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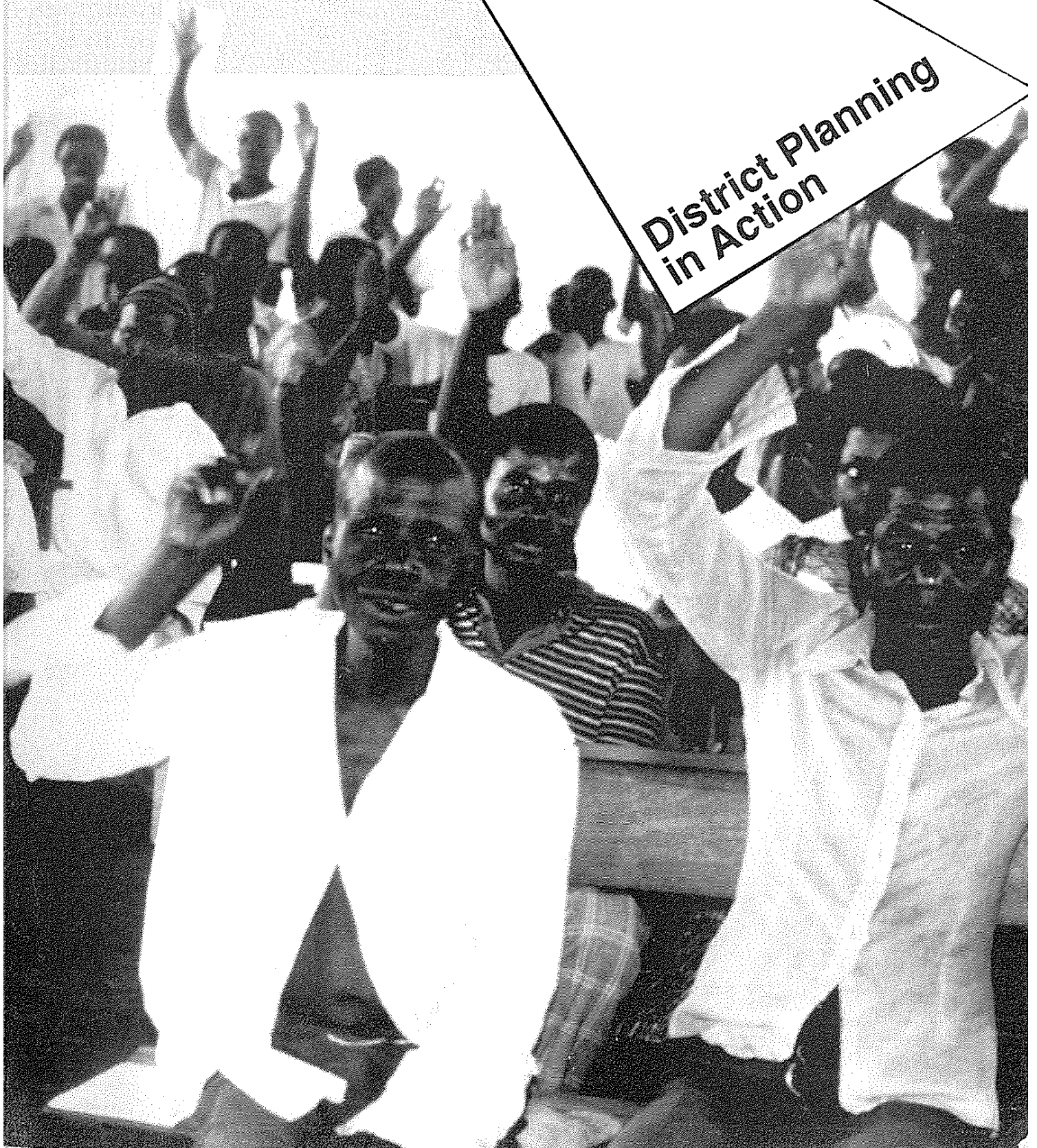
TRIALOG

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in der Dritten Welt

3. Quartal 1993

38

District Planning
in Action



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District Planning in Action

Editorial

Decentralised planning at the district level as a process and method of developing is the current thrust of planning in Asia and Africa. The experiences gained through this process of planning are different from country to country. However, the focal issues and areas of district development have many things in common. The main common agreement is strongly in favour of the district level. Thus, the SPRING approach as formulated many years back, with its shift in regional planning from the spatial macro level to the district level, is today totally in line with the development policies in Africa and Asia.

Five years ago, in 1989, TRIALOG published a special issue called "Planning as a Dialogue". Then, the topic focused on the necessity of the dialogue between the different actors involved in the planning process and on how to initiate the dialogue. In this issue, TRIALOG deals with the practical implementation of this dialogue and the questions and problems which arise from 'putting the dialogue into action'. The question is posed, whether the future role of the state should tend towards a co-operative state.

In the present situation it becomes evident, that the districts are integrated through a pattern of authority dependency relations and that the centre has achieved absolute power and control over the periphery. It is also evident that the core and the periphery (districts) constitute one system in which both parts need each other. In a dialectical manner, it is assumed, that the system structure contains in itself the elements for the change towards decentralisation under the assumptions that:

- o the conflict between limited public funds and the growing demand for investments in off-farming activities as well as in the financial and social infrastructure increases and
- o formal investment of central planning faces more than often its limits, that laws and governmental regulations, formal plans and administrative procedures lose effectiveness and that central agencies increasingly lose their main function to provide policies on the national development.

On the other side, there seems to be a direct relation between development and legally recognized political and administrative institutions at the district level. From case studies it is known that legally recognized political and administration on district level generate and attract development much faster than is possible on the national level.

There are also cases which indicate that where districts have been authorised to participate in the provision of services or where private initiatives have been encouraged, services and project implementations are often provided more clearly and effectively, by a higher level of motivation through self-determination. It seems, too, that this way better deals with the increasing complexity of societies.

The SPRING Forum in Dortmund at the end of October 1992 discussed the practice orientation of this position. The aim was not to debate on theoretical concepts and models of district planning, but to discuss:

- how these models and techniques are applied,
- how they work in reality,
- which lessons can be drawn for future district development planning and management,
- what global/political conditions under which kind of decentralisation and district planning are possible,
- what the characteristics, potentials and bottlenecks of the different policies, programmes and methods are.

From this discussion, four general topics have emerged and will be presented in this TRIALOG issue through selected papers.

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I: Overview of decentralisation policies and their implementation

In this section, several authors from different countries and planning backgrounds present new approaches and models for decentralised district planning and analyse how these are applied. After sketching a 'Leitbild' of district development planning (**Jenssen**), a review of decentralisation in Asia shows that decentralisation is only realised up to a certain degree, and that state authorities usually keep a firm hold on final decisions and financial issues (**Routray**). The Ghanaian example, on the other hand, proves that a relatively high degree of participation on the District level can be obtained, if the central government provides and supports the institutional and the legal framework (**Tamakloe**). That these issues do not only arise in developing countries, but are likewise discussed and tested in Europe, is proved by examples from Germany, where different models, like regional conferences, public-private-partnership etc. are under observation (**Kestermann**).

II: Between state and private forces

To improve the efficiency of planning and the sustainability of development programmes and projects, the above presented decentralisation approaches suggest that a further decentralisation should be accelerated and that the state should withdraw from certain procedures and responsibilities. **Kreibich** points out, that this strategy is not without dangers and that retirement of the state more than often leads to poverty, increasing diseases and illiteracy, which all have a negative effect on the overall development. Therefore **Diaw** suggests to strengthen and support local potentials and to actively involve the so-called private forces into planning.

III: Institutions and interest groups - participation in planning

Closely related to the involvement of private and market forces into planning is the question of how the population can most efficiently participate throughout the entire planning process and benefit from development. Institutions and local interest groups are an appropriate vehicle to achieve this. Even today's planning practice still shows that very often there is no communication between those who plan and those they plan for, which results in the failure of programmes. The need for close interaction and dialogue between the different actors involved in planning is therefore strongly emphasised (**Beier**). **Fekade** proposes, that institutions should take over planning, mobilising and management functions in that process. What is ascertained for Third World countries, also holds true for industrialised countries as is shown in the Germany's example, where local institutions with regional planning functions, which aim at initiating the dialogue, are more often hindered than promoted to participate (**Kleine-Limberg**).

The involvement of women in the planning process as a specific interest group and, of course, as half of the population, is crucial for the success and sustainability of development programmes, but is rather neglected throughout all the planning phases. **Yunxian** and **McCall** point out strategies for the integration of women and other interest groups.

IV: The management dimension of planning

The process of participatory planning is more difficult to manage and to co-ordinate than the traditional administrative top-down planning approach. Therefore special planning instruments (**Kohlmeier**) and specific training and qualifications of planners are needed to meet the new requirements and to promote sound and healthy district development for all (**Bhoosnurmath**).

Karin Gaesing, Bernd Jenssen

SPRING is a post Graduate M.Sc. programme at the University of Dortmund jointly carried out with the University of Science and Technology in Kumasi, Ghana and with the Asian Institute of Technology in Bangkok, Thailand.

Remarks on the nature of district development

Bernd Jenssen

Zusammenfassung

Bernd Jenssen entwirft in seinem Aufsatz ein Leitbild zur Distriktentwicklungsplanung, das auf die Förderung endogener Potentiale, die Formulierung regionaler "policies" sowie für demokratische Strukturen und pluralistischer Planungsansätze plädiert.

Das Leitbild ist als Idee zu verstehen, die zur Diskussionen anregt und zur Positionsbestimmung im Realitätsvergleich dient.

Die Distrikte sind jedoch in ein Muster von Autoritäts- Abhängigkeitsrelationen eingebunden, ohne daß Ausbreitungseffekte oder die Diffusion von Innovationen Tendenzen zur Polarisationsumkehr anzeigen.

Trotz dieser pessimistischen Einschätzungen erzeugt das bestehende System aus sich selbst heraus die Notwendigkeit zum Wandel. Diese liegen in der wechselseitigen Abhängigkeit von Zentrum und Peripherie und in der Ineffizienz zentraler Entscheidungen.

Als wesentliche Ansatzpunkte zur Förderung des Wandels wird

- o die Einrichtung einer regionalen Plattform*
- o der horizontale Austausch zwischen den Distrikten und*
- o in der Aufgabe des Planers als Moderator und Entwicklungsmanager angesehen.*

dependency relations in which the cores have achieved power and control over decisions and investments.

Within these dependency relations a 'Leitbild' or normative model of a district is placed which serves for orientation in case polarisation reversal takes place.

However, is there a chance of polarisation reversal? The answer is quite pessimistic. But the increasing inefficiency of central decision and the simple fact that the core and the periphery constitute one system in which both parts need each other, contains the necessity of change.

Planning as a Dialogue is a way of initiating change and a learning process which offers new options for both sides to overcome polarisation.

The model district

How does an ideal model of a district look independent from all the restrictions of reality? What are the core components of such a district and of what use can such a model be?

An ideal model in this understanding does not present a realistic picture, it is an idea, a framework or scenario of what could be. It describes the position and invites discussion, serving as a tool to study the implications and impacts and help measure the gap between reality in order to identify action to bridge that gap, if accepted. Finally, the model clarifies positions. The following model is on a general level without cultural and natural reference.

The district is a community which regulates its own communal affairs. Division of power and democratic structures are established. Elected leaders are rooted

in the district and address themselves to local needs and problems. Political leaders are served by the institutional network with sectoral units and branches in the sub-districts. Precise regulations facilitate co-ordination and guarantee policy implementation. The institutional setting is under the responsibility of the district. Local authorities have a constitutional right to levy certain taxes and are entitled to a share of them. They are dependent upon provincial and national grants to fulfil overall tasks.

Plans and programmes are generated locally and approved by the local authorities before they become official documents. They provide the framework for the allocation and they are submitted and approved by an institution on the provincial level.

Local authorities are subject to legal control by the provincial and national level. Thus they abide by the law and remain faithful to national interests. The responsibility for general policies and for national programmes remains on the Ministry level which guides and considers district's interests.

The district's administrators establish a planning body with branches in the sub-districts. They are not the implementing agency and they do not have control over the budget. Within this planning agency the planner has no political mandate.

The activities of the planning body are not restricted to information or project collection or district profile.

- They provide a general framework of the situation.
- They develop a structural framework for overall policies to guide sectoral agencies for development.

Introduction

The district - or more precisely the development of the periphery - is still dependent upon the Centre. They are integrated through a pattern of authority depen-

Dr. Bernd Jenssen, Head of the SPRING Centre, University of Dortmund, Germany

- They prepare an overall development programme in close co-operation with sectoral agencies.
- They develop an overall implementation design.

District development plans and programmes cover short and medium term periods. The medium period - which is normally in line with the national planning period - is broken into short or annual periods according to the budget period.

Endogenous development

as the guiding development philosophy, means to build internal structures according to the cultural, economic and natural conditions of the district.

Pluralistic planning

as the guiding planning theory, means to involve constitutional organisations, interest groups and key regional figures, together with their interests and fears in plan preparation. It means that the planning body fulfils a double role; planning within and outside the administrative system.

Democracy structure

requires the constitutional right of self-determination and planning competence, the decision of power and the application of subsidiary principle.

Policy formulation

as the main activity of the planning body to streamline sectoral planning activities

Endogenous Development is recommended as the guiding development philosophy of the planning body. Endogenous Development in short means, to build up district economic structures according to human skills, physical resources and ethnic characteristics. External economic relations are carefully studied with the objective to support internal economic circuits for income generation. Participation and basic needs are ingredients which have to be adjusted to the district. The social and technical infrastructure, applied technology, institution building and the improved access to urban facilities by farmers, complete the Action Package.

Endogenous Development aims at mobilising district resources and provides a basic foundation for modernising in later stages of the process. It cannot be seen as a decline in district self-administration, nor as a strategy of central agencies to free themselves from financial support. The districts are not isolated islands, but integrated parts of the nation, although export diversification and import substitution and the activation of comparative cost advantages are part of the development strategy.

The model context

Numerous studies have analysed the unequal exchange as the main source of the district problem. Unequal capital flow, migration pattern, the terms of trade for agricultural products, the control of raw material, the isolated industrial complexes under the management of the centre and the nationally controlled prices for agricultural goods are examples which show how capital is drained from the district by the Centre. Under these frame conditions district development planning is a heavy task.

Friedmann argues that the development path of the periphery is determined by the Centres. He shows that the spatial system is integrated through a pattern of authority-dependent relations in which elites from the Centre achieve absolute power over investments and decisions. This dependency results from institutions, controlled by core authorities, penetrating the periphery. The process by which the cores constitute their dominance tends to be self-reinforcing.

Looking at this context, it becomes clear just how limited the strategy theories are. This is true for the selection closure models which require control over district imports and exports. This is also true of Agropolitan Development which requires an equal access to power, and true of functional integration models, which assume that a well articulated urban system can be established under the conditions of an unbalanced authority-dependent relation.

Are there any spillovers to the rural regions? Various models of the innovation theory draw our attention to the diffusion of innovation as spread effects from the Centre to the Periphery. Theoretically, this is right, but not in the case of primary distribution from the settlement pattern. In this regard, low returns are expected for the districts. Provincial cities might be excepted from this.

Richardson draws our attention to what he calls Polarisation Reversal and argues that the Free Market Forces will initiate decentralisation processes, if the agglomeration economies are outweighed by diseconomies. This could have an effect on district development, however, in reality, we observe that the provincial level, but not district level, is able to absorb external investors. It seems that agglomeration diseconomies have the tendency to increase the demand for national investment at the rural areas' expense.

This brief review shows that every approach towards designing budget systems, incentives and planning models for the district level, would soon run into difficulties and end up being demotivated and frustrated with hidden, or open resistance as long as dependency exists.

Opportunities for actions

The model and the context are in conflict and the question arises: does this system offer any place or opportunity for action? Under the following assumptions the answer is yes:

1. the core and the periphery constitute one system and both parts need each other.
2. conflict generation and conflict solving should take place within the given framework of rules.
3. the Centre has an interest in social integration. This is especially true for multi-ethnic societies;
4. the increasing inefficiency of central decisions creates the situation of polarisation reversal as the centre loses more and more the ability of national policy guidance.

The reasons for the "yes" on opportunities for acting are quite simple. With the establishment of top down and bottom up procedures central governments gave themselves a new ideological basis towards democratization, decalibration and participation.

Procedures are established to receive proposals from the village level to the sub-district, the district, provincial level and finally to the national level. On each level decisions are made on priorities. Investments are taken by the central level to establish and equip planning bodies on at least the first three levels and central staff are provided from the central level down to the village level. Regulation and administrative procedure are established for co-ordinating most levels between local and national sectoral departments. Finally decisions on programmes and budgets are made from the top downwards.

Against all intentions and expectations the system mirrors the unequal trade flows. Both flows contain different messages, without feedbacks in between and both flows are untransparent in decisions and priority setting like black boxes. It seems that the local level acts as the master voice by echoing national interest through central staff acting without the chance to mobilize activities and resources required for local as well as national interest.

The question arises, who is satisfied with such a system? The central level does not get the required information for national decision and the local level does not get the required investments. The dramatic outline of this process is that the whole system is occupied to keep administrative procedures going. Budget proposals are prepared for the following period without having received any money for the previous period. The central bureaucracy is overburdened, under pressure and loses more and more control over the system and the ability of overall policy foundation which could streamline decisions on the other levels. It seems that the result of this system is demotivation, frustration and ignorance. This is exactly the situation which contains the necessity of change. A radical change would be to establish subsystems which operate on their own and which interact according to national policies in system inputs and outputs.

A less radical change - without basic change of system preconditions - would be to enter an open ended and indeterminate learning process with the following actions centring around the communicating dimensions of planning - Planning as a Dialogue.

Strengthening horizontal linkages between districts

The district's interests fragmented. Usually the district acts or reacts to the core in isolation, without linking its position to its neighbours'. To strengthen horizontal linkages means to establish a district association as a forum of interest articulation and formulation policies.

Joint interests are for example programmes, policies, regulations and also joint planning activities and co-ordinated development plans and require meetings, workshops and conferences.

Planning as a dialogue

The view of the district goes up to the Centre. Most planners spend more time finding out what national policies should guide them. They read between the lines of national programmes and by doing this they forget to formulate district positions.

I would place my hopes on an open planning body which organises meetings, workshops and public hearings, which publishes planning documents and which initiates a regional platform of key

persons as a forum of interest formulation.

Different groups are involved in regional development; the development administration, politicians, technical specialists, members of the farmers' association, traders, businessmen, landlords, middlemen, individual acting managers, members of the union, members of financial institutions, co-operatives and craftsmen organisations. Each representing an institution or target group which possesses specific knowledge, experience and interest in plan preparation. Consequently, their contributions to the plan preparation, presenting their interests, fears, ideas, proposals, expectations and already envisaged activities are necessary for plan formulation. It is obvious that none of these groups will achieve proper planning without the other one.

Finally the regional platform comes up with a kind of regional consensus on development. This regional platform supports district identity building and integrates private activities into planning.

Training a new type of planners

The Regional Platform and District Development Planning requires a new type of planner who wouldn't restrict himself by applying professional tools and techniques.

This implies that the planner must be trained in guiding meetings, assisting where articulation is restricted, summarising and guiding the discussion floor, forecasting statements and taking care of clarification. As different interests are involved, conflicts have to be considered in a professional and constructive way. This again is not easy and requires the knowledge and application of modern management tools. It becomes clear that the Regional Platform requires a participatory management style.

Within the Platform the planner steps aside from his traditional position for the role of a moderator whose neutrality ensures that no group or member will be given priority. Much is required especially in cases when his own perceptions on development are overruled by the majority.

At this stage the planner in the first place is a moderator. He is a listener, an observer, he avoids becoming drawn into discussions. His role is to keep the exchange of communication running, that ideas are flowing and at the right point to

decide to stop. He is not there to give speeches or to monopolize the forum, but he offers members the opportunity to raise questions to acquire clarity.

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Methods and approaches of decentralized district planning: A review of experiences

Jayant K. Routray

Zusammenfassung

J. K. Routray befaßt sich in seinem Beitrag mit einer vergleichenden Analyse zum Stand der Dezentralisierung in ausgewählten asiatischen Ländern.

Bei allen sozio-ökonomischen und kulturellen Unterschieden weisen die Dezentralisierungsmodelle Gemeinsamkeiten auf. So ist beispielsweise der Distrikt als räumliche Bezugs Ebene nationaler Dezentralisierungsprogramme im asiatischen Raum akzeptiert. Auch ist die Informationsbasis grundlegend worden, ohne die Entscheidungen über Haushaltsmittel auf Distriktebene zu erweitern. Ob damit Zentralinstanzen lediglich ihre Entscheidungsbasis verbessert haben - also genau das Gegenteil bewirken liegt nahe -, bleibt aber abzuwarten.

Die vergleichende Analyse führt den Autor zu einer Reihe von Vorschlägen, die in Form eines dezentralen Planungspakets zusammengefaßt und zur Diskussion gestellt werden.

Introduction

The decentralized planning at the district level as a process and method of area development, is the current thrust of economic planning in developing countries. The experience gained through this process of planning is different from country to country. Though, the foci, issues and areas of decentralization in developing countries have many things in common, however there is great difference in practice and

in the levels of decentralization achieved by them. The common agreement is strongly in favor of decentralized district planning. Therefore, an attempt has been made here to review the experiences in developing countries to highlight issues and gaps in order to identify an effective decentralized planning package to promote and strengthen development in the district framework.

Forms of Decentralization

Cheema and Rondinelli (1983:18-25) have explained four different forms of decentralization. Those are deconcentration, delegation, devolution and transfer of functions. Deconcentration involves the redistribution of administrative responsibilities only within the central government such as field administration, local administration etc. Delegation to semi-autonomous and parastatal organizations refers to the delegation of decision-making and management authority for specific functions to organizations that are not under the direct control of central ministries. Devolution seeks to create or strengthen independent levels or units of government through devolution of function and authority. Transfer of functions means transfer of some planning and administrative responsibility, or of public functions, from government to voluntary, private or non-government institutions.

The DAD Task force (Development Administration Newsletter, No. 82, 1991: 4) emphasized at least seven areas in defining decentralization policy and programs. The areas are deregulation of authority, deconcentration, devolution of powers, privatization, population participation and decentralized and deconcentrated growth model.

However it was Conyers (1981) who raised the issue that before trying to attach labels (such as "devolution" or "deconcentration") to individual cases, one should examine:

1. the functional activities over which authority is transferred;
2. the type of authority or powers which are transferred with respect of each functional activity;
3. the level(s) or area(s) to which such authority is transferred;
4. the individual, organization or agency to which authority is transferred at each level; and
5. the legal and administrative means by which authority is transferred.

Objectives

Generally, the objectives of decentralization as put forward by various countries are (FAO:1987):

- Promotion of a more balanced development in the country;
- Design of more realistic projects and programs which take into account local potentials and constraints;
- More effective coordination of development activities at various spatial levels through disaggregation of planning functions;
- Strengthening of local political institutions and increase of people's participation in development; and
- Boosted mobilization of local resources.

As per Pathak (1990:243), the objectives of decentralized planning aim at (1) spatial balance in development and (2) equitable distribution of income among people and social justice. Routray (1990:1) explained that objective of decentralized planning is to initiate, strengthen and redistribute development between areas

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and population at the lowest level and so keep vertical integration with higher order areal units for wider balanced regional development.

Issues

The issues of decentralization are multi-fold and appeared in different studies, workshops and seminars. Complete understanding and analysis of the identified issues are the prerequisite for framing a package of decentralized district planning. The magnitude and intensity of the issues vary from country to country but are very much common everywhere. The issues are:

1. Government and political commitment.
2. Level and extent of decentralization (in terms of area and population, sectors, policy and program).
3. Inadequate delegation of power and authority.
4. Organizational structure and set up at different levels.
5. Resource pooling (allocation, budgeting, disaggregation of funds, resource adequacy, resource generation, criteria for resource allocation).
6. Data base, information gathering, sharing, data requirement, data gaps, quality of data and integrated data base
7. Data and spatial analysis (methods and techniques).
8. Planning machinery/Team (skill/technical and planning capability, training and practice).
9. Assessment of technical inputs for different levels of planning operations
10. Planning Professionalism. (Very recently the Govt. of Sri Lanka has introduced the Sri Lanka Planning Service comparable to an administrative service which is in favor of decentralized planning.)
11. Coordination and cooperation between sectoral line agencies in the framework of decentralized planning, coordination between GOs and NGOs.
12. Integration of Politicians, Policy makers, Administrators, Planners, Project Personnel, Implementers, Evaluators and Beneficiaries of the program.
13. Training for decision making group.
14. Linkages and integration of sectors, people, space over time.
15. Project identification, program formulation and implementation
16. Sustainable development at the local level.
17. People's participation and negotiation, bargaining power (what, who, where and how).

The above mentioned issues need to be treated rather collectively than individually in order to achieve a sound framework of decentralized planning.

