want from the governments is what they cannot provide for themselves individually — serviced land with basic infrastructure like water supply, sanitation, roads, etc. This has to be provided by governments. Therefore the enabling strategy puts a greater responsibility on governments to provide this while the people themselves will build their shelter and improve their shelter; — similarly facilitating the use of local building materials, facilitating local material industries by small entrepreneurs. Quite often, as you are aware, it is masons who eventually

become informal contractors and subsequently become formal contractors, too. The whole idea is that government should help people and that is a fundamental principle of the enabling strategy. No government from time immemorial has ever been rich enough to provide housing for all its people, and I believe no government in the future will be in a position to do so. Therefore, a partnership is called for between governments, local authorities, community groups, non-governmental organizations and individuals to work together in meeting this strategy of adequate shelter for all by the year 2000.

Interviewer: Since any effort in improving shelter conditions will need certain know-how and expertise, have the roles of experts of high and low levels and their professional curricula to be reconsidered to some extent?

Dr. Ramachandran: Yes. It is very right that experts, professionals, etc. get in touch first with the communities they want to help, perceive their needs and plan according to the needs and aspirations of the people, rather than give blueprints of what should be done. What is suitable for X-country may not be suitable for Y-country — climatic considerations, cultural considerations, social considerations and the availability of the kind of materials that can be used. These have to be taken into account. That is why you cannot transplant from one country to another the kind of shelter that people would like. So what we are asking our professionals (all of them are well trained and are quite able to be innovative) is that

NGO's have a great role to play in an enabling strategy in human settlements. The Undugu Society in Kenya for instance has convinced the authorities to allow the people in Kitui Squatter Settlement in Nairobi to improve their housing through self help. Undugu supported the community in building stronger houses of indigenous building materials like mud and wattle. The photos show houses before and after upgrading. (Photo A. Dzikus)

they should study the conditions of the country of the locality in which they are going to help, have discussions with local people and then put up the proposals for implementation.

Interviewer: Could you find an example: how could a possible role of design teams like architects and engineers in the Global Shelter Strategy be described?

Dr. Ramachandran: What we are envisaging is that we will have planners, architects or engineers working with officials in the country concerned in formulating the national shelter strategy based on the data that have been collected. This, of course, requires enormous data which only the local officials could prepare. The

design teams could work with them jointly preparing the strategy. Ultimately a strategy has to be implemented by the local professionals and all other levels of persons engaged in this work. This may involve training of the personel in the formulation and implementation of the shelter strategy.
I have considerable confidence.
We (1) have, for instance, at the present time projects in 94 countries where we have chief technical advisors, be they architects, engineers or planners working with local officials in fulfilling the priority needs of the community concerned.

Interviewer: Can we look for a short while at a design problem? In many cases architects and engineers have to design mass housing without knowing the users. This results often in depressing monotony — people living there lack identification with their neighbourhood. How could such a problem be avoided?

Dr. Ramachandran: I think I answered that question previously. If you have a

discussion with the community which you are going to help, then you will perceive their needs and design accordingly. What has happened in the past few decades of mass housing has resulted in total dissatisfaction whether it is in the North or in the South, East or West. I think what has happened is that this business of participation in planning, implementation and management has been neglected.

Interviewer: What kind of expertise is provided now by the Centre (2) to developing countries?

Dr. Ramachandran: We provide technical advisors to countries at their request for specific purposes of planning and implementing projects. We have architects, planners, engineers, data management experts, information experts, civil engineers, experts in producing local building materials, a wide spectrum from the social sciences to the engineering sciences. It depends upon the project because most projects are multi-disciplinary and therefore we use multi-disciplinary teams or short-term consultants; For example, somebody asks me for an expert on transportation planning and so we send a transportation planning expert. Or maybe it is the construction of roads or other areas, in which the community has needs. That is why we use the word 'human settlements', not just shelter or housing.

Interviewer: Could we look at a technical question? Land, infrastructure, building material are named as the key physical resources for the production and improvement of shelter in the Global Shelter Strategy (3). Are there any criteria — or what criteria could be adopted in order to define a lowest acceptable standard for shelter or standard for adequate shelter

bearing in mind that the key physical resources will have to be utilized for all?

Dr. Ramachandran: There is no standard criterion for the whole world. It has to vary from country to country. It depends upon climate. It depends upon the soil. It depends upon what is acceptable to the society. For example in China, for a family of four, a criterion of 35 square metres has been set for floor area in cities like Beijing or Shanghai. In the rural areas, they are provided 60 square metres. So what floor space is required as a uniform standard cannot be set. In a cold climate maybe 35 square metres is all right for a family. In a hot climate, it may not be so.
Again there is no necessity to make it standardized. It depends upon the availability of land. You don't have to go for high-rise monotonous buildings if plenty of land is available in some country. Take for example Gabon or Namibia. The size of each of these two countries is bigger than France and Germany put together in land area. The population is 1.5 millions each. So, we cannot talk of anything like a standard. What we can talk of is a minimal acceptable standard in the sense that it provides adequately for the family and that it is satisfied. There must always be provision for changing.

Interviewer: What concept of appropriate technology for the provision of shelter has been adopted by the Centre (2)?

Dr. Ramachandran: I would say that there is no such thing as a single technology that we have adopted. It depends upon the country again. What we encourage is the use of local building materials. We are against the importation of building materials which are costly and that the people cannot afford. For example, in Costa Rica, they use bamboo for construction because there is plenty of that. In some other country it may be cement or hollow cement blocks. In a third country it may only be mud architecture — compacting mud blocks and then building with them. They are very comfortable, cool in the summer.
Therefore, the technology appropriate to the country is what we recommend rather than anything which is uniform and which is just high technology for high technology's sake. We'll use high technology where it is necessary.
I give an example of what high technology we've used. Most of the cities in the developing countries do not have adequate data, for example tax collection or getting back what loans have been advanced for housing. We use micro-computers and help these city Governments to maintain their whole data and to keep on top of the resources that they have for expenditure, continuously monitoring it, etc.
So the technology adopted is what is required at that point of time in that particular locality in that particular country.
For example it is difficult to get up-to-date maps of urban areas. Most of them are much older than fifty years. Now use re-

mote sensing satellite data then you can draw up maps quickly and know where the settlement is. You can use remote sensing and areal photography because you have to skip time. Today you cannot afford to go footslogging to do surveying as we used to twenty five years ago.

Interviewer: (Since the concept of Primary Health Care was defined in 1978 at the Alma Ata Conference, it has been accepted that the disease cycle can be broken outside the clinic. Inadequate living environments like house structures, living space, furnishing and basic services are primary causes for a wide range of communicable and chronic diseases, injuries and psychological stresses.) You mentioned the aspect of healthful housing. Could you explain which concept this implies?

Dr. Ramachandran: This concept implies, for example, good ventilation, use of proper materials which are safe from fire hazards, soundness of structure, etc. Healthful housing means a properly, well-designed, well ventilated house in order ·that the communicable vectors are not easily available to infect children. Most people are susceptible because, as you know, most of them in developing countries are poor. They are already malnourished and can be easily susceptible to these kind of diseases.

Interviewer: Cities in developing countries are daily confronted with enormous financial burdens caused by ever growing solid wastes and garbage generation. Under the slogan „Cleaner Cities — Healthier Cities", which major breakthrough has the Agency achieved in this field?

Dr. Ramachandran: Let me frankly tell you that we have not achieved any major

breakthroughs, we are only helping countries to achieve positive results.
We have been putting a lot of effort on waste management and garbage removal. Even the most industrialized countries have failed in this area and I shall not mention names... but the fact is that a lot of garbage is being generated in most countries, both industrial and developing countries. The kind of waste generated is different. In the case of developing countries it is mostly organic. In the case of industrialized, it is mostly inorganic. Therefore the treatment has to be different. This is one of the reasons why I tell municipal managers: „You just can't take a technology from a highly advanced country and put into a country here." Here, probably half of it can be put on fields, it may be useful later on for growing vegetables or something like that; but one has

to be careful about it. You can generate energy through the garbage that is collected annually. So what we are advocating is different methods of treatment of garbage. The days of landfill which is used extensively are fast coming to a close because there are no more landfill spaces available.
So, waste generation and treatment is one area that we are concentrating on in many countries. How to collect: We have issued a publication (5) on simple vehicles for collection because in many of these countries the roads are so narrow that you cannot make even a three-wheeler go through — and you have to have all kinds of vehicles for collection, sorting and then treating.

Interviewer: Diseases such as diarrhoea, dysentery or cholera continue to claim millions of lives annually due to lack of safe water supply and any sanitation means. Which approach has been attempted to break the link in the sequence in return through ingestion of disease causing organisms?

Dr. Ramachandran: The United Nations established the International Water Supply and Sanitation Decade and we are a constitutional part of that decade of work which is being led by the World Health Organization (WHO). We have done something in this direction which is rather unique in the sense that we developed the lower-cost shallow sewer system, which you might have read about (6). We have implemented it in Brazil (7), we have implemented it in Pakistan (8) and found it very successful, particularly in the low-income communities. This has been accepted by WHO and we hope to disseminate this information so that it is more widely adopted in many of the developing countries where it is most appropriate.
As far as protected water supply schemes are concerned, we work with the WHO. Also UNICEF does something in rural water supply and sanitation. Most countries have drawn up programmes for protected water supply and sanitation. Recent reports show that while much progress has been made in water supply, the progress in the area of sanitation has not been very significant.

Interviewer: Next to the provision of basic infrastructure to low-income communities like sanitation, safe water supply and adequate waste disposal as you mentioned, there seems to be great demand for advice on how to establish health facilities in many developing countries in the wake of primary health care and preventive medicine. Which approach could be used in this area from the experience the Agency (1) has until now?

Dr. Ramachandran: It is my view that what we have to do is to train community leaders in all communities. When you train them in housing or water supply, you also train them in how to maintain your health, etc.
So, training of community leaders and community participation is a sine qua non for improved health care, improved facilities, etc.
You may build primary health centres but there may be no doctor. This is what is happening in many developing countries. But you may train a health worker who can identify certain things and try to refer that individual to a doctor, etc.
So, ultimately each community should have this kind of training and a core of people who will look after, not only the health facilities but also all their requirements.
Therefore, ultimately, I will put high priority on training of community leaders, community health workers, etc. — what the medical profession calls para-medical personnel.
You can have social workers who can look after children, mothers, etc. and who visit them. And in many countries they are there. I know of it in my own country (9).

I also go to the extent of saying if you are really going to maintain a big city properly, you should decentralize the functions of the city government. You should have what I call „street committees" who will report to the concerned official that the street lights are being cleaned, nobody throws all his garbage out onto the streets.

Ultimately, it comes down to one thing: *community participation.*

Interviewer: Dr. Ramachandran, you mentioned the welfare of the family. Women and children are the most intensive users of shelter and consequently mostly prone to housing related ill health. Which role does this target group play in the integrated approach of shelter and health for all by the year 2000?

Dr. Ramachandran: I think most of the construction work of low income housing is done by them. It is for this reason that we have organized women and human settlements workshops in Bali, Indonesia for South-East Asian countries, in Zambia for Africa, in Jamaica for the Caribbean group of countries and Buenos Aires for Latin American countries. The final fifth workshop will be held in Nairobi in December of this year (10) where we will bring together the experiences of all workshops, — what women themselves said they will be prepared to do, what kind of assistance they need, what kind of legal barriers they face; — for example, in some countries, they are not supposed to own property; in some countries they are not in a position to inherit property.

These are all difficulties that women face and we are highlighting this so that policies can change in the countries to give women their rightful role — because they are the ones who spend most of their time in the homes with their children.

In Bali, Indonesia, women were not only building, they were doing the finishing work. And I asked them: „Is this a new occupation?" „No, we do the finishing work, the men consider that we can do a better finish than them, whereas they will take the heavy construction of blocks." We have to realize the women's capabilities, the women's interests and to make them integral partners in this whole area of housing development. I have great hopes that they will play an increasing role in our Global Shelter Strategy.

Interviewer: The challenging effort to spearhead the attempt to improve human habitations and the health status of particularly deprived segments of our society should be of interest and common benefit or humanity as a whole. Dr. Ramachandran, what is your appeal to the international community and which emphasis would you propose for a unified strategy?

Dr. Ramachandran: After all what is development aid for? Development aid is to improve the living conditions of the people in these countries. By living conditions

I mean employment generation, the production of goods and services, thereby earning enough to have a far better standard of living.

I think the approach that the international community has to follow is to concentrate on this aspect of *helping people to help themselves.*

In order to do that you have to know what it is that the people want and how it is that you can help rather than have blueprints of thinking that what we say is good for them.

This is my whole approach. I think if you *take the people into the partnership,* they have a much greater chance of success.

Interviewer: Dr. Ramachandran, we thank you very much and deeply appreciate the time you have spent with us.

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Trialog-Leserumfrage

Um die zukünftigen Hefte noch stärker an den Leserinteressen ausrichten zu können und bisher verborgene Mitarbeitsmöglichkeiten zu aktivieren, wollen wir wissen
— Wer sind die Trialog-Leser?
— Was interessiert Sie besonders?
— Wie kann die „Trialog-Fähigkeit" zwischen Lesern, Autoren und Redaktion verbessert werden?

1. Welche Ausbildung haben Sie wo erworben?　　　　　　　　　　　　2. Alter _____

3. In welchem Bereich und wo arbeiten Sie zur Zeit?

4. Welche Erfahrungen haben Sie mit Planen und Bauen in der 3. Welt?

5. Wo haben Sie zuerst von Trialog erfahren?

Was interessiert Sie an Trialog besonders?

6.1 theoretische Artikel	☐	Region	
6.2 Planungskonzepte	☐		
6.3 Praxisberichte	☐	7.1 Lateinamerika	☐
6.4 Baumaterial/-technik	☐	7.2 Afrika	☐
6.5 Frauenthemen	☐	7.3 Arabische Welt	☐
6.6 Tagungsberichte	☐	7.4 Asien	☐
6.7 Rezensionen	☐		

8. Was ist überflüssig?

9. Was wünschen Sie sich für die nächsten Ausgaben?

In welcher Sprache sollen die Artikel in Trialog erscheinen?

10.1 nur deutsch ☐
10.2 gemischt deutsch/englisch ☐
10.3 Tagungshefte englisch ☐

Im Frühjahr 1989 mußte wieder der Vertrieb gewechselt werden. Ist die Lieferung jetzt zufriedenstellend?

11.1 ja ☐
11.2 nein ☐

In welcher Form können Sie bei Trialog mitarbeiten?

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12.2 Rezensionen ☐
12.3 Zu folgenden Themenbereichen

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Vielen Dank　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　die Trialog-Redaktion

Trialog Questionnaire

In order to enable us to orient future TRIALOG issues even more to the interests of our readers, and to define new ways o' cooperation between TRIALOG and its readers, we would like to know the following:

— Who are the TRIALOG readers?
— What are their interests?
— How can the „Trialogue/communication" between readers, authors and editors be improved?

1. What is your educational background and place of study?   2. Age _____

_____

3. What is your professional background and your present occupation?

_____

4. What is your experience with Planning and Building in the 3. World?

_____

_____

_____

5. Where and how did you hear about TRIALOG?

_____

What topics interest you in TRIALOG?

6.1 Theoretical articles	□	Region
6.2 Planning concepts	□	
6.3 Practical Reports	□	7.1 Latin America □
6.4 Building construction/techniques	□	7.2 Africa □
6.5 Gender issues	□	7.3 Arabic countries □
6.6 Conference Reports	□	7.4 Asia □
6.7 Reviews ·	□	

8. What do you consider redundant?

_____

9. What are your suggestions for themes in future issues?

_____

_____

In which language should the articles be published?

10.1 Only in German   □
10.2 Mixed — German and English   □
10.3 Conference reports in English   □

In Spring 1989 we had to change the distributor once more. Are you happy with the delivery service?

11.1 Yes □
11.2 No □

In what way could you contribute to TRIALOG?

12.1 Practical Reports   □
12.2 Reviews   □
12.3 Articles on following themes

_____

Please return this questionnaire to a member of the editorial staff listed in the imprint or send it to TRIALOG, Ploenniesstr. 18, D-6100 Darmstadt. The results will be published in the forthcoming issue.

Thank you   TRIALOG Editorial Staff

Diplomarbeit

Entscheidungsgrundlagen zur Planung Technischer Infrastruktur unter Beteiligung der betroffenen Bevölkerung in Entwicklungsländern:

Diskussion und Entwicklung geeigneter Methoden und Verfahren zur Partizipation sowie deren Überprüfung anhand des Squatter-upgrading-Projektes Dalifort/Dakar

Wolfgang Dickhaut

Kurzfassung

Die Spontansiedlungen (Squattergebiete oder Favelas) in Entwicklungsländern sind mit Infrastruktur unzureichend ausgestattet, einer Tatsache, die zu unhaltbaren hygienischen Verhältnissen in den Quartieren führt.

Neben anderen Gründen (niedriger Bildungsstand, Unterdrückung durch Eliten, hohe Arbeitslosigkeit, etc.) führen hygienebedingte Krankheiten dazu, daß die dort lebenden Menschen kaum allein an einer Verbesserung ihrer Situation arbeiten können. Die hohen Kosten, aber auch andere kulturelle und soziale Werte verhindern darüberhinaus die direkte Übertragung und Realisierung der in den Industrieländern bewährten Standards der Technischen Infrastruktur.

In der Vergangenheit durchgeführte Planungen zur Verbesserung der bestehenden Situation machen deutlich, daß erstens nach angepaßten technischen Systemen gesucht werden muß und zweitens die betroffene Bevölkerung am Planungs- und Entscheidungsprozeß zu beteiligen ist. Außerdem sind Entscheidungen über die Wahl technischer Infrastruktur-Systeme einzubetten in einen integrierten Planungsprozeß, der außer technischen Aspekten auch die sozialen, ökonomischen und ökologischen Randerscheinungen des Quartiers und des Entwicklungslandes berücksichtigt.

Im Rahmen der Diplomarbeit wird auf Basis einer Literaturanalyse (Erkennen und Defizite bisheriger Ansätze) und aufgrund eigener Projekterfahrungen in einem integrierten Stadtteilentwicklungsprojekt in Dakar (Senegal) ein Planungsverfahren und eine Planungsmethode entwickelt, die den oben genannten Ansprüchen gerecht werden sollen.

Die wesentlichen Aspekte lassen sich wie folgt zusammenfassen.

Zur Durchführung eines Sanierungsprojektes soll eine interdisziplinär zusammengesetzte Projektgruppe im zuständigen Planungsamt und eine BewohnerInnenorganisation im Quartier aufgebaut werden, die gemeinsam Comités bilden, in denen an der Lösung der Probleme gearbeitet wird.

Nach einer gemeinsamen Zustands- und Zielanalyse mit der Bevölkerung erarbeitet die Projektgruppe drei unterschiedliche Technische Infrastrukturniveaus. Innerhalb des jeweiligen Niveaus (hoch — mittel — niedrig) müssen die verschiedenen Komponenten (Wasserversorgung, Abwasser-(Fäkal-)beseitigung, Abfallbeseitigung, Oberflächenentwässerung, Energieversorgung sowie Verkehrswegebau) aufeinander abgestimmt werden, außerdem sollte die ganze Bandbreite von geforderten Systemen in die Untersuchungen integriert sein.

Im Anschluß daran unterzieht die Projektgruppe die entwickelten Technischen Infrastrukturniveaus mit Hilfe der Planungsmethode „Beschreibung von Wirkungsketten" einer detaillierten Untersuchung auf Folgen (Auswirkungen) und notwendige Folgemaßnahmen. Die Darstellung der Wirkungsketten muß problemorientiert (gebietsbezogen) und auch für Menschen mit niedrigem Bildungsstand sowie anderem Kulturumfeld nachvollziehbar sein.

Durch diese Planungsmethode wird gewährleistet, daß die wesentlichen Probleme mit ihren denkbaren Lösungsstrategien umfassend aufgearbeitet und mit ihren möglichen Auswirkungen — auch außerhalb des direkten Projektgebietes — der Bevölkerung verständlich gemacht werden können.

Die bewerteten Varianten (Technische Infrastrukturniveaus) werden der BewohnerInnenvertretung im Rahmen der Comitéarbeit vorgestellt, erklärt, und nach einer Diskussion Entscheidungen über erste Maßnahmen getroffen. Die Durchführung der Maßnahmen wird gemeinsam im Comité organisiert. Nach Abschluß der ersten Maßnahmen werden diese und der Entscheidungsprozeß evaluiert, um Verbesserungen an den verwendeten Technischen Infrastruktursystemen und -technologien sowie am Planungsprozeß vorzunehmen.

Es wird ein fortlaufender Planungsprozeß entstehen, indem die beteiligten Gruppen eine stufenweise Verbesserung der Technischen Infrastruktur erreichen.

Der Prozeß der Veränderungen, dessen Ziel mehr soziale und wirtschaftliche Gerechtigkeit sowie die Verbesserung der Hygienesituation und des Naturhaushaltes sein soll, kann durch ein partizipatives Projekt unterstützt werden. Die gesellschaftlichen Gruppen und hier vor allem die politisch und wirtschaftlich Einflußreichen müssen zu Veränderungen allerdings grundsätzlich bereit sein, ansonsten wird sich ein partizipatives Projekt an den Machtstrukturen aufreiben und scheitern.

Konflikte können durch ein Partizipationsverfahren demnach nicht vermieden, sondern lediglich mehr oder weniger „geordnet" und „befriedigend" gelöst werden.

Für das (Teil-)Ziel der Technischen Infrastrukturverbesserung in einem konkreten Gebiet (hier: Dalifort in Dakar) bietet das Verfahren durch die Comitéarbeit gute Ansätze, um eine größere Akzeptanz und damit Wirkung der Maßnahmen zu erreichen.

Weitere Entwicklungen des Planungsverfahrens und der Planungsmethode sind nur in der „Praxis" und sehr gebietsspezifisch möglich und notwendig.

ASA-Projekt

Tourismus auf Sansibar

Wolfgang Scholz

25 Jahre nach der sozialistischen Revolution auf Sansibar, mit der die arabische Vorherrschaft beendet wurde, steht die ostafrikanische Insel vor großen ökonomischen Problemen. Denn die Haupteinnahmequelle der mit Tansania zu einer Staatenunion verbundenen Insel, der Export von Gewürznelken, ging drastisch zurück.

Der Grund dafür ist, daß das Hauptabnehmerland Indonesien nun selbst Nelkenbäume anpflanzt. Lange Zeit wurde auf Sansibar eine Diversifizierung der Wirtschaft vernachlässigt, sicherten doch die cash crop Gewürznelken bislang ein sicheres Deviseneinkommen und ließen selbst Nahrungsmittelimporte bezahlbar bleiben. Die jetzt akut gewordenen Wirtschaftsprobleme zwangen 1985 die Inselregierung zu einem economic recovery programe. Neben der Wiederzulassung bisher brachliegender Privatinitiative soll nun auch der internationale Tourismus helfen. Mit dem Ziel, mehr Devisen einzunehmen, strebt die Inselregierung highclass Tourismus an, um von den Folgen des Massentourismus wie z.B. in Kenia verschont zu bleiben. Dieser Luxustourismus bietet zwar die Chance hoher Einnahmen bei geringen Touristenzahlen, erfordert aber gleichzeitig westliches know how und Investoren und fördert so eine größere Abhängigkeit. Der Dritte Welt Tourismus wird heute vor allem durch folgende Faktoren geprägt:

— das hohe Marktpotential (Exotik) der Länder bedingt durch den „Verschleiß" der alten Ziele in Europa.

— die Hoffnung der Zielländer auf Deviaeneinnahmen, Tourismus als cash crop.

— die Machtposition der Reiseveranstalter, die die Dritte Welt Länder gegeneinander ausspielen können, da keines von ihnen selbst die Reisen vermarkten kann.

Wolfgang Scholz studiert Raumplanung an der Uni Dortmund. Im Sommer 1989 war er im Rahmen des ASA-Programm in Sansibar und hat in dem Projekt 'Stadtökologie und Tourismus' mitgearbeitet.

— der geringe oder negative Nettodeviseneffekt durch hohe Devisenrückflüsse für touristische Luxusimportgüter, die nicht im Zielland produziert werden.

— starke sozio-kulturelle Auswirkungen durch die Aufgabe traditioneller Lebensformen und die Bestätigung von Vorurteilen seitens der Touristen statt Völkerverständigung.

Der Tourismus auf Sansibar...

...spielt heute noch keine große Rolle. Er wird neben dem starken Binnentourismus vom tansanischen Festland her, vor allem durch den low class Tourismus geprägt. Für junge Rucksacktouristen gehört Sansibar zu den festen Zielen während einer Ostafrikarundreise. Zahlenmäßig erheblich geringer ist der Anteil der middle class Touristen, die hauptsächlich durch Pauschaltouristen aus Kenia repräsentiert werden.

Aufgrund der Transportprobleme (unzuverlässige Flüge von Air Tanzania, unregelmäßige Fährverbindungen, bzw. gefährliche Dhaufahrten), ziehen diese Touristen organisierte Touren (zumeist Tagestrips oder 2-Tagetouren) vor. Insgesamt stieg aber die Anzahl der Touristen in den letzten Jahren.
Übernachtungsmöglichkeiten bestehen fast ausschließlich in der Altstadt Sansibars, der Stone Town mit einfachen Guesthouses (Doppelzimmer 10 US$) oder Hotels mit bis zu 30 US$ pro Person. In den Spitzenmonaten kommt es oft zu Engpässen, da das Angebot nicht der Nachfrage entspricht. Neben den quantitativen Problemen spielt auch die Qualität des Angebots eine Rolle. Die Preise der Hotels entsprechen im internationalen Vergleich nicht dem gebotenen Standard. Vor allem das von der staatlichen Zanzibar Tourist Corporation (ZTC) gemanagte Bwawani-Hotel erreicht keinesfalls das selbstgegebene Prädikat „high class" — wohl aber die Preise. Trotz dieser Widersprüche sind die Hotels und Guesthouses (bis auf das Bwawani) gut ausgelastet.

Das derzeitige Angebot an Restaurants ist nicht sehr reichhaltig und bis auf die jeweiligen Hotelrestaurants gibt es praktisch keine speziellen Touristenrestaurants. Bei einer durchschnittlichen Aufenthaltsdauer von nur zwei Tagen und dem hohen Anteil der low class Touristen stellt die fehlende Auswahl heute noch kein Problem dar. Das gleiche gilt für das spärliche Kulturangebot für verwöhnte Touristen.

Das touristische Potential...

...aus dem Blickwinkel eines Tourismusförderers auf Sansibar ist dagegen groß und noch unerschlossen. Zum einen sind die Marktchancen einer Destination Sansibar in Kombination mit Safari- und Kilimandscharotourismus gut. Zum anderen kann Sansibar auch Kenia Konkurrenz bieten, da es Badetourismus an (noch) traumhaften Stränden an der Ost-

geplante Hotelstandorte
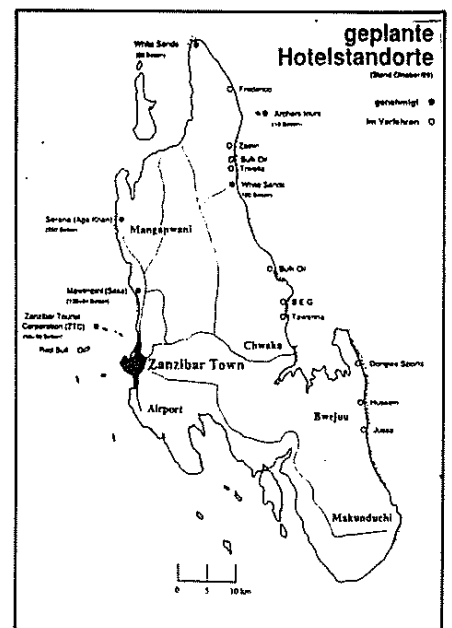
küste der Insel mit dem wachsenden Interesse der Touristen an kulturellen Erlebnissen während des Urlaubs verbinden kann. Sansibar besitzt mit der Stone Town einen Kulturschatz, der in Ostafrika

seinesgleichen sucht. Die Stone Town, die kurz vor dem Verfall durch unterlassene Pflege der nach der Revolution verstaatlichten Häuser stand, wird von der Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority, einer sansibarischen Behörde mit Unterstützung von HABITAT (UNCHS), Stück für Stück restauriert, allerdings nicht primär um den Tourismus zu fördern. Neben künftig möglichen Direktanflügen von Europa auf die Insel (der Flughafen wird zur Zeit ausgebaut), bieten sich auch Chancen zum Ausbau des Ausflugtourismus von Kenia auf die Insel.

Der Name Sansibar, in dem viel vermarktbare Exotik mitschwingt, könnte also durchaus auch in den Reiseprospekten stehen und Pauschalreisenden ein Begriff werden, wenn das entsprechende Hotelangebot geschaffen werden würde.

Tourismusplanungen

Schon 1983 legte die WTO (World Tourism Organisation) einen Zanzibar Tourism Development Plan vor, der das Marktpotential der Insel als hoch einschätzte und — Masterplan-typisch — bis ins letzte Detail formulierte Handlungsanweisungen gab. Kernaussage des Plans war vor allem die Entwicklung von drei Tourism Development Zones: Der Stone Town, der Strände von Bwejuu im Osten der Insel und des Gebietes bei Mangapwani mit alten Sklavenhöhlen als Touristenattraktion.

Die reale Entwicklung verläuft heute dagegen anders. Die geplanten Hotels verteilen sich über die gesamte Küste und das angestrebte Ziel high-class Tourismus wird verfehlt, da die Mehrheit der Investoren auf Sansibar in Kenia schon im Massentourismusgeschäft tätig sind.

Die möglichen Folgen

So wie als Auslöser der Tourismusentwicklung nur ökonomische Gründe ausschlaggebend waren, scheinen auch bei der Umsetzung für die Regierung nur ökonomische Aspekte zu zählen. Das investorenfreundliche Verhalten („jedem Hotel sein eigener Strand") kann durch Verhandlungsschwäche der Regierung oder durch erwartete höhere Pachtzinsen erklärt werden. Da Grund und Boden sich auf Sansibar in Staatsbesitz befinden, profitiert von der Bodenwertsteigerung allein der Staat. Die betroffenen und meist vertriebenen Fischer gehen dagegen fast leer aus. Sie werden nur minimal für das aufgegebene Wohnhaus entschädigt. Zuwenig, um sich eine neue Existenz aufzubauen, wie Kritiker auf Sansibar behaupten. Viele Fischer werden dann um die Stadt Sansibar squattern. Eine solche Entwicklung würde die Stärkung des Hinterlandes und das Eindämmen der Landflucht — beides eigentlich Ziele der Tourismuspolitik — unterlaufen.

Sansibar: Strand an der Ostküste, Lebensgrundlage für Fischer

Im ökologischen Bereich können Probleme durch einen erhöhten Infrastrukturbedarf für jedes einzelne Hotel und vor allem durch die Unrentabilität hotelübergreifender Einrichtungen wie Kläranlagen, Energieversorgung, Abfallentsorgung entstehen. So kann langfristig eine Wasserverschmutzung nicht nur dem Tourismus die Grundlage entziehen, sondern durch Zerstörung des schützenden Korallenriffs auch die Insel gefährden.

Neben den Einnahmen aus den Pachtzinsen und der geplanten Devisenabschöpfung der Hotels von 50% zugunsten der Regierung, würde der Tourismus auf Sansibar nur dann positive ökonomische Effekte bewirken, wenn auch die lokale Bevölkerung sich direkt am Tourismusgeschäft beteiligen könnte. Die Verteilung der Hotels läßt aber eher auf abgeschlossene autarke Einheiten schließen, die hotelunabhängige, von Sansibaris geführte Einrichtungen (Restaurants, Geschäfte, Dienstleistungen) unmöglich oder unwirtschaftlich machen.