Present Status of Decentralization

The decentralized planning process under practice in the developing countries of Asia is passing through different stages of transformation. It is difficult to find out a clear and concrete single example to be used as a model for other countries. All the required components are not fully reflected everywhere with the same degree of intensity. The countries like India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka have well defined administrative and organizational framework from the national to the local governments with vertical and horizontal extension. Thailand, even though not a colonial country; has moderately well developed administrative network, but confined to the second tier of administration for all practical purposes. As far as the data base for decentralized planning is concerned, again India, Sri Lanka, Indonesia and Thailand are ahead of other countries, facilitated by computerized information system. India has now an advanced computerized network with data communication facility from the national to the local (district) level. This is probably most unique in the context of developing countries. The capacity and facilities are although underutilised at this point of time, but in a position to cater the data and information needs for the purpose of decentralized planning. The village level data base of Thailand is quite rich and equally useful to prioritise rural development at the local level. In terms of planning machinery/team, the countries like Bangladesh, Nepal and Thailand have no such units at the spatial level of emphasis. In the recent past, the planning units have been created in all the districts in India and also made functional with the provision of a planning team. Other countries like Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Malaysia and Philippines have planning machineries of one form or the other. The most important observation is that none of the countries mentioned below (Table 1) have decentralized the financial resources the key component in the whole process of decentralized planning. Wherever the attempts have been made, the financial decentralization is very very weak. In majority of countries, the emphasis is given at the district level to decentralize the planning process.

If the process is seen in totality, India has achieved partial success and Sri Lanka is progressing well. Nepal has fo-

cused strong emphasis in the process and made continuous attempts but yet to achieve something substantial, as not having proper focus on individual components. In the case of Bangladesh and Thailand, the process is vigorously on and put to practice in the recent past. In case of other countries, the aggregate effect is more or less weak. The detailed picture for individual countries is presented in Table 1. The privatization is well taken by the countries like Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and to some extent Pakistan. India, Nepal, Bangladesh and Philippines stand at the border of the privatization phase. The situation might change and lead in favor of decentralization in near future. It is equally important to note that Nepal is the only country having decentralized planning act but could not be effective due to weakness in individual components.

Approaches

It is now regularly observed that the approaches followed by different developing countries are of piece meal types with focus on one area or the other. The approaches for decentralized processes are identified as follows:

1. Decentralized and integrated computerized data base - Attempted by India, Thailand and Sri Lanka, at the evolutionary phase but not fully energised to meet the current demand.

Requirement of Decentralized Planning

The discussions lead to the following requirements:

1. The decentralized planning organization and administrative framework at the desired level of decentralization (district/subdistrict level);
2. Delegation of power improves the capacity to raise financial resource and to control and manage resources within the defined territory;
3. Clear cut division of powers and functions to avoid conflicts between the local, regional and national agencies operating within the territory;
4. Decentralized data base - well defined, organized and integrated data base at the village, sub-district and district levels;
5. Trained personnel for planning, implementing development plans, and for monitoring and evaluation;
6. Accountability of the executing agencies at the district level to the district planning bodies and other higher authorities;
7. Ensuring people's participation (elected representatives, NGOs, professional societies and others); and finally
8. Political commitment with clear constitutional and legal framework.

2. District Planning Unit and Machinery - Well developed and established particularly in India but still lacks in appropriate planning professionals and other personnels.
3. Strengthening Local Self Government is almost the common approach everywhere but without proper delegation of legal and financial power to provide autonomy and complete independence.
4. Administrative reform is also seen as an important approach as a part of the decentralized planning game. The creation of Upazila (sub-district) in Bangladesh and strengthening local planning at this spatial level is a major departure from the past.
5. New political process and order - The recent political changes in case of Nepal and Bangladesh are quite significant and favorable in the context of decentralized planning approach.

The approaches as mentioned above are definitely contributing to the cause of decentralized planning but should operate simultaneously to provide expected results.

Decentralized Planning Package

On the basis of the experience and case studies as made available, the efficiency and effectiveness of the decentralized planning are based on the following components, which collectively constitute the decentralized planning package. The components are:

- Administrative decentralization

- Spatial/Territorial decentralization
- Data base decentralization
- Decentralization of planning activities
- Financial Resource/Fiscal Decentralization
- Population participation in decentralization.

Administratively, the countries are divided into provinces/states, districts and subdistricts. Depending on the size and the population of the country and the type of political and government systems, each country adopts different administrative frameworks, but however conform to the general hierarchical pattern from subdistrict to district and the province. Although these units do not necessarily appear uniformly everywhere as for example, India and Thailand have states/provinces, districts and subdistricts (Block/Tambon). Nepal has also identical structures like regions, districts, ilaka (sub-district) and village council. In case of Bangladesh, the country is divided into districts and further down to sub-districts (Upazila). In a very common way in most of the countries, it is observed that the level (spatially) of decentralization is emphasized at the district level, which is the most logical and accepted one. However in a country like India, where the geographical area of the district varies between 174 to 39114 sq.kms and the population between 28,000 to 10,000,000 (1991), perhaps the existing districts are not the best ones to handle the problems efficiently as expected under the framework of decentralized district planning. Therefore, the territorial reorganization at the district level (spatial/territorial decentralization) with the

extension of the administrative framework, is very much required to promote decentralized planning.

In the similar manner, data bases are required to be developed and extended at all levels of the administrative hierarchy with the extension of planning activities, more particularly at the district level. Data base decentralization and decentralization of planning activities are therefore simultaneous operations, considered to be the basic components in the total package of decentralized planning. Fiscal decentralization is the most important component of the package, but it is observed to be the weakest or absent in most of the countries. The administrative, data base and planning units are more or less extended to the district level but there is neither adequate financial resource support nor properly defined power structure to raise and control finances as required at the district level. Therefore, the financial dependency either on the state or on national government acts against the concept of decentralized planning.

Finally, all the planning efforts are intended to address the problems and potentials of the population, those who constitute the targets of the territorial unit. Their direct as well as indirect participation in the planning framework at appropriate stages should not be overlooked in the interest of their development. Therefore, the components mentioned above as a package of decentralized planning, if pursued in sequential and simultaneous operations, will yield better and improved results for the purpose of area development in the district framework.

Table 1: Present Status of Decentralized Planning in Selected Countries of Asia

Country	Administrative / Organizational	Data Base	Planning Machinery	Financial Fiscal Base	People's Participation	Spatial Level of Emphasis	Aggregate Effect
2. Pakistan	Good	Adequate	Available	Weak	Weak	Province	Weak
3. Bangladesh	Advanced	Weak	Not Available	Weak	Weak	Upazila (Sub-District)	Under practice
4. Nepal	Weak	Weak	Not Available	Weak	Weak but strong emphasis	District	Weak
5. Sri Lanka	Advanced	Good computerized system available	Available	Weak	Good	District	Progressing well
6. Indonesia	Weak	Good computerized system available	Available	Weak	Weak	Province	Under practice
7. Malaysia	Good	Good	Good	Weak	Weak	State	Weak
8. Philippines	Weak	Weak	Available	Weak	Weak	Provinces/Municipalities	Weak
9. Thailand	Good	Good computerized system available	Not available	Weak	Good	Changwat (Province)/ Ampho (District)	Under practice but weak

Implementation of district development planning policies in Ghana: Prospects and problems

Emmanuel K. A. Tamakloe

Zusammenfassung

Emmanuel Tamakloe untersucht in seinem Beitrag den gegenwärtigen Stand der Dezentralisierung in Ghana.

Die politischen und administrativen Reformen zielen in Ghana auf die Einrichtung von Institutionen, zur Steigerung der Partizipation auf der Distriktebene ab. So sind mit der Local Government Law von 1988 District assemblies in den 110 Distrikten eingerichtet worden. Zweidrittel der Mitglieder werden direkt gewählt und ein Drittel wird von der Nationalregierung entsandt. Den District Assemblies ist das volle Planungsrecht übertragen. Das neue Planungssystem sieht ferner Regional Co-ordination Councils vor, die als Mittler zwischen den Distrikten und der nationalen Planungskommission auftreten und die Aufgabe der überregionalen Planung wahrnehmen.

Die Erfahrungen zeigen, daß mit der Verlagerung von Macht- und Entscheidungsfunktionen auf die lokale Ebene Entwicklungskräfte freigesetzt werden, die nicht nur lokale Entwicklungen, sondern auch nationale Entwicklungen fördern. Allerdings gibt es auch zur Zeit noch Hemmnisse wie bürokratische Entscheidung nationaler Institutionen, die die Implementierung von Distriktplänen behindern.

SPRING Forum in Dortmund

Perhaps the main significance of the theme for this forum which focuses on development planning at the district or subregional level may be found in the rationale

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or the theory of local level development as a strategy for national development. It has been advocated in the literature by various authors that planning in the public domain in which the interests of many people (at different localities, with different needs and values) are at stake, should be decentralised to promote public and community participation in the development decision-making process. Among these authors are Friedmann and Weaver (1979), Cheema and Rondinelli (1983), Friedmann (1988), as well as Conyers and Hills (1984) to mention a few. The essence of the theory is that allocation of power to a spatial hierarchy of decision-making authorities with local units as agents of socio-economic development accelerates national development.

The reason is that the aggregation of development decisions taken by local communities on how to mobilise and utilise resources to meet their needs is more effective in promoting national development than decisions taken by a national central agency and imposed on the local community. Thus spatial equity, efficiency, human self image, capacity to produce and consume, self reliance and satisfaction through empowerment, as well as sustainability of development are the theoretical underpinnings of agropolitan approach to development planning at the district or subregional level. Consequently, the concept of decentralisation by which legally constituted local authorities are empowered to carry out development planning functions, has become widely accepted as a scientific method for national development. It may be said therefore, that it is the validity of promoting national development through the stimulation of local level development that is being probed in this forum. This paper is a contribution of Ghana's experience in

testing the hypothesis that district development planning is a method for accelerating national development.

The main purpose of the paper therefore, is to assess the progress of implementing district development planning policies in Ghana, identify the factors which militate against the implementation processes and suggest how the prospects of the policies may be enhanced. In doing this, attention will be focused on the decentralisation policies of the Ghana Government since 1988, with particular reference to the legislative, administrative and investment policies of the Government to promote district development in Ghana.

The characteristics and objectives of District Development Planning Policies.

Characteristics of the Policies

Political and Administrative Reforms, including Decentralisation policies of the PNDC Government are directed towards the establishment of appropriate institutions to promote community participation in national development, through the involvement of local communities in the decision making process for the identification and efficient utilisation and management of local resources. In essence the reform of government machinery for development decision-making has the following main characteristics:

- decentralisation of political and state power to enhance participatory democracy through local level political institutions with the District Assemblies as the pivot.
- decentralisation by devolution of administration, development planning, implementation and budgeting deci-

sion-making in which local level authorities will be actively involved.

- establishment of a national development planning agency responsible for the integration of the overall planning process, the coordination of development planning activities of sectoral agencies at the national level, as well as subnational agencies at the local level.

It was primarily for the above reasons that the Local Government Law 1988 (PNDC Law 207) was enacted, to empower 110 District and Metropolitan Assemblies to perform development planning functions as part of an overall national development planning process. It was also in this connection that the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) was established to coordinate and integrate development planning activities of national functional and sectoral agencies, as well as those of regional and district authorities. By virtue of these measures the PNDC Government has attempted to address problems which have beleaguered effective development planning and implementation practices in Ghana for many years. Some of these problems may be listed as follows:

- Lack of consideration of the spatial consequences or impacts of macro-economic policies in the formulation of development plans at the national level.
- Lack of effective integration of sectoral and spatial aspects of national development plans.
- Lack of effective participatory institutional arrangements for the involvement of the community in the decision-making process of plan formulation and implementation at the local level.
- The absence of a structured institutional framework to ensure a planning process as a procedure of interaction among equal partners including professional planners, bureaucrats, administrative technocrats and the general community as both the beneficiaries and victims of plans.

All the institutional arrangements made by the PNDC Government to address the above problems constitute what is currently referred to in Ghana as the New Planning System (NPS) in which the District Assemblies as development planning authorities are expected to play a key role. The NPS attempts to remove the above defects by identifying and creating appropriate political and bureaucratic institutions to whom authority, responsibilities and roles are assigned to promote development decision-making at

the district level. The District Assemblies as development planning authorities with their substructures, such as the urban, zonal town/area councils and unit committee constitute the cornerstone of the NPS. The District Assemblies which have executive, deliberative and legislative powers are designed with administrative and technical support services and committees to articulate the views and aspirations of the people for development at the local level. Formal plan making by the District authorities is the task of the Development Planning and Budgeting Units (DPBUs) expected to be constituted by highly skilled professional personnel.

At the apex of the new planning system is the National Development Planning Commission which has the responsibility for harmonising national sectoral policies and for providing guidelines for the preparation of development plans at the local level. It is also the responsibility of the NDPC to distil national development plans from plans prepared by district authorities. Lying between the NDPC and District Assemblies responsible for the preparation of development plans are the Regional Coordinating Councils (RCC) which have the task to formulate regional development policies through the coordi-

Objectives of the Policies

The main objectives of the district development planning policies are directed towards the acceleration of rural development, through the extension and expansion of social and technical infrastructure to the majority of the rural dwellers, who form about 69% of Ghana's population. These facilities are expected to provide enabling environments for the rural population to generate enough local revenue to finance development projects, and to enhance their capacity to produce and consume. The policies are therefore agropolitan in nature as implied in the following statement by the Secretary for Local Government.

"I will therefore, urge district assemblies, as agents of socioeconomic development and transformation, to develop the pattern of service centres ranging from the district capitals to the headquarters of the town/area councils to be established. This is important in order to stimulate agricultural development, and promote economies of scale. In addition, it will also spill over benefits and spread effects through the concentration of services, bridge the rural urban gap, and encourage balanced development, attract investment, innovation and improve rural income." (Kwamena Ahwei, 1989). Consequently, it is this agropolitan approach to rural development which influenced the PNDC Government to increase the number of districts from sixty five (65) to one hundred and ten (110) for local government functions.

nation and spatial integration of district development plans, subject to national development policies and priorities. The main function of the RCC is therefore to promote regional development planning of which district development planning will be an integral part. The technical unit of the RCC is the Regional Planning Coordinating Units (RPCUS) manned by an interdisciplinary staff to facilitate their coordinating functions. Thus, the main advantage of the new planning system as outlined above is the broad delimitation of channels of communication for interdependent decision-making from the local to the national level and vice-versa. This is the greatest innovation of reforms in the planning machinery by the PNDC Government. Consequently, it is the basic foundation of the NPS structure and the advantages that go with it which are captured in Articles 8687 and 240-256, which respectively deal with the National Development Planning Commission and Decentralisation and Local Government matters in the approved Constitution of the Fourth Republic.

Progress of Implementation of Policies Measures of Policy

Implementation

Since the promulgation of PNDC Law 207 in 1988 various measures have been taken by the government to implement decentralisation policies that would enhance the capacity of district assemblies to perform development planning functions at the district level. These measures may be outlined under three main headings as follows;

Political Power

Various legislative instruments were enacted to establish 110 district/metropolitan assemblies as the highest political and administrative bodies in the district, with delegated authority from the district/metropolitan 'authorities to sub-metropolitan councils, town/area councils and unit committees. Thus the district assemblies which derive their power from local political representation, have political and administrative power to provide guidance, direct and supervise all other political and administrative authorities in the district to prepare and implement development plans for their areas.

Administrative Capacity

In order to ensure that the functions transferred to the district assemblies are adequately performed by the district authorities, steps have been taken to transfer and establish most of the 22 decentralised departments according to section



People's participation

Foto: SPRING-Archiv

29 of PNDCL 207. (See Appendix 1). But since the physical existence of these departments in the district is not a sufficient condition for good performance, there is also a programme for staff development to build and strengthen the technical, administrative and management capacity of the districts. The Government has therefore embarked on various training programmes supported by bilateral and multilateral agencies to develop competent staff for the districts. Examples of these programmes are the following:

- training of district political, bureaucratic and community leaders to strengthen their managerial capacity and administrative skills.
- training of graduates with planning related skills to upgrade their understanding of the NPS and development planning as an integrated system, for recruitment as planning officers of the DPBUs. The training of 110 such officers in a series of four short courses of six weeks duration per course has been carried out by the Department of Planning at UST
- upgrading of skills of regional economic planning officers of RPCUs and the understanding of their role in the NPS.
- training of budget officers for recruitment in the DPBUs.

Another important step taken by the Government to empower the district assemblies to carry out the local government functions assigned to them by law, is the allocation of funds to equip the districts especially the new districts with office facilities, residential and office accommodation. In this connection, there is a commitment under the Public Investment Programme (PIP) to cater for the construction of infrastructure needed for ad-

ministrative purpose in the new districts. (Kwamena Ahwoi, 1990)

Financial Capacity

A significant aspect of PNDCL 207 is that it vested in each district assembly the responsibility for the overall development of its area of jurisdiction through the effective mobilisation and utilisation of financial, human and other resources within the district. Consequently, the district assembly is expected to generate sufficient funds from its own sources to provide for its developmental needs. It is in line with this policy that PNDCL 207 has widened the revenue base of districts assemblies with the power to raise additional revenue from sources which were previously reserved for central government. The major sources of revenue for district assemblies include local taxes, fees, rates and licences; shares of revenue collected by the central government on specific natural endowments (eg. stool lands); and shares of central government revenue ceded to district assemblies. (Kwamena Ahwoi 1990).

To enhance the generation of revenue from taxes, government issued guidelines for charging fees and imposition of rates for services and facilities provided by the districts. In addition the institution of ceded revenue with increase in the revenue items from five (5) to seven (7) has improved the revenue generation capacity of many districts. Recently the government has also decided that state departments and corporations, boards and quasi-government organisations should pay property rate on all their immovable properties to district assemblies in which such properties are located (Kwamena Ahwoi 1991).

Prospects of Policy Implementation

Since the creation of the District Assemblies a little over three years ago, most of the Districts, if not all have achieved a lot to warrant their coming into being. While there are no field or comprehensive data to support this assertion, from our own observations and what we gather in the news media, it can be said that the Districts have stood up to the basic responsibilities for which they were established. Studies carried out by students in the Department of Planning at UST have revealed various prospects of the District Assemblies based on the decentralisation policies of the Government. (Agye-kum, 1991). These include the promotion of local initiative and community participation in plan formulation and implementation, articulation of felt-needs of the communities; promotion of self-reliance and efficiency in financing the implementation of plans and projects, as well as awareness of the vast human and material resources available for local level development.

An important indicator of the prospects for district level development policies, is that the newly created districts have begun to attract development projects in lo-

Table1: Distribution of 22 decentralized Departments by old and new Districts

Decentralized Departments	Old Districts		New Districts	
	More than Cumulative Frequency	Percent more than Cumulative Frequency	More than Cumulative Frequency	Percent more than Cumulative Frequency
0-5	65	100	45	100
6-10	63	97	40	89
11-15	37	57	8	18
16-20	12	19	1	2
21-22	0	0	0	0

Table 2: Distribution of level of development by old and new Districts				
Decentralized Departments	Old Districts		New Districts	
	More than Cumulative Frequency	Percent more than Cumulative Frequency	More than Cumulative Frequency	Percent more than Cumulative Frequency
0 - 5	65	100	45	100
6 - 10	63	97	40	89
11-15	37	57	8	18
16 -20	12	19	1	2
21-22	0	0	0	0

Source: Constructed from data provided by the Ministry of Local Government, Ghana

cations where projects would not have been directed if these areas were not designated as local government authorities. This means that irrespective of other factors, development is attracted by localities which are politically recognised by society as development administrative authorities. This appears to be an important principle or lesson to learn from the Ghana experience.

To illustrate the principle, an attempt is made to compare the process and level of development between the old and the new districts. In Table 1 is shown the distribution of the 22 decentralised departments in the old and the new districts. It can immediately be seen that the old districts have more of the decentralised departments than the new districts. In addition it is also clear that most of the new districts have already established between 5 to 10 of the decentralised departments. In the same vein a comparison is made of the level of development of the old and the new districts, using scalogram analysis of the presence or absence of selected facilities in the district capitals. (Cofie Agama, 1991).

In Table 2 is shown the comparative scores of development for the old and the new districts. Again, it is clear that the old districts are better off than the new districts. Of particular interest is the revelation that development appears to be proportional to the level of political, and administrative status of the capitals of localities. For instance the Accra Metropolitan District with Accra as the capital city of Ghana is the most developed district, followed by the regional capital districts, such as Cape Coast, Sekondi-Takoradi and Kumasi. This relationship between development and political and administrative status of localities point to the

prospects which the newly created districts, and for that matter, all the 110 districts have for future development under the decentralisation policies of the PNDC government.

Problems of policy implementation

In spite of the general progress that has been made, the District Assemblies are faced with many operative problems. These problems are very critical especially for the 45 newly created districts. The major root cause of these problems is unwillingness on the part of bureaucrats at the national level to release power transferred to district authorities. This has resulted in the lack of efficient and effective bureaucracy at the district level. (Zanu, 1992)

Conclusion

Ghana's experience in pursuing the agropolitan approach to rural development has confirmed that there is a direct relationship between development and legally recognized political and administrative status of localities. The evidence is, that such legally recognized political and administrative localities generate and attract development faster than it would otherwise have been without such recognition. However, this process of national development in Ghana has been hampered by lack of efficient and effective bureaucracy at the district level.

This problem is essentially due to the human factor, and the key to the problem is to formulate legally binding procedures and processes of compliance to ensure the implementation of district development planning policies in Ghana.

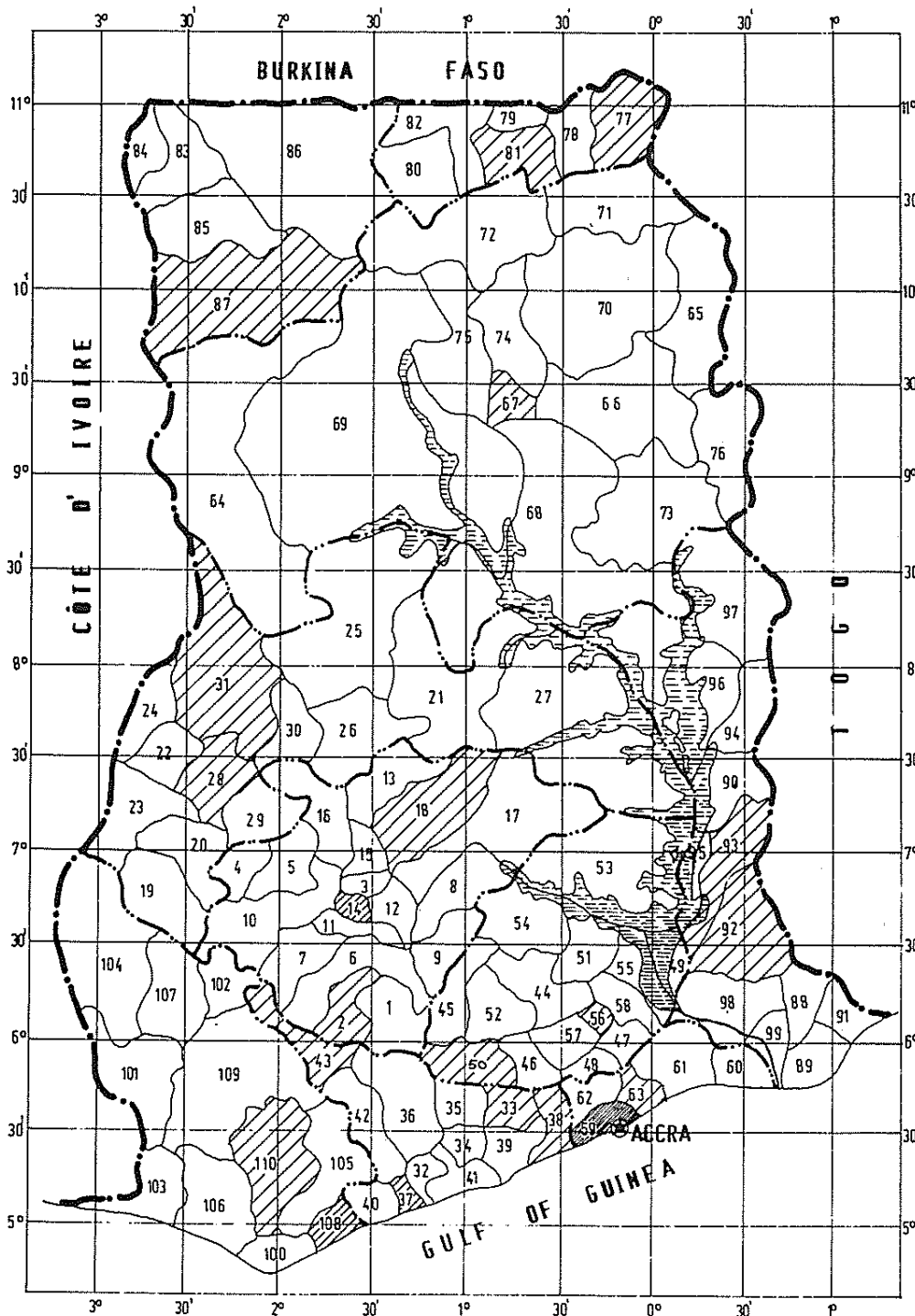
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Appendix 1: Departments/Organisations under District Assemblies

1. Ghana Education Service
2. Ghana Library Board
3. Information Services Department
4. Department of Social Welfare
5. Dept. of Community Development
6. Dept. of Town and Country Planning
7. Ghana Highways Authority
8. Public Works Department
9. Dept. of Parks and Gardens
10. Department of Rural Housing and Cottage Industries
11. Statistical Service
12. Births and Deaths Registry
13. Department of Forestry
14. Controller and Accountant General's Department
15. Office of the District Medical Officer of Health
16. Department of Feeder Roads
17. Fire Service
18. Dept. of Animal Health and Production
19. Department of Fisheries
20. Department of Agricultural Extension Services
21. Department of Crops Services
22. Department of Agricultural Engineering