Ideen

Obwohl seit dem offiziellen Entschluß der Regierung schon fünf Jahre vergangen sind, ist noch kein Hotel gebaut worden. Grund dafür ist nicht Desinteresse der Investoren, sondern fehlende Infrastruktur. Allerdings sind schon einige Pachtverträge fest geschlossen worden und viele andere befinden sich in Verhandlungen. Es bleibt also nur noch kurze Zeit für Änderungen in der Tourismusentwicklung und Genehmigungspraxis. Möglichkeiten dazu wären:

— Konzentration auf Development Zones, um ökologische und soziale Folgen zu minimieren und Infrastrukturmaßnahmen vertretbar zu halten.

— Beteiligung von weiteren Fachämtern und den Distriktverwaltungen, sowie vor allem der Betroffenen vor Ort selbst. Denn zur Zeit betreibt das Ministry for Information, Culture and Tourism mit dem Ministry of Finance die Tourismusentwicklung weitgehend eigenständig.

— Verknüpfung der langfristig an Ausländer vergebenen Pachtverträge mit Auflagen hinsichtlich des Umweltschutzes und der Bereitstellung von Arbeitsplätzen für die einheimische Bevölkerung.

Und last not least wäre für Sansibar zu überlegen, ob nach der Abhängigkeit von cash crop Nelken nicht die noch größere Abhängigkeit vom Tourismus folgt. Eine Diversifizierung der Wirtschaft muß weiterhin oberstes Ziel sein.

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Neue Bücher
Book Reviews

Stadtentwicklung

David Cadman & Geoffrey Payne (Eds.), The Living City – towards a Sustainable Future. 246 Seiten, ISBN 0-415-01250-3, £ 35,-. London & New York: Routhledge, 1990.

Die meisten Beiträge dieses Sammelbandes gehen auf ein von der 'New Economics Foundation' unterstütztes Seminar mit dem Titel 'Future Cities' zurück, das 1987 am Oxford Polytechnic stattfand. Einige der Autoren, nämlich *Dennis Hay, Iain Begg, Barry Moore, Jorge Hardoy, David Satterthwaite*, und *Carole Rakodl*, hier im ersten Teil des Buches zusammengefaßt, repräsentieren die gängige Weisheit neuzeitlicher Stadtplaner. Sie zeigen das Ausmaß des Chaos auf, in das sich die großen Städte der ersten und dritten Welt hineinbugsiert haben, und diskutieren Möglichkeiten, das Phänomen durch Verbesserung bekannter Instrumentarien zumindest unter Kontrolle zu halten. Im interessanteren zweiten Teil des Buches kommen dann Stimmen zu Wort, die alternative Szenarien vorstellen, oder zumindest tiefgreifende Reformen vorschlagen, um urbane Lebensformen auch in der Zukunft positiv lebbar zu gestalten. *James Robertson* plädiert für 'Self–Reliance' sowohl für die Stadtgemeinschaft wie für den individuellen Bewohner. *John Holmes* und *Geoffrey Steeley* schlagen in die gleiche Kerbe, und suchen nach dem Vorbild der 'Garden Cities' von Ebenezer Howard die Vorzüge von Stadt– und Landleben zu vereinen, aber der Weg dorthin führt für sie heute über eine Neudefinition von Machtrelationen. *Joe Cullen* wird noch konkreter, und nennt praktische Maßnahmen wie Abfall–Recycling, mit denen in Industrie– wie in Drittwelt–Ländern der Umweltkatastrophe entgegengewirkt und die Lebensqualität verbessert werden kann. *John Turner* plädiert in einer Überarbeitung seiner Alternativ–Nobelpreisrede von 1988 für die Stärkung von NGOs und CBOs. *Tade Akin Aina* verfolgt dagegen eher die 'klassische' Position Turners in der Verdammung zentralistischer Strukturen, denen die schöpferische Vielfalt durch Individuen und kleinen Gruppen entgegengesetzt wird. *George McRobie*, Mitbegründer der Londoner 'Intermediate Technology Development Group', preist erwartungsgemäß den Segen der Angepaßten Technologie, ohne allerdings speziell auf die Stadt–Problematik Bezug zu nehmen. *Charles Chogill* besinnt sich auf die Möglichkeiten einer gelenkten Dezentralisierung, oder genau genommen, auf die Konzentration der ländlichen Bevölkerung um so eine Abwanderung in die Städte überflüssig zu machen. Als bereits bestehende Beispiele werden Malaysias 'Small Town Development' Program und Tanzanias 'Ujamaa' Dörfer (in leider sehr oberflächlicher Form) gegenübergestellt. *Arif Hasan* beschreibt schließlich das unter Fachleuten nicht unbekannte Orangi–Projekt in Karatchi, in dem die Bewohner in Selbsthilfe die Abwasserleitungen gelegt haben. Die Herausgeber bemühen sich in Einleitung und Schlußartikel um eine Synthese der thematisch weitgestreuten Beiträge.

Mit seinen relativ kurzen Einzelbeiträgen vermittelt das Buch einen Überblick über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Diskussion über die Stadtproblematik im Großbritannien. Einige der Beiträge, wie die von Turner, Robertson, Cullen oder Girardet erfrischen mit neuen Ideen, die zwar in der Kürze nicht zu Genüge ausgeführt werden können, doch zum Phantasieren anregen. Leider beschränken sich die Illustrationen auf einige wenige Systemskizzen.   *Kosta Mathéy*

Gugler, J. (Hg.), The Urbanization of the Third World, Oxford University Press 1988, 421 S. (£ 12.95).

Josef Gugler hat in den letzten Jahren schon das Textbuch "Cities, Poverty and Development: Urbanization in the Third World "veröffentlicht, jedoch war jenes Buch neu verfasst (zus. m. A. Gilbert). Hier nun finden wir hier eine Anfsatzsammlung von 21 Artikeln, die fast alle schon vor einigen jahren erschienen sind, wenn auch verstreut in populären oder auch schwer zugänglichen Fachzeitschriften oder gar in Büchern. Der Herausgeber hat lediglich eine kurze Einleitung zu jedem Abschnitt geliefert, worin er entweder Gründe zur Wahl der folgenden Artikel und den Stand der Diskussion erläutert. Die thematische Gliederung des Buches umfaßt:

Städtische Transformationen in der Dritten Welt; Die Mißachtung und Ausbeutung der Landbevölkerung; Der städtische Arbeitsmarkt und die Migration; Wohnungsversorgung für die Massen; Leben/Arbeiten in der Stadt; Soziale Organization in der Stadt; Formen sozialer Integration und des Konfliktes. Die Bandbreite der Themen, welche sich an Planer, Politiker sowie Wissenschaftler und Student der Sozialwissenschaften richten, ist somit weit gesteckt und zu jedem Thema kann bestenfalls genereller Überblick oder eine exemplarische Fallstudie geliefert werden, jedoch keine ausreichende Behandlung dieser Themen selber. Das sind die Grenzen solch eines "readers". Auf der anderen Seite spiegelt dieses Buch multi-disziplinäre Ansätze verschiedener theoretischer Richtungen wieder.

Zum Thema der Wohnungsversorgung finden sich Artikel über das Bodenproblem in drei lateinamerikanischen Städten, über die Politiken das Wohnungspolitik für die Armen, sowie (in einen andere Kapital) über Konflikte zwischen squatter und Staat.   *Florian Steinberg.*

Schinz, A. Cities in China, (Urbanization of the Earth 7) 492 Seiten, 389 figures, DM 185,-. Berlin, Stuttgart: Gebrüder Bornträger, 1989.

Dieses Buch ist das Resultat einer jahrzehntelangen Beschäftigung mit CHina, mehrjähriger Beratertätigkeit in Taiwan, und einer offensichtlich enormen Sammlertätigkeit des Autors. Die ersten beiden Abschnitte (66 Seiten) beschäftigen sich mit dem traditionellen chinesischen Weltbild, mit 'Zeit und Raum' der Urbanisierung und Stadtkultur von der Frühzeit bis heute, mit einem Ausblick in die Zukunft der städtischen Entwicklungsprobleme und einem geographischen Überblick. Der Hauptteil des Buches besteht aus detaillierten Stadtbeschreibungen von 160 (!) Städten Chinas, Hongkong, Macao und Taiwan eingeschlossen.

Das Buch zeichnet sich durch eine phantastische Fülle von Details zu Geschichte, Stadtprobleme und Entwicklungstendenzen aus. Eine enorme Anzahl von Karten und guten Fotos komplettieren dieses Werk, das durchaus den Charakter eines Kompendiums besitzt. Bislang gab ein solches Buch zur chinesischen Stadt noch nicht, und jedem CHina–bezogenen Professionellen, jeder Fachbibliothek ist dieses Buch (trotz des hohen Preises) bestens anzuraten. Ein Muß.   *F. Steinberg*

Richard Stren & Rodney White (Eds.), African Cities in Crisis.   Managing Rapid Urban Growth. 335 Seiten, 1989. Boulder: Westview Press, (5500 Central Ave., Co 80301, USA).

Mit zunehmender Verstädterung haben sich auch in Afrika die urbanen Lebensbedingungen in den vergangenen zwei Jahrzehnten auffällig verschlechtert. Städtische Versorgungssysteme, soweit sie überhaupt existierten, sind weitgehend zusammengebrochen. Die Gründe dafür, und für die noch schlechteren Bedingungen auf dem Lande als Zwischenglied in der Kausalkette, liegen – so die Autoren des Buches – sowohl in externen wie internen Faktoren begründet. Zu den externen Faktoren gehören u.a. die ungleichen "Terms of Trade", Überschuldung, oder bestimmte Auflagen der Weltbank wie des IMF (Rücknahme von Sozialleistungen). Mangelndes 'Urban Management', das Zentralthema des Buches, ist dagegen einer der wichtigsten internen Faktoren.

Bisherige Maßnahmen zur Reduzierung der Stadtproblematik, wie das traditionelle Instrumentarium des "Master Planning" (Stadtentwicklungs– und Flächennutzungspläne) sind ebenso wie das modernere Konzept der Mittelzentrenförderung ungeeignet, das Wachstum der Metropolen zu stoppen. Angesichts dieser übergreifenden Ratlosigkeit unter den Planern und Politikern vergab das International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Canada ein zweijähriges Forschungsprojekt, in dem die derzeitigen Strategieansätze für sieben ausgewählte städte in Senegal, der Elfenbeinküste, Nigeria, Tanzania, Kenya, Sudan

evaluiert werden sollten. Die vorliegende Publikation enthält die gekürzte und redigierte Fassung des abschließenden Forschungsberichtes, der sich naturgemäß auf die Analyse der gegenwärtigen Situation (mit teilweise sehr aufschlußreichen Länderberichten) beschränkt, aber keine Rezepte für erfolgreiche Alternativstrategien liefern kann.

Kosta Mathéy

2. Colloquium zum Planen und Bauen in der Dritten Welt. Beispiele aus Afrika und Lateinamerika. Veröffentlichungen des Lehrstuhls für Städtebau und Entwerfen, Institut für Orts-Regional- und Landesplanung No 8. Uni Karlsruhe, 1989, DM 8,-.

Die vorliegende Publikation ist die Dokumentation einer Vortragsreihe vom Juni 1988. Sie gliedert sich in 2 Teile: Im ersten Teil werden Fragen des Technologie-Einsatzes und -Transfers in der Stadtplanung am Beispiel afrikanischer Länder diskutiert. Thomas Heinrich gibt Informationen über die Masterplanung für Tanzania und die Arbeitsweise der internationalen Consultings. Michael Peterek berichtet über seine Mitarbeit in einer Basisgesundheitsorganisation in Burkina Faso.

Im zweiten Teil stehen die aktuellen Probleme der Stadtentwicklung in Lateinamerika im Mittelpunkt. Diether Wildemann vermittelt einen Überblick über die Entstehungsgeschichte, die wesentlichen Merkmale, den gegenwärtigen Verfall und die ersten Ansätze zur Restaurierung der historischen Bausubstanz in den Altstädten in Brasilien. Erdmann Gormen beschäftigt sich mit den sozio-ökonomischen Strukturveränderungen in kolonialen Altstädten. Eckhart Ribbek berichtet über das Forschungsprojekt "Planung und Planungsförderung in lateinamerikanischen Mittelstädten".

Zusammengenommen vermitteln die Beiträge einen guten Überblick über die vielfältige Problematik der beschleunigten Verstädterung in den Ländern der "Dritten Welt" und regen zur weiteren Vertiefung an. *(Hassan Ghaemi)*

Mario Lungo Uclés, Lo Urbano: Teoría y Métodos. 342 Seiten, ISBN 9977-30-142-5. San José: EDUCA, 1989. Bestelladresse: Csuca; Apartado 64, 2060 Ciudad Universitario Rodrigo Facio, Costa Rica.

Der Sammelband präsentiert neue Forschungsergebnisse zum Thema Stadtentwicklung in Lateinamerika. Die Autoren sind zum größten Teil vertraute Namen, nur die Themen haben sich gegenüber ihren früheren Arbeiten verschoben: Herausgeber *Mario Lungo*, gleichzeitig Direktor des Forschungsverbandes zentralamerikanischer Universitäten, evaluiert in einem einführenden Aufsatz Tendenzen und Defizite in der aktuellen städtischen Forschung in Lateinamerika. *Emilio Pradilla* untersucht die Auswirkungen von Kapitalkonzentration auf die Territorial-Struktur in Lateinamerika, *Alejandro Portes* arbeitet über den informellen Sektor, *Alberto Lovera* analysiert die Bauwirtschaft, *Nora Clichevski* forscht über Bodenpolitik der Städte, *Diego Carrión* über Bodenpreise, *Teolinda Bolivar* hinterfragt die Prämissen der Forschung zu städtischen Elendsgebieten in Lateinamerika, *Henri Coing* stellt die Frage nach dem Nutzen einer Privatisierung in der Bereitstellung von Infrastrukturleistungen, *Mario Lungo* nimmt in einem weiteren Artikel das Thema der 'Städtischen Sozialen Bewegungen' wieder auf, *Jordi Borja, Manuel Castells* und *Mireia Belil* schreiben über Dezentralisierung in der Stadtverwaltung, und *Jorge Hardoy* reflektiert generell und quer durch alle genannten Gebiete über die Stadt in Lateinamerika. In ihrer Gesamtheit zeigen die Aufsätze, daß Theoriebildung unter unseren lateinamerikanischen Kollegen ein größeres Anliegen zu sein scheint als dies in Europa gegenwärtig der Fall zu sein scheint.

Kosta Mathéy

Rüland, J. (Hg.), Urban Government and Development in Asia, Readings in Subnational Development, Weltforum Verlag, München 1988, 270 S., DM 49.-

Der Herausgeber/Autor dieses Sammelbandes hat am Arnold – Bergsträsser –Institut und dem Asian Institute of Technology 1987/1988 ein Forschungsprojekt zum Thema des Buches durchgeführt, und da bei mit diversen Wissenschaftlern aus Malaysia, Thailand, den Phillippinen und India zusammengearbeitet, die hier auch Fallstudien beitragen.

Der Herausgeber konstatiert, daß bisher viel zu wenig bekannt ist über die Verwaltung und das Management kleiner Städte/Gemeinden, ihrer Entwicklungskapazitäten im Rahmen von Dezentralisierung und "Planung von unten", welche derzeit als die gängigen Entwicklungsparameter gepriesen werden; dies geht einher mit einer Ignoranz gegenüber den kleinen/mittelgrossen Städten, welche im Vergleich zu den Metropolen/Großstädten, die viel weniger zum Gegenstand von Entwicklungsförderung und Forschung dienen. Zudem, was häufig als Dezentralisierung gepriesen wird, ist eigentlich Dekonzentration der herrschenden, zentralen politischen Struktur.