MAP OF GHANA SHOWING DISTRICT ASSEMBLY AREAS



LEGEND

- NEW DISTRICTS
- CAPITAL TOWN
- NAT. BOUNDARY
- REG. BOUNDARY
- DIST. BOUNDARY
- VOLTA LAKE

LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT

- | KEY | |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| [White Box] | 0-40 UNDER DEVELOPED |
| [Diagonal Lines] | 41-80 DEVELOPING |
| [Cross-hatch] | 81-120 MODERATELY DEVELOPED |
| [Solid Black] | 120+ HIGHLY DEVELOPED |

ASHANTI REGION

1. ADANSI EAST
2. ADANSI WEST
3. AFIGYA KWABRE
4. AHAFO AND
5. AHAFO AND SOUTH
6. AHANSIE EAST
7. AHANSIE WEST
8. ASANTE AKIM NORTH
9. ASANTE AKIM SOUTH
10. ATWIMA
11. BOSOMTWE ATWIMA KWANWOMA
12. EJISU JUABEN
13. EJURA SEKEDUMASE
14. KUMASI
15. KWABERE SEKERE
16. OFFINSO
17. SEKERE EAST
18. SEKERE WEST

BRONG AHAFO REGION

19. ASUNAFO
20. ASUTIFI
21. ATEBUBU
22. BEREKUM
23. DORAMA
24. JAMAN
25. KINTAMPO
26. NKORANZA
27. SENE
28. SUNYANI
29. TANO
30. TECHINAH
31. WENCHI

CENTRAL REGION

32. ABURA ASEBU
33. AGONA
34. AJUMAKO ENYAH ESIAH
35. ASIKUMA ODUMEN BRAKWA
36. ASSIN FOSO
37. CAPE COAST
38. EWUFI EFUTU SEMA
39. KOMA
40. KUMAKA ETOMA EGUAFO ABREM
41. MEANSIASHAN
42. TWIFO KUMANG LOWER DENKYRA
43. UPPER DENKYRA

EASTERN REGION

44. AKIM EAST
45. AKIM OFASE
46. AKIM WEST
47. ANKRAKPA NORTH
48. ANKRAKPA SOUTH
49. ASUOTYAMAN
50. BIRIM SOUTH
51. FANTEAKWA
52. KADE AKWATA
53. KWAHUN NORTH
54. KWAHUN SOUTH
55. NANA
56. NEW JUABEN
57. SHAN KADABA COAST
58. YILO KROBO

GREATER ACCRA REGION

59. ACCRA
60. DANGBE EAST
61. DANGBE WEST
62. GA
63. TEKA

NORTHERN REGION

64. BOLE
65. CHEREPONHI SABORBA
66. DAGOMBA EAST
67. DAGOMBA WEST
68. GOMBA
69. GOMBA WEST
70. GUSUNGU / KARAGA
71. HAMPRUSI EAST
72. HAMPRUSI WEST
73. HAMUNGA
74. SAVELUGU NANTOH
75. TOLON KUMBUNGU
76. ZABZUGU TATALLI

UPPER EAST REGION

77. BAWKU EAST
78. BAWKU WEST
79. BONGO
80. BULSA
81. FRATA
82. KASSERA HANKAWI

UPPER WEST REGION

83. JIRAPA LAMBUSSIE
84. LAWRA
85. NADAWLI
86. SISALA TUMU
87. WA

VOLTA REGION

88. AKATSI
89. ANLO
90. BUEH
91. DENU DZODZE
92. HO
93. HOHOE
94. KADJEBI
95. KPANDU
96. KRACHI
97. KKWANTA
98. NORTH TONGO
99. SOUTH TONGO

WESTERN REGION

100. AHANTA WEST
101. ADWIN SUAMAH
102. BIBAH AMYIASO BEKWAI
103. JORORO
104. JUABERE - BIA
105. KPOHUR WASSA EAST
106. NZIMA EAST
107. SEFWI WIAWISO
108. SHAMA AHANTA EAST
109. WASSA AMENFI
110. WASSA WEST

Original scale 1 : 3,000,000

Drawn by Felix Nee Mensah Quaynor, Dept. of Planning, UST, Kumasi
Compiled by E.K.A. Tamakloe

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Cooperation and consensus in regional planning

The experience of North Rhine - Westphalia

Rainer Kestermann

Zusammenfassung

Rainer Kestermann erläutert in seinem Beitrag neuere Tendenzen der Regionalplanung am Fallbeispiel der Emscher-Lippe-Region. Ausgangspunkt der Argumentation sind die abnehmenden Steuerungskapazitäten des States, die wachsenden Verflechtungen gesellschaftlicher Subsysteme sowie die beschränkten Haushaltsmittel. Dies erfordert eine Umorientierung von formalen administrativen Verfahren zu offenen Planungsverfahren, in denen Konfliktbewältigung durch Aushandlung und Consensbildung dominieren. Innerhalb dieses Verfahrens übernimmt der Planer die Rolle des Moderators, der unterschiedliche Interessen aneinanderregelt bzw. zum Konsens bringt, ohne die Eigenständigkeit von Teilgruppen in Frage zu stellen. Die Erfahrungen am Beispiel der Emscher-Lippe-Region sind ermutigend. Die Erfahrung zeigt aber auch, daß die neueren Tendenzen pragmatische Überlegungen geleitet werden und die planungstheoretische Absicherung bislang noch aussteht.

Introduction: Change of the "Planning Culture"

One of the most interesting trends in regional planning is the increasing importance and wider use of cooperation and negotiation instruments. "Informal" instruments, based on cooperation and consensus rather than on administrative power, formal regulations and binding plans, are used for general spatial plan-

ning as well as for site planning or conflict solving within administrative procedures. This tendency fits into an emerging change of the "planning culture"; (FROESSLER/SELLE 1991:325 ff), implying a changing role of the state which shows more and more characteristics of a "cooperative state" (RITTER 1979; RITTER 1990; HESSE 1987:68ff.)

What are, in short, the reasons for this trend?

(1) The steering capacity of the state is getting smaller (GRIMM 1990; SCHARPF 1991; WILLKE 1983); this diagnosis is made not only with regard to imperative instruments (law, regulations, formal plans, administrative precedures), but also for the persuasive instruments of the intervention state, and for policy programmes and the supply of public services.

(2) Growing independence and interdependence of the societal (sub-) systems cause still increasing public tasks. The problems to be solved are interwoven and complex, with impacts on different actors. They present specific cases which can't be solved by general instruments, schematic plans, and general subsidy programmes.

(3) The resources for getting things done are not available, at least not in the public sector. Moreover, negative consequences of ongoing "modernisation" processes seem to grow faster than the problem-solving capacities, specially with regard to the financial resources.

(4) Changing values make larger parts of the people more sensitive about risks and disadvantages, especially facing "new forms" of consequences of industrial, technological and societal develop-

ment creating the "risk society" (BECK 1986). People become more active in caring for their interests. Traditional forms of public participation have failed to achieve a sufficient level of conflict solving to prevent society and the environment from negative effects. Therefore, a new quality and more active forms of participation that offer real chances for negotiation and influencing the results are needed (EDLINGER/POTYKA 1989; EBERT et al. 1992).

(5) Society changes more and more into a "postmodern" condition (WELSCH 1987) which is characterized by consequent pluralistic views: So how could one institution or one authority speak and decide for all different groups, interests, values and futures?

(6) Finally, a growing market orientation of cities and regions, heavily enforced by the establishment of the European Market in 1993, leads to the necessity of binding together all actors and all "endogenous potentials" to reach an advantageous position in the competition of cities and regions.

What are the consequences for planning and its instruments?

In short, three central aspects characterize the emerging new "planning culture" (SELLE 1992: 57 ff):

(1) A processing concept of planning that takes away the solution-finding and decision process from the competence of one single actor, even if this is the "state". Only fair negotiations and cooperation can couple the diverse societal systems to find solutions that can be qualified as rational for the whole society.

(2) Cooperation can be created on the basis of processing the solution outside

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the political and administrative systems and a reduction of hierarchy in the relationship between the state and the other societal systems, groups and actors. Complex problems call for cooperation of all actors (public-private partnership), including the broad public.

(3) Moderation and mediation is needed to initiate these processes and keep them going on effectively. This is why new intermediary organisations are emerging (AGB 1991).

Cooperation and consensus instruments - an overview

Before discussing one example of their use in North Rhine - Westphalia (NRW), I should like to give an overview of cooperative instruments in planning (cp. fig. 1). To avoid misunderstanding: Instruments, like privatization, contracting out and the delegation of steering functions to private bodies, are not included, here.

A first group of cooperative instruments stresses the element of negotiations and applies to (concrete) conflict resolution. They may be integrated in formal administrative procedures, but they are also used to prepare formal regulations and, what may be the most interesting case, to come to concerted action outside formal regulations and/or to avoid these. More traditional concepts of cooperative conflict resolution remain in a (mostly) bilateral mode of interaction between the state and another actor/applicant, but they include procedures of (public) participation, too. The so-called "informal" or cooperative administrative proceedings

use instruments as (pre-)negotiations, agreements and contracts in addition to or instead of formal, hierarchical decisions of the state (on whatever level) (cp. e.g. BULLING 1989). The so called instruments for "Alternative Dispute Resolution" (ADR) (cp. e.g. SANDER 1990; CARPENTER/KENNEDY 1988) usually see multi-party negotiations open to all affected or interested groups and are characterized by the central role of a neutral moderator. They can be divided in negotiation, facilitation/conciliation, mediation and (nonbinding) arbitration. Of course, there are no strict borderlines between ADR and more traditional concepts of cooperative conflict solving.

A second group of cooperation instruments aims at harmonizing strategic planning of multiple actors, and stresses cooperative future action, aiming at activating endogenous potentials of the participants on the basis of consensus. This second type of cooperation has a traditional form, too, known as (neo-)corporatism. Differing from this, new forms of cooperation are built on principles as voluntariness, free negotiating relations, common decision-making, common responsibilities, joint ventures (partnerships). Regarding the field of concrete cooperation, and limited to this, the participants change their form of (usual) relationship; e.g. they change from a relationship of hierarchy (as is the case in a traditional approval procedure for an industrial or infrastructure facility) to cooperation as a new form and quality of their relationship, or they do so, starting from a relationship of competition (as is usual between different municipalities). There are three special forms of coope-

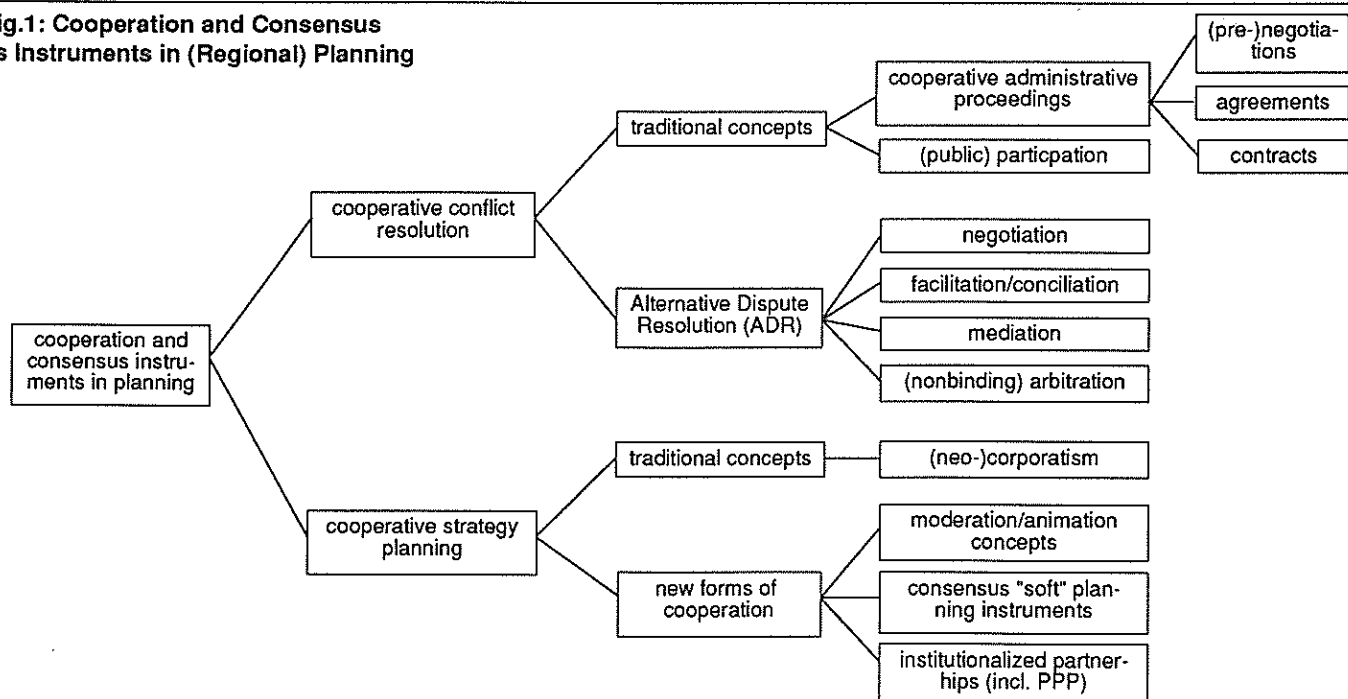
ration of the new type: Moderation/animation concepts (KOSTA 1993; METTAN 1991)) are strongly based on new intermediary actors; consensus "soft" planning instruments comprise e.g. action programmes or framework planning, working only by self-binding of the participants; finally, the probably most ambitious form of new cooperations is the institutionalized partnership, specially in the case of joint ventures (public-private partnership) (cp. e.g. DAVIS 1986).

For all of these different forms of cooperation and consensus instruments you could find examples in German planning practice, though in our country the "traditional concepts" of cooperative conflict resolving up to now, have been used most. ADR- methods, namely the mediation concept, which are widely used in the USA, actually receive more and more attention in Germany, too, but practice is quite weak, still. The following example from NRW concentrates on the second group of cooperative instruments.

An example: Self-organization of regional policy in the Emscher-Lippe Region

Practice in this region shows the successful combination of different cooperation instruments for an integrated regional (economic) policy programme: The Regional Conference Emscher-Lippe follows the moderation-concept of cooperation. The Development Programme that was worked out by the Conference belongs to the type of consensus "soft" planning instruments. Besides, a new intermediary institution has been created:

Fig.1: Cooperation and Consensus as Instruments in (Regional) Planning



The Emscher-Lippe Development Agency, which is a new public-private partnership institution.

The "Action Concept"

During the formulation of the regional plan called "Gebietsentwicklungsplan" (i.e. "District Development Plan") for the northern Ruhr Area the idea was born to work out an "Action Concept" (RP MÜNSTER 1988) for pushing economic restructuring and revitalisation of the region. It was the first attempt of regional actors in NRW to manage a process of self-organisation.

Initiated and moderated by the spatial planning authority (Bezirksplanungsbehörde), which is a part of the district government, a group of "regional actors", including the municipalities, the chambers of trade and commerce and the trade unions, worked out the programme. Thus a "region" was created, which covers the Cities of Bottrop and Gelsenkirchen and the County of Recklinghausen, comprising the territory of twelve municipalities.

The programme contains an introducing analysis on strengths and weaknesses of the region, goals and policy fields of action, and finally concrete projects that are to be implemented by one or more participants. Thus, the structure to a good deal follows the basic lines of the strategic planning approach, that is known in business management. Though the Action Concept is concentrated on economic regional development, it surpasses classical economic programmes not only by its cooperative way of elaboration, but also by integrating goals and projects of different sectoral origins to a concerted concept: It includes measures for the promotion of economic activities in general and concrete activities in the fields of research and development, job training, urban renewal, environmental betterments, public traffic facilities and culture.

This Action Programme was adopted in March 1988. It is a soft planning tool, since it has no formal legitimation, it has no legal consequences and is only working by persuasion and self-binding of the participants and the synergetic effects of their concerted actions.

The ZIM/ZIN-Initiative

At the same time, in autumn 1987, the Land's government launched an initiative for economic revitalisation of the steel

and coalmining areas (primarily addressed to the Ruhr area), that was called "Zukunftsinitiative Montanregionen" (ZIM, i.e. "Future Initiative for the Coal and Steel Areas") (ILS 1992; Hassink 1992). This initiative exactly followed the principles that were used to work out the Action Concept of the Emscher-Lippe Region. Following the perception that the economic crisis of these regions and their manifold, interwoven problems cannot be overcome by classical approaches of centralized subsidy programmes a real innovation of regional economic policy was created, (for a full assessment, see MWMT 1992). It followed three main principles:

(1) *Regionalisation*: The programmes and concrete projects were worked out within the regions themselves. The "relevant forces" for economic development, whichever they may be, were to build up a round table to work out a list of concrete projects that were thought to be of special importance for economic revitalisation. The government promised to subsidize these projects with priority. There was no regulation as to who was to cooperate, no border lines of the created "regions" were given, no organisation structure, no legitimation for the participants was afforded, all was a free, self-organizing, "anarchic" process.

(2) *Cooperation*: The "relevant forces" for the economic development of the region should reach a consensus view of goals and concrete projects; thus realizing mutual support and - where necessary - joint action, or, as one of the moderators of the district government level

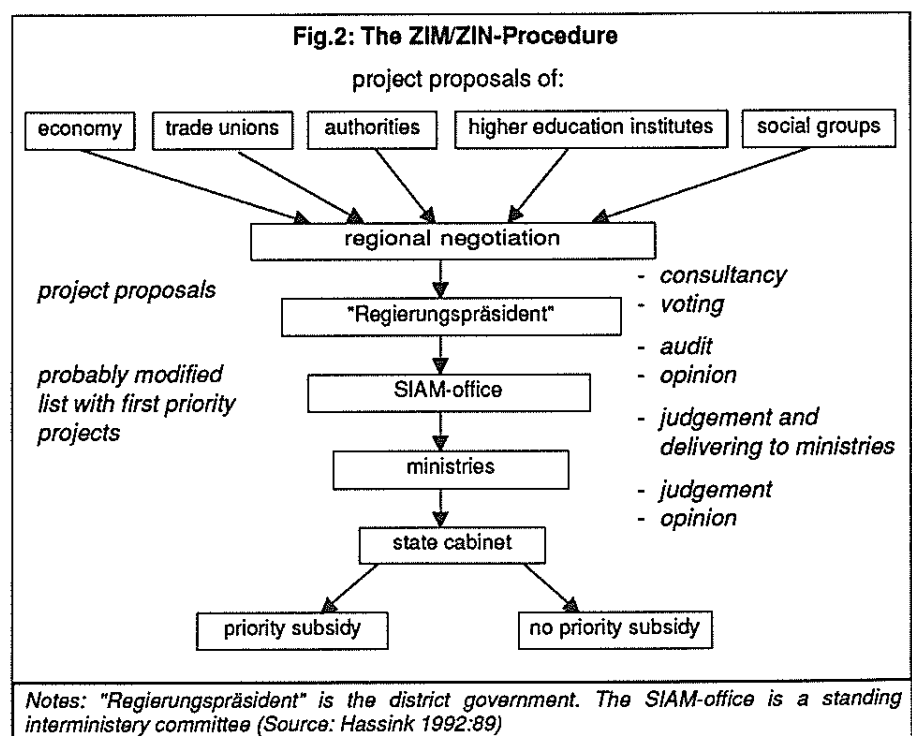
put it, "more working together than working against each other" (KONZE in ILS 1992:56), as far too often happened previously.

(3) *Coordination*: The process of coordination between the regional and state level should be improved during the assessment and implementation process.

Since the initiative, for a 4-year term, was equipped with a budget of more than 1 billion Deutschmarks, originating from pure Land's funds and an even greater sum was available from joint subsidy programmes together with the European Community and the federal government (HESSE et al. 1991:85), it was received with open arms. Especially the bottom-up approach was highly appreciated. On the other hand, the innovation of self-organizing processes, lacking any regulations, was reason for much confusion and criticism.

The ZIM-Initiative was nevertheless a success, and therefore it was expanded to the whole Land of NRW in 1989, now under the title of "Zukunftsinitiative für die Regionen NRW" (ZIN, i.e. "Future Initiative for the Regions of NRW") (ILS 1992:121 ff; ILS 1992:125 ff). The procedure remained the same; it is shown in fig 2.

The Action Concept for the Emscher Lippe Region and the cooperation already exercised, fitted well into this state initiative, and in the meantime it has been possible to realize many of the projects.



The Regional Conference Emscher-Lippe

This important new institution was established in April 1988 to institutionalize the successful cooperation in the region and to meet the demands of the ZIM-Procedure regulations the Conference is the heart of the cooperative economic network. It will give the moderation concept for regional economic development a durable form; the moderator function is taken by the district government. In the meantime, some new participants have joined the Conference.

In continuing the process of "regionalization of the regional (economic, R.K.) policy", it was coined by the government, followed the example of the Emscher-Lippe-Region in requesting all of the created ZIN- regions to devise their own Regional Development Concept as a rational basis for the creation of concrete project proposals. Since there are no more special grants in favour of the ZIN-projects, as there were in the ZIM- and first ZIN-round, it remains to be seen how successful this task will be managed by the regions. The Regional Conference Emscher-Lippe finished a reformulation of the Action Programme, which now, in accordance with the ZIN- procedure is called "Regional Development Programme" (EMSCHEER-LIPPE-ENTWICKLUNGSPROGRAMM 1991), and fulfills the "recommendations" of the government

The Development Agency Emscher-Lippe

Another cooperative institution which has been realized and also was originated from the Action Concept of 1988 is the Development Agency Emscher-Lippe (RP MÜNSTER 1988:34f.). It was created in May 1990 as a public-private partnership organization, set up by local authorities, the chambers of trade and commerce and private corporations; it works as a new intermediary organisation in the field of economic promotion for the region as a whole, thereby coordinating actions of the participants and avoiding traditional competitive effects among the several actors, namely in form of the "inter-community competition".

Discussion

A full discussion of the lessons to be learned from the NRW experience cannot be given here. I will concentrate on some central points:

(1) Using cooperation and negotiation as planning instruments besides the existing formal instruments of planning and administrative procedures can be successfully implemented in Germany, too.

(2) The experience of NRW shows that central government on the Land's level still plays a dominant role in all of these cooperation concepts. But still, the functioning of the new cooperative forms of planning would not be possible, if the state did not change its role and operate as a "hierarchy-reduced" (WOLF 1990:134 ff), or cooperative state. In partnerships, however, as they are cooperation models in a stricter and more ambitious sense, it is even inevitable that governmental authorities cooperate with the other partners on principles of an equal relationship, working together in a "heterarchic" or "polyarchic" mode.

(3) Cooperation is a time-consuming form of interaction; to get initiated and to be successfully carried out, it needs high prerequisites fulfilled. So, the use of cooperative strategic planning, especially in the form of partnerships, will be limited to special cases. Cooperative conflict resolution instruments for acute conflict solving, however, especially the ADR-instruments, (cp. fig. 1) seem to have more chances to become a common practice.

(4) The increasing need for new, intermediary organisations is clearly proved by the experience with cooperative planning in NRW.

(5) Where realized successfully, these instruments work in a strictly ideology-free spirit. To say it with a formula: not state or market is the central aspect of cooperative instruments, but rather they are solutions beyond state and market (WOLF 1990:129 ff).

But there are other problems regarding these instruments that have to be taken quite seriously. They concentrate on two arguments: The possible selectivity of cooperation processes in terms of their items and results as well as in social terms, and the possibility of deficits in legitimization and democratic control of the processes.

(6) Cooperative concepts until now are completely guided by practice; it even took quite a long time, until legal and policy sciences recognized them; in these disciplines there is a vivid discussion about these concepts. For planning theory, however, this is just in the beginning.

(7) Some of the causal factors for imple-

menting cooperation and consensus instruments in the first world seem to occur in the third world countries, too: fiscal stress, problems with the implementation of formal regulations and governmental programmes; on the other hand, market failure may even be more likely. Thus, the case for cooperative solutions beyond the dichotomy of pure market and state, could perhaps be stated for developing countries, too.

Cooperation and consensus instruments need autonomous, organized interest groups, able to act effectively, as a precondition of their functioning. Such a necessary degree of societal differentiation may not exist in all developing countries, at least not in all regions and for all interests or concerns. Since there are a lot of intermediary, non-governmental organisations, they might help to fill this institutional gap, and perhaps there are traditional institutions or organizations that have not been wiped out by the modernisation process of growing influence of markets and the (centralized) state. Taken together, these two types of organisations are perhaps adequate partners for cooperation and consensus instruments.

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The Underdevelopment of Development, Andre Gunder Frank. This is an autobiography with regard to development theory and issues. The book provides of Frank's bibliography of publication from 1955-1990. This is organized in three categories 110 books, 104 collections, and 600 periodical articles.

AFRICA: The Awakening Frontier, Trade and Investment in 500 Million Market Place. Jude E. Uba. This is a new book on the African market place which is rapidly changing in a global market economy. Thus, providing domestic and foreign companies with the opportunities to build profitable business while helping the continent attain its development goals.

Perestroika: An Inquiry into Its Historical Ideological and Intellectual Roots. By Abu Faij Dowlah (University of Southern California, 1990). This book examines the historical, ideological and intellectual roots of perestroika. Based on thorough inquiry, textual evidence, and historical facts, the author concludes that Gorbachev's claims are substantially legitimate.