Forschung über "Local government" hat bislang zu sehr die legal-institutionellen Aspekte der Verwaltung behandelt, anstelle sich mit den eigentlichen lokalen Machtverhältnissen auseinanderzusetzen, vor allem dem Verhältnis zwischen "community" und lokalen Regierungsinstitutionen.

Florian Steinberg.

Ravinder Singh Sandhu, The City and Its Slums. 194 Seiten, Guru Nanak Dev. University Press, 1989, Rs. 60,--. Adresse des Verlags: Department of Publications, Guru Nanak University, Amritsar 143005, India.

Der Autor, ein Soziologe, präsentiert hier seine überarbeitete Dissertation. Seine Fragestellung lautete, ob in indischen Mittelstädten das gleiche Elend, die gleiche Hoffnungslosigkeit vorherrsche, wie sie in der Literatur aus den Großstädten berichtet wird. Als Testfall wählt er seine Heimatstadt *Amritsar*, wo er systematisch alle registrierten Slums untersucht. Er präsentiert eine interessante und auch für künftige Forschung nützliche Sammlung von demographischen Daten, die er per Fragebogen ermittelt hat. Auf Grund der vorliegenden Fakten kommt der Autor zu der Überzeugung, daß die Lebensverhältnisse in den Slums von Amritsar durchaus nicht so negativ zu beurteilen sind, wie sie woanders vorzuherrschen scheinen, und daß es sich nach *Charles Abrams* also um 'Slums of Hope' und nicht um 'Slums of Despair' handeln müsse.

Methodologisch kritisch ist der gewählte Ansatz, aus der bestehenden Literatur zwar bestimmte Aussagen als Ausgangshypothesen für die Arbeit herauszufiltern, ohne aber zu hinterfragen, aufgrund welcher Daten solche Aussagen ursprünglich entstanden sind. Dadurch liegt die Wertung der Befragungsergebnisse allein im Ermessen des Autors. Es wäre durchaus vorstellbar, daß mit den gleichen Bewertungsmaßstäben auch in den Slums der Großstädte oder in anderen Entwicklungsländern ähnlich rosarote Zustände entdeckt werden können. Dem Leser stellt sich natürlich die Frage, warum es sich bei den untersuchten Gebieten überhaupt um Slums handeln soll, nachdem alle untersuchten sozialen, ökonomischen, politischen und religiösen "Werte" normal sind? Sind vielleicht in der offiziellen Registrierung die bei dieser Untersuchung unberücksichtigt gebliebenen physischen Aspekte, die von Planern und Architekten notorisch überbewertet werden, allein ausschlaggebend? In diesem Punkt wäre – über die wissenschaftliche Datenanalyse hinaus – etwas mehr Reflektion von Seiten des Autors eine erfreuliche Zugabe.

Kosta Mathéy

J.Poinsot, A. Sinou, J. Sternal. Les villes d' Afrique noire entre 1650 et 1960. Politiques et opérations d'urbanisme et d'habitat. 346 Seiten, ISBN 2-11-002036-9, FF 160,-. F-75370 Paris (29-31 quai Voltaire): La Documenatation Française, 1989.

Die Publikation basiert auf an den Instituten ORSTROM und ACA erarbeiteten Forschungsergebnissen. Die Stadtentwicklung Schwarzafrikas wird in drei maßgebliche Epochen eingeteilt: die Zeit der Handelsniederlassungen (1650-1880), die Kolonialzeit (1880-1945), und die Umbruchphase hin zur Ent-Kolonialisierung (1945-1960). Für jede dieser Epochen werden charakteristische Entwicklungen zuerst allgemein beschrieben, bevor (insgesamt weit über 100) konkrete Stadtplanungs- und Wohnungsbauprojekte im Detail mit Beschreibung, technischen Daten, Plänen und Abbildungen vorgestellt werden. Eine vielseitig verwendbare Dokumentation für den Forscher und Praktiker, die den Leser rundum erfreut. (Kosta Mathéy)

Façade

Plan
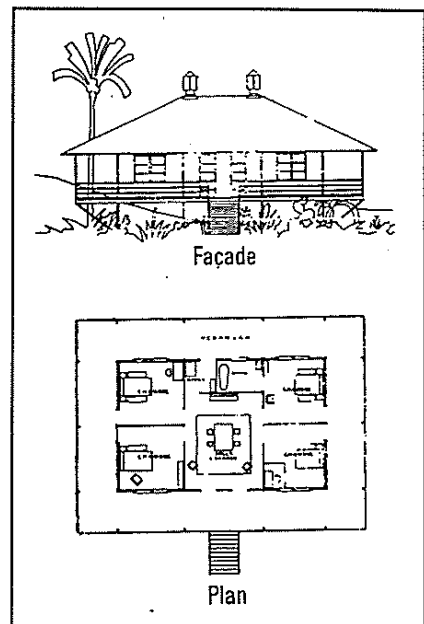
Jellal Abdelkafi, La Medina de Tunis. Espace historique. 280 Seiten, Kunstdruck, zahlreiche ein- und mehrfarbige Fotos., FF 490,-, ISBN 2-87628-030-7, Paris: Presses du CNRS, 1989. Bestelladresse: CNRS, 20/22 rue St. Amand, F-75015 Paris.

Das Buch rekonstruiert die Entstehungsgeschichte von Tunis in vier Phasen, denen räumlich vier weitgehend voneinander getrennten Terrains entsprechen:
1837-1881 das Anwachsen der eigentlichen Altstadt, der sog. Medina, mit verwinkelten Fußwegen und verschachtelten Grundrissen.
1881-1956, die Kolonialstadt mit geraden, auf dem Reißbrett entstandenen Straßenzügen, und zwar in einer ersten Phase bis 1940 auf dem Gelände zwischen Lagune (Hafen) und Altstadt, und danach in den Stadtrandgebieten in der Form von Satellitenstädten und neuen Industrievierteln.
1956-1974, nach der Befreiung der Versuch, eine "neue" Stadt anstelle der alten zu bauen – mit den auch aus anderen Ländern bekannten Versuchen von Straßendurchbrüchen und Flächensanierung, jedoch aber auch der Erfolglosigkeit solcher Maßnahmen sobald dies massive Bevölkerungsverschiebungen erfordert.
1975-1985, das Erwachen eines historischen Bewußtseins mit den Bemühungen, das kulturelle Erbe zu bewahren und den internationalen Stadtplanungs- und Architekturkonzepten eigene Modelle entgegenzusetzen.

In zwei weiteren Kapiteln werden schließlich einzelne und wegweisende Neubauprojekte analysiert, und der lokale politische wie professionelle Diskurs um die weitere Gestaltung von Tunis umrissen.

Dr. Jellal Abdelkafi ist wie kein zweiter Experte dazu berufen, ein solches Buch zu verfassen: als städtebaulicher Direktor der Stadterhaltungs-Initiative für Tunis hat er nicht nur selbst Entwürfe gezeichnet, die u.a. mit dem Aga-Khan-Preis geehrt wurden, sondern wurde auch als Berater der UNESCO und Weltbank tätig. Zusätzlich zu der fachlichen Qualität des Werkes sind auch die zahlreichen, zum Teil schwer aufzufindenden historischen Fotos und Planungsskizzen ein hervorzuhebendes Merkmal der Publikation. *Kosta Mathéy*

Hanneda van Nederveen Meerkerk: Recife – The rise of a 17th-Century Trade City from a Cultural-Historical Perspective. 438 Seiten, ISBN 90-232-2435-3, Dfl 95,--. Van Gorkum, Assen/Maastricht, 1989.

Dieses Werk, das in 25-jähriger Forschungstätigkeit der Autorin entstand, liest sich zunächst wie eine Stadtbiografie der ältesten portugiesischen Niederlassung in Brasilien im allgemeinen, und ihrem von den Holländern angelegten Stadtteil 'Mauritsstad' im Besonderen. Beim Einlesen wird jedoch eine zweite, metaphysische, Ebene erkennbar: Das Buch ist aufgebaut wie der Vorgang des Hausbaus, beginnend mit Vertragsab-

schluß, über Aushub, Grundsteinlegung, Gerüstbau, Wände, Richtfest, usw. weiterführend bis zum Einzug. Unter diesen Überschriften finden wir dann sehr genau belegte Informationen über Politik, Städtebau, Stilkunde, Ökonomie, Kirchenbau und Ähnliches. Hintergrundmaterial, das in diesen Kapiteln keinen Platz mehr fand, findet sich in den zahlreichen Appendices wieder.

Die Arbeit ist mit Sicherheit die gründlichste Arbeit, die je über Recife zusammengestellt wurde. Zwar erschweren die Materialfülle und unorthodoxe Gliederung der Information dem Leser es, schnell einen Überblick über den Inhalt des Buches zu gewinnen oder zuvor gelesene Details wiederzufinden, doch dafür vermitteln ihm wiederholte Streifzüge durch den Text auch immer neue Sichtweisen und Daten, die sonst übersehen worden wären. Außer für reine Brasilienspezialisten empfiehlt sich der Band besonders auch für jene, die sich für frühe holländische und portugiesische Kolonialarchitektur interessieren. (KM)

Michael Peter Smith (Ed.), Power, Community and the City. Vol. 1 der Jahrbücher "Comparative Urban and Community Research", 189 Seiten, ISBN 0-88738-734-9, $19.95. New Brunswick N.J. 08903, Transaction Books, 1988.

Die frühere Zeitschrift Comparative Urban Research erscheint jetzt als Jahrbuch, wodurch insbesondere auch Beiträge veröffentlicht werden können, die für eine häufiger erscheinende Zeitschrift normalerweise zu lang sind. Dennoch haben die hier abgedruckten 6 Beiträge den gewohnten Umfang. Inhaltlich bewegen sich drei der Aufsätze im nordamerikanischen Kontext, zwei davon betreffen schwarze Nachbarschaften. Ein kurzer, aber anregender Aufsatz philosophiert über die Natur der postmodernen Stadt, mit konkretem Bezug zu London und Los Angeles. Die Dritte Welt betreffen die Beiträge über periphere Städte und Spät-Industrialisierung in Korea (1960-1970) von David R. Meier und Kyonghee Min, und zur "Barrio Economy and Collective Self-Empowerment in Latin America" von John Friedmann & Mauriciao Salguero. Im letztgenannten Text werden nach Analyse jüngerer Publikationen zu Brasilien, Chile, Peru und Kolumbien bestehende Forschungsdefizite identifiziert, und Anregungen für künftige Forschung formuliert. *Kosta Mathéy*

L.Drewski,. K. Kunzmann, H. Platz: Förderung von Mittelstädten. Ein Ansatz der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit. Schriftenreihe der GTZ Nr. 213. 126 Seiten, ISBN 3-88085-413-0, DM 18,--. Eschborn: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, 1989.

Angesichts der dramatischen aktuellen Situation und den alarmierenden künftigen Entwicklungsprogosen für die Metropolen der Dritten Welt wird vorgeschlagen, bevorzugt den Ausbau von mittelgroßen Agglomerationen zu fördern. Die Vorteile liegen langfristig nicht nur im wirtschaftlichen und raumpolitischen Bereich, sondern auch soziale Traditionen und kulturelle Identität können besser geschützt und weitergeführt werden. Natürlich bedarf auch eine kontrollierte Entwicklung der Mittelstädte professionelles Know-How; wo dieses vor Ort noch nicht vorhanden ist, gibt es die Möglichkeit, ein solches mit Hilfe der internationalen Kooperation heranzubilden.

Die Broschüre richtet sich primär an Entscheidungsträger in der internationalen Zusammenarbeit und in den Empfängerländern selbst. Deshalb sind die Argumente kurz gefaßt, und werden in zwei Stufen präsentiert: Die wichtigsten Aussagen werden auf den ersten 22 Seiten zusammengefaßt, eine vertiefende Darstellung und Hintergrundinformationen folgen im hinteren Teil des Bändchens.
(Kosta Mathéy)

Habitat

Emilio Luisioni-Prada & Eliseo Guzmán Negrón: Una Isla en el Desierto. Un Proyecto sobre el Habitat Social. 80 Seiten, Genf / Lima, 1989. Es ist auch eine Ausgabe in französisch erhältlich. Bezugsadresse: E. Luisioni, Rue Agasse 28, CH-1208 Genf; oder: Das Arabische Buch, Knesebeckstraße, Berlin.

Nach den verherenden Überschwemmungen im Norden Perús entschließt sich der Genfer Architekt Emilio Luisioni zusammen mit der Hilfsorganisation MIRHAS das Selbsthilfe – Umsiedlungsprojekt 'Las Mavinas' für die Opfer der Katastrophe vor Ort zu betreuen. Mit lokalen Materialien – Bambus in der Hauptsache – baut er zusammen mit den späteren Bewohnern eine ganze Ortschaft auf und zeigt dabei auch, daß ohne große Kosten eine anspruchsvolle Architektur entstehen kann (es standen insgesamt lediglich 182.000 US $ aus Spenden zu Verfügung). Inzwischen wird eine weitere Siedlung mit lokaler Finanzierung nach der gleichen Methode gebaut. Die Broschüre dokumentiert das Projekt, das bereits auf der TRIALOG-Konferenz über 'Appropriate Building Technologies' 1978 im Rahmen des Habitat Forum Berlin vorgestellt wurde. (KM)

Roger Katan: Bâtir ensemble. 278 Seiten, ISBN 2-85319-195-8, FF. 150. Paris 1988. Bestellungen beim Verlag: Conseil International de la langue française, 103 rue de Lille, F-75007 Paris.

Das Kernstück des Buches sind sieben Fallstudien über Partizipation der Bevölkerung bei der Lösung ihrer Wohn- und Wohnumfeldprobleme in den USA, Kolumbien, Burkina-Faso und Frankreich. Darüberhinaus verbindet die Fallstudien noch der Umstand daß der Autor aktiv an den beschriebenen Projekten mitgewirkt hat — was wiederum bedingt, daß sich die Beispiele über eine große zeitliche Spanne (20 Jahre) verteilen. Über diese Jahre hinweg hat sich auch das Verständnis von "Nutzerbeteiligung" geändert: machte es sich in den USA Mitte der sechziger Jahre an der Anwaltsplanung fest, wurden im Europa der siebziger Jahre die Bürgerinitiativen aktiv, während Anfang der achtziger Jahre das Heil eher in alternativen und mit den künftigern Nutzern gemeinsam geplanten Hausgruppen gesucht wurde. Aus Kolumbien werden reine Wohnungsbau-Projekte selbstorganisierter wie öffentlich geförderter Selbsthilfe vorgestellt. Die afrikanische Studie berichtet über die Gründung einer lokalen Volks-Sparkasse, mit positiven Auswirkungen insbesondere auf die späteren Erwerbsmöglichkeiten in der Gemeinschaft.

Die verschiedenen Fallstudien sind, jeweils für sich betrachtet, ausgesprochen interessant und lehrreich. Die Mitarbeit des Autors in den jeweiligen Erfahrungen ermöglichte es, Informationen aus erster Hand zusammenzutragen, doch die subjektive Sicht läßt die Bilanz vielleicht etwas

zu rosig erscheinen. Wenig glücklich ist der Versuch zu werten, die zeitlich wie räumlich weit auseinander liegenden Erfahrungen auf einen Nenner zu bringen. Heraus kommt dabei zum Beispiel die Weisheit, daß selbstgebaute Häuser nur 25% eines vergleichbaren Objektes auf dem kommerziellen Wohnungsmarkt kosten — eine Tatsache, die unter den spezifischen Rahmenbedingungen einer von der Maffia kontrollierten Bauindustrie in Kolumbien sicher zutreffen mag, aber allen Erfahrungen aus anderen Ländern widerspricht. Auch die im Anhang abgedruckten Befragungsergebnisse aus den siebziger Jahren dürften heute nicht mehr repräsentativ und wenig aussagekräftig sein. *K. Mathéy*

Einhard Schmidt (Ed.): Squatters' Struggles and Housing Policies in Asia. Experiences from Five Countries in Southeast and South Asia. Dortmunder Beiträge zur Raumplanung 48. 112 Seiten, ISBN 3-88211-059-7. Dortmund: Institut für Raumplanung, 1989.

Der Sammelband enthält sechs Aufsätze zu Wohnungsfragen in Süd- und Südostasien: Jürgen Rüland beschreibt den Einfluß von Squatter-Initiativen auf die Wohnungspolitik in Metro Manila; Joseph Oenarto rekonstruiert an Hand von drei Fallstudien typische Wohn- und Überlebensstrategien in Jakarta; E. Hermanto, H. Kull und B. Multhaup untersuchen den informellen Baumaterial-Markt in der gleichen Stadt; Einhard Schmidt charakterisiert die Wohnungspolitik gegenüber den unteren Einkommensgruppen in Malaysia und Singapore; D. Bhogilal und F. Steinberg schildern den Kampf der 'Pavement Dwellers' in Bombay um's Überleben.

Die Textsammlung setzt für Asien ein Gegengewicht zu der vergleichsweise üppigen Informationsflut über Wohnprobleme in Lateinamerika, und zeigt, daß das Recht auf Wohnen überall — wenn überhaupt — nur mit starken Auseinandersetzungen zwischen den verschiedenen Interessengruppen durchgesetzt werden kann. Leider berücksichtigen die Aufsätze nur die Entwicklung bis vor sechs Jahren. Wenn schon die Autoren aus biographischen Gründen nicht in der Lage waren das Material zu aktualisieren, hätte vielleicht der Herausgeber in einem Nachwort auf mögliche Veränderungen in jüngerer Zeit hinweisen können. *K. Mathéy*

Architektur

Laurence G. Liu, Chinese Architecture, 298 Seiten, ISBN 0-8478-1082-8, 1989, US$ 75,--. From: Rizzoli Intl. Publications, C/o Mercedes Distribution, 62 Imlay Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11231.

Der Autor und Fotograf war bis vor kurzem Architekturprofessor an der chinesischen Süd-Ost Universität. Über viele Jahre hinweg und auf zahlreichen Exkursionen ins Landesinnere sammelte er das Material für dieses Buch über chinesische Architektur. Der Inhalt wurde gegliedert nach historischen und kulturellen Voraussetzungen, traditionellen Prinzipien der Stadtplanung, religiösen Bauwerken, Wohnbauten, Privatgärten,

Bauten für die Verstorbenen, und Palastarchitektur. Über 300 Farbfotos und zahlreiche Strichzeichnungen illustrieren den Text vortrefflich.

Obwohl die Arbeit die Architektur des 20. Jahrhunderts nicht mit einschließt, liegt die Absicht des Autors nicht in einer bloßen Dokumentation des Vergangenen. Vielmehr ist er der Überzeugung, daß nach den unheilvollen Architekturimporten der Moderne – insbesondere auch der sowjetischen Stadtplanungsmodelle der 50er Jahre – die einheimischen Architekten aus ihrer eigenen Vergangenheit lernen müßten, um aus traditionellen Wurzeln heraus eine zeitgemäße lokale Architektur zu entwickeln, die Bezug nimmt auf ihre stoffliche und kulturell-historische Umgebung. In diesem Sinne zitiert Liu die Meister Confuzius, Zhuangzi, Laozi – aber auch Camillo Sitte, während er die Leistungen Le Corbusiers, Mies van der Rohe und Frank Lloyd Wright zumindest in ihrer städtebaulichen Komponente infrage stellt.

Das Werk ist sicher die vollständigste Arbeit über chinesische Architektur, die zur Zeit auf dem Markt ist. Gemessen an Inhalt und Aufmachung ist der Preis eher günstig einzuschätzen: es gibt wirklich viel Buch für's Geld! Kosta Mathéy

Mohammed Scharabi, Kairo: Stadt und Architektur im Zeitalter des europäischen Kolonialismus. 800 Seiten, davon 412 Kunstdruck-Tafeln mit s/w Fotos, 245 Pläne. ISBN 3-8030-0146-3, Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 1989. Leinen DM 394,--.

Der Architekturhistoriker Mohammed Scharabi, Dozent an der Technischen Hochschule in Darmstadt, ist eine anerkannte Kapazität auf dem Gebiet der islamischen Baukunst und der Architektur des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts. Beide Themen hat er in einer Forschungsarbeit überlagert, deren Ergebnis hier in einer bemerkenswerten Buchveröffentlichung vorliegt. Das Werk gliedert sich in drei Abschnitte: der Textteil, 188 Seiten, zeichnet hauptsächlich die geschichtliche und städtebauliche Entwicklung der ägyptischen Hauptstadt im Kolonialzeitalter nach; die Aussagen werden durch zahlreiche Pläne und fast 800 Fußnoten belegt. Die beiden folgenden Teile beschränken sich dann auf einen Teilaspekt der vorangehenden Betrachtungen, und sind einer rein architektonischen Bestandsaufnahme der Fassaden von 253 Gebäuden aus dieser Zeit gewidmet, und zwar in Lageplan (mit kurzer Beschreibung des Ursprungs und der wichtigsten Architekturmerkmale), rund 50 Aufrißzeichnungen (Teil 2), bzw. 412 schwarz-weiß Fototafeln (Teil 3).

Das dokumentierte Materials ist in Umfang und Qualität einzigartig, und hat angesichts des für die Zukunft vorhersehbaren Verfalls und/oder den Ersatz durch Neubauten einen unschätzbaren historischen Wert. Der gut lesbare Textteil ist darüberhinaus eine empfehlenswerte Vorbereitungslektüre für Ägyptenreisende, und sollte vielleicht auch separat als gepäck- und geldbör-

senfreundliche Paperback-Ausgabe in höherer Auflage angeboten werden. Bedauerlich ist allerdings - doch dies gilt für fast alle kunsthistorischen Archivbände - daß sich der Autor in der architekturbezogenen Ausarbeitung auf die rein faktische Dokumentation des Bestandes beschränkt, und nicht auch den Schritt zur vergleichenden Analyse und Interpretation vollzieht. Dies könnte zwar auch der Leser mit Hilfe des dargebotenen Materials selbst leisten, doch wegen seiner nicht zu übertreffenden Detailkenntnis wäre der Autor dazu natürlich am Besten in der Lage. Welches, zum Beispiel, sind die am häufigsten verwendeten Dekorationselemente in der Fassade, woher kommen sie? (importiert oder endogen). Welches sind, andererseits, einmalige Innovationen, die nirgendwo anders auf der Welt anzutreffen sind. Wie steht es mit den städtebaulichen Bindungen, die eine derart monumentale Architektur für ihre Umgebung beansprucht? Solche Fragen interessieren den Planer und Architekten, der in Kairo und anderen Kolonialstädten heute und in der Zukunft Entwurfsaufgaben wahrnehmen wollen oder müssen. Abstrakt gesehen geht es auch um die Verantwortung des Wissenschaftlers, Stellung zu beziehen zu gesellschaftlichen Fragen von Gegenwart und Zukunft, statt sich auf eine vermeintlich neutrale Position (die es bekanntlich nicht gibt) zurückzuziehen. Daran sollte Scharabi z.B. denken, wenn er schreibt, daß er sich mit der modernen Architektur in Kairo in dieser Arbeit nicht beschäftigt habe, da ihm die für eine objektive Bewertung notwendige zeitliche Distanz fehle.

Kosta Mathéy
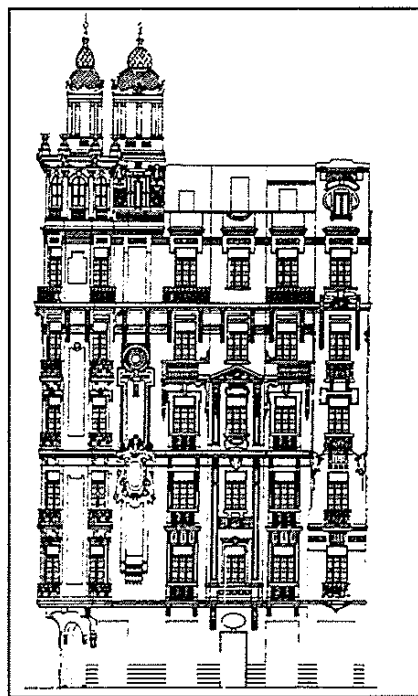
Lutz Christians, Otto Greger, Florian Steinberg: Architektur und Stadtgestalt in Kairo. 423 Seiten, ISBN 3-924812-19-5. Berlin: Sabine Konopka, 1987. Bestelladresse: Konopka Verlag für Architektur, Grolmannstraße 58, 1 Berlin 12.

Diese umfangreiche Veröffentlichung basiert auf dem Material, das im Rahmen eines Forschungsprojektes der drei Autoren an der TU Berlin zusammengetragen wurde. Die Fragestellung der Arbeit lag in der Möglichkeit einer Wiederbelebung traditionell-islamischer Architektur- und Stadtgestalt- Elemente, wobei Kairo als beispielhafter Fall verstanden und ausgewählt wurde. Die Arbeit beginnt mit einer Sammlung von in der einschlägigen Literatur verzeichneten
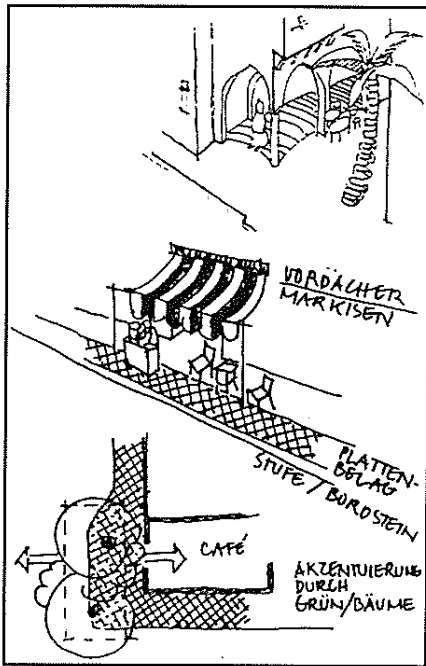
Konstruktions- und Gestaltungs-Stereotypen für die Region. Der historische Überblick über die Entstehung der Metropole bleibt knapp und deskriptiv. Der einleitende Teil wird abgeschlossen mit einer — leider — unkommentierten Fotosammlung.

Der eigentlichen Forschungsarbeit, welche die Veröffentlichung zu einem wissenschaftlich wichtigen Dokument macht, gilt der zweite (und umfangreichste) Teil, der detaillierte Feldstudien mit Interviews und Bauaufnahmen in vier volkstümlichen Wohnvierteln dokumentiert und auswertet: *Al-Husayniyya* ist ein traditionelles innerstädtisches Stadtviertel; *Sayyida Zaynab* entstand um die Jahrhundertwende und beherbergte ursprünglich das Bürgertum — daher auch die geraden Straßenzüge im Stil Haussmanns; *Zaynhum* repräsentiert den neuzeitlich-monotonen Massenwohnungsbau; Dar al-Salam schließlich ist ein informell gebautes Stadtrandgebiet.

Im Schlußteil vergleichen die Autoren ihre Erkenntnisse mit innovativen Entwurfsbeispielen aus verschiedenen arabischen Ländern, und geben — unter Zuhilfenahme vieler Skizzen — Gestaltungsempfehlungen für Neu- und Umbauten. Obwohl eine direkte Ableitung aus der Forschung nicht zu erkennen ist, sind die Vorschläge anregend, und stellen eine gute Diskussionsgrundlage für weiterführende Richtlinien, Bauordnungen und dergleichen dar. Diese Seiten fänden, separat vertrieben, sicher auch bei Architekturstudenten als Entwurfshilfe großes Interesse. Die Fülle der über 1000 auf das ganze Buch verteilten Fotos ist beeindruckend und tröstet darüber hinweg, daß die technische Wiedergabe mitunter zu wünschen übrig läßt. *Mathéy*

Paul Bonnenfant: Les Maisons tours de Sanaa. 237 Seiten Kunstdruck, 100 Farb- und 200 Schwarz-weiß-Fotos, ISBN 2-87682-036-6, FF 520,--. Paris: Presses du CNRS.

Vom Allgemeinen zum Besonderen gehend beschreibt dieses Buch das Land Yemen und die Stadt Sanaa, die angewendeten städtebauliche Prinzipien, Elemente des Häuserbaus, Bewohnertätigkeiten, Konstruktionsmerkmale, und schließlich die dekorativen Elemente (Stein, Holz, Schriften, Glasfenster). Besonders auf den letzten Aspekt wird wesentlich ausführlicher eingegangen als in den zahlreichen anderen Yemen-Publikationen der letzten Jahre. Am stärksten beeindrucken jedoch die vielen gekonnt aufgenommenen und ausgezeichnet reproduzierten Fotos. Die

reiche Ausstattung des Buches wurde nicht zuletzt durch einen Zuschuß des Aga-Khan-Architekturpreises ermöglicht.

Ronald Lewcock: Waadii Hadramawt and the walled city of Shibaam. 134 Seiten, ISBN 92-3-102338-1, Paris 1989.
Ronald Lewcock, The old walled city of Sanaa. Paris 1986.
Beide Bände erhältlich vom Herausgeber: UNESCO Press, B.P. 3.07, F-75700 PARIS, je 85 FF.

Als Teil einer UNESCO Kampagne zur Rettung der kulturellen Baudenkmäler Yemens entstanden diese Publikationen ursprünglich als technische Gutachten. Der Autor ist einer der bekanntesten Experten über islamische Baukunst. Er gliedert die beiden Bände nach einem einheitlichen Schema: Geschichtliche und soziale Grundlagen gehen der architektonischen Beschreibung voran, bis abschließend die Notwendigkeit der Konservierung und Restaurierung begründet wird und die dafür notwendigen technischen, organisatorischen und finanziellen Voraussetzungen ermittelt werden. Mit den zahlreichen Illustrationen und dem professionell gesetzten Layout beweisen die Publikationen, daß Gutachten auch wissenschaftlich innovativ, angenehm zu lesen, und ästhetisch ansprechend gestaltet werden können.

Kosta Mathéy

— 2a —
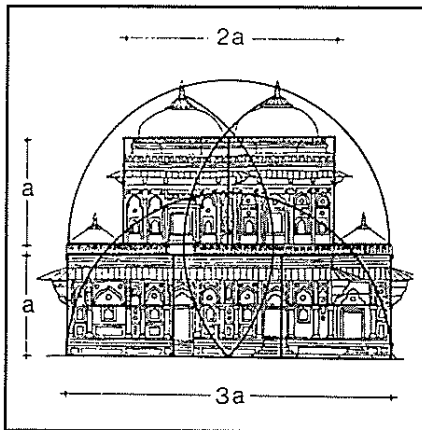
Antonio Petruccioli: Fathpur Sikri – Città del Sole e delle Acque. 194 Seiten Großformat, ISBN 88-85027-76-8, 1988. Carucci Editore, Viale Trastevere 60, I-00153 Roma. 60.000 Lire.

Fathpur Sikri wird man heute vergeblich in der Liste wichtiger indischer Städte suchen: In nur 5 Jahren gebaut und von einer 11 km langen Mauer umgeben, erlebte diese Retortensiedlung des 16 Jahrhunderts einen solchen Aufschwung, daß nach nur 16 Jahren die Wasserquellen versiegten und sie danach wieder aufgegeben werden mußte. Seitdem sind die Ruinen unbewohnt und vermitteln ein einzigartiges Monument alter indischer Stadtbaukunst.