Bilateral and Multinational Economic Co-operation in West Africa: Self Reliance Through Putting the Resources Together. W.A. Ndongko and Franklin Vivekananda. Analyses the economic co-operation and trade in West Africa.

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Zimbabwe: Ten Years of Destabilization: A Balance Sheet. Eliphaz G. Munkonoweshuro. Analyses 10 years of socio-economic and political conditions.

Critical Essays on African and Third World Economic Development. W.A. Ndongko and F. Vivekananda. This book examines the recent economic development of African and Third World nations.

Economic Development of Cameroon. Franklin Vivekananda and W.A. Ndongko. This book analyses the economic development of Cameroon since the colonial period.

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Nigeria What Hope? A Study Into Corruption and Socio-economic Issues. Acha Felix Ndubisi.

Curriculum Development for Responsive Education in Third World Countries - Theoretical Foundations. T.G. Anwukah.

Capital Accumulation, the State and Nigerian Peasantry. D. Mou.

Development Alternative. Amalendu Guha and Franklin Vivekananda. This is the alternative to the contemporary maldevelopment which consists the trioka of underdevelopment and dependent development.

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Limited budgets, growing demand. How to provide social infrastructure

Volker Kreibich

Zusammenfassung

Volker Kreibich stellt in seinem Beitrag traditionelle Organisations- und Finanzierungsmodelle zur Bereitstellung der notwendigen Infrastruktur in Frage.

Im Hinblick auf die wachsende Versorgungskrise als Ergebnis der gegenläufigen Entwicklung von ökonomischen und demographischen Wachstum, kann eine ausreichende Versorgung mit Einrichtungen der sozialen Infrastruktur nach traditionellen Planungskonzepten nicht mehr erreicht werden. Auch ist zu befürchten, daß die Stadt-Land-Gegensätze wachsen und die Armutsgruppen zukünftig gänzlich von der Versorgung ausgeschlossen werden.

Im Hinblick auf die besorgniserregende Versorgungssituation wird heute darüber nachgedacht, wie über Privatbeiträge und neue Organisationsmodelle dennoch ein Beitrag zur Minderung der Versorgungskrise geleistet werden kann. Das dies möglich ist, zeigen verschiedene Fallbeispiele aus unterschiedlichen Ländern.

"In Africa, there are two deadly races: economic growth against population, and basic education against ignorance" (Tijme 36, 1992: 36). Economic and social indicators seem to prove that the two races are being lost: "Vast stretches of Africa are in worse shape than at independence. People routinely live at subsistence levels" (ibid.). Under these conditions, the provision of schools, health facilities and other services has become a crucial task.

The growing gap between demand and supply

In many developing countries the annual rate of population growth has approached or even exceeded 3%. (1) Their population is bound to double within twenty years, but their economic performance cannot compete with population growth. "Over the decade of the 1960s total output, per capita income and consumption, all averaged positive annual growth ra-

tes. In the 1970s lower economic growth, in combination with increasing population growth, led to slight falls in per capita income and consumption. This trend worsened in the first half of the 1980s, with 1982 showing the biggest overall drop in per capita consumption in two decades. In these years living standards in Sub-Saharan Africa fell by 11%" (WHO 1988: 3).

The consequences for public expenditures have been very serious: "Responses to a deteriorating economic situation have commonly been to curtail demand and stimulate exports. Devaluation has often been necessary to support these objectives and to realign exchange rates (...) Reductions in public expenditure have been a common element in such adjustment policies, with the health sector frequently being cut back at a faster than average rate. (While) the share of health in public expenditure dropped in developing countries over the decade 1972-82, it increased in the same period in the industrial market economies. International disparities in public expenditures for health have accordingly increased: the most affluent countries now spend over

250 times as much per head of population on health, through their public sector, as the poorest" (ibid.: 5).

A growing number of countries are no longer able to provide even the services necessary to fulfil basic needs. "(In Tanzania, it is) clearly beyond the capacity of the Government to fund capital expenditures for meeting basic needs in the education sector. Besides spreading them over a long period, priorities have to be laid down and savings effected. (...) As a basic needs mission we would strongly commend the case to the donor agencies as otherwise the additional requirement of capital expenditure is beyond the capacity of the Government" (ILO, 1982, 119). Some Western governments have already reacted to these deteriorating conditions for the provision of social infrastructure by adjusting their framework for economic cooperation. The new Africa Policy of the Ministry of Economic Cooperation of the Federal Republic provides one example: "Longterm financial assistance for social programmes, e.g. in the education and health sectors, can be necessary" (E+Z 33, 1992: 10)

The imminent dangers resulting from a neglect of the social sector have been named by the Director General of UNESCO: "If adjustment policies are to be carried out without regard to the poor and vulnerable, if debt repayment is to take precedence over the necessary investment in the social sectors including education, then the current disequilibria and economic tensions in North-South relationships are likely to turn into a dangerous erosion of human resources that risks undoing the educational progress achieved and might set back the countries of the South by a whole generation or even more. (...) In more than half of the 100 developing countries recently

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surveyed by UNESCO, expenditure per primary school pupil is falling in real terms. For those nations, even the percentage of national budgets devoted to education has declined in the 1980s. As a result, the proportion of 6 to 11-year-olds who are enrolled in primary school is also now falling in many countries including Bangladesh, Guayana, Madagascar, and Mexico and in many African nations south of the Sahara" (UNICEF 1990: 46-47).

The radical downturn is especially significant in Sub-Saharan-Africa, where "primary school enrolment had jumped between 1965 and 1980 from 41% to 79%, but by 1988 it had fallen back to 67%" (UNDP 199: 40).

Kenya provides a good example. Still in the recent past it could tell a success story: an average of 30% of the state budget has been spent during the last decade to expand the educational system, and, consequently, the adult rate of illiteracy dropped in 25 years from 80 to 50%. At independence (1963), there were 6.000 elementary schools with 900.000 students and in 1990 already 15.000 elementary schools with 5 million students. But "the greater onslaught on educational facilities is still ahead": with a birth rate of 3.9% and one half of the 23 million Kenyans under 15 years of age, the population is increasing faster than schools can be built or teachers be trained. The consequence is that "Parents are now asked to foot the bill" (Wichterich 1990: 22).

Since the early seventies the proportion of public expenditures for social infrastructure has decreased in many countries of the Third World. Today, expenditures are even falling in absolute terms. The gap between demand for social infrastructure and available facilities and services is widening at a frightening rate.

The failure of adaptive strategies

Most governments and administrations have adapted their policies in a passive way, i.e. by reducing standards, and thus failed to face the growing gap. Beyond a critical level, the reduction of standards is rendering the provision of social infrastructure obsolete. Health facilities and schools are understaffed, the personnel is badly trained and insufficiently equipped, necessary supplies are lacking, maintenance has been reduced and transport is often not available. "There is an in-built inefficiency in schools where expenditures have been so reduced that

95% of the remaining budget is needed to pay the salaries of teachers whose effectiveness is reduced through lack of books, writing materials, and blackboards" (UNICEF 1990: 49). The same applies to health facilities.

As a consequence, many facilities are now underused especially in those areas, where social services are needed most dearly. (2) As in the industrial sector, under-utilisation of social infrastructure is a prevalent problem in national economies with scarce resources.

Illiteracy and epidemic diseases are again progressing, especially in the fast growing urban areas, and the eradication of illiteracy through the school system is not in sight: "19 African and 8 Asian countries still have an illiteracy rate of more than 50% in the critical 15 to 19 year age group" (Müller 1990: 20). As one result of continuing illiteracy, the fertility rate was almost as high in 1990 as it had been in 1960. (3) The vicious circle between population growth and inadequate social services is thus going to remain active, leaving the governments with still growing problems in the future.

The insufficiency of conventional planning concepts

A large spectrum of technical planning concepts has been proposed to meet the growing demand for social infrastructure with limited funds. The efficiency of infrastructure delivery can be improved with better management of existing facilities, investments in transport and accessibility and better cooperation between system hierarchies.

The margins for conventional measures to halt or even improve the deterioration of infrastructure provision are, however, already very small in many countries. The expanding gap between available budgets and demand has very often left only one alternative to the reduction of standards beyond the level of operational efficiency and acceptability, that is, to charge the users, giving up one of the central principles of post-independence policy, free basic services to all.

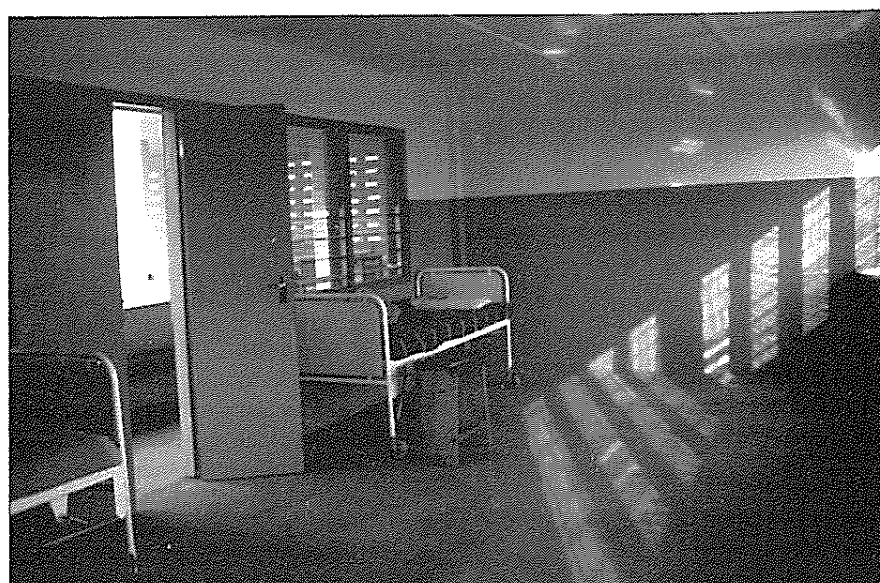
User charges for health care

The debate on user charges for health care is still as open as ever. For many authors they are a potential contribution to improving the financial base of the health sector; however, they are a serious deterrent to those people whose health needs are greatest. Equity in health care is thus already measurably deteriorating (Creese 1990: 15).

Carefully discriminating fee systems are, therefore, necessary to ensure that revenue is provided only by those who can afford to pay, and that the resulting income improves the quality and accessibility of health care targeted at the poor. This procedure definitely entails a lot of administrative problems to avoid "selective primary health care", and administrative and political realities in poor countries argue against the successful operation of such a scheme (ibid.: 17).

Paying for education

The Republic of Korea and Taiwan are often used as cases to demonstrate that success in education and, as a conse-



Health Centre in Northern Ghana

Foto: Karin Gaesing

quence, in economic development has been achieved with primary schools free to all. For this reason, school fees for primary education have been considered a taboo by most governments, but now "for most African countries the scope for further cost sharing in primary education is negligible or non-existent" (The World Bank in UNICEF 1990, 51). Today, direct or indirect charges are already a factor in rising drop-out rates. The most common reason for a child dropping out of primary school in Kampala (Uganda) is the parents' inability to pay school fees. "When financial pressures mount, it is usually the daughter who is forced to drop out of school first. The proportion of girls to boys in the first grade of Kampala's primary schools is close to 50%. But by the seventh grade, not only have half the pupils dropped out of school but the proportion of girls has fallen to 30%" (ibid.).

According to the World Bank, the policy of increasing resources by charging families for education should therefore be mainly directed towards higher education. Typically, a third of government spending on universities and colleges is devoted to teaching costs, and it is here that charges might be more justified.

The introduction of school fees for secondary schools is, of course, highly selective. In Kenya, for example, the education gap between rich and poor, between rural and urban areas is increasing, after "the government found that the concept of mass education has been too much to handle. (...) The dream propagated after independence of "free education for all" has been abandoned. Cost sharing has become the key word. (...) Parents, above all mothers, are working themselves to death to come up with the confounded tuition and do their bit to establish laboratories. But how can a domestic servant with a monthly income of 100 DM pay the annual cost of 500 to 700 DM for a secondary school student?" (Wichterich 1990: 22).

In Kenya, the tensions following the introduction of school fees, finally led to students' protests against the educational system, to demonstrations and riots. They are likely to occur again in the future, when graduates, especially in rural areas, are realising that it is difficult for them to find adequate jobs in the modern, "urban" sector.

Urban bias and misplaced priorities

Most governments have adopted the basic needs concept and given first prio-

riority to primary education and basic health in their development plans. In reality, however, the "urban" sector with curative medicine and secondary and tertiary education is still receiving a disproportionate share of scarce resources.

This is a counterproductive policy, since the large majority of the people is still without adequate basic services. In Africa, more than half of the labour force had no formal education at all and an additional 40% have only completed some primary education. Primary education is one of the best investments any country can make. "For poorest countries, the highest returns (for economic growth) are from primary education. For African countries, the estimated return for primary education is 26% - compared with 17% for secondary education and 13% for higher education" (UNDP 1992: 69).

In addition to sectoral distortions, there is still an even growing urban bias in the provision of social infrastructure. In Sub-Saharan Africa, only 36% of the rural population have access to health services, 28% to water, and a mere 17% to sanitation. The rural-urban disparity is still very pronounced: in the health sector it is 45, for water 43 and for sanitation 30 (4) (UNDP 1992: 147).

In most developing countries, more than 50 percent of public health care expenditures go to urban hospitals and therefore mainly to curative medicine, although the PHC principle of community participation requires the introduction of health measures at the lowest communal level. "In Niger, for instance, 50 per cent of the national health care budget is allocated for hospitals in the national capital. 40 per cent is spent by facilities in the provincial capitals, which leaves just 10 per cent for the rural areas, where 80 per cent of the people live. The 50 per cent spent for hospital care in 1984 benefited 350.000 patients, while the other 50 per cent had to suffice for ten million users" (Warning 1989: 13). In Tanzania, half of the national health budget is used by three large hospitals ((Korte et. al. 1993: 8).

The urban bias has not been enforced by adverse economic conditions, but is a tradition from the early days of independence. Already "during 1960-71, enrolment in universities and higher education institutions in LDCs as a whole increased twice as fast as total enrolments. Furthermore, virtually all of the educational expansion was concentrated in urban areas" (Islam 1987: 217). These distortions in spending state revenue can be only partially equalized through assistan-

ce by foreign donors and church activities. Without their intervention, a great proportion of the rural population and the urban poor would be left without education and health services. It can be observed, however, that cooperation between church and state investments and service concepts is often not much developed. Thus, functional hierarchies cannot be used in an optimal way. Missionary and state systems of education or health delivery may even exist next to each other but without integration.

The limits of public consumption: a potential for development?

The role of government is being scaled down in large parts of Africa, and it is increasingly becoming obvious that the state cannot even provide free services for basic needs. Under these conditions, the relationship between citizens and the government has to be redefined.

Mobilisation of people's spirit for development has been at the centre of national policies from the time of independence, but it served mainly the interests of central governments, ruling parties and urban elites. People are tired of being rounded up for ideologies. They want to be taken serious with their specific and local needs and aspirations, then they are prepared to take over responsibilities and to contribute with their money and their labour to improve their living conditions. Although the "civil society" has yet to be developed in many developing countries (UNDP 1992: 26), there are many success stories of development based on local institutions and resources (Fekade 1992).

The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) is an example of locally based, self-help infrastructural services by and for the rural poor: "With 2,500 schools so far, and a further 2,000 scheduled to open by 1991, the BRAC programme is demonstrating that basic education, including literacy, numeracy and social studies, can be provided for an approximate cost (to BRAC) of \$15 per pupil per year by involving parents in putting up simple classrooms and selecting educated members of the community to act as teachers. Aimed particularly at the children of the poor and the landless, the programme has been remarkably successful in giving three years of basic education to 8 to 10-year-olds, of whom over half are girls, and graduating 95% of them into the fourth grade of the official primary education system" (UNICEF 1990: 51).

Other innovations which have been introduced into the educational programme in Bangladesh point the direction for self-help and local participation in the provision of social infrastructure: "the use of radios in educational programmes, inclusion of training on sanitation, health, nursing and population in primary schools; the use of part-time teachers and educated housewives to relieve the shortage of teaching personnel; the use of factory workers and supervisors in vocational and technical schools and the establishment of community workshops of communal use by vocational schools as well as for "out of school" youths with little or no education who would spend most of the time on "on the job" training" (Islam 1987: 74).

In Indonesia, 800,000 volunteers in 57,000 of the country's 57,000 villages, are active within the posyandu network, working to help parents protect their children's health. The focal points of the system are neighbouring gatherings of mothers with their under-five children and of pregnant women, who meet each month in private homes and village halls. The network is already providing 85% of Indonesia's mothers and children access to basic health services at very low cost for the public sector (UNICEF 1990: 54). In Zaire, most health centres and schools which have been built after 1980 during the period of economic decline, have been constructed in self-help.

It seems that after thirty years of highly centralized decision making with a fundamentally wrong approach to economics, an efficient state with a reciprocal exchange of fees, taxes and other contributions against services can only be developed through a bottom-up process. In this context, social infrastructure is of central importance: it is the realm where the individual households have to cooperate in order to provide and to consume services which they alone cannot provide and which the state can no longer guarantee. The limits of public consumption can thus become the bridge from subsistence to a market oriented economy.

Social infrastructure development in a decentralized setting

The focal point of infrastructure development is the local community. It is on this level that costs can be meaningful compared to benefits and the efficiency of facilities and the effectiveness of services can be controlled. Success stories from all over the world prove the potential of social learning and self-organisa-

tion. It is probably the most important prerequisite for development based on local resources.

The decisive role of the district focus has been stressed by the World Health Organisation: "The district is the most appropriate level for coordinating top-down and bottom-up planning; for organizing community involvement in planning and implementation; and for improving the coordination of government and private health care. It is close enough to communities for problems and constraints at community level to be understood. Many key development sectors are represented at this level, thus facilitating intersectoral cooperation and the management of services across a broad front" (WHO, 10). The Bamako initiative for improving health care in Sub-Saharan Africa has, therefore, adopted a district focus.

The World Bank provides some additional technical arguments for decentralization of services: "Health services need to shift from large centralized, curative facilities, to a small, decentralized preventive approach, with more maternal, child health care, and family planning and better balance between urban and rural provisions. Cost per death averted are at least five to ten times lower in the decentralized facilities. In education, the emphasis generally needs to shift from university scholarships to primary and secondary education and to technical training. The vested interests are powerful, but several countries are making progress: Malawi, Niger, and Zambia have deferred plans for new hospitals, extensive renovation, and costly, specialized equipment" (The World Bank 1984: 30).

Where communities have been organized to participate in the provision of services (as in education in Ethiopia), or where private initiatives have been encouraged (as in secondary schools in Tanzania recently), services can often be provided more cheaply and effectively. Decentralization and privatization are not panaceas, however: consistency with national policy, replicability elsewhere, and equality of access must be recognized as issues (ibid.: 31).

The development of practicable systems to distribute risks is the most important component for sustainable health systems in Third World countries. Especially in rural areas it requires the "devolution" and integration of the health insurance system. Comprehensive village development projects which include income generating components are more successful than "pure" health insurance systems. The "health ticket" which has been introduced in Thailand, has been most successful when combined with additional development components, e.g. village development funds and local government through village committees (Korte et. al. 1993, 9).

Decentralization carried out in a "top-down" procedure will, however, most certainly meet serious obstacles: "Such decentralisation, which may seem ideal from the point of view of information and planification, presents unsurmountable obstacles for the implementation of a "top-down" basic needs policy. The experience (...) provides abundant proof that the major obstacles for the practical application of an ambitious plan of social reforms aimed at the lowest popular strata are to be found not at the central levels of the national power structure, but



Adult Literacy Programme; class under the Mango tree

Foto: Karin Gaesing

at the level of the region and the village. There, the many groups and individuals opposed to the reforms are local experts. They know the situation of each village, household and worker: they are quick to exploit the weak points of any new set of legal rules. From time immemorial, local middle-men have confiscated part of the meager earnings of the landless workers, money-lenders have obliged them to pay the same debt again and again from father to son, and petty bureaucrats have extracted bribes from them, often with the complicity of their victims. A new policy proclaimed by distant national leaders, a new law written by the Parliament in the capital city, a new bureaucrat sent from above to enforce that law, weigh little against the passive and active resistance of the local beneficiaries of the status quo" (Harari 1982: 86).

"Conversely, only if the destitute groups are enfranchised, if they acquire political power and autonomy will they be in a position to control effectively - locally and through their representatives, at other national levels - the application of the laws and regulations which intend to favour them. Only (the) combination of self-help and autonomous political action on the part of the lowest social sectors plus the support of many other (...) groups and actors will eventually be able to break the circle of lack of political and economic power, ignorance, disease, famine and death which characterises their plight" (ibid.: 87).

Another major obstacle to decentralized development is the lack of recurrent finance. The International Labour Organisation points to this problem in a study on Planning for Basic Needs for Kenya: "The quantitative problem for planners may be a shortage not so much of capital as of recurrent finance. Self-help groups are active in the building of health centres and aid agencies are currently very interested in this area. But a very limited amount of recurrent finance is available. This is partly because self-help groups may confine themselves to capital formation, often in an explicit bid for government recurrent resources" (Ghai et al. 1981: 88).

Therefore, cooperation between the national level ("top-down") and the local level ("bottom-up") is once more required. In their Directions for Strengthening District Health Systems the World Health Organisation sets out the following guidelines (WHO 1988, 65):

- National governments need to adopt policies that support the development of district health systems; allowing

flexibility for local action while ensuring equity between districts.

- Ministries of health need to develop guidelines that specify the roles and responsibilities of the centre, the region and the district. These guidelines should then be reviewed regularly to allow modification on the basis of lessons learned in the implementation of district health systems.
- Districts should be given sufficient authority to enable them to manage financial and human resources allocated to and raised by them, within a national policy framework but responsive to local needs and conditions.

The increasing conflict between limited funds and growing demand will most likely widen the gap between national political interests and local needs. Central government would be well advised to observe the following foremost responsibilities:

- concentrate limited resources on most productive sectors,
- provide the political framework for local initiative,
- back up bottom-up processes and
- assist especially deprived areas and groups (e.g. refugees).

Without these priorities, adequate provision of social infrastructure will become an unsurmountable task in many Third World countries, not only in traditionally deprived rural areas, but increasingly also in the fast growing conurbations. In addition, the increasing "service gap" may develop into a threat to the national economy and to political stability.

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- (1) For the period 1990-2000 the annual rate of population growth in LDC's was estimated to be 3.0%, for Sub-Saharan Africa 3.2% (UNDP 1992, 171).
- (2) SPRING students have documented this paradoxical phenomenon in their assignment papers for the Western and Northern Regions in Ghana and for Ethiopia.
- (3) The ratio of birth rates between 1960 and 1990 was 94% in LDC's and 99% in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNDP 1992, 171).
- (4) Rural-urban parity would be given with a value of 100; the figures are for the period 1987-1990.

CHRONOLOGIE eines angekündigten Friedensnobelpreises

Massaker in der spanischen Botschaft in Guatemala-Stadt - 39 Mitglieder des Kleinbauernverbandes CUC ermordet (31. 1. 80) + amnesty: Guatemala: Politischer Mord als Regierungsprogramm (FEBRUAR 1981) + UNHCR: 40 000 Guatemalteken vor der Armee nach Mexiko geflohen (SEPTEMBER 1981) + General Rios Montt putscht in Guatemala (MÄRZ 1982) + Gewehre und Bohnen - Beginn der systematischen Militarisierung des Landes (1982) + Wehrdörfer, Zivilpatrouillen, Massenmord - 100 000 Flüchtlinge und 1 Million Inlandsvertriebene (1982) + Nothilfe für Flüchtlinge in Mexiko (MEDICO RUNDSCHEIBEN 4/82) + Rigoberta Menchú: Der Dschungel hat tausend kleine Wege... (MEDICO RUNDSCHEIBEN 4/85) + Polizeiausbildung als „Demokratie-Förderung“ (FAZ 18. 6. 86) + „Appell an die Bundesregierung, die geplante Polizeihilfe zu stoppen! (MEDICO RUNDSCHEIBEN 3/86) + „Weil wir hier im Ixcán, Guatemala, nicht wenige sind, sondern viele....“ Brief aus den Geheimen Dörfern (MEDICO RUNDSCHEIBEN 4/86) + Freiwillige müssen auf „Zivilpatrouille“ - Guatemalas Bauern haben von der Demokratie noch nicht viel gemerkt (FR 27. 3. 87) + Rigoberta Menchús Verhaftung bei ihrer ersten Rückkehr nach Guatemala (MEDICO RUNDSCHEIBEN 2/88) + Polizeihilfe für Guatemala gescheitert (FAZ 14. 10. 89) + Guatemala: Entführung und Morde - UNO-Menschenrechtskommission beklagt „unkontrollierte Gewalt“ (BASLER ZEITUNG 31. 1. 90) + Bischöfe bezeichnen das Leben in Guatemala als unmenschlich (FR 31. 1. 90) + Polizisten foltern Kinder (NRZ 4. 8. 90) + Guatemala - Demokratie geringer Intensität? Rundreise mit Rigoberta Menchú (MEDICO RUNDSCHEIBEN 2/90) + Särge sind billiger als Medikamente (DIE ZEIT 2. 11. 90) + „Tag für Tag erbeben die Hügel und Berge im Municipio Chajul“ Fortgesetzte Bombardements auf die indianische Zivilbevölkerung (FR 10. 11. 90) + Den Glauben an die Demokratie verloren - Wahlen in Guatemala (GENERALANZEIGER, BONN, 10./11. 11. 90) + Guatemala in der Hand seiner „Eliten“ - Keine Entwicklungsschritte in fünf Jahren Demokratie (NEUE ZÜRCHER ZTG 12. 1. 91) + Der Krieg gegen die Kinder - Guatemalas Polizei... Jagd auf Jungenabenden (SÜDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG 17./18. 8. 91) + Guatemalas Vertriebene wollen zurück (UN PASO ADELANTE 1/92) + Friedensnobelpreis 1992 für Rigoberta Menchú (17. 10. 92, IN JEDER DEUTSCHEN ZEITUNG)

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The state is dead... But can the market be trusted?