In der Reihe "Grandi Opere della collana Città e Architettura dell' Islam" der Architekturfakultät an der Universität Rom erscheint hier eine vollständige Bestandsaufnahme der Ruinenstadt. Der Textteil gliedert sich in: prinzipielle Aspekte der 'Moghul'- Städte, die eigentliche Geschichte von Fathpur Sikri, die Beschreibung einzelner Bauwerke, und die Rekonstruktion geometrischer Entwurfsregeln. Neben verschiedenen Registern, Faltkarte und Glossar ist die umfangreiche Bibliographie hervorzuheben. Kein Gewinn dagegen ist der in quadratische Kästchen gezwängte Satz – ein verzichtbarer, den Lesefluß hemmender Formalismus. *K. Mathéy*

**Damián Bayón & Paolo Gasparini (Eds.), Panorámica de la Arquitectura Latinoamerica-**

na. 215 Seiten, ISBN 92-3-301383-9, Paris: UNESCO, 1977.

In zehn Länderberichten (Argentinien, Brasilien, Kolumbien, Kuba, Chile, Mexiko, Paraguay, Peru, Urugay, Venezuela) werden von qualifizierten Architekten richtungsweisende Architekturbeispiele bis Mitte der 70er Jahre vorgestellt, und in einem verbindenden Text kommentiert. Ein architekturgeschichtliches Standardwerk.

Kosta Mathéy

SITE. 256 Seiten, 338 Abbildungen, ISBN 3-7757-0273-3, DM 78,-. Gerd Hatje, 1988.

Die Architektengruppe Site überrascht immer wieder mit ihrer gebauten Auflösung von Architektur. In diesem Band werden nicht nur die bekannten 'Best' Kaufhauskomplexe und andere Renommierprojekte vorgestellt, sondern auch viele, teils nicht realisierte, Privataufträge und Wettbewerbsentwürfe. Ein besonderer Leckerbissen sind die unter dem Titel "Skizzenbuch" vorgestellten Freihandzeichnungen. *(KM)*
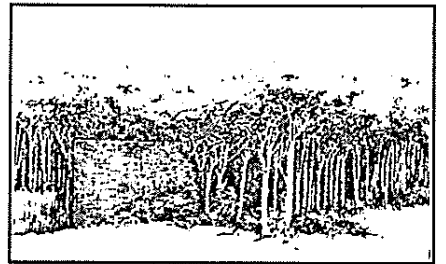
Gesellschaft und Politik

Anita Larsson: Women Householders and Housing Strategies. The Case of Gabarone, Botswana. Research Report SB:25. 180 Seiten, ISBN 91-540-9339-2. Gävle: National Swedish Institute for Building Research, 1989.
Ann Schlyter: Women Householders and Housing Strategies. The Case of Harare, Zimbabwe. Research Report SB:26. 203 Seiten, ISBN 91-540-9342-2. Gävle: National Swedish Institute for Building Research, 1989.
Bezugsadresse für beide Bände: Almquist & Wiksell Intl., Box 45150, S-104 30 Stockholm.

Beide Bände sind Bestandteil einer Publikationsreihe über Wohnbedingungen alleinstehender Frauen in verschiedenen afrikanischen Ländern; eine weitere Fallstudie über Zimbabwe (von Ann Schlyter) ist bereits erschienen, andere Arbeiten über Tanzania (Farida Sheriff) und Kenya (Paula Parente-Nimpuno) sind in Vorbereitung. Trotz des gemeinsamen Rahmens unterscheidet sich der Aufbau jeder einzelnen Studien entsprechend den lokalen Rahmenbedingungen und den Interessensschwerpunkten der Autorinnen.

Anita Larsson basiert ihre Aussagen zu Botswana primär auf den Erkenntnissen aus über 100 Interviews. Ihre Beobachtung ist, daß in traditionell-ländlichen Kontexten Frauen für den Hausbau und die -Instandhaltung verantwortlich sind, und daraus auch einen gewissen Stolz ziehen. In städtischen Gebieten gilt das Primärinteresse wegen der wirtschaflichen Not dem puren Überleben, und Selbsthilfe-Wohnungsbau ist ohnehin schwieriger zu bewerkstelligen, da das traditionelle Baumaterial nicht direkt zugänglich ist. Am bedrückendsten zeichnet Anita Larsson jedoch die Rolle der verheirateten Frauen in den Städten, da ihnen alle traditionellen Möglichkeiten, Selbstbewußtsein zu schöpfen, genommen wurden ohne daß sich ein 'moderner' Ersatz abzeichnet. Einen Ausweg sieht die Autorin darin, Frauen zu ermutigen, wohnungsbezogene Aufgaben in der Administration oder in freien Berufen (z.B. als Architektinnen) zu übernehmen.

Ann Schlyter macht sechs Fallstudien zum Kernstück ihres Reports. Sie stellt fest, daß für die Frauen in Zimbabwe das 'Heim' sowohl wichtiges, identitätsbildendes Ziel wie auch Voraussetzung zum würdigen Überleben darstellt. Dem entgegensteht eine wohnungspolitische Tradition, die durch ethnische wie sexuelle Segregation gekennzeichnet ist und sich faktisch — wegen der hohen Lensdauer bereits bestehender baulicher Substanz — nicht von einem auf den anderen Tag ändert. Auch die gesetzlichen Vorkehrungen, die zwar nominell den Frauen gleiche Rechte zugestehen, können aus verschiedenen Gründen nicht greifen und sollten weiter gehen. Insbesondere nachdem die Häuser neuerdings nicht mehr vom Staat bewirtschaftet, sondern über den Markt verteilt werden, verschlechtern sich die Chancen für Frauen beachtlich — und dies umso mehr wenn sie als alleinerziehende Mütter auch in die Schul- und Berufsausbildung ihrer Kinder investieren müssen.   *K.Mathéy*

Lemoine, Maurice: CUBA. Numero 35 de la revue AUTREMENT, Série Monde. 253 Seiten, Paris 1989, FF 89,–. Bestellungen vom Verlag: Editions Autrement, 4,rue d'Enghien, F–75010 PARIS.

Die Cuba-Ausgabe dieser politischen Reisezeitschrift – eine bessere Alternative zu Merian, aber fast ohne Fotos – enthält rund dreißig Aufsätze. Der Herausgeber hat offensichtlich bewußt versucht, eine tendenziöse Linie in der Zusammenstellung zu vermeiden, und Befürworter der cubanischen Revolution und ihrer Evolution über die vergangenen dreißig Jahre kommen ebenso zu Wort wie bekannte Castro-feindliche Exilkubaner aus Miami oder Spanien. Die Beiträge sprechen für sich, und bei den Exilkubanern scheinen die Argumente knapp zu sein; doch von vorne bis hinten liest sich der Band spannend. Heikle Fragen werden aufgegriffen, die Motive des Massen-Exodus von Mariel untersucht, die Verbindung zwischen der sowjetischen Perestroika und der cubanischen Rectificación thematisiert, die gesellschaftlichen wirtschaftlichen Auswirkungen des Tourismusbooms analysiert. Eines der anregendsten neueren Veröffentlichungen über die Karibikinsel.   *Mathéy*

Nguyèn duc Nhuan (Ed.): Le Viêt Nam Post-Révolutionnaire. Population. Economie. Société. 1975-1985. ISBN 2-85802-799-4. 230 Seiten. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1979.

In zehn Kapiteln analysieren 7 Autor/inn/en die jüngere Entwicklung Vietnams für die Bereiche: soziale Verschiebungen, ökonomische Reformen, Ernährungspolitik, Erziehungswesen, die Lage der Frau, Ideologie, Sozialismusdiskussion, Demographie und Entwicklungsstrategien. Der Herausgeber ist ein an der Universität Paris unterrichtender Vietnamese, und einer der renommiertesten Vietnam-Forscher. Die Textesammlung vermittelt ein durchaus ausgewogenes Bild der nationalen Lage, würdigt die Errungenschaften der Revolution wie im Erziehungs- oder Gesundheitswesen, aber verheimlicht ebensowenig die politischen wie wirtschaftlichen Fehlschläge des – inzwischen nur (oder: immer?) noch dem Namen nach – sozialistischen Regimes.   *Kosta Mathéy*

Rudolf Kratzl & Hanspeter Mattes: Libyen. 120 Seiten, 123 Farbfotos, ISBN 3-89102-250-6, DM 68,–. Freiburg: Eulen Verlag, 1989.

Unsere Kenntnisse über die islamisch-sozialistische Republik Lybien sind hauptsächlich durch die Tagespresse geprägt, denn die Einreise in das Land ist schwierig, und eine unabhängige wissenschaftliche oder journalistische Tätigkeit ist einschneidenden Beschränkungen unterworfen. Daher vermittelt die vorliegende Publikation, obwohl eher als Reisebuch ausgestattet, einen ersten Eindruck der geographischen, klimatischen und völkischen Vielfalt der Nation. Der historisch-politischen Einführung von H. Mattes folgt ein eindrucksvoller Bildteil, der durch kürzere Textbeiträge ergänzt wird.   *(KM)*

Innovative Approaches to Development Planning. UNESCO Socio-Economic Studies 14. 266 Seiten, ISBN 92-3-102539-2, 1988. Division of Study and Planning of Development, Unesco, 7,Place Fontenoy, F-75700 Paris.

Dieser Band der halbjährlich erscheinenden Serie über Fragen der Entwicklungsplanung beschäftigt sich mit den enthaltenen drei Aufsätzen mit integrierten Planungsmodellen. Ausgangsthese ist, daß ökonomischer Fortschritt, der bisher als vorrangiger Entwicklungsmaßstab galt, nicht der einzige Parameter in der Entwicklungspolitik sein darf, sondern daß vielmehr alle Aspekte des Lebens miteinbezogen werden müssen. Im ersten Aufsatz analysiert *Albert Hajnal* (Budapest) bereits eingeführte Modelle integrierter Entwicklung, und bleibt damit notwendigerweise sehr abstrakt. *Alex Michalos* (Guelph, Canada), schlägt im Folgenden eine Methode – 'multiple discrepancy theory' genannt – zur Messung von Zufriedenheit der Zielgruppe in der Evaluierung von Entwicklungsmaßnahmen vor, und berichtet über die Erfahrung bei der praktischen Anwendung dieser Methode bei Studenten aus 23 Ländern. *Lloyd Fernando* (Colombo) beschreibt im letzten Beitrag Sri Lankas Entwicklungsprogramm in den Bereichen Erziehung, Wissenschaft, Technologie, Kultur und Kommunikation im Rahmen der nationalen Fünfjahrespläne. *(KM)*

H. A. Reitsma & J. M. G. Kleinpenning: The Third World in Perspective. 435 Seiten, ISBN 90-232-2444-2, Dfl. 65,––. Assen (NL): Van Gorkum, 2. Auflage 1989.

Ursprünglich (1987) in holländisch veröffentlicht, dann 1985 ins Englische übersetzt, erscheint dieses Geographie-Lehrbuch über Entwicklungsplanung jetzt in einer etwas preisgünstigeren Paperback-Ausgabe. Die Autoren legen besonderen Wert auf die Vermittlung der wichtigsten Theorie-Schulen, wobei allerdings stark generalisiert wird (G. Frank wird z.B. als einziger Vertreter der Dependenztheorie aufgeführt).

Das Buch ist in fünf Teile gegliedert: eine Klärung des Begriffes 'Unterentwicklung' steht am Anfang; es folgt ein Kapitel über ländliche Entwicklung. Nach der Problematik der urbanen Entwicklung werden die gängigsten Entwicklungstheorien vorgestellt. In einem fünften Kapitel folgen Fallstudien aus Ethiopien, Indien, Kuba und Taiwan. Positiv ist der Versuch zu werten, die spezifischen Schwierigkeiten und Potentiale unterschiedlicher, d.h. kapitalistischer wie sozialistischer Entwicklungswege aufzuzeigen. Allerdings ist das Material inzwischen über 12 Jahre alt und teilweise überholt; bei einer so aktuellen Thematik sollte das Manuskript bei jeder Neuauflage aktualisiert werden, und nicht nur Seite-für-Seite reproduziert. *(KM)*

Ökologie

J. Kotschi, A Waters-Bayer, R. Adelhelm, U. Hoesle; Ecofarming in agricultural development. GTZ Series Tropical Agroecology 2. 132 Seiten, ISBN 3-8236-1163-1, DM 32,––. Weikersheim: Josef Margraf, 1989.

Ecofarming wird von den Autoren vorgestellt als landwirtschaftliche Methode, die versucht, ein stabiles Ökosystem herzustellen und zu erhalten, und ist abzugrenzen von dem Konzept des integriertem Landbaus, das unter Zuhilfenahme von natürlicher Schädlingsbekämpfung ein optimales Verhältnis von Input und Output zu erreichen versucht. Die grundlegende Philosophie und die üblichen Praktiken des Ecofarming werden in den ersten beiden Kapiteln der Broschüre dargelegt, während anschließend die Möglichkeiten der Umsetzung von Ecofarming im Feld, d.h. durch Wiederbelebung traditioneller Agrarmethoden und/ oder durch technische Zusammenarbeit diskutiert werden. Eine Auswertung (per Fragebogen) von 171 Projekten der Technischen Zusammenarbeit weltweit gibt im Anhang Aufschluß über Art der eingesetzten Techniken in der Praxis, und nennt die Adressen der betreuenden Institutionen, wo dann gezielt und regional-bezogen weitere Informationen eingeholt werden können. Die Bibliographie enthält ca. 90 Titel. Die Publikation eignet sich insbesondere als Erstinformation über das Thema, und als Hilfestellung zur Lokalisierung weiterführender Quellen.   Kosta Mathéy

René Marceau Rochette (Ed.), Le Sahel en Lutte contre la Desertification – Leçons d'experiences. 592 Seiten, ISBN 3-8236-1171-2, Weikersheim: Margraf Verlag, 1989, DM 59,––

Seit 1977 unterstützt die BRD durch die GTZ die Arbeit des 'Comité Inter-Etats de Lutte contre la Sécheresse au Sahel' (CILSS), und die vorliegende Publikation ist Teil dieses Programms. Mit ihr soll ermöglicht werden, daß sich die von der Verwüstung der Sahelzone direkt in Mitleidenschaft gezogene Bevölkerung gegenseitig informieren kann über Anstrengungen, Techniken und Erfolge im Kampf gegen dieses Phänomen. Zu 21 Fallstudien werden Ausgangssituation, technische Maßnahmen, soziale und ökonomische Begleitmaßnahmen erläutert. Es folgen jeweils einige Farbfotos zur Illustration (es gibt sicher keinen anderen Zusammenhang in dem die Farbe so wichtig ist wie bei der Dokumentation von Erfolgen gegen die Versandung – der Unterschied zwischen beige und grün überzeugt). In einem zweiten Teil werden die typischen Maßnahmen, wie Wasserrückhaltewälle, Sickergräben, Aufforstung, Bremsung von Dünen, Vorratsspeicher für Wasser und Lebensmittel, Einkommensbeschaffung usw. systematisch analysiert.

Die Entscheidung, mit den Fallstudien zu beginnen und danach erst die Grundlagen zu präsentieren klingt zunächst unlogisch, ist jedoch hier überzeugend, weil ja auch in der Praxis mit den ganz spezifischen lokalen Bedingungen begonnen werden muß. Standardlösungen gibt es nicht; und voreilig aus anderen Zusammenhängen übertragene Projektkomponenten richten häufig mehr Schaden als Nutzen an. Nicht nur für den Experten, der direkt in der Sahelzone arbeitet, ist das Buch nützlich: liefert es doch anschauliche Beweise, was unter extrem ungünstigen Bedingungen gegen Versandung und Erosion getan werden kann. Mit ihnen sollte es möglich sein, auch in anderen Regionen Skeptiker für eine ökologisch orientierte Regional- und Landschaftsplanung zu gewinnen. Auch die technischen Informationen des zweiten Teils, wie z.B. die Liste von verwendbaren Baum- und Strauchsorten, Dammprofilen etc. können nützlich sein.   Kosta Mathéy

Technologie

Christian Dardennes, Charles Lavigne, Jean-Jaques Navarro; Amenager les Terrains en Pente. ISTED-Sythèses, 56 Seiten A4, ISBN 2-86-815-019-5, 1988, erhältlich auf Anfrage vom Institut des Sciences et des Techniques de l' Équippement, 38, rue Liancourt, F-75014 PARIS.