The role of endogenous potentials in district development

Kofi Diaw

Zusammenfassung

Kofi Diaw setzt Zweifel in das staatliche Planungssystem, sucht aber auch keinen Ausweg darin, die Planung dem freien Spiel der Kräfte zu überlassen.

Vorgeschlagen wird ein dritter Weg, die lokal getragene Distriktentwicklungsplanung, die sich an den Interessen und an den endogenen Entwicklungspotentialen der Distrikte orientiert. An einer Fallstudie aus Ghana werden Stationen auf diesem Weg im einzelnen erläutert:

Dieses sind beispielsweise:

- o Die Förderung von Distriktunternehmen insbesondere im Bereich der nichtlandwirtschaftlichen Produkte.*
- o Die Beteiligung von regionalen Akteuren am Planungsprozeß und die Förderung von Initiativen und*
- o öffentliche Förderungshilfen, die sich an Marktmechanismen orientieren.*

Introduction

The success of state/planning is open to doubt, but so also is the success of the market. So I will restate the theme of this paper in a question. Is the state really dead, and can we turn wholesale to market mechanisms for district/sub-regional development? My answer is a qualified no.

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Public planning

Various reasons have been put forward on why centrally initiated development policy widely lost its effectiveness and central redistributive policies proved ineffective (Stöhr 1985). Among others, Stöhr (1990) provides the following "concrete" reasons:

- central allocation policies have traditionally been organized along sectoral lines, which in most cases produced segmented results at the local level. While the coordination of sectoral policies at the local regional level has been the traditional task of centrally steered local and regional development policy, it has frequently represented only the extended arm of central power, at best able to provide technical coordination of (mainly central) projects, but not able to mobilize and coordinate local resources.
- while central allocation policies during growth periods were relatively successful in cushioning some of the negative social and spatial side-effects of growth (eg. through welfare, subsidies), in the recent period of economic restructuring such policies have become widely ineffective (cf. Ghana's adjustment programme, PAMSCAD and the poor Republic of Ghana 1987).
- central allocation policies have not been able effectively to overcome the problems caused by the functional economic and labour market segmentation which restructuring has produced at the local and regional levels.
- structurally weak regions are usually handicapped by standardized technological, organizational structures, central allocation policies.
- central allocation policies in most

market and even in some centrally planned economies also have not been able effectively to reduce social disparities within localities and regions on a sustained basis.

Market mechanisms

The private enterprise approach to district development, based mainly on the operation of the market mechanism, is usually based on micro and macro level arguments (Stöhr 1990). The micro-level argument asserts that the private entrepreneur is in the best position to identify new market opportunities, choose relevant new products and technological innovations and invest resources accordingly. The macro-level argument asserts that as soon as the mobility of commodities and services (free trade) and of production factors is increased sufficiently, spatial differences in prices and levels of development will tend to equalize spatial disparities. These levels, however, disregard veritable processes operating between them:

- at the micro-level, the ability of the individual entrepreneur to define new markets, introduce innovations and gain access to capital depends on the respective support structures available in their vicinity, that is, on the meso-level of their local milieu.
- technological innovation must be organized on a territorial basis. This necessitates the careful coordination of local training, community development, education, research, tax and regulatory policies at the local and regional level. This "regional innovation complex" (Stöhr 1990) requires effective interaction and support network of actors at the local/regional level cooperating in various aspects

and to varying degrees with actors and institutions outside.

A third system: locally initiated district development

Between market mechanisms and public planning is locally initiated development policy. The emergence of this third alternative was seen as important because central policies had proved inflexible to cope with local problems, and incapable of creating an entrepreneurial and innovative local milieu. On the other hand, the private enterprise approach proved evasive to be harnessed for local communal objectives.

The reliance on traditional large-scale market driven, large-organization and public initiated development processes have steadily weakened the capability of sub-regional communities to confront the challenges of socio-economic development by indigenous innovation and flexibility (Stöhr 1990).

The "third system" is vital for another reason: People, as Friedman notes, have an autonomous power, legitimately theirs. The "third system" is that part of the people which is reaching a critical consciousness of their role..." (Friedmann 1991: p4).

A major advantage of district action is that it can identify, mobilize and combine diverse potential local resources much better than central policies and the market. This emphasizes a new definition of development (Hedebro 1982; Melkote 1991), indicating several new goals which include equity in the distribution of information and benefits of development, and active participation of people in the districts.

Several reasons abound for relying on district endogenous potentials for development. Among the most important are the following:

- linkages between the district and other regions (especially rural-urban linkages), which result in several exchange activities.
- attempts to foster small-scale enterprise employment.
- spatial efficiency in distribution of economies.
- endogenous development and promotion of self-reliance.
- full utilization of economic potential of districts, and an identification and strengthening of territorial perceptions which exist within the district.

Dimensions of endogenous potentials

Effective district development is contingent upon the mobilization and management of endogenous potentials. The concept of endogenous potentials has several dimensions (see for e.g. Kunzmann 1987). They consist of the following:

- district/local economic potential, including small businesses, local construction and repair firms, etc.;
- rural-urban linkages (district endo- and exogenous linkages);
- local financial resources, including level of dependence on central finances, and mechanisms for acquiring and assigning financial resources;
- local know-how and experiences, including experiences of local traditions and problems, and knowledge of local environmental conditions and economic systems;
- local commitment of citizens and of local administrative (and political) personnel;
- local clubs, social and civic groups, and voluntary associations.

Implementation strategy: A case study

District development with broad initiatives "from below" constitute an important element of the Ghana government's reform programme for renewed economic growth. The Dagme West district in Ghana was used to assess this initiative as a basis for mobilizing endogenous potentials for development.

Dangme West district is a newly created district. It is largely rural, even though it borders the national capital district - Accra. The local economy is based largely on primary production, and agriculture constitutes 65 per cent of local employment. The district had a population of just under 80,000 in 1990 with an average density of 55 persons/sq. km. Dodowa (5362) is the district capital. Agro-based and natural resources-related industries form a major component of industries in the district.

Major data categories assessed included:

- district demographics and social entrepreneurial potential analysis,
- district economic and locational characteristics,
- community services: range of services, community assets and cohesiveness of community leadership.

Information requirements were thus viewed in two areas:

- the socio-economic base, commodity flow and connectivity linkages; and
- the district's development capacity for mobilizing endogenous potentials.

Growth and linkages in the district

Hierarchy and retail gravity analysis were used to assess the "soundness" of the district economy, and also the size and distance between markets in relation to shopper or customer behaviour. Results based on scales of economic differentiation, centrality, and solidarity indicated that there is absence of a basic hierarchy in the district, in which basic service centres are tied to higher level market towns and urban centres.

Assessment of shopper behaviour based on size and distance between market centres to identify the level of "economic capture", also shows that the trade area of commercial centres in the district have little locational advantages. For example, the Old Ningo-Dodowa trade area extends from Old Ningo up to 25.7 kilometres from Dodowa. The relationship with Accra is clearly worse: the Accra-Dodowa trade area extends up to only 2.9 kilometres. The gravity analysis indicates that the towns and communities of the district can only be attractive if they offer specialized goods and services to the customer base of the region.

Flows and connectivity linkages

A study of flows of commodities and other resource potentials shows the social and economic insignificance of centres in the district as consumption centres. Dodowa, as a district capital, has very little spatial and economic impact on the district, and offers no real importance yet to socio-economic leadership. The two other major (market) centres, Asutuare and Old Ningo are also individually isolated within the district context. The economic and commercial linkages with entities outside the district are more pronounced.

A major observable fact is the overriding dominance of Accra (and Tema) over the activities/functions in the district, concentrating wealth, jobs and facilities. This kind of relationship is part of the total interaction between the rural and urban areas in the country, a situation in which many such districts, expected to perform largely on their own, find themselves. Decentralized development should ack-

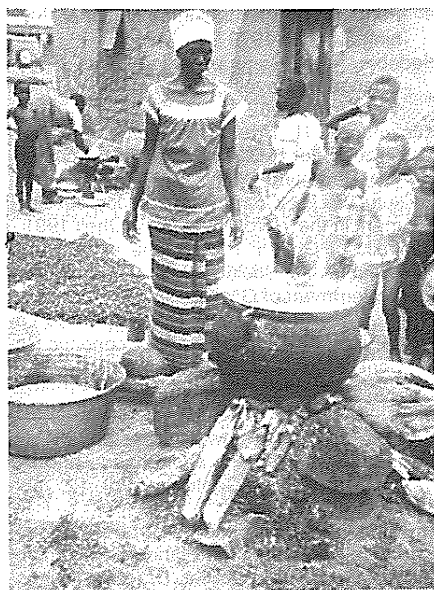
knowledge the importance of a spatial strategy which carefully balances exogenous and endogenous mobilization of potentials.

The development of the district's urban hierarchy is relevant for their future role in mobilization and development of the district. This could be based on a plan for mutually reinforcing packages of investment to ensure a critical mass of linked and self-sustaining system of activities.

District, firms and non-agricultural produce

The salient feature of the localization of firms is, that contact with district development leadership is restricted to pay "conveyance" fees, while the exchange of economic and technical information is reduced.

A typical firm, (e.g. a quarry) in the district is more concerned with its own profitability and marketing issues. They are "introverts" (Boulianne 1982), "passive" and "defensive" (Thomas 1981) firms merely responding to the persuasions of the market. Districts dominated by such firms tend towards stagnation, or at best, slow growth and reduced structural change. However, the firms represent a latent indigenous technological potential which the district can draw upon and translate into marketable goods, if, as is generally accepted, there is a positive relationship between technological capacity and economic growth (Thwaites 1982). Also, a high level of adaptability within firms in the district would further local innovation potential.



Sheabutter-production Foto: K. Gaesing

The role and relationship of the firms and the district are conditioned by features inherent in the firms - reserved attitudes rather than open mindedness in relation to the district. They consider only important those criteria which are linked to their interests. On the other hand, their activities are also conditioned by opportunities for business and informational contacts, access to consumer capital and labour markets, and availability of management personnel.

The interaction of the firms with the district provides further insights into linkages between economic activity and other dimensions of social life, including those associated with place. In this they also reflect fundamental contrasts in a world view which captures a territorial as opposed to functional paradigms of development (Friedmann and Weaver 1979). The differences which they generate provide important factors for the development of expectations, and generation of commitment and motivation.

Actors and processes for district development initiatives

An assessment of actors and processes which produce local innovation and restructuring, both internal and external, and their interrelations, is based on flows of potential from the district, the relation of local efforts and initiatives to outside actors, and the organization of communities to control the social and economic environment within the district. Four aspects of local development (Stöhr 1990) are identified: the origin of the initiative, of resource inputs, of control mechanisms, and the destination of benefits.

The practical situation in DW district is manifold. As far as the quarries are concerned, outside entrepreneurs take the initiative to exploit the district's potential in a largely mechanical manner. They create, in the process hardly any local employment (e.g. the local building industry through sub-contracting), and only export the quarried output. Mining and licence fees are paid to central government under whose jurisdiction mineral exploitation falls, with only "conveyance fees" paid to the district. Thus, external initiatives take advantage of local inputs, with benefits and control remaining largely external. In this the entrepreneurs have a leverage: central government control over local resources, and a centralized licensing and taxation system in which the district has little or no share as a collective unit. With regard to oyster

shell, for example, the initiative and the inputs are local, but the benefits and control are mainly external.

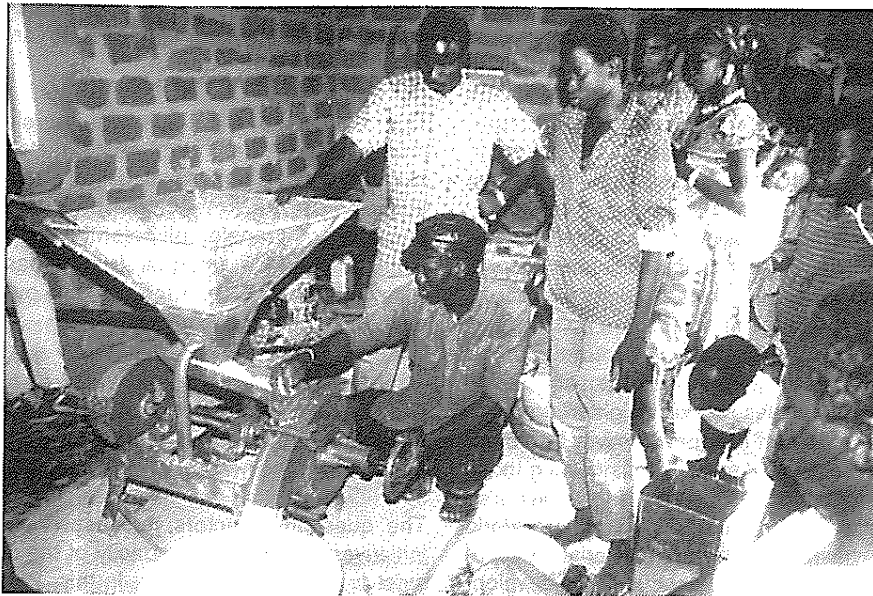
The origin and destination of the four elements are very important in characterizing the district's initiatives. If these relationships are to grow, based on an expansion and transfer of potentials from the district in an unequal (rural-urban) trade relationship, then the district's own development remains in doubt.

District development capacity, public assistance and market orientation

The question of actors, processes and initiatives touch on the capacity of the district to mobilize potentials. In this, local institutions play a crucial role. Important ones include district/community-based social and economic groups, training institutions, financial structures, and political institutions. Social institutions, e.g. youth clubs, non-governmental organisations, etc. have in many cases weak linkages and developmental initiatives. Consequently, the sources of information exchanges important for the spread of developmental ideas, crucial contacts, and relationships are lost. The ability of the economic groups with prominent local focus - eg ASCOFARMS Co-operative Society (of rice farmers), Co-operative Fishmongers Society, etc.- to broaden their own linkages as a force to diversify and commercialise their own production, and expand the spatial system of exchange is hampered due to a variety of factors.

Essential financial linkages which further capital circulation and flows, and which intensify credit and financial networks are undeveloped. Existing banks cast serious doubts on their ability to promote capital formation for district development. Credits always end up with rich landlords, powerful businessmen, and urban-based traders. Such financial linkages impair the quality of the linkages to promote district development.

In terms of training, however, the Integrated Community Centre for Employable Skills (ICCES) presents a realistic alternative in establishing a basis for the frame conditions necessary for promoting the development of relevant skills for the district. Its institutional linkages with the district are very strong and relatively free of external command chains. Consequently, it offers the capabilities required to produce quality skills to induce district economic and technological inno-



Miller operating a corn-mill

Foto: K. Gaesing

vation especially in the direction of small scale industrial activity.

The constraints on district capacity are further aggravated by information deficits. Development and maintenance of information and networks in the district touch on the following issues:

- who provides information, and what type of information?
- how is information treated and extended within the district?
- who makes decisions in a given situation?
- whose interests are represented by the information, and decisions?

The Flow of information as a basis for planning and coordination at the administrative and political level is handicapped. Reasons for this include:

- unavailability of policy documents;
- top official-monopoly, and flow conditioned on personal "connection" basis.
- media indifference and sycophancy on definition of development.

In the case study, knowledge at the local level and social competence are called to doubt. It is difficult to point to definite skills, which could form the bases of future development. Apart from national constraints, local unavailability of such potentials presents a low starting point. But these constraints make the involvement of identified local social entrepreneurs very crucial. Their involvement enables greater insights into relevant situations and provides new perspectives through looking at the subjective experiences of local people.

This assessment is also important from another perspective. Both public and private planning in Ghana have often left individuals with a sense of impotence, and at the mercy of processes too vast and too remote for them to intervene. Thus, concern and compassion are easily turned into despair and apathy leading to the development of parochial attitudes concerned only with individual welfare. District development, however, is about people: neighbours, friends, family, and their feelings, attitudes, hopes, anxieties, and aspirations. It is important that individuals are able to organise the means of responsible participation in the district by raising awareness of problems and potentials, and developing the necessary skills and empathy with people. If people share a common sense of neglect, or ineptitude, as the case may be, then they are likely to act on their own situation with some vigour.

Another question also relates to how to integrate public and private planning in the district. The state is a clear actor, especially in situations where the districts are used to being provided with infrastructure and services. But the limited absorptive capacity of the public sector should make its role supportive and promotory.

Besides, districts differ. But in any district it should be possible to identify the points to explore, support, and promote, and to identify current and future constraints to this process. Public planning will be crucial, in providing/ strengthening:

- support and motivation for local initiatives for employment creation

- strong official measure to promote the endogenous potentials of districts;
- information exchange and dissemination flow of innovation and suitable technology;
- direct state provision of trunk roads and highways, major energy sources, and such relevant technical infrastructure.

Private enterprises in most districts are small scale, and whereas these are willing and most times able to locate in the district, large scale private enterprises are not willing to do this. But the capabilities of small entrepreneurs are largely undeveloped. However, sub-regional development requires the predominance of local actors, with local control of resources and creativity potential, and this requires a large number of individuals acting with "entrepreneurial opportunity seeking attitudes". This necessitates several key issues. In areas with private activity, districts and private firms should approach each other as active co-actors, in which partnership between local groups and private entrepreneurs is actively promoted. This should generate increased interest in supporting endogenous entrepreneurship as a basis for improving district own economic competencies.

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Institutional aspects of district development

Christoph Beier

Zusammenfassung

Die Öffentliche Verwaltung muß in einen breiteren Kontext gestellt werden, um beurteilen zu können, ob die Bürokratie die existierenden Machtstrukturen in der Gesellschaft reproduziert, ob sie als ein neutrales Instrument in der Hand von Eliten zu betrachten ist, ob sie als wirkungsvolles Instrument zur Lösung von ökonomischen und sozialen Konflikten gelten kann oder ob sie das eigentliche Hindernis auf dem Wege zur Entwicklung ist. Häufig ist zu beobachten, daß keinerlei Kommunikation herrscht zwischen denen, die die Entwicklungspläne machen und den Zielgruppen der Regierungsplanung, die an der Formulierung von Policies nicht teilhaben. Eine verstärkte Interaktion zwischen den einzelnen Interessensgruppen ist empfehlenswert.

The role of public administration in district development

1. The growing demand for innovative concepts regarding the institutional setting of regional development management is the logical consequence of actual paradigms of development theory and strategy, like "decentralization", "participation", "bottom-up" or "sustainability". Decentralized government systems in which local politicians and bureaucrats are able and willing to plan and implement development measures in cooperation with the local population require not only suitable organizational structures, procedures and techniques but also a

certain reorientation of local bureaucrats. If local bureaucrats are thought to be an important force in implementing these concepts, a whole set of institution building measures seem to be necessary to enable them to meet the new requirements.

Regional development projects of the past often neglected questions of institution building. By operating through their own organizational structures they bypassed existing administrative procedures in order to achieve their project objectives more effectively. Very often the project goals of these projects were "only" concentrated on the improvement of the economic situation of the region. While ignoring questions how existing structures and human resources in the respective administration could be enabled to work more effectively they failed to achieve sustainability. After closing down the organizational parallel structures of these projects their innovative planning and implementation procedures vanished as well.

Today these problems are well known and development experts try hard to establish procedures, which proved to be successful in project implementation, also in the existing administrative structures. But these structures differ substantially from the special organizational environment of projects. They do not only have different mechanisms and routines but their own logic of action, their own reality. Searching for concepts how routinized planning techniques and procedures in established administrative structures could be changed became therefore an issue of the daily practice of regional development projects.

2. Efforts to support so called "development administrations" by providing

technical assistance are of course not new. The role of public administration as part of the institutional set-up for regional development management has certainly been seen very different over the last forty years. The assessment varied from "effective instruments in solving the core problems of economic and social development" to the view that development administrations themselves are the "main bottlenecks and constraints" regarding development.

Until the middle of the 70's public administration was regarded as development agency. Modern bureaucracy was seen as an efficient and effective way of governing. Bureaucracies were regarded as neutral tools in the hands of modernizing elites just implementing their political decisions. Mechanistic views of development bureaucracy prevailed in times when the modernization ideology was dominant. According to that ideology development projects were concentrated on the introduction of modern administration techniques imitating western models of administration.

Relatively soon it became obvious that the accepted doctrine of western administration was not directly transferable to nations pursuing development goals in different cultural settings (ILLY/KAISER 1985, 185ff). At the end of the 70's a growing number of scientists especially from developing countries criticized the application of WEBER's model of a modern and efficient bureaucracy. Public administration was discovered as a profoundly plural, not a universal phenomenon (ESMAN 1980, 427). The importance of social and cultural factors for administrative behaviour was stressed. Instead of centralistic, elite-oriented and technical models of administration, public administration was conceptualized as ba-

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sic-oriented referring to own cultural traditions (OBERNDÖRFER 1982, 450).

Since the mid-1980's questions of effectiveness of development bureaucracies are being asked on a wider scale than in the years before. As VAN UFFORD (1988, 9) pointed out, serious doubts arise concerning the capacity of all development organizations, not only public administration, to solve core problems of development in the "Third World": "Their role is increasingly regarded as ambiguous, uncertain and problematic."

3. Today the understanding of public administration at local levels is differentiated and assessed carefully. It is widely agreed on that public administration can not be seen as autonomous, as separated from the process of political decision-making; on the contrary, public administration is regarded as a part of the wider development context, strongly influenced by dominant economic and political interests and cultural factors. On the other hand it became obvious that the organizational process and structure can not be regarded as just a reproduction of the power configurations and basic contradictions of the respective society (VAN UFFORD 1988, 12).

New organizational theories show, that public bureaucracies as well as other organizations have to be conceptualized as 'arenas' in which different 'constructions of reality' interact (KÜPPER/ORTMANN 1988, 7ff). These interactions are related to a number of differential tasks and interests, both within the organi-

zation and its context (VAN UFFORD 1988, 21). Public administrations, as well as other development organizations and agencies produce their own understanding of 'development' for example and therefore, address development problems in a specific way. To come to a deeper understanding of bureaucratic processes, the different meanings of key concepts like 'development' have to be re-constructed and this can only be achieved by analyzing and using the rules of construction, which are dominant in the respective organization.

4. Because of the urgent need to find institutional solutions according to the requirements of decentralization, participation and sustainability, there is again a certain danger to conceptualize public administration in a mechanistic and instrumental way. Generalized technical solutions however cannot cope with regional/cultural varying, highly complex organizational processes or structures. As RONDINELLI (1982, 63) already stated ten years ago there is a need for careful experimentation, a process of social interaction, trial and error, successive approximation and social learning.

Public administrations are complex social (sub-) systems. Development projects in the field of district development therefore have to analyze the potential role of public administration in the development process according to the different functions which the administration fulfils in the respective (regional) society, the patterns of orientation and action inside the bureaucracy and the linkages and re-

lations to other institutions or (sub-) systems at the different levels. Careful analysis of organizational issues and accurate identification of bottlenecks in policy-making and -implementation are badly needed. Without such analyses the real potentials for change can hardly be assessed: "Unless policy analysts understand the evolution of institutions and the causes of past changes in capabilities and rules they cannot prescribe feasible institutional changes" (RONDINELLI et al. 1989, 80).

5. Public administrations on district level engaged in regional planning are intermediate bodies, parts of a wider network through which the money flows (VAN UFFORD 1988, 12). Development policies consist of endless negotiations between the different levels. In this chain of organizations district planners are placed between two different worlds: The central/provincial government which allocates funds and the public which is the recipient of aid. There seems to be some evidence that those sections of the local government and its administration which are responsible for assuring the inflow of funds and therefore involved in the policy-making process are nearly totally separated from the implementing sections (VAN UFFORD 1988, 24). Those who should represent the receiving end and reflect their needs take over the views and fashions as well as the political preferences which are to be found at desks which control the allocative decisions at higher level. The input-oriented development dialogue is disconnected with the local 'development reality'.

6. Based on long historical and often also actual experience the attitude of the poor people towards the state and its administration in general is very often dominated by suspicion and fear. Their loyalties in most cases rest with the religious or other informal leaders. Survival strategies of the peasantry, often defensive counterstrategies against the state, are shaped by a long history of marginalization and colonial and post-colonial exploitation. Very often the people, whose aspirations should be met better by development strategies like decentralization, participation and so on, are not used and not capable to articulate their own needs. They are real *dis-empowered* people in the sense as John FRIEDMANN (1992) recently defined the term.

On the other side we have interests on local level which are very well organized and which have some strong influence on political decision processes. Such interests, organized in "strategic groups",



People's participation in Côte d'Ivoire

Foto: Karin Gaesing

are already dominant in the local society. Very often rural elites, not the central state, dominate policy as it is carried out in the villages. While thinking about possibilities to devolve more power to lower levels, to mobilize local interests or to integrate local interest groups more in planning and implementing of political programmes, we have to be aware of the complicated social and political structures and power configurations on local level and we have to differentiate, who should be empowered by these measures.