Der Wohnungsbau für und von finanziell schwach gestellten Bevölkerungsgruppen muß insbesondere in Entwicklungsländern mit Hanglagen vorliebnehmen, die spezielle technische und entwerferische Rücksichtnahmen erfordern. Obwohl es – wie die Broschüre in der Einleitung aufzeigt, in allen Kulturen und zu allen Zeiten gelungene Beispiele des Bauens am Hang gab, werden heute die einfachsten Bauregeln für diese Lage übersehen. Die Publikation erklärt diese Regeln in anschaulicher Weise in ihrem ersten Teil, darunter z.B. Maßnahmen der Geländesicherung bei Terrassierung, wassertechnische Rücksichtnahmen, gestalterische Grundsätze und Vegetation. Städtebauliche Aspekte folgen in einem weiteren Abschnitt bis schließlich Hochbau-Alternativen vorgestellt und verglichen werden. Neben einer umfangreichen Bibliographie bietet der Anhang eine systematisch aufgebaute Check-Liste für das Bauen am Hang, bei deren Befolgung die meisten Fehler sicher vermieden werden können. Die Abbildungen sind anschaulich und tragen Architekten-Handschrift, das heißt sie illustrieren nicht nur den geschriebenen Text, sondern vermitteln noch zusätzliche Anregungen für Bauherren und Entwerfer.

Obwohl das Heft äußerlich nicht besonders ansprechend aufgemacht ist, kenne ich auch unter umfangreicheren und kommerziell hergestellten Publikationen keine nützlichere Literatur über dieses spezielle Thema. *Kosta Mathéy*
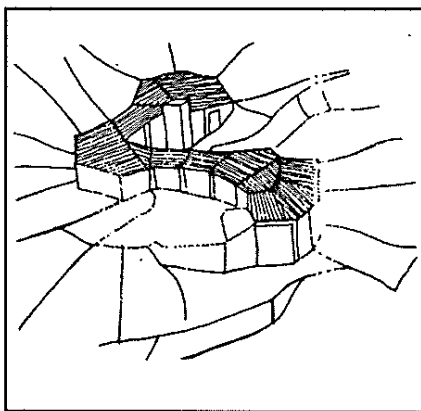
P.Mouroux, P.Margron, J.C. Pinte: La Construction Economique sur Sols Gonflantes. Série Manuels et Methodes, no. 14. 125 Seiten, ISBN 2-7159-0384-7, 1988. Paris: Plan Construction, 1,rue François-1er, F-75008 Paris.

Schwellen und Schwinden des Baugrundes ist ein Phänomen, das mit dem Wassergehalt des Bodens zusammenhängt und besonders in Regionen auftritt, die unter längeren Trockenperioden leiden. Während ingenieurmäßig geplante, massive Gebäude relativ schwach in Anspruch genommen werden, wird leicht gebaute Bausubstanz in den Entwicklungsländern regelmäßig beschädigt. Dieses Handbuch beabsichtigt, dem einfachen Handwerker und Bauherrn zu zeigen, wie er eine potentielle Gefährdung durch das beschriebene geologische Phänomen feststellen, und sich ggf. durch besondere konstruktive Maßnahmen davor schützen kann. Die erste Absicht scheint mir in dem Buch nicht ganz eingelöst, da die verwendeten wissenschaftlichen Formeln und Diagramme für Laien unverständlich sein dürfen; doch die beschriebenen Techniken sind leicht

nachvollziehbar. Es handelt sich nach meiner Kenntnis um das einzige Buch über dieses spezielle Thema, daher ist es Fachbibliotheken zu Akquisition zu empfehlen. *(K.M.)*

UNCHS (Habitat). Earth Construction Technology. 4 Broschüren mit zus. ca. 200 Seiten A4. ISBN 92-1-311031-8 bis -311034-2, 20,- US$. Nairobi, 1986. (Adresse: B.O. Box 30030, Nairobi, Kenia).

Die vier Teile dieser Handbuch-Serie widmen sich verschiedenen Aspekten des Lehmbaus: 1. Grundlahgen des Lehmbaus, 2. Entwurf und Konstruktionstechniken; 3. Produktion von Lehmsteinen, 4. Oberflächenschutz. Sie erklären in knapper Form die Möglichkeiten des Lehmbaus in seiner Anwendung, wobei auch die neueren Forschungsergebnisse berücksichtigt werden (vergl. TRIALOG 12). Fragwürdig bleiben gewisse Details, wie z.B. die Empfehlung von Formhadehyd zur Oberflächenveredelung; auch wären im Text Querverweise zur Literaturliste hilfreich gewesen. Die Tatsache, daß mehrfach die Abbildungen auf dem Kopf stehen, stört kaum.

In typischer UN-Machart wurde der Satz in Schreibmaschinenschrift reproduziert, die Illustrationen sind reine Strichzeichnungen. Mit den gleichen Herstellungskosten hätten sich die vier einzelnen Bände sicher auch in ein einzelnes, wirklich handliches A-5 Handbuch mit besser lesbarem Photosatz komprimieren lassen; schade daß offensichtlich niemand nachgerechnet hat. Abgesehen davon stellt die Publikation jedoch wegen ihrer guten Gliederung und den übersichtlich-kurzen Textpassagen eine nützliche Ergänzung zu der bereits bestehenden Lehmbaubüchern dar. *Kosta Mathéy*

Leslie Simmons, Repairing and Extending Finishes. Part 1: Plaster, Gypsum Board, Ceramic Tile. 305 Seiten, ISBN 0-442-20612-7, £ 30,-. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1990. Bezugsadresse in Europa: Chapmann and Hall, 11 New Fetter Lane, GB-London EC4P 4EE.

Geschrieben für Architekten, Handwerker und Nutzer konzentriert sich das Buch auf die Erklärung und Behebung von Bauschäden, soweit sie mit Oberflächenbehandlung und deren Stützkonstruktion zu tun haben. Zugrundegelegt werden nordamerikanische Konstruktionsmethoden, Baunormen und Maßeinheiten, was die sinnvolle Benutzung des Buches auf die USA, Kanada, Großbritannien und einige zentralamerikanische Länder beschränkt. Bedauerlich ist auch, daß keine Alternativen zu den angegebenen Materialien diskutiert werden, d.h. schadhafte Gipsplatten werden eben durch neue Gipsplatten ersetzt – um ein Beispiel zu nennen – obwohl u.U. eine Holzverschalung oder eine Sichtmauerwerk-Ziegelwand langfristig weniger störanfällig sein kann. *K. Mathéy*

Hans Rosenlund: Design of Energy Efficient Houses in a Hot and Arid Climate including Utilization of Passive Solar Energy. Ca. 130 Seiten, 1989. Lund:University. Bestelladresse: LCHS, Box 118, S-22100 Lund.

Der Forschungs-Zwischenbericht über computergesteuerte Simulationsmodelle zur passiven Klimatisierung von Wohnraum versteht sich als Aufforderung zu Kommentaren, Kritik, künftige Zusammenarbeit, die dem späteren Endergebnis zugutekommen sollen.

Handbücher

Reinhard Goethert & Nabeel Hamdi: Making Microplans. 80 Seiten, ISBN 1-85339-085-2, £ 9,95. London: Intermediate Technology Publications, 1988.

Die beiden Autoren, zugleich Dozenten für Bauen in Entwicklungsländern am MIT Boston, stellen hier eine von ihnen entwickelte Methode der Prozeßplanung für Slum-Upgrading-Projekte vor. Sie gehen davon aus, daß dabei das schwierigste Hindernis für die Zielgruppe in der Entscheidungsfindung liegt, während die eigentliche Umsetzung einzelner Maßnahmen durchaus mit lokalem Know-How erfolgen kann. Die vorgeschlagene Methode der sog. 'Microplans' wird zunächst generell in ihren Grundzügen vorgestellt, denn werden konkrete Ergebnisse aus bereits durchgeführten Workshops in Chile und Sri Lanka als Beispiele aufgelistet. Es folgt ein Handbuch, das Schritt für Schritt Anleitungen gibt, wie solche Workshops praktisch durchgeführt werden können.

Die Methode erscheint logisch und ist wegen ihrer Selbstverständlichkeit vom *technischen* Gesichtspunkt aus betrachtet nicht extrem innovativ. Dennoch helfen gerade die vielen *praktischen* Hinweise bei der konkreten Durchführung des theoretisch überzeugend aufgebauten Workshops. Weitaus wichtiger ist jedoch, und dies ist sicher das größte Verdienst der vorgeschlagenen Methode, die vorgesehene Beteiligung der Bevölkerung an der Identifizierung von Sanierungsmaßnahmen, die hier an die Stelle von administrativ verordneten Willküraketen tritt und somit einem Gelingen von Sanierungsprojekten weitaus bessere Chancen einräumt. *Kosta Mathéy*

Dieter Danckwortt: Institutionenverzeichnis für Internationale Zusammenarbeit der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Berlin (West). 612 Seiten, 2. Auflage, ISBN 3-7890-1814-7. DM 59,-. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1989.

Rund 3800 nicht-kommerzieller Institutionen, die sich mit internationaler Zusammenarbeit befassen und ihren Sitz in der BRD oder West-Berlin haben, sind in diesem Nachschlagewerk verzeichnet. Auch ungefähr 400 Zeitschriften sind aufgeführt. Die Übersichtlichkeit wird gewährleistet durch sechs verschiedene Register: nach Orten, Begriffen, Ländern in denen Außenstellen bestehen, Namenskürzel, Personen und Periodika. Ein umfangreiches Glossar erhöht die Brauchbarkeit weiter. (KM)

GTZ-Glossar: Projektabwicklung in der Technischen Zusammenarbeit. Deutsch – english – francais – español – portugues. 149 Seiten, GTZ Form 91-2-1. Eschborn 1989. DM 20,--.

Die meisten in der Technischen Zusammenarbeit benutzten Fachtermina finden sich in keinem Lexikon, und über die genaue Bedeutung dieser Ausdrücke streiten sich mitunter Experten. Daher steht die Nützlichkeit dieses kleinen Handbuchs der GTZ außer Frage. Rund 160 Begriffe werden hier in 5 Sprachen nebeneinander erläutert. Einige Beispiele: Integrated Expert, Ansprechpartner, Gestin, Parecer, Participation, Project Appraisal, Accord-Cadre, Impacto, Trägerförderung, usw.

Andreas Bachmann und Heinz Waldvogel, Drinking Water Installations and Drainage Requirements in Nepal, 180 Seiten, ISBN 3-908001-12-9. SKAT, St-Gallen, 1988. SFr.20,-

Es handelt sich um eine von Technikern für Techniker geschriebene Datensammlung über Sanitär-Haustechnik nach internationalen bzw. schweizer Normen. Die Bemessungen sind für Gebäude von vier und mehr Stockwerken ausgelegt, die Verfügbarkeit externer Wasserzuführung, eines zentralen Abwassersystems und elektrischer Anschlüsse wird vorausgesetzt. Der durchschnittliche Wasserverbrauch wird mit 50 bis 80 Litern angesetzt, wobei für Kleiderwaschen, Duschen und WC Benutzung noch einmal 100 bis 180 Liter dazukommen sollen. Selbst der

Veranstaltungen

5.5.—9.5.1990, Gilbjerghoved, Gilleleje, DK. International Sociological Association Conference: „Change and Quality instead of Growth and Quantity in Urban and Regional Development". Infos: Ib Jorgensen, University of Aalborg, Department of Development and Planning, Fibigerstraede 11, 9220 Aalborg O, Denmark.

9.5.—13.5.1990, München. Tagung: „Ökologie und Frieden durch Entmilitarisierung". — Institut für Psychologie und Friedensforschung. Infos: Birgit Ertl, IPF, Frundsbergstr. 24/26, 8000 München 19.

22.5.—25.5.1990, Winnipeg. Canadian Public Works Association Conference: „Public Works for the 21st Century. The Future is now". Infos: 1990 CPWA Conference, c/o Barry MacBride, 1500 Plessis Road, Winnipeg, MN, Canada.

29.5.—31.5.1990, Weimar, DDR. Erstes „Weimarer Gespräch". Thema: „Lokales Bauen — Katalysator für die Entwicklung". Veranstalter: Tropen- und Auslandsbau, HAB Weimar und FG Planen und Bauen in Entwicklungsländern, TH Darmstadt. Anmeldung und Infos: FG Planen und Bauen in EL, FB 15, Peterstr. 15, 6100 Darmstadt.

6.6.—8.6.1990, Dortmund. International Scientific Conference: „The Development of Wage Form in the European Construction Industry". Infos: Prof. Dr. Jörn Janssen, Fachhochschule Dortmund, Postfach 105018, D—4600 Dortmund 1.

8.6.—22.6.1990, Dunkirk, France. International Conference: „Land Transport and Development" — ISTED, Infos: ISTED, Mlle. Monteiro, 38 rue Liancourt, 75014 Paris, France.

18.6.—29.6.1990, MIT, Cambridge, Mass. USA. International Shelter Workshop „Changing Roles? Urban Management and Housing in the Third World" — MIT. Infos: Nabeel Hamdi, Reinhard Goethert, MIT, Department of Architecture, 77 Mass. Ave., Bldg. N. 52—492, Cambridge, Mass. 02139 USA.

23.6.—29.6.1990, Baltimore, USA. The 20th John Hopkins International Urban Fellows Conference: „The Future of the Industrial City" — Infos: Institute for Policy Studies, The John Hopkins University, Shriver Hall, Baltimore, Maryland 21218, USA.

25.6.—26.6.1990, Enschede, NL. International Seminar: „Identifying Training needs for Urban Planning and Environmental Management" — ITC. Infos: ITC, Department of Urban Survey and Human Settlement Analysis, Seminar Organisation, P.O.Box 6, 7500 Enschede, NL.

26.6.—29.6.1990, Palais de l'Unesco, Paris. International Colloque: „SPOT, outil de développement". Infos: SOFI 14 rue Mandar, 75002 Paris, France.

27.6.—30.6.1990, Oslo, Norway. EADI's 6th General Conference: „New Challenges for European Development Research". Infos: EADI Secretariat, 10 rue Richemont, P.O.Box 272, 1211 Geneva 21, Switzerland.

2.7.—6.7.1990, Amsterdam. The Amsterdam Summer University: „Amsterdam — A European Metropolis". Infos: Centre for Metropolitan Research, Dr.

Leon Deben, Drs. Dick van der Vaart, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, NL.

3.7.—6.7.1990, Paris. International Housing Conference: „Housing Debates — Urban Challenges". Infos: IHRC/CILOG, 64 rue de la Fédération, 75015 Paris, France.

8.7.—12.7.1990, Ankara, Turkey. IAPS Conference, International Association for the Study of People and their physical Environment. Infos: Kingston Polytechnic, Knightspark, Kingston upon Thames, Surrey KT1 3QJ, England.

9.7.—10.7.1990, Madrid, Spain. ISA, 12th World Congress: „Urban and Regional Development". Infos: Susan Fainstein, Rutgers University, New-Brunswick, NJ, USA.

9.7.—13.7.1990, Madrid, Spain. ISA: „Sociology for one world: unity and diversity". Infos: ISA, Calle Pinar 25, Madrid 28006, Spain.

9.7.—3.8.1990, Cambridge, Mass., USA. Harvard University Graduate School of Design — Ninth International Training Program. Infos: Jane Vera, Unit for Housing and Urbanization, Harvard University Graduate School of Design, 48 Quincy Street, Cambridge, MA 02138, USA.

23.7.—27.7.1990, Zürich, Switzerland. International Symposium on Spatial Data Handling. Infos: Prof. Kurt Brassel, Geographisches Institut, Universität Zürich, Winterthurerstr. 190, 8057 Zürich, Switzerland.

Aug. 1990 or later, Zimbabwe. Conference on North-South community linking. Infos: The Secretary General, Towns and Development Association, Wassenarseweg 41, 2596 CG The Hague, NL.