If the poor individuals, households and communities should become real "partners" in development programmes, they have to be empowered first - empowered especially in their relation to the state. The poor have to change from wards of the state to people who are actively engaged in the production of their own lives and livelihood (FRIEDMANN 1992, 66). They have not only to be *consulted* about minor things concerning development planning and implementation; they have to have the power and capability to *negotiate* solutions to their problems with the agents of the state. Empowered people who put forward claims on the state for financial and/or technical assistance seem to be an essential factor for the necessary reorientation of local bureaucrats and the whole development process.

7. Based on such considerations there are two aims, which both should be taken as general orientation for projects in this field: First, the local people - and especially poor, marginalized and disadvantaged people - should be enabled to articulate their needs vis-à-vis local governments, and second, the bureaucracy has to be enabled to communicate with the local people.

For that purpose regional discussion forums ("round tables") which are not organized by local governments but by NGOs or similar organizations seem to be one possible instrument. In such a forum all relevant organizations and individuals of the local scene should be included. There are some hints from development practitioners in Indonesia that such efforts to initiate regional communication and cooperation processes can be successful. Without paying attention to the communication problems and problems of the attitudes of the bureaucracies as well as the local people, success of development activities which were planned and implemented in the mentioned network of organizations seem to be unlikely.

8. The role of public administration should be reflected in a critical way in all of these projects. Very often some tasks or services could better be provided or at least produced by NGOs or even the private sector. Strengthening local governments can not mean to extend the influence of the state on social organizations or networks on local level, which are the power bases for the poor. A *comprehensive* transfer of classical tasks of public administration to NGOs, the private sector or similar organizations however seems certainly not to be a solution of the development problems as well. By making policies and commanding resources the state remains a major player in the development process. Cooperation of all relevant actors in the region including public administration and an effective distribution of tasks among all of them should be the main purpose. The general aim should not be to by-pass public administration, but to include them in a local structure of collaboration. Such a collaboration can only function, if there is a certain equilibrium between the different partners. Because of the mentioned power configurations at local level very often changes in the distribution of power in the respective regions will become inevitable.

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Operationalizing participation: Local institutions and rural development

Wubalem Fekade

Zusammenfassung

Um Partizipation operationalisierbar zu machen ist es notwendig, sich über das gewünschte Konzept im klaren zu sein. Dabei muß Partizipation sowohl als Instrument als auch als Ziel von Entwicklung gesehen werden. Mangelnde Beteiligung der Bevölkerung an der Planung wird allgemein als ein Hauptgrund für das Scheitern vieler Entwicklungsvorhaben und die fehlende Nachhaltigkeit angesehen. Daher empfiehlt der Autor, verstärkt die Zielgruppen in die Planung einzubeziehen. Dies kann am effektivsten durch die Bildung von lokalen Institutionen geschehen, die Planungs-, Mobilisierungs- und Managementfunktionen übernehmen.

Conceptualizing participation

Participation is a widely, sometimes "emotionally and loosely", employed term in debates surrounding development and yet appears not sufficiently operationalized and understood.

One of the reasons contributing to lack of clarity about participation is the confusion of its "normative" (Fischer et al, 1980), "intrinsic" (Johnston and Clark, 1982) dimension with its "instrumentality" (Johnston and Clark), "practical means" (Fischer et al) significance. Though both the normative and the instrumentality aspects are relevant, their distinction, however, is crucial for the operationalization of the concept of participation. The need for clarity and consensus about what participation entails has been emphasized by a number of writers (Fischer et al, 1978; Esmann and Uphoff, 1984; Uphoff in Cernea, ed 1990; Uphoff, 1986; Chambers, 1980; Brinkerhoff, 1986).

Fischer et al discuss at length the historical genesis of the normative concept of

participation from a political-philosophical perspective as having evolved from the humanistic, democratic movements of 19th century Europe. In essence this refers to the involvement of the mass of rural and urban poor in their governance i.e in elective politics. This, while being appreciated as contributing to the creation of conducive global atmosphere for overall development, nevertheless, is deemed too general and of little help when it comes to designing the practical, day-to-day, incremental series of actions for rural development. The overemphasis of this normative dimension of participation, it is feared, might foreclose the smaller avenues to the participation of the poor in rural development by unnecessarily inviting the hostility and active opposition of the status quo i.e the rural and urban elite who possess power and resources (Fischer et al, 1980 : 39).

Most relevant, however, is the second dimension of participation i.e as a means and goal of development. This instrumental view of participation will help focus and direct attention at tackling development problems. While essentially incremental in scope, it nevertheless enables the creation of an understanding of the minimum convergence of interests of all parties involved in rural development. Despite class differences, it enables the

elite and the poor to see some advantage in mutual collaborative efforts at solving commonly felt and acknowledged problems. The point of departure, in this case, is not the analysis and resolution of conflicts, but discovery of common grounds for collective action.

The instrumental consideration of participation i.e as a means of enhancing rural development forces one to raise such questions, necessary for its operationalization, as: Who should participate in what? What are the necessary conditions required for participation, in other words what are the internal and external barriers, obstacles for participation? What resources are required from whom to effect participation? Which socio-cultural variables are conducive or inconducive for the participation of the disadvantaged? What goes into the making of good qualities of participation? When should participation take place in the project cycle (ex-ante or ex-post, i.e after the fact)? Where i.e at what spatial level do we consider participation i.e at local, district, regional, national? Does the consideration of the spatial level have any bearing on the type and endurance of participation? How can participation be institutionalized i.e how can participation transcend the spontaneous, ad-hoc involvement of people in collective action (such as one can observe when common threats to communal existence are perceived) toward making it a permanent part of people's daily lives? Why, after all, participation?

Why participation?

Some authors prefer to speak of development messes rather than of development problems. In the latter case it is assumed that everybody has clear, un-

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ambiguous understanding of what constitutes the problem and consequently it is easier to build consensus as to how to address the problem. In the case of the former the solution of one is the very problem for the other. As there are so many perspectives as are conflicting interests, the definition of social problems and their solution is a tangled business. (Johnston and Clark, 1982). Development deals with the future "of which no one has definite answer". Thus the need to learn to guess, to create new knowledge, to create a "common vision" based on common values together with all those who are to be affected is paramount. (Jürgen, 1992). This provides one perspective for arguing in favour of participation.

Indeed the review of development projects in Africa is full of cases where scarce resources have been wasted without adequate returns or, still worse, where many rural households who were purported to be beneficiaries ended up being victims of development-resettlers with strangers in strange areas, collectivized, villagized, displaced farmers ..and so on. The damage is done in most cases despite all the best intentions, intentions least informed of the problems, "intensely felt needs", potentials, and constraints and values and perspectives of those who were to be benefited. As Johnston and Clark pointed out, despite repeated failures, "...the development debate has tended to flit from fad to fad rather than build a cumulative body of fact and informed consensus. ...the development community has failed to learn from experience, repeating the same mistakes over and over again.." (Johnston and Clark, 1982:2). It is now being vigorously advanced by many that for project interventions to be sustainable, they should not, *a priori*, be fixed rigidly and in detail. They should, instead, allow "learning by doing" (Lele, 1975), should be "a learning process" (Honadle, 1985), "adopt a learning based approach" (Rondinelli, 1983), be "flexible and adaptive" (Lele, Honadle), be "a trial-and-error learning process" (Johnston and Clark, 1982). If this emphasis on a learning process approach to development interventions is not to remain yet another fad or well-meaning sentiment, if the learning is to be less painful, the learning process should include not only planners, administrators and policy makers, but must involve the very people, in this case rural people, who are supposed to be benefited by development. Since it is now generally accepted that the development process is full of uncertainty, it is not only rural people who are lacking in knowledge, but all involved including planners, academicians,

administrators. Since learning should begin with knowledge that is specific and certain, this process includes learning from and about rural people and their overall situation. Learning, in this case, is of necessity mutual in nature. Thus the need for participation.

Development is also about changing behaviours, preferences, perceptions, expectations, incentives and values of people which evolved through time and which served valued functions, but which may not, without modification, continue to help meet new needs and solve new problems. Development planners do not have a "clean slate" on which to write their recommendations and programs. (Johnston and Clark, 1982). Understanding the existing social context which provides the background for development interventions demands interaction between the outsider and the rural people. (Cerneja, 1990). Thus the need for participation of rural people in order to effect reciprocal behavioural changes.

Alternatives to participatory development, of the command type, have been tried all over the world and have not resulted in sustainable development. There are limits to the degree of forcing people to undertake "development" programs in which they did not take part and in the relevance of which they do not believe. The only resource at the disposal and control of the poor is participation. They own participation and can not be commanded at will by the powerful. (Johnston and Clark, 1982:173). This line of argument, of course, excludes labour camps. Participation, even when voluntarily induced and elicited, is not a free good of which the poor can dispose without constraints. Participating in one activity means foregoing the time, energy and resources that could have been used elsewhere. Poor people weigh the comparative advantages and costs of participation before they decide to participate. Much can be debated about their decisions. The point is that they must perceive benefits in participation that are not otherwise available. Thus people should participate in the planning of participation itself.

Local Institutions and Rural Development

It is proposed that the participation of the poor in rural development can be effective if it is institutionalized i.e. if it takes place through the concerted effort of local organizations that are created and nurtured by the people. It is, however, acknowledged

Some definitions

Local: There appears to be no universal definition about the spatial dimension of what is termed local. It all depends upon the purpose of delimitation and the vantages employed i.e. from whose perspective. From the perspective of rural households space is conceived as a series of concentric circles in which as the radius from the center i.e. the individual or household increases outwards to include higher forms of spatial organization (such as the district, province, region, the nation) the specific sense of identification with that spatial category appears to diminish. There appears to be a "from above" consensus that the national, regional or even district levels do not constitute what is local. Neither individual households. What is considered local is the range which lies between the individual households and the district/subdistrict i.e. group, community, locality or even subdistrict levels. Uphoff puts the uppermost limit of what is local as an area served by rural market centers where people have personal acquaintance. (Uphoff, 1986:10)

Institution: The terms "institution" and "organization" are used interchangeably thus resulting in some degree of ambiguity and confusion (ibid:7). Their distinction, however, is essential to plan participation effectively. Organizations are structures of established rules, procedures, roles, functional relations of authority. Institutions, however, are "stable, valued, recurring patterns of behaviour...Institutionalization is the process by which organizations and procedures acquire value and stability" (Huntington quoted in Uphoff, 1986:8). In other words the concept of institution is invariably bound up with the question whether a new organization or norm is accepted by people i.e. whether it has acquired legitimacy according to their norms and systems of values, whether they identify with it or not. Institutionalization thus has nothing to do with the formalization or legalization of an organization. There could be organizations or new ways of doing things that are not institutionalized i.e. that are not accepted by people. For rural development interventions this distinction has profound implications. Johnston and Clark (1982) speak of induced institutionalization which does not alter the basic concept outlined.

that local participation is not all that makes development sustainable. There are implicit or explicit assumptions about macro level situations which are assumed given at a minimum level. This assumption can be contested. However, discussions of this sort go beyond the purpose of this paper to be addressed meaningfully and exhaustively.

The following discussion draws mainly from the work of Esmann and Uphoff (1984) which is based on their analysis of 150 local organizations from Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Local institutional environment

How does the natural, social, economic, political and administrative environment in which local institutions operate determine their performance?

Natural resource endowment: The relationship between natural resource endowment (such as in fertile soil, water, forest, minerals..etc) or the lack of it and local institutional performance has been an area of interest for a number of researchers. However, their findings have not been conclusive. Hyden (1970) found that least successful cooperatives were located in poorly endowed remote areas. Lele (1975), however, found in the same country, Kenya, that poorer areas "may frequently be more successful in initiating self-help activities". Lewis (1971), cited in Esmann and Uphoff, found that in Northern Philippines successful indigenous irrigation institutions were located in areas where obtaining water was most difficult. Esmann and Uphoff's own analysis of 150 local organizations could not find any association between overall local organization performance and resource endowment. What can be deduced from this is this: other things being equal, natural resource endowment while its presence may be facilitative, its absence or being limited, can not be inhibitive to local institutional development.

Economic base and income levels: With the diversification of the economic base and the increasing interdependence for the exchange of products, argue proponents of mainly the modernization school, the conditions for the establishment and sustenance of local institutions will be enhanced. Others postulate the opposite ensuing from the very process: with income and social differentiation due to modernization, enduring reciprocal relationships which are based on preexisting bonds and traditional values get broken down. The conditions for community solidarity and thus for local institutional sustenance deteriorate. As in the preceding the empirical investigations have not resulted in conclusive findings supporting either of the contentions. It may appear that as average income level grows the conditions for local institutional sustenance will improve since the probability of mobilizing financial resources increases. In connection with this a research by AIR (American Institute for Research) (1973), cited by Esmann, found that the ratio of individual to community investment went up in villages as the level of income and income disparity rose. B. Thomas (1980), referred to in Esmann, found in Kenya that

self help activities producing collective goods are significant at lower income levels. Esmann and Uphoff's own analysis of 150 local organizations found ambiguous relationships between income level and performance of local institutions. It appears that local institutions which promote self help activities paradoxically better perform in and benefit poorer communities. Income level appears not to be a limiting factor.

Income distribution: That at least at national level extreme disparities of income are detrimental to national development is no more disputed. The pertinent question, however, would be to ask whether local institutions can not thrive at local level where income disparities are gross? Referring to Charlick's (1984) and Gow and associates' (1979) and their own analysis, Esmann and Uphoff contend that at micro, project level cases what holds at national level does not prove always true at local level. While it can not be argued that income disparities are conducive, they can not be absolutely forbidding for local institutional development at local level.

Social and sociological factors: There seems to be general consensus supported by findings of a number of authors that social stratification adversely affects the effectiveness of local institutions (Johnston and Clark, 1982; Hunter, 1976; Meister, 1970; Inajatullah, 1972, all referred to in Esmann and Uphoff). A closely related concept, but a distinct one, is social homogeneity/ heterogeneity. Do ethnically, religious wise etc. homogenous communities provide better opportunities for local institutional effectiveness than their heterogenous counterparts? While it can not be argued that socially homogenous communities will enhance local institutional development than heterogenous ones, Esmann and Uphoff infer that local institutions can be effective in heterogenous communities as well.

Political and administrative support: What can be remarked about political and administrative support to local institutional development is that it is not the amount of resource commitment or political will that is of utmost importance or relevance, but the quality of support. Even with good intentions heavy handed, patronizing government political and administrative support to local institutions can have a strong stunting effect on local institutional development, for this forecloses the development of a culture of taking initiatives and fosters dependency for financial assistance, guidance or instructions.

Structure of local institutions

The performance of local institutions is strongly influenced by their structure i.e extent of formalization, decision making structures, size, linkage structures, initiation, diversification of activities.

Extent of formalization: Which one of the two i.e formal (with written rules, delineated authority roles, written constitutions) or informal (ascriptive, implicit and based on community established roles and sanctions) organization is more effective is still being debated. The first is characterized as modern the latter as traditional. Tendler (1976), Hunter (1976), Saunder (1977) tend to favour informal, unsophisticated, familiar organizational forms, because "their modes of operation are more compatible with people's capabilities and needs" (Esmann and Uphoff, 1984:142). Others such as Dore (1971) argue that informal i.e traditional organizations "reflecting traditional norms and power structures, will be either unable to perform more modern developmental tasks or unwilling to direct efforts in ways that will help the less advantaged sectors of the community" (ibid). Esmann and Uphoff's own analysis found a "consistently negative association between degree of formalization in the local organization and its contribution to rural development." It appears that formalization is associated with large size and strong government linkages which is dominating or patronizing in nature. The viable alternative would be to combine the best features of both, adopting the familiar modes of operation, rules and roles, incentives and sanctions of preexisting organizations, while some degree of formal accountability and functional structure is introduced.

Decision making structures: Which type of decision making structure i.e whether a one-man, charismatic leadership or an assembly form or an executive form is optimal is a question whose answer is conditional upon various circumstances. In general participatory form of decision making such as assemblies coupled with executive type of leadership have been found capable of achieving both participation and efficiency.

Size of local institutions: How big ought local institutions to be? This issue, like the other ones, has its proponents and opponents. Hunter (1976), Tendler (1976), Buijs (1982), Gollady (1983), favour smaller base level organizations on the ground that conflict will be less frequent. Doherty and Jodha (1979), however, contend that domination will be prevalent in smaller organizations. Es-

mann and Uphoff themselves favour "multilevel systems of local organizations with small base level organizations linked to larger entities" (1984:146-147). Most authors, however, instead of counterposing small versus large size identify advantages with both, the determining aspect being the type and nature of task to be performed.

Linkage Structures: Local institutions do not exist in isolation from other forms of social organizations. They are linked with each other horizontally, and vertically with their higher organs and government. Through these vertical and horizontal linkages information, resources and influence flow both up and downwards. Esmann and Uphoff note that if a smaller base of effective operation is feasible, then vertical structural linkage at regional and national level is a desirable feature. Vertical linkage and large size of local organization seem to be correlated. No less important than vertical linkage within a local institution is horizontal linkage among local organizations at the same spatial level. Vertical linkage may be beneficial, but an active, small base appears to be a requisite. Linkage with government, likewise, is important as long as local leaders are not coopted, do not lose control and do not lose sense of responsibility for their organizations.

Initiation of local organizations: Whether local organizations initiated by outsiders, especially by government, have more long term viability and institutionalization chances than local organizations, established by rural people's own initiative to solve problems, to mobilize resources, to articulate self interest is still debated.

In the discussion of top-down vs. bottom-up approaches to initiation of local institutions Hollnsteiner (1977) based on her Asian experience, Hutupea et al. (1978) based on their observation of irrigation group activities tend to be skeptical of the effectiveness of officially government initiated local organizations.(referred to in Esmann and Uphoff,1984). On the other hand, Buijss (1982), Johnston and Clark (1982), basing on their observation of large local organizations like the Kenya Tea Development Authority, the Taiwan Farmer's Associations, emphasize the role outside organizers like governments play in the initiation and sustenance of local organization.(all referred to in Esmann and Uphoff,1984). It appears that the emphasis on the extreme points of the initiation variable i.e purely local vs. purely outside, purely top-down vs. purely bottom-up is overstretched. The scale of the tasks undertaken in

both the Kenyan (export of tea) and the Taiwanese (land reform) cases could not have been reasonably expected to be accomplished on a purely local initiation basis without vertical integration. The most important point is that whether local or outside initiated, the fundamental units, the base level organizations, need to be selfreliant, need to enforce a degree of discipline among membership, ensure accountability and membership control over leadership without, however, limiting participation of members and initiative of leaders.

Diversification of activities: Whether local institutions should limit their activities to a single or a few operations or diversify into a number of spheres has been extensively discussed in the literature.

Tendler (1976), Borda (1976), Peterson (1982), Golladay (1983), all referred to in Esmann and Uphoff (1984) - emphasize the advantages of a single function local organization. They are not against diversification per se but, on grounds of effectiveness, do not advise a local organization's involvement in multiple functions before they acquire sufficient organizational and managerial experience. They advise that they begin with a single task which is important for initial success and eventual branching out into diversified activities without overloading inexperienced leadership (Esmann and Uphoff,1984:139-140). In similar vein Honadle and Van Sant, in their study of 24 integrated rural development projects in Asia, Africa and Latin America, conclude that " ...the most successful organizations are those of this type, beginning with a single function that satisfies some immediate local concern". (Honadle et al,1985:53).

Functions of local institutions

Local institutions, bearing the constraints and utilizing the potentials set by their environment, and with their dynamically interacting structural features outlined in the foregoing, fulfil a variety of rural development functions. How these functions are accomplished in the end determines whether local institutions are valued by the rural population or not, and thus whether they will be enduring institutions of rural development or not.

Planning functions: A discussion of the planning activities of local institutions whose majority membership might not be literate may appear demanding too much. Local institutions may lack formal plan documents. Nevertheless, local in-

stitutions are important resources in the identification of problems, resources, capabilities, local skills, local knowledge of the problem environment, in the prioritization of needs, whether projects can be implemented by themselves or not. When local institutions' members participate in the initial decisions, which is all planning is about, they will feel responsible about the ensuing implementation activities. The fora provided during the implementation process give the opportunity for the emergence of potential leaders. Rural people are adept at planning their activities flexibly owing to the unpredictable nature of their enterprise, agriculture. Esmann and Uphoff, in their analysis of 150 local organizations, found strong correlation between planning and goal setting activities and local organizational effectiveness (1984:75).

Resource mobilization and Management: Resource mobilization refers to the flow of resources consequent upon own activities of local institutions. The most important point to be considered is not the absolute amount of resources that is mobilized by local institutions as that amount represents, from the judgement, perspective and value given to it by rural people, as commitment to local institutions' activities. Thus striking a balance between local and outside resource should be emphasized. Too much of the latter would result in the diminution of the spirit of self help and community initiative. Esmann and Uphoff report local institutions'capability of resource mobilization is highly correlated with their overall performance. In instances where outside resources are predominant they found overall low institutional performance (1984:78). Of equal importance is the management of local resources - of natural resources such as forest, soil, water, of controlling dishonest handling and management of common funds, of maintaining infrastructure like roads, buildings, water pumps, irrigation channels-all of which goes into increasing the volume of resources available for development. Regarding management of resources, their mismanagement especially of funds need special attention, for apart from depleting the volume of resources that would otherwise be available for development, mismanagement aggravates conflict among membership thus weakening institutional development. The mobilization and management of resources could be singled out as one of the most important functions of local institutions.

Conflict management: The membership constituting local institutions is not one homogenous whole, even within the fra-

mework of target group oriented approach to rural development. Extreme deprivations may be characteristic shared by the poorest of the rural poor. Nevertheless, even this stratum consists of differences in ethnic, religious, loyalty and other attributes. The most important factor is not that conflicts exist. The cardinal issue is the ability and skill with which it is managed. If the resolution of a conflict results in enhanced group solidarity and increased self-confidence to manage future challenges, conflict situations may even be considered not a liability. The absence of obvious conflicts does not necessarily indicate the existence of group harmony. It may mean members are not concerned with it, are indifferent thus signifying a non dynamic, atrophied commitment to the institution. Visible manifestation of conflict, on the other hand, may not necessarily mean absence of cooperation. Leadership quality of local institutions is important here.

Provision and coordination of services: Local institutions play important roles in the identification, provision and coordination of services that are often provided by government and nongovernment organizations such as health, extension, family planning, credit, literacy campaigns etc. Esmann and Uphoff found that service provision and or coordination occurred in about ninety percent of the 150 cases they studied. Local institutions can increase the efficiency and thus the relevance, value and adaptability of services by contributing information based on local knowledge of seasonal, spatial

and social variations of the occurrence of problems, needs and constraints.

Consideration for developing local institutional alternatives

Some local institutions may be better equipped to deal with certain development tasks than others. In other words, some local institutions have what Uphoff (1986) calls comparative advantages to perform certain tasks. What, then, are the considerations that enable one to identify a local institution as more appropriate, for example, to manage credit than to manage primary health care?

The first consideration would be the temporal dimension of the distribution of costs and benefits. This refers to whether benefits are realized sooner or after a long gestation period in contrast to the immediacy of costs.

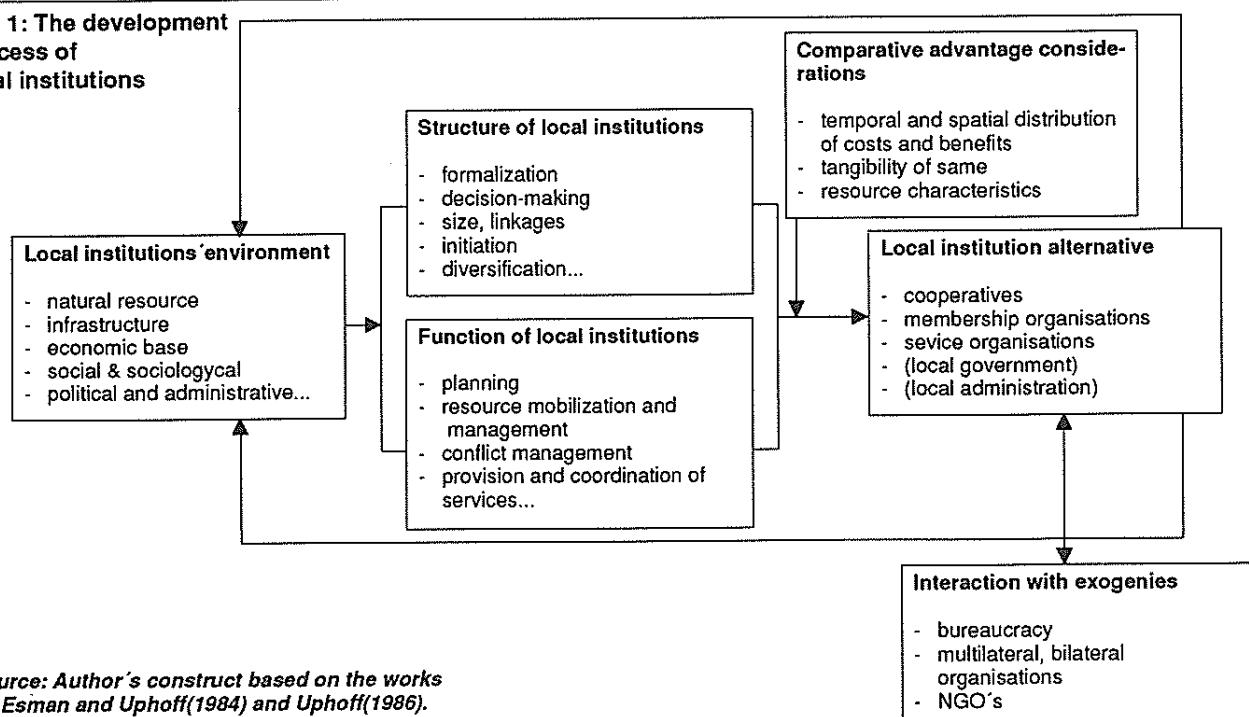
Whether benefits accrue locally or remotely, whether benefits are evident or relatively hard to identify (tangibility), whether benefits accrue to the same persons who bear the costs or to different persons from those who bear the cost (distribution) all have important bearings on the choice and design of appropriate local institutions. Considering these variables, it will be evident why, for example, the fact that soil conservation activities (whose benefits are not so tangible and are deferred rather than immediate) require a different local institution from social forestry or agricultural activities whose benefits are relatively immediate and tangible and are perceived clearly. (Uphoff, 1986).

The processes involved in the task also affect the comparative advantage and suitability of local institutions. Activities that revolve around natural resource management demand different institutions from activities of rural infrastructure in which design, construction, operation and maintenance feature prominently. Whether resources are perceived as "public" or "private", whether they are perceived renewable or non renewable, whether people perceive they are able or unable to exclude anybody from using a resource all these factors affect the choice and/or the design of local institutions (Uphoff, 1986:30-32).

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Fig. 1: The development process of local institutions



Source: Author's construct based on the works on Esman and Uphoff(1984) and Uphoff(1986).

Reginal planning from below. Ideas and attempts in Lower Saxony

Wolfgang Kleine-Limberg

Zusammenfassung

Im Land Niedersachsen werden seit der Rot-Grünen Regierungskoalition Anstrengungen zu einer "Regionalplanung von unten" hin unternommen. Eine Möglichkeit besteht darin, Regionalkonferenzen zu organisieren, zu denen die Verwaltung und Vertreter wichtiger Institutionen eingeladen werden. Die Vereinigung für Eigenständige Regionalentwicklung in Niedersachsen (VER) versucht, die Kommunikation zwischen den verschiedenen Akteuren im Entwicklungsplanungsprozeß zu fördern. Ihre Prinzipien sind partizipative Planung, Umweltbelange und die Nutzung lokaler Ressourcen. Die VER muß dabei mit finanziellen Problemen kämpfen, da sie trotz vorzuweisender Erfolge keinerlei staatliche Unterstützung bekommt.

Regional planning and politics in Lower Saxony

The administration policy and business organisations in Lower Saxony orientate the economic development and the infrastructure on the requirement of industrial development and the demand of the international market (fig 1). As a result the regional development is not very equal. In general, four "economic poles" can be observed: the greater areas of Hannover, Bremen, Hamburg and Osnabrück. The surrounding municipalities become more and more an integrated element in the city's planning: They allocate the areas of housing, recreation and waste deposition. The main

subject regarding public transport is the connection of the outer circle with the centre of the city.

To these areas the economic and social development of the rest of the state is not prosperous:

In the 70's and 80's the shipyards broke down as a result of changed international markets. Until now there was no real substitute for the lost jobs.

The economic power of municipalities is decreasing as a result of the process of disarmament (Wilhelmshaven). Without this the municipalities lose a great portion of their economic power and increasing unemployment at the same time.

After 1945 the municipalities on the border of the German Democratic Republic cut connections to the old markets in the east. Today these rural areas become "transit rooms". The goods and services pass from other parts of Lower Saxony to the new states.

Most parts of the territory of Lower Saxony are rural areas without a large number of industrial or service businesses. If there isn't a radical reform of the agriculture market, then the areas with lower productivity have no chance in the future.

Regional planning

With the change of the government of Lower Saxony the significance of regional politics and planning was stressed after the elections in 1990. Two major items have changed:

- the conditions of regional planning (Spatial Management Program of the Land, LROP) and
- the policy of the regional economic development.

It was one of the first acts of the new "Red-Green-Government" (a coalition of the Green-Party and the Social-Democrats) to strengthen regional planning. In the last 14 years of a conservative government, regional planning was pushed down. Regional planning was seen as an intervention in the autonomy of the cities and economy. So, the Regional Spatial Management Programmes were made very less or simply not worked out. In the last years it was obvious that a great part of the problems cannot be solved by a city or a district itself. Especially the public transport, the waste deposition and business marketing shall become coordinated.

Until 1990, the new Minister of the Interior, Mr. Glogowski, was Mayor of the town of Braunschweig. In his work he noticed the problems without coordinated regional planning. Through the new Spatial Management Program of the Land (LROP) he pushed the districts to coordinate planning and development and forces the (old) idea of intercommunal regional institutions like the Kommunalverband Hannover.

Policy of the regional economic development

The new significance of regional planning is not the only way to stress regional politics. The financial support programs are discussed at the same time. The government wants a better connection between the regional institutions. The new Minister of Economics would like a conference of regional institutions and organisations to lay down the aims of development. He suggests "cooperation areas" in which the administrations and institutions shall discuss the problems of the regional economy. They

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shall determine solutions and ways of action. The conferences are voluntary. Besides the administration the important economic institutions are the members. In the case of Hannover the following pressure groups were invited:

- Administration of the Hannover district, town of Hannover and municipalities,
- Ministry of Business, Technology and Transport,
- Banks,
- Trade Union, Hannover,
- Unions of handicraft, industry and trade,
- Institute of technology transfer,
- Institute Woman and Society and
- Green Alliance for the Preservation of Environment and Nature (BUND).

Only the last two organisations are not very close to the economic process. The Association for Self-reliant Development in Lower Saxony (VER), as well as other groups were not invited because of the conference's limited number of participants(!). There is no real change in the regional policy. economic power remains to be synonymous to social development. Further on the remote of obstacles of business success means to create an interesting infrastructure and to sell cheap land for multi-national firms. The few participants with another point of view are not able to change the aims of economic development. Without a strict instruction for the participation in the regions (conferences) the regional policy leaders govern in a new and dangerous form. Until now it was possible to fight against e.g. infrastructure projects (motorways, waste deposition) or great tourism projects or factories, because of the differences in the region itself. This would be more difficult, if industry, administration, pressure groups, and trade unions were to form a uniform policy.

Association for Self-reliant Regional Development in Lower Saxony

The association was founded in April 1990. The members belong to various professions: nature conservation, culture projects, regional research, landscape architecture, union of rural farmers and the unemployed. Various enterprises like Fruitpress, Recycling Firm or Initiative for a "Socialculture Centre", farmers with direct marketing, people who want to use regenerative energy joined the VER as well.

The Association for Self-reliant Regional Development in Lower Saxony, VER

(Verein für Eigenständige Regionalentwicklung in Niedersachsen) is a state-wide organisation for Lower Saxony. It tries to establish a new way of regional economy and planning and has a different approach to the official development strategies (fig. 1).

In contrast to the official politics, the local resources have to be the basement of the aims of regional development. For the VER it is necessary to keep the action of entrepreneurs and the reaction of the environment together in one region. The entrepreneur must feel the negative effects in his living conditions if he interferes in the nature. Negative effects on the own living conditions are the obvious reason to develop a production without damages on the environment. Local control of local resources must be stressed to achieve more predictable results. Local resources comprise the capacity of the environment and the knowledge, wishes, hopes and ideas of the inhabitants. It is necessary to help the people in the communities to use their existing skills or to develop new skills which will advance employment opportunity. This promise makes necessary a high participation. Regional policy has to be formulated in the region itself and all groups of the society have to be integrated in this discussion.

The VER wanted a financial support program through the state government to establish an association for self-reliant development in each region. Unfortunately this was not possible. The administration keeps on the conventional conceptions shown before. The task of an regional association is not only to formulate the principles and aims of regional development. We think, that two other subjects are urgent: Mobilisation and Advice.

Community work / Mobilisation

In every region one can find people with ideas for new enterprises or culture projects:

- In the areas with breaking down firms there are people who think about alternatives to the old conceptions.
- In regions with a strong political discussion (like the regions with atomic power plants and factories) the "alternative sector" grows.
- In rural areas with decreasing agriculture more and more farmers search for new incomes which make them independent from multinational food companies.

More and more the youth has no future in rural areas. But most often they do not want to live in the centres.

All those people need support and information about the experiences made in other regions or states. It must be shown that it might be possible to change the situation together. Mostly they do not know each other or simply they didn't have the idea of doing something together. So, the first subject for this "Association of Regional Development" is to get people together. A motivation is needed to endeavour another income. Specially educated people have to help the others use the local resources with their existing skills. New markets must be shown.

Advice support

The second subject is the assistance for people and projects. Specially in the rural areas there is an absence of knowledge how to found a shop, create craft factory or biogas reactor. Today every part of our life and action is regulated by laws and decrees. In the city it is easy to get some information. But in the rural areas there is no chance for a farmer. Normally they work the whole day and there is no time to reach the institutions, mostly situated in the state capital. As well he or she has not the money to pay for an consultant. For this special "regional consultant offices" (Regionalberater) must be established by the state. They do not have to know everything, but they can help to connect the people with the right people. In some cases the "Regionalberater" can support small scale projects directly.

Activities of the VER Lower Saxony

The VER gets no financial support by the state. Nevertheless an "Information Office" was established in Hannover. An architect and a landscape architect are working since September 1990. The financing comes:

- from the labor office through the employment scheme (100 % of the labor financing)
- from the subscription of the membership (20 % of the office financing)
- from financial support from Adult Education Institutions' meetings (40% of office financing) and
- from subsidies for special projects e.g. for a booklet or an exposition (40 % of the office financing).

The first office's task is to organize an

Fig.1: Difference between the actual development and self-reliant development in Lower-Saxony

Regional development in Lower Saxony is characterized by	Self-reliant development for Lower-Saxony
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - world-market orientation - functional division of labor between the regions - migration to the prosperous centres and an increase of commuters - unequal conditions of living - pollution and destruction of landscape and ecosystem - dissolve of social relations, approximation and commercialization of regional culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - regional nets of firms (connecting local business to local suppliers) - equal exchange between the regions - protection of middle and small scale firms and rural agriculture - strengthen of the local and regional self-determination - support of self-reliant and cooperative work - environmental protection - support of independent self-reliant, cosmopolitan and manifold culture

exchange between people and groups, involved in a self-reliant and sustainable development. It gives a support in creating groups to discuss the regional development and to elaborate new projects within this context (fig. 2).

The second task is to find ways of financing. The office elaborates the financial support for special projects. In addition to the contact to government the two people in Hannover have to follow the official discussion of regional development and regional planning.

The third task is to advise projects on possible items to get financial support by the government.

Two examples of our work are:

- the foundation of regional groups and their work and
- the support of initiatives

"Association for self-reliant development in Verden" (VVER)

VVER focuses on the mobilisation of people. Its main target is to produce and diffuse new ideas and projects to the public in order to stress the political influence of the small projects and entrepreneurs. It is obvious that most participants come from the "alternative sector". Their principle is not to make a lot of money, but the other way of living in the sense of a self-reliant and ecological development.

The "Association of self-reliant Development in Verden" (VVER) has about 50 members. Politicians of the red-green coalition in the district of Verden founded it in 1990. They want to discover a new way in economic development. The recruiting of new enterprises from outside is no longer the only business policy. Indeed there is a red-green coalition go-

verning the district and municipality of Verden. But until now the administration is conservative. The effect is that some initiatives of the Mayor of Verden are identified through the administration. The resistance of the conservative administration stops new approaches. For example: the district pays for an evaluation of sustainable development and new projects which use the communities resources and advance employment opportunities. But administration blocks every idea. So, the VVER becomes the first address in the district if someone wants to establish something new. The VVER helps those people to make contact with other people who share the same ideas and people in the administration which might be open for new ideas.

In a first concrete project, the VVER helped to establish a marketlorry. An unemployed got work by driving and selling biological goods. They come from the ecological production in the region itself. As result the farmers get more money from their goods because they are the owners of the ambulant market and more biological goods can be sold. The trade does not keep any percentage of the profit. Mostly we cannot find any shop in small towns, in the rural area. They have disappeared with the construction of great shopping centres surrounding the central towns. The losers are all those who have no car or dispose of a few money. With the ambulant market the consumers get a new service in their community.

The VVER has no capacity for financial support. There is no steady office. The development of informal channels of communication is the main work. Contacts are the result of workshops and studytrips led by the VVER. The closed connection to local town and district councilors simplify some of the problems.

Experiences

Backstrokes:

In two regions faults were made and up to now there was no succession in establishing regional organisations in the Wendland and in the Hannover area. In both regions members of the VER tried to bring several different groups and initiatives together. (antinuclear, independent women's groups, artists, environment conservationists, networks of cooperative enterprises, citizens' action group etc.). There was no person inviting for the first time who looked back on an intensive discussion between those initiatives. This does not mean that the structure and the problems of those groups were unknown, but there was no informal network or informal leader. And we did not talk to every group or organisation before. At the first meeting they came to find out, what was going on. They expected that we submitted a concept for ecological and social development. This was not our idea. On the contrary, we wanted to form working groups for each theme. We did not realise, that most of the participants were working in their leisure time and saw the urgency to publish a plan of development. So they wanted us to do the work on such a concept.

No fixed scheme:

There is no fixed scheme which can be used in every region. All regions in the developed or in developing countries have their own flair, are structured differently and have individual problems. It is important to have a wide list of techniques for mobilisation. The basis is the knowledge of the region and trust in the people. Cooperation is necessary between the planners and the unofficial organisations and has to be on the same level. The process will fail, if the planners do not have confidence in the people and organisations and do not look at them as partners.



Time is needed in various aspects:

To found regional and local groups takes months, sometimes years. It is a long-term work to get people, individuals together and to develop new projects with them. It needs years to get financial support by the state for an idea or a concept which has an "open end" and strikes against the official politics. Grass root planning is a long process. It must be possible to change the aims within the context of an ecological and social development. Changing the planners or activists for short term will destroy any process.

Money is needed:

As the example in Lower Saxony shows, without any financial and political support by the state government grassroots planning is not possible. Not only projects need support. The consultant offices must be financed totally by the state and the financial support must be continuous, even if there are only a few results in the first year.

Publicity is needed:

How can the interested people and groups be found by planners or organisations like the VER? It can be achieved by:

- intensive public announcement
- search for important regional conflicts as points for crystallisation and mobilisation
- public demonstration of alternatives
- presenting "crazy" people and their ideas
- openness towards unconventional solutions
- openness towards criticism.

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Integrating women's concerns in district planning

Wang Yunxian

Zusammenfassung

Wenngleich Frauen maßgeblich zum wirtschaftlichen Wachstum in ihren Ländern beitragen, so werden doch ihre Entwicklungsanstrengungen nicht genügend anerkannt und auch nicht in den offiziellen Statistiken berücksichtigt. Bevölkerungsbeileiligung heißt in bezug auf Frauen häufig Partizipation an anfallenden Arbeiten und Ausgaben, aber nicht an Entscheidungen.

Die Autorin unterscheidet zwischen den "praktischen" Bedürfnissen von Frauen und den "strategischen" Bedürfnissen wie Zugang zu Entscheidungen, Organisation etc., die in die Entwicklungsplanung Eingang finden sollten und stellt verschiedene Strategien dazu vor.

There is ample evidence that growth oriented development only benefits some people and many of development policies and projects have had severe negative impacts on the survival chance of poor women and their families. They failed to meet people's minimum basic needs and ensure their interests. Experiences also indicate that meeting people's minimum basic needs does not have to wait for a sustained high rate of economic growth. Therefore it is imperative that development planning has new approaches or at least includes new components. Integrating gender issues in planning is not new but needs to repeat and re-emphasize.

It is known that women play an active role in production and they contribute to the development significantly. There are also growing studies concerning women's issues and gender equality in various spheres. Yet the progress in incorporating women's concerns in development planning has been very slow. There remains a strong tendency among development policy makers and planners to

focus on women's roles merely in the social context, particularly family planning, while neglecting women's other needs and interests.

Thus, it is the time to integrate women's concerns into regional/district development planning in order to bridge the gap between the recognized role of women in development in studies and the neglect in the practice of development planning, and the gap between national long term plan and the implementation in regional/district level.

Women's participation in economic activities is considered as a central point of integrating gender issue in planning.

But how do we refer to women's participation?

First of all, what can be included in the contents of women's participation?

Though it is stated repeatedly that participation is meant by involving interest groups not only in campaign and production, but also in decision making, implementation, evaluation and sharing the benefit, there are numerous studies still considering female (labor force) partici-

pation consciously and unconsciously as a main indicator of improving women's position and integrating women in development.

Indeed higher female participation as labor force indicates the important role of women in economic development. Women gain economic independence through participating in various economic activities. However, women's important role in economic development does not automatically mean their improved position. Due to the gender division of labor, women are still responsible for the household chores. The indicator of participation rate will unintendedly increase women's work load. If we do not understand their double burden and blindly emphasize women's economic role and participation in economic activities, it would lead to women being further overburdened even by those who wish to benefit women.

In most developing economies, women do participate in the development and industrialization process and one third of the work force are women. In Asia and Africa, women produce more than half of the food. Thai women's participation in economic development is rather high. They have been actively involved in Thailand's economic take off. They have attracted foreign currency in tourism and service sectors. But how much do they really benefit from this type of development? They get less pay at work; they work in the so called service sector and sell their bodies. The participation rate in many Asian countries does not necessarily mean the gender equality. Therefore, in the development planning, the mechanical increase in the number of female participation does not make the base for women's equal position.

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It also includes the participation in decision making, implementation, benefit and monitoring and evaluation.

But unless there is ideological reconstruction and discrimination against women, gender division of labor and women's subordination is eliminated, participation itself is just an ideological and political term, women will only participate in sharing the work load in patriarchal societies. In socialist society, women have more say in decision making, political activities, implementation and evaluation.

Second, participation is a complex phenomenon, depending on circumstance.

In many developing countries, female participation is inversely related to household income per capita. Under great pressure, poor women have to work and earn income for the family survival, often at the expenses of their daughter's education and future development. In the middle income households or when the family's economic condition is improved, women tend to stay at home and do household work. Women always participate in the most tedious and backbreaking activities mainly in the subsistence farming and informal sector. In this sense, I would rather take this kind of high participation rate even as an indicator of women's low position.

Third, is participation ideologist and materialist based?

Socialist feminism claims that in contemporary societies women's subordinate position and oppression are due to the interaction of patriarchy and capitalism and women's emancipation needs to overthrow not only patriarchal structure but also capitalist oppression. Chinese socialist revolution was successful in incorporating women's emancipation movement in national interest theme. Following that, there were series of family revolution which attempted to remove the feudal remanent. More complicated, "public dependency" has played a more important role in the family life. As common as in other socialist countries, such as the Soviet Union, "the state became the guarantor of women's rights against a system of social oppression" and a paternalistic and welfare ideology was employed to protect women. Even now, when there are conflicts in the family, any part would seek help from both sides working organizations and street/ village

community. To some extent, we can say that the state intervention in "reconstruction", "economic modernization" and "national interest" is totally gender blind and mechanical. The authority not only women but also men have to obey is the state replacing patriarchal structure. The state protection towards women is just as strong as weak, and it is seen as an ideological, not a gender issue. In public consensus, there is shift from "women hold up half the sky" to "protect women and children's rights and interests" after the 70s' reform. Since the country has introduced some components of market mechanization, it seems that the state can not take care of women any more and women ourselves should be "self respected", "self-confident", "self reliant" and "self strengthened". Pilkington refers to the transition of socialist system to privatization as a process from paternal to the patriarchal state for women.

Further, women's unequal position and oppression are always referred as feudal remanent instead of attributing to patriarchy. In the period from 1949 to the end of 1970s, the people were made to consider men and women the same. "Whatever men do, women also can do". Women and men even wore the same type of blue uniform. Women participated in all types of agricultural infrastructure construction, such as irrigation network, roads and new land development. Thousands of teams and projects in spots were named such as "March 8 Red Banner" and "Iron Girl Corp" related to women's contribution to rural resource manage-

ment and development. Moreover, socialism stands for equal treatment to all types of work and there is no difference of superiority or inferiority among the jobs. Therefore men and women worked in all the fields.

Materialistically, since 1949 China had conducted numerous large scale irrigation and water projects using manual labour, which were considered great without the help of mechanization. Female labour input was definitely an important part of it. Women, children and aged people were mobilized massively day and night. A new road would emerge exactly overnight. Women were not considered a separate group.

How should we look at and incorporate women's issue in development planning? Women have a triple role in development, reproductive, productive and community organization. However, women and men play different roles. They also have different needs and interests. Women's concerns include not only the practical needs (eg. water, food, housing etc.) related to their reproductive role and day to day capacities but also the strategic interests (eg. access to rights, decision making, potential for transformation etc.) related to their position in a society.

Meeting gender practical needs definitely improves women's condition. But it is often responsible for preserving and reinforcing the sexual division of labor. Therefore, to eliminate the gender division of labor, to incorporate women in various arena and overcome women's subordination, planning should meet strategic gender needs, which include providing equal access to education, land and other property, removing institutionalized forms of discrimination in work, decision making and struggle against violence.

Regarding women's participation and women's position in development, there are two major theories, one is Women in Development (WID) and the other Gender and Development (GAD). United Nation's Decade for Women (1976-1985) has played a vital role in bringing women's issues into consideration. The main concern was that women's productive role and contribution in the development process of their countries and communities were neglected and ignored and their access to resources was undermined. The neglect of women was due to lack of understanding on the planners' part. Men had overall control of production, main means of production and



Women fetching water Foto: K. Gaesing

the benefit of production. Practitioners also believed that women are the extra free labor and have time on their hands because the heavy domestic work is considered by economists as non work. Therefore the resources should be allocated to women through funding women specific projects. Economists and statisticians should collect more data on women's work and contribution and take into account women's domestic work. Based on this view, the WID policy focused on women's productive role and their access to various resources and opportunities. It was to help women in practical ways and to urge development practitioners and planners to take awareness of women's vital economic contribution.

When WID was fought for, there emerged another perspective, that is Gender and Development (GAD). It is based on this premise that women are not neglected by planners and their participation in various economic activities is recognized. But women are discriminated at work and they are confined with certain types of work because of gender division of labor and their subordinate position. What women need is equal position and equal access to resources as men. The key issue is not more data on how much women do but how we conceptualize women's work. Women are always referred to as home makers, though they produce more than half of the food and work longer time and so visible in the agricultural field and yards. But they are invisible in the national statistic data. A woman who starts her day at 4 o'clock in the early morning when her husband is still sleeping, prepares food for the whole family and goes to bed at 10 o'clock at night is considered not working. Women lace makers in Nasarpur in India bringing millions of Rupee are not productive. The food cooked at home and water carried by a woman are of no value but if she cooks in restaurants she is suddenly productive and piped water is of value. How we view value, work and production becomes the key point to understand women's work. Not only should women's work appear in the United Nations System of National Account (UNSNA), but also planners should re-view women's so-called "non-productive work" at home. GAD approach attempts to make a comparative analysis of the ways of modernization and development affecting the social, economic and political positions of women and men and to empower women through eliminating discrimination and gender division of labor. The politics of the relationship between men and women is the very central question. Only



Rural women performing handicraft on an Indonesian small island

Foto: Manfred Poppe

considering participation rate is not enough, because women are already overburdened at home. If we do not understand their double burden and blindly emphasize women's economic role and participation in economic activities, it would lead to women being further overburdened even by those who wish to benefit women.

Integrating women into the development process does not subscribe to the view of segregation of women and men. However, whatever the difference among various approaches, when it comes to the practice, the activities under WID and GAD are more or less the same, that is women specific programs are designed. This might be regarded as one shortcoming of women's studies. Yet there is space to develop. On the other hand, there still exists a strong discrimination against women. Claimed neutral programs also mostly benefit men. Therefore there is nevertheless a need to develop programs and projects specifically for women at regional and local level. Only then would it be possible to effectively deal with the gender asymmetry and women's marginality in societies and policy making. It is unavoidable that women might be the target group for the planning in practice. One thing we have to keep in mind is women are not in a unitary category. We have to take into account their varying status and class/caste/ethnicity and which group of women the projects are going to benefit. As regional planners and non feminist researchers, we might not be aware of all women's needs. First step, therefore, is that we must be gender sensitized and con-

cerned with women's issues in our planning process. But how are the concepts translated into appropriate and workable analytical tools? Relevant to the different theories, eg. WID and GAD, there are also two approaches. One is, "visibility" is the starting point for integrating women into development projects through data, that is, economists and statisticians should include women's work at home in the United Nations System of National Accounting as production category. Another approach is to evaluate the gender differentiated impacts of development programs and sectoral policies, that is, to tackle with the problems of both women's condition and position.

Now most aspects of planning are being decentralized to regional and district level. However, women's concern still remains at high level talk. The decorative talk is not because of the own initiative but the requirement of UN. District planning is eventually to implement the national masterplan. State regulations are carried out by local government. Without women's concerns in district planning, one cannot say gender issue is tackled. Gender sensitization training is needed imperatively for the district planners. In fact, women's concern should be incorporated from village level.