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Abstracts

Jürgen Oestereich

In Favour of a Human Right to Sustainable Habitat

Im Zuge der Bevölkerungsexplosion und des unaufhaltsamen Städtewachstums in der Dritten Welt sind die staatlichen und privaten Initiativen überfordert, ihren Bürgern eine menschengerechte Habitat zu gewährleisten. Die Fehlschläge moderner Planung in dieser Hinsicht sind bekannt.

Der Autor plädiert für ein stärkeres Engagement der NGO's in der Rolle von 'Vermittlern' zwischen den hierarchischen Strukturen und Eigeninitiativen. Das 1948 vage formulierte „Recht auf Wohung? (Artikel 25 der Menschenrechtserklärung) sollte erweitert und präziser formuliert werden in ein „Recht auf eine von ihren Bewohnern kontrollierte Habitat".

Bishwapriya Sanyal

Does Development Trickle up?

Der Autor fragt nach der Rolle und Wirksamkeit der nicht-staatlichen-Organisationen (NGO's und PVO'S) in Entwicklungsprojekten heute. Die Annahme, daß diese Organisationen, in Gegensatz zu staatlichen Organisationen effizienter und gerechter arbeiten, wird kritisch untersucht. Ist eine „Entwicklung von Unten", im politischen und wirtschaftlichen Sinne, ohne Berücksichtigung und Mitwirkung des Staates, überhaupt möglich?

Nach einem geschichtlichen Aufriß des Entstehungs- und Entwicklungsprozesses dieser alternativen Modelle werden an Hand von Beispielen aus Bangladesh die strukturellen Probleme der NGO's und PVO's aufgezeigt. Der Autor teilt die gängige Meinung nicht, daß Ziele und Arbeitsweise 'oben' und 'unten' sich sehr unterscheiden, und deshalb wenig miteinander gearbeitet werden sollte. Vielmehr ist eine Zusammenarbeit zwischen Regierungen und NGO's/PVO's, jeder mit seiner eigenen Stärke, für den Entwicklungsprozeß unverzichtbar.

Peter Marcuse

Why Self-Help Won't Work

Die Möglichkeiten des einzelnen — zumal oft ganz auf sich gestellt — sind nur begrenzt: der Erfolg von Selbsthilfe-Pro-
jekten sind schon im Ansatz gefährdet. Im Gegenteil, Selbsthilfe kann schnell als Schuß nach hinten losgehen: weg vom sinnvollen Einsatz individueller Fähigkeiten, weg von sozialem und politischem Engagement, und (nicht immer unbeabsichtigt) weg von Forderungen nach Lösungsansätzen, die sich nicht zufrieden geben mit Reparaturen im kleinsten Maßstab.

In dem Artikel werden 10 Gründe genannt, weshalb Selbsthilfe-Projekte oft an den Ursachen der Probleme vorbeiarbeiten. Um die wichtigsten zu nennen:
1. SH kann selten dort wirksam werden, wo Entscheidungen auf höheren Planungsebenen gefragt sind.
2. SH als Ersatz für staatliche Hilfsleistungen beutet Arbeitskräfte aus, die an anderer Stelle sinnvoller eingesetzt werden könnten.
3. SH-Arbeiter/Tätige sind den steigenden Ansprüchen der Baupraxis kaum gewachsen; Folge: der Wohn- und Lebensstandard wird so auf ein auch für Ungeschulte zu bewältigendes Maß heruntergeschraubt.
4. Oft reicht SH nicht über die Behebung kurzzeitiger Mißstände hinaus — Handlungsanweisungen für zukünftige Probleme werden vernachlässigt.
5. SH konzentriert sich zu sehr auf die Verbesserung individueller Mißstände; kollektives Bewußtsein zur Bewältigung gemeinschaftlicher Probleme wird durch SH kaum gefördert.

Der Autor will SH-Projekte allerdings nicht aus der Praxis der Entwicklungshilfe verbannen, sondern sie lediglich eingereiht wissen in ein vernünftiges Miteinander übergeordneter Maßnahmen.

Nabeel Hamdi
Reinhard Goethert

Rapid Site Planning and Refugee Settlements

Flüchtlingslager müssen meistens schnell und unter widrigen Umständen errichtet werden — der Mangel an grundlegenden Handlungsanweisungen macht die Situation oft noch schwieriger.

Dieser Artikel behandelt die Methodologie, die dem Aufbau eines Flüchtlingslagers zugrundeliegt. Viele Handbücher sind hier oft entweder zu allgemein gehalten oder verzetteln sich in Detailproblemen. Die Autoren unternehmen den Versuch, übergeordnete Planungshilfe für den konkreten Fall zu geben. Das Vermitteln einer grundlegenden Methodologie ist dabei wichtiger als Antworten auf Detailfragen. Entscheidungsprozesse sollen erleichtert, nicht jedoch den Verantwortlichen abgenommen werden.

Beim Erstellen des Handbuchs stützte das Forschungsteam sich auf eine Reihe von Untersuchungen in Flüchtlingslagern im Sudan, Somalia, den Philippinen, Mexico und Belize.

Patrick Wakely

The Devolution of Housing Production

Die Verantwortung für die Bereitstellung von Wohnraum wird heute zunehmend von offiziellen Stellen an städtische Gemeinschaften und Einzelpersonen übertragen. Dieser Artikel anerkennt die wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Gründe dafür, zeigt aber gleichzeitig auf, daß das gemeinsame Ziel nur mit angemessener Unterstützung und Hilfe durch staatliche Stellen erreicht werden kann.

Diese Unterstützung muß aus folgenden Teilaspekten — leichterem Zugang zu Boden, Krediten, Infrastrukturleistungen und der Bereitstellungen von Informationen, Schulung und technischer Beratung — bestehen. Der Autor argumentiert, daß effektive Maßnahmen aus integrierten „Paketen" von bislang segregierten Programmen bestehen müssen. Diese Vorgehensweise fordert eine hohe Stufe von Koordination zwischen Behörden, wie sie den öffentlichen Verwaltungen bisher vielfach fremd ist.

Lalith Lankatilleke

Community Action Planning

An Hand eines beispielhaften Vorgehens wird das heute in Sri Lanka angewandte Konzept der gemeinschaftlichen Siedlungsplanung vorgestellt. Die Unterschiede zwischen dem früheren Vorgehen und der heutigen Praxis werden erläutert.

Das neue Konzept der „Unterstützung" bringt alle Beteiligten zusammen, Aufgabenverteilungen werden gemeinschaftlich erstellt und Entscheidungsprozesse werden offengelegt. Problemanalyse, Strategien, alternative Vorgehensweisen, Planung, Überwachung und Darstellung nach außen werden in Workshops gemeinsam erarbeitet.

Kosta Mathey

Local Initiatives versus Socialist Planning

In diesem Artikel wird die Dezentralisierungs- und Privatisierungspolitik in Nicaragua im Zusammenhang mit Wohnungsbau untersucht. Die verschiedenen Modelle der Bereitstellung von Wohnraum — staatliche, private und genossenschaftliche — werden vorgestellt. Alternativen von Wohnrecht und Wohnungsbesitz sowie privates Landeigentum werden bewertet.

Die zweite Hälfte des Artikels beschäftigt sich mit dem politischen und wirtschaftlichen Konzept der Dezentralisierung in Wohnungsbau und Stadtentwicklung. Bürgerbeteiligung wird in Nicaragua

stark unterstützt, weil sie als Schlüssel zur nationalen Entwicklung gesehen wird. Zu diesem Zweck werden Massenorganisationen aufgebaut, die viele Rollen übernehmen, die in anderen Ländern von NGO's wahrgenommen werden.

Florian Steinberg

„Step-by-Step Housing" in China

Der Autor stellt ein „Selbsthilfe-Konzept" in der Form des schrittweisen Ausbauprozesses des Habitat am Beispiel chinesischer Städte dar. Nach einer grundsätzlicheren Einordnung dieser „nicht neuen, alltäglichen Praxis" aus den Rahmenbedingungen der internationalen Entwicklungshilfe werden die Vorteile dieses Entwicklungsansatzes für den einzelnen Haushalt dargestellt. Staatliche Maßnahmen können die Eigenhilfe unterstützen.

Banashree Mitra

Family investment following settlement upgrading

Die Autorin geht der Frage nach, wie erstens die Rechtssicherheit des Grundstücks („Patta Act") den Sanierungsprozess der Wohnhäuser durch Eigenhilfe der Bewohner selbst beeinflußt, und zweitens, welchen Einfluß staatliche Infrastruktur-Vorleistungen auf den Selbsthilfe-Prozeß haben. Gegenstand sind mehrere Siedlungen in Bhopal, Indien, die unterschiedliche Ausgangsbedingungen im Hinblick auf die Rechtssicherheit aufweisen. Die These der Autorin ist, daß die Vergabe von Pachtrechten und grundlegende staatliche Infrastrukturverbesserungen allein noch nicht zu verstärkten Eigenleistungen der Betroffenen führen.

Die Autorin kommt zu dem Schluß, daß „Patta" nicht so entscheidend für die Bewohner ist. Wenn es auch schwer sei, definitive Aussagen zur Zünd-Wirkung von staatlichen Maßnahmen auf den Selbsthilfe-Prozess zu machen, so sei doch klar, daß die Rolle des Staates als „facilitator" nicht umstandslos gegeben sei.

A.S. Dasgupta

Negotiating for Growth and Change

Der Autor untersucht den Prozeß der Selbsthilfe in einem Flüchtlings-Camp, das aus fertig erstellten Schlichtwohnungen auf zwei Wohnebenen besteht. Obwohl keine eigenen Selbsthilfeleistungen erwünscht waren in dieser indischen Wohnlage der 50er Jahre, haben die Bewohner über nun 40 Jahre in eigener Initiative ihren Wohnraum umgestaltet und erweitert. Der Prozeß verlief nicht chaotisch, aber ohne Gesamtkonzept. Arrangements und Handel zwischen den Familien ermöglichen das Zusammenleben. Der Autor weist auch auf die Fehlentwicklungen hin, die sich aus dem Entwicklungsprozeß ohne Gesamtkonzept ergeben.

Bernhard Glaeser

Angepaßte Technologie für ländlichen Hausbau

The author presents a summary of a research project dealing with rural housing in a settlement near Madras, India. The sample of the study comprises 300 households. Since the situation is conditioned by material scarcity and sociocultural constraints, development has to be brought about by means of the settlement itself. Development aid from outside should be geared to support the self-help process, which should lead to a Habitat consisting of a closed ecological circle.

Ana Sugranyes

Local Governments and Popular Movements

Ausgangspunkt ist die allgemeine wirtschaftliche und politische Krise in Mittelamerika. Obwohl innerhalb dieser Region die Rahmenbedingungen Guatemalas noch relativ günstig sind, kann eine staatliche Grundversorgung mit Trinkwasser nicht erbracht werden.

Am Beispiel der Metropolitan Area of Guatemala (MAG) mit 1,8 Mio. Einwohnern wird dargestellt, wie das Versagen des staatlichen Versorgungsauftrages zu kollektiven Selbsthilfe-Aktionen der betroffenen Armutsbevölkerung führt. Mangel und vielfach höhere Preise für Wasser aus Tankwagen o.ä. gegenüber Wasser aus Leistungen in den privilegierten Vierteln führten zu epissodischen, oft unvermittelten Aktionen. Der Staat reagierte repressiv. Im 30 Jahre alten Stadtteil La Limonada mit 12,000 Einwohnern ermöglichten über Jahre gewachsene soziale Strukturen organisiertes kollektives Handeln. Der historische Entstehungsprozeß dieser Basisorganisation in La Limonada wird dargestellt.

William Burrus
Elizabeth Rosenberg

Der informelle Sektor: Eine Möglichkeit für wirtschaftliche Entwicklung in Lateinamerika

Schuhflicker, Gemüseverkäufer, Schreiner — diese und viele andere sogenannte Kleinst-Unternehmer stellen bis zu 60% der Arbeitskraft in den Ländern Lateinamerikas. Sie versorgen die Ärmsten mit dem Nötigsten und bieten sozialen Halt, wo kein anderes Netz mehr greift — für viele sind sie die erste Sprosse auf der Leiter einer gesicherten Existenz. Diese Rolle des informellen Sektors wurde aber bislang unterschätzt.

Die überhöhten Zinsen, geringe Profite und der auslaugende Weg durch den Behördendschungel läßt die meisten Kleinst-Unternehmer auf der Strecke: unangemeldet, ohne jede rechtliche oder soziale Absicherung. Seit 1973 hilft die Vereinigung ACCION dieser Gruppe: mit Kleinkrediten und Ausbildungshilfe versucht man diesen immens wichtigen „inoffiziellen" Wirtschaftszweig aus dem Sumpf der Halblegalität herauszuholen und auf soliden Grund zu stellen. ACCION's Erfahrungen zeigen, daß sich die Einkommen der Kreditnehmer im Durchschnitt um 30% im Jahr erhöhen und ein Darlehensvolumen von etwa US $750 einen neuen Arbeitsplatz schafft.

Paola Somma

Ethnic Segregation

Die Autorin stellt die ethnische Segregation in einer Reihe von Städten als Ergebnis eines geschichtlichen Entwicklungsprozesses dar. Sie unterscheidet freiwillige Absonderungsprozesse von der systematischen Trennungspolitik. Auch letztere sei nicht immer explizit verfolgt, sondern durch staatliche Regularien und Auflagen indirekt durchgesetzt worden. Die ethnische Segregation zementierte die soziale Segregation, welche sich wiederum nach der Entkolonialisierung die Neuen Eliten zunutze machten.

Die Autorin untersucht weniger die Kausalzusammenhänge dieser Entwicklung, sondern legt das Schwergewicht auf die Darstellung der Entwicklungsergebnisse im Stadtgefüge.

Call for Papers

Canadian Journal of Development Studies invites articles for their journal, published bi-annually in June and December. Themes include basic needs, development administration, urbanization, women in development, environmental issues, technology transfer etc. Info: The Editor, CJDS / IIDC, University of Ottawa, 25 University, Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 6N5, Canada.

Initiativen

Im Herbst 1990 beginnt ein *Ausbildungsgang zum Raumtherapeuten* für Baufachleute wie Architekten, Bildhauer, Kunstmaler, Baumeister, Maurer, Bauingenieure etc. auf der Grundlage eines menschenkundlichen künstlerisch-wissenschaftlichen Studienjahres. Informationstreffen sind an den folgenden Wochenenden vorgesehen: 13.—14.1., 21.—22.4., 7.—8.7.1990. Weitere Informationen bei: Studienwerk für goetheanische Kunst und Wissenschaft, Inselstr. 8, 7815 Kirchzarten.

Wolfgang Dickhaut

Development of Decisionmaking Structures for Technical Infrastructure Planning with User Participation

Literature analysis and field work in an Upgrading project in Dakar, Senegal, were used to develop a planning concept and methodology for the participation of the users in the infrastructural improvement in their settlement. It should allow an interdisciplinary working team to plan the type and level of infrastructure for a particular settlement with its inhabitants and to illustrate the problems, advantages and long-term impacts of the various project components.

The planning process enables the inhabitants to improve their settlement in phases, allowing for appropriate investments and decisions. User participation within a continuous planning process can however only be successful if political and economic forces are willing to make and accept changes and support the process.

This Diploma thesis was undertaken within a 10-week period at the Dept. of Civil Engineering, Technical University Darmstadt, and recieved the first prize from TAT (Appropriate Technology Group) Darmstadt.

Wolfgang Scholz

Tourismus auf Sansibar

Zanzibar is undergoing an economic crisis since the export of its main cash crop, cloves, is declining. The author discusses the advantages of an alternative cash crop, tourism, against its disadvantages. The plans and projects of the government, based on a Tourism Development Plan, are explained. The author stresses the danger that international tourism might destroy the natural resources and the livelihood of the fishermen. He proposes a more positive development path.