Local participation for sustainable development Whose participation? Which sustainability?

Examples from Hambantota District, Sri Lanka

Mike K. McCall

Zusammenfassung

Der Artikel stellt die verschiedenen Planungsschritte in einem Sri Lankischen integrierten ländlichen Entwicklungsprojekt vor und untersucht die Beteiligung der Bevölkerung bei diesen Schritten.

Die Partizipation der Bevölkerung ist besonders in der Analyse- und Implementierungsphase sehr hoch. Allerdings hängt deren Resultat sehr vom Geschick der sogenannten "social mobilizers" ab, die die Bedürfnisse der Bevölkerung erfragen, in die Projektplanung einbringen und Entwicklungsaktivitäten auf Dorfebene koordinieren und organisieren helfen.

What is district level planning and implementation? What are the vital issues at this level of planning, and who will take up their responsibility? Which regional (and other) interest groups should participate? Should planning objectives or institutional competence take precedence in the choice of interventions and activities?

These questions are considered from the stance of a Sri Lankan district integrated rural development programme, funded by a progressive donor agency.

The goals of HIRDEP, the District Development Agency

HIRDEP, the Hambantota Integrated Rural Development Programme of the Sri

Lanka Ministry of Policy Planning and Implementation (MPPI) is supported by NORAD (the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation) at around US \$ 2 million per annum, and has been functioning since 1979. HIRDEP is the prototypical district level development agent with too broad an agenda of highpriority, and often inter dependent issues. The overall goals are given simply as "... an increase in income, employment and production .. as improvement of social conditions and living standards of the men, women and children of the District, with special emphasis on the poorest groups."

HIRDEP is thus trying to balance the conflicting triad of goals of equity, efficiency and environmental sustainability within its whole investment programme as well as within individual projects and institutional supports.

In practice over the 12 years, HIRDEP's goals are operationalised to incorporate:

- recurrent, revolving planning in an annual cycle with a strong emphasis on the project selection and design emanating from the district Planning Unit and with minimal interference from NORAD.
- evolving a "sustainable" and self reliant capacity for planning and development implementation in the district, eg. minimal involvement of expatriate consultants. An "integrated approach" attempting to incorporate and co-ordinate government agencies and NGOs.
- participation by all, including government officers as well as target groups, in selecting priorities and implementation.
- attempts to incorporate the strong environmental commitments of Norwe-

Hambantota District and its environment

The salient factor imprinted upon Hambantota District recently is the extreme political violence of 1987/90. Male youth between 15 and 35 were a target of one side (uprising led by the JVP - Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna - people's liberation front) or the other (the army and the police in charge of the repression). Thousands died and thousands more fled to the cities.

Although the causes and trajectory are very complex, partly they lie in the economic, environmental and geographical marginality. General poverty (but not destitution) is the norm; officially over 70% of families receive Food Stamps or Janasaviya support Sri Lanka's national social welfare nets; in the west of the district, it is over 90%. Hambantota is spatially peripheral to the major national markets of Colombo and Western Province. There are few products with comparative advantage, even access of vegetables and sea fish to Colombo or export markets is affected by intervening opportunities. The local market for most products is hampered by the district's lack of purchasing power, poor infrastructure and small entrepreneurial class.

The climate is marginal. Two thirds of the district lie in the driest part of Sri Lanka, Dry Zones DL1 and DL5 which receive less than 1270 mm. rainfall, mostly in the Maha northeast monsoon. The Dry Zone receives half its annual rainfall in 10, 12 days with high damaging intensity and experiences water deficit periods as well as a very dry season. The Dryeast is a mix of settlements based on intensive irrigated paddy, with the interfluvies or "high lands" used by shifting cultivators. Farmers have developed an efficient mode of shifting chena farming, but very few have yet adapted this culture to population den sites which preclude seasonal cultivation and long fallows.

The wetter west of the district is mostly in the Intermediate Zone (1270 - 1900 mm). The economy here is based on very intensive "home gardens" with a big variety of trees and perennial crops, though few in major production. There is extreme land shortage with average farm size of less than 0.5 ha. (HIRDEP 1990; Skutsch 1992).

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gian policy. HIRDEP's significant objectives include incorporating rural women as a target group, and promoting the participation of local institutions as well as local people.

The task facing HIRDEP is to identify and foster the institutions with which to participate in district planning.

Approaches to participation in District Environmental Planning

It is essential to know objective parameters of the "actors" to work with : that is the scale of responsibility, lines of command, organisational set up, regulations, material resources such as vehicles, and so on, of the relevant institutions and agencies.

Participation in District Planning in:

- Identifying Problems
- Prioritising Needs
- Assessing Resources
- Searching and Identifying Potential Solutions
- Designing "Solutions"
- Implementing Activities and Supporting Initiatives
- Monitoring and ex post Evaluations.

It is most important to understand the institutional capabilities, especially of the personnel. Some of that can be objectively measured, such as education, some skill levels and types of experience. But the decisive factors are the immeasurable characteristics of individuals their initiative, flexibility, openness, integrity, and dedication coupled with their position of authority or influence within their organisation.

The starting point of any informal HIRDEP discussion on a new project proposal was always a "checklist" of institutional and individual virtues and vices. This is never recorded, but includes: "what individual will initiate and implement the project?", "is s/he capable and interested?", "does s/he have the resources and the administrative clout?", "does s/he have the personality for the administrative and political tasks ahead?", "what will the individual and the institution gain from the project?", "are others willing to work with or under that individual?" HIRDEP has instigated some measures to strengthen institutions internally to improve their capacities in administration, technical skills, project selection and evaluation, and policy formulation in ascending order of difficulty. Training, lo-

cal or overseas, is always the first element and a major incentive for anyone to participate in HIRDEP initiatives.

Government Line Agencies or Functional Departments such as Departments of Forestry, Agriculture, Irrigation, Health, or Water Resources Board

HIRDEP has long experience of working with line agencies which have provided the bulk of services to date for project identification, selection and implementation. The line agencies have always participated in HIRDEP's rolling planning, in the identification and selection of projects and Annual Budget exercises, as well as doing the bulk of the implementation.

Absence of target orientation and participatory approaches, their bureaucratic slowness, general conservatism towards new ideas, etc. is well understood by all actors, including the line agencies themselves (cf. Birgegard 1987, Hasendeen 1989). HIRDEP can offer only partial solutions to this dilemma, centred around training, study tours, "awareness building", and some limited material incentives, such as vehicles and buildings.

There is no realistic scenario which excludes government agencies however. Renard (1991, 78), even whilst stressing local community based management, identifies six significant functions for sub-national government. These can be abridged to: providing certain information and expertise, coordinating efforts of NGOs together with government agencies, dispensing external incentives for selected activities, enforcing regulations where necessary against recalcitrant parties, and generally setting the "policy conditions" for participatory and environmental consciousness.

Non Governmental Organisations and Voluntary Organisations

Non governmental Organisations (NGO) in Sri Lanka are national scale bodies with a wide outlook and access to non local resources and skills, such as Sarvodaya, Redd Barna or ITDG Sri Lanka. Voluntary Organisations (VO) are grass roots organisations usually for a specific area, sometimes scaled up through umbrella organisations, eg. school development societies, fishing cooperatives, Tank Committees, religious organisations, youth groups, etc. Very important to HIRDEP are Social Mobiliser groups

and the Janasaviya and Janasakthiya (women's) groups at village level.

There is a global trend to foster NGOs to take over more components in project design and implementation. This is promoted as a natural move towards more comprehensive target group participation. However it is also a means of reducing government expenditure, as demanded by Structural Adjustment Programmes, especially by promoting shramadana or people's free labour.

Optimistically, donors also see NGO participation as ensuring maintenance of assets and more efficient operations. But this does not necessarily follow the social conflicts over responsibilities and benefits may remain; and are NGOs in general likely to be as long lived as government agencies? It is stressed that in this context, NGOs include professional organisations doctors and lawyers, etc., entrepreneur associations, trade unions, etc., when they are significant at district level in local (environmental) planning.

If cooperation with and use of NGOs is to develop mutually, HIRDEP and NORAD will have to reconsider, on the one hand, acceptance of some NGO attitudes and methods, specifically, some by passing of government audit and payment procedures; and on the other hand, a mechanism for reviewing the quality and bonafides of NGOs.

Government and donor should weigh the policy implications of the degree of participation of NGOs in decision making, i.e. the increasing intensities of information sharing, consultation, decisionmaking, up to initiating action (Paul 1987). More fundamentally, they should address the issue of whether they value NGO participation in order to legitimise their activities, or actively to promote empowerment. None of the main political parties has yet recognised environmental consciousness as a way to garner support, despite the awareness and NGOs among Sri Lanka's intellectual elite. However, Hambantota does have a local populist politician who is starting an environmental NGO intentionally to capitalise on the issues facing poor people.

With donor interest in NGOs, a new breed of "PONGOs" or politician inspired NGOs is also evolving. PONGOs are created by individuals to exploit opportunities for financial support, or to initiate a political base outside the stultifying party-system.

Households

Can households participate by themselves, without formal or informal social organisations? For using environmental expertise, their accumulated experience and "indigenous technical knowledge", there should be little doubt. A HIRDEP survey of indigenous knowledge among chena farmers showed a broad knowledge (although thinly spread) of soil moisture conservation, pest management, multiple cropping, and agro forestry, adapted to dry zone conditions (McCall et al. *loc. cit.*).

A very significant innovation by HIRDEP were the Social Mobilisers. They were developed specifically to promote participation of the poorest, most disadvantaged and inarticulate rural households, especially, but not only, women, into all stages of local decision making and planning (including HIRDEP's "key area" village meetings) to demand their entitlements. These animators are young, local people who are volunteers rather than government cadre, who inevitably are motivated and innovative. The majority are young women whose involvement has usually transformed themselves as well as (some) village groups.

A fundamental issue is whether individuals should receive payment to participate in their "own environment" working for a local NGO, employed by a contractor, or doing conservation works on their own farms. This raises deep questions of development goals, especially for the donor. For instance in HIRDEP's Highland farming project, farmers are paid for contour bunds and conservation planting on their own lands. Such payments are also an effective instrument towards local employment generation and "poverty alleviation" transfers. Many local development workers are content to cock a blind eye to payments to needy households, even if the community benefits are debatable. Government also has administrative (scale) problems making payments to numerous individuals and monitoring expenditure and performance (*cf.* Kortzen 1980). Intermediary collectivities are needed, such as NGOs.

Local Professionals

Local consultants from professional organisations or government staff are important as a "college of expertise" for identifying problems, procedures and solutions, and for implementation. NORAD argues also for the 'sustainability' of results if senior officials are included from

early stages in identification and evaluation missions, it is much more likely the results will be appreciated and used by their departments.

Local professionals are also given status, the Hambantota Environmental Report (1990) was the work of district level government and NGO officers, surveying key resources and assessing major issues. It cost US\$ 1500.00 (about 1/10th the budget of local commercial consultants), took probably less time, the results are more practical, as comprehensive, and lacking only some depth of analysis.

Environment oriented media are not yet well developed in the district, but options already supported include: national radio and TV programmes and news sheets, (the literacy rate is very high), local dance and theatre troupes, and school essay and recital competitions for Earth Day.

Local Administration Government Agents (GA) and Assistant Government Agents (AGA)

In the past the GA was the pivot of administration, regulation, management and finance, the role that he inherited from the colonial position of District Magistrate or Collector. The GA with his special position of being Additional Commissioner or Director of many government departments had an unrivalled function as district leader and coordinator (Raby 1985).

One of HIRDEP's achievements was the promotion of GAs and AGAs as development initiators and coordinators as well as administrators (Dale 1988; Hasendeen 1989). Thus, to the GA's chairing of the District Agriculture, Health, and Land Use Committees, etc., was added that of HIRDEP Review and Progress Control meetings. In a meeting chaired by the GA, it was easy to identify bottlenecks and hold ups, and call for interdepartmental talks or coordinated action. However, the situation has changed since the decentralisation to the Provincial Council and the position and powers of the GA, indeed of the district, are uncertain relative to those of the province and division.

AGAs have also played significant and responsible roles in HIRDEP development activities since the mid 1980s. During the insurrection period, AGAs were the most senior government representatives in the rural areas. By staying at

their posts, carrying out many duties (including HIRDEP projects), they retained a moral authority and mostly were left unharmed by the JVP.

Under Decentralisation, the Divisions and the AGAs are to play a much bigger part in local government. The AGA will be the only post where central, provincial and sub district authority and responsibility are all held by the one officer as Assistant to the GA, Divisional Secretary (for the Provincial Council), and also Secretary to the Divisional Pradeshiya Sabha which is now an elected body.

The AGA could thus be in a unique position to participate in development activities, because of her/his access to decision making, line of command over most officers at subdistrict level, relation to political leaders, and yet still knowing local conditions and being relatively "close to the people".

Promoting Participation from the HIRDEP Planning Unit

The case for relying more on the donor supported HIRDEP staff to implement development is because some important NORAD goals are precisely those falling in the interstices between government departments. Gender issues and environmental programmes are salient cases, which ideally would be addressed in all projects by all agencies. When they are not, HIRDEP must promote their recognition.

HIRDEP's leverage in this is incentives of financing specific projects, and more appositely, a considerable training budget, and thus, the influence on local decision makers and strategies. The conceptual dilemma is that NORAD and MPPI have intended HIRDEP, (unlike many IRDPs), to have only a coordinating and planning function. The two principals were always anxious to avoid the pitfalls of a special agency which would design and implement by "by passing" established institutions and procedures (*cf.* Birgegard 1987; Honadle & VanSant 1985), especially in respect of the underlying goal of institutional sustainability.

Much time and effort has gone instead into the "sensitization" and training of line agency staff towards participatory, environmental and gender responsive planning (which itself might be seen as a form of donor manipulation), at the accepted cost of slower or incomplete meeting of development targets. However, when dramatic measures are needed to

achieve some of these goals within a reasonable time period, HIRDEP Planning Unit has little option but to intervene in implementation.

Coordinating the District Actors

The vital function best done by a district administrative agency is coordinating the bodies which already implement at the district level that is NGO, community and private sector as well as government (cf. Renard 1991).

Simple communication, sharing knowledge and experiences, is already rare enough. It should involve mechanisms of informal communications; though, using non formal situations and channels of communication for development agency tasks is not yet common.

Informal mechanisms might be decisive for environmental planning as it struggles with weak new institutions, with overlapping, contradictory, authorities and procedures, and often with a perceived "lack of political will". Environmental consciousness needs to be infiltrated at a more profound level than via legislation or in committees; perhaps through the "old boy" connections of school, college and administrative service, as well as family, clan and caste which, in Sri Lanka, are used in taking decisions and forming policy (cf. Raby 1985).

To strengthen informal mechanisms, HIRDEP must:

- "sensitise" senior staff by field visits and overseas tours.
- work through local NGOs and VOs which are influential among senior officials and opinion leaders, eg. professional societies, religious leaders, service organisations.
- political influences, both top down from sympathetic politicians and bottom up from grass roots parties.
- mass media and popular culture.

Cooperation implies sharing in implementing solutions, though their selection may still be externally decided. Cooperation can be encouraged by top down persuasion and the recognition of mutual benefits.

In Hambantota, HIRDEP has allocated implementation tasks in complex projects to different agencies, to avoid duplication or gaps in responsibility they are coordinated and monitored by regular Committees.

Integration, means several agencies working together from the very beginning, sharing in preliminary goal and policy setting, problem identification, priorities, and design of interventions. Integration is found rarely, except for limited, focused problem solving. Many social and environmental problems simply do not fall into this last category.

In the past, coordinating committees have been quite effective in aspects of local resource management, notably the District Agricultural and Land Use Planning Committees, and the former District Development Committee (see HIRDEP 1990). They performed the important functions of at least exchanging information and expertise, at times even coordinating participation in land use or environmental problems. However, if they had any ability to act, especially to initiate interventions, it depended entirely on the administrative and personal authority of the GA as chairman of each committee. Today, even the communicative or consultative functions are weakened by the erosion of the GA's influence.

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Architektur, Wohnungs- und Städtebau In Lateinamerika

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A project planning in district and national development planning. Experience from Ghana.

Christoph Kohlmeyer

Zusammenfassung

Zielorientierte Projektplanung (ZOPP) wurde als Methode für die Projektplanung entwickelt, wird in Ghana jedoch relativ erfolgreich auf Distrikt- und auf nationaler Ebene zur Programmplanung angewandt. Dieser Artikel untersucht, inwieweit ZOPP dafür geeignet ist. Die Methode kann nicht bedenkenlos auf die Programmebene übertragen werden, weil durch die erheblich größere Planungsregion die Komplexität der regionalen Strukturen und Systeme und damit auch die Komplexität der Zusammensetzung der Workshop-Teilnehmer ansteigt. Der Autor schlägt deshalb u.a. vor, sowohl die Analyse der am Programm beteiligten Interessengruppen und Institutionen als auch die Problemanalyse in kleinen Arbeitsgruppen zu diskutieren und dann im Plenum Verbindungen zu ziehen.

1. Introduction

Zielorientierte Projektplanung (ZOPP) is a planning methodology which is applied in planning, implementing and monitoring of bilateral projects sponsored by the German technical cooperation, GTZ (Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit). ZOPP can be translated as GOPP, Goal Oriented Project Planning.

The method was developed in order to rationalise the specific problems in planning and implementing bilateral projects. The method represents a combination of various common planning tools en-

hanced by modern methods of didactical visualisation. The success of the method is basically due to its following features:

- integration of all stages of the planning cycle into one consistent system
- open system approach, which allows for modifications in specific situations, and which provides the logical basis for all project management functions
- team approach as the framework for studying interdisciplinary problems and the participation of important interest groups and target groups
- permanent visualisation and documentation throughout all planning steps.

The goal oriented planning method covers three analytical steps, which lead into the preparation of the actual planning matrix:

Steps of Analysis

- participation analysis
- problem tree analysis
- objectives tree analysis, including a discussion of alternatives

Project Planning Matrix, which includes

- the system of objectives
- important assumptions
- the system of achievement indicators
- statement of means and sources of verification for the indicators

In Ghana, a number of events has created a situation where the GOPP-methodology found its way into the various levels of planning. First, there are more than ten GTZ projects which have been planned and are regularly assessed and replanned according to the method. In addition, GTZ has trained a pool of Ghanaian consultants as moderators, who also apply the method for other projects and programmes. Since the introduction of the SPRING Programme, students ha-

ve been experimenting with different elements of the method in their development workshop, and gradually the tool of "Goal Oriented Planning and Programming" (GOPP) at district level was developed. In 1991, the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) decided to apply the method in the process of formulating the Human Development Strategy for Ghana, and subsequently, under the label of "Goal Oriented Perspective Planning and Programming" (GOPERS), it was applied for a whole programme of designing perspective plans at national level. Since 1990, approximately 140 district and regional development planners have been familiarised with the method as part of NDPC and UNDP sponsored training courses conducted by the Department of Planning, UST, Kumasi. In a summary, the dissemination of ZOPP, GOPP and GOPERS shows that planners in Ghana have been broadly introduced to the methodology, and many are willing, if not even enthusiastic, to make maximum use out of it. Planning professionals at all administrative levels discuss possibilities to develop the methodology into a standard instrument for development planning in Ghana.

At this stage, however, one has to be reminded, that GOPP is basically a set of tools for project planning. There are many indications that the methodology may be as successful in the field of programme planning as it is in project planning. But practical experience is still limited, and there is a need to carefully examine the potentials of the method in the light of the more complex task to formulate comprehensive development plans and programmes, which presupposes to consider the contributions of all public and private actors to the development process.

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The objective of this paper is to give an interim report on experiences made with GOPP in the field of development planning at district and national level in Ghana, its main focus being at the district level. The discussion concentrates on the application of the different working steps of GOPP and thus follows its sequential order. It describes the problems encountered, proposed solutions, experiences with attempted solutions, and raises a series of open questions for which the answers are still to be provided.

2. Selection of workshop participants

The central hypothesis of this paper is that the GOPP methodology, designed as a basically participatory and communicative approach, is one appropriate instrument to promote district development planning.

Participation starts with the question of selecting a representative planning team with regard to the purpose of the workshop. In order to achieve a realistic and representative analysis of the problems and objectives of a district, at least the following groups and institutions should be considered: The District Assembly, the district administration, the line agencies, NGO's and donors, socio-political organisations, professional and farmers-, fishermen, etc. associations, area representatives. In a district of Ghana not less than 50 people will have to be invited. And still there is no guarantee that the assemblyman of Area Council A and the chief of village B or the leader of the women organisation C really represent the specific perceptions, needs and expectations of the people for which they stand. It can only be assumed that every workshop participant is sufficiently legitimised by his or her people. However, once the GOPP methodology has been chosen to be the guiding planning instrument, there is no way to reduce the number of participants without increasing the bias of representation. This has to be taken into account, and the individual planning stages of GOPP will have to be modified accordingly, for example by minimising working time in plenary sessions and maximising groupwork.

Active participation in a planning workshop implies not only that participants are able to represent interests. It also implies, that they are able to communicate in the working language and are at least functionally literate, which represents a further limitation to generate genuine representation. Eventually the workshop organisers have to make sure that illiterate

participants receive some assistance. Experiences made in SPRING workshops have shown that illiterate participants contribute substantially to the discussion while other members write these contributions on cards. The visualization methods help also to follow the process of documentation, since illiterates have a well trained visual memory and are much more able to retrieve figurative information. However, the inclusion of such participants is only limited to a manageable small number.

A further aspect, which has to be specifically considered is the fact that a majority of workshop members participate in their function as representative of certain institutions. Experience has shown that it is almost impossible to guarantee a continuous participation of the same individual representatives throughout the whole cycle of workshop sessions, which makes it difficult to maintain a high degree of commitment of these institutions.

3. Participation analysis

Philosophy and purpose

The participation of everyone concerned is a precondition for sustainable plan implementation. The planning process has to enable all participants to articulate their interests and to share in its realization in terms of optimal contributions and benefits. The purpose of this step is to identify all persons, groups, organisations and institutions connected with the project in any way. These person and groups are then categorised into target groups, beneficiaries, management, donors and analysed according to their specific interest in and potential contributions to the project.

Practical experiences and problems

The participant analysis marks the starting point of the planning process. While workshop participants produce the first outputs, they also learn to deal with the techniques of communication and documentation which the method provides. This initial working step is therefore instrumental to establish a productive working atmosphere. Participants have to enjoy the proposed techniques and procedures, and that includes conceivable and concrete results.

However, the step of the participant analysis is not as strongly integrated in the logical sequence of GOPP as are all the other tools. Its outputs are normally only

very indirectly fed back as inputs into further steps of the process. Further difficulties arise from insufficient operational definitions of the analytical criteria for classification. Terms like "interests", "expectations", "constraints" and even "potentials" require a considerable amount of workshop time until an workable level of common understanding is generated.

When this tool is to be applied for development planning at district level, and even more when applied at national level, further difficulties arise: Contrary to projects which are relatively limited in space, time, purpose, and with regard to their target groups, a development plan embraces every single citizen of the area of its jurisdiction. Consequently, a participant analysis should ideally result in a complex description of the socio-economic structure including spatial disparities. However, such an ambitious undertaking clearly overburdens the capacities of a planning workshop.

Some recommendations

These shortcomings and failures can best be avoided by concentrating the analysis on the most important issues and by taking into consideration that outputs of this first working step and their feed back into further working steps should be clearly defined.

In the context of district and national development planning it is generally important to describe problems in dimensions of spatial and socio-economic differentiation. Thus most problems are specific to people in specific locations and in specific socio-economic conditions. The same applies to their potentials to contribute to development most often facing the problem that these potentials are not mobilised to optimal use. In the final analysis, this is the kind of information which will have to be fed into the problem analysis, and important indications can be supplied by the participation analysis.

Another important aspect for consideration is that every single citizen is an actor or beneficiary, and belongs to the target group of the development process, while responsibility for management functions in the framework of a development plan can only be assigned to persons, groups and institutions who play a formal role in the development process. The implementation of the development plan requires clearly defined responsibilities for all activities and the participation analysis can supply information on available persons, groups and institutions to perform

management functions for plan implementation.

Thus taking only these two aspects into consideration, the participation analysis could be limited to the analysis of only two categories of groups and institutions divided into "actors with management functions" and "other actors". The analysis of relevant characteristics may then be limited to their respective "specific problems" and specific potential contributions to development".

It is however important that the workshop participants "process" the output of this analysis into the necessary form to be fed into the problem tree and later into the plan of operation. This can best be done by marking all cards which state important development problems with a red dot and all cards which identify persons, groups and institutions with formal functions in the development process with a green dot. The workshop secretariat produces duplicates of all these cards and keeps them in reserve for the problem tree analysis and for the discussion on responsibility assignments respectively.

Especially during early stages of the district development process more information on institutional capacity will be required. In such cases it is recommended that a small working group uses the list of groups and institutions with "formal functions" as a basis for an additional workshop where institutional capacities are assessed and recommendations for activities to improve these capacities are formulated. The recommendations will be fed back in and discussed at the workshop session, when the planning matrix and activities are formulated.

4. Problem and objectives analysis

Rationale

Expedient objectives can only be set when the essential cause-and-effect relationships of the problems to be solved have been analysed. This is then visualised in the form of a problem tree which arranges the identified problems according to their direct cause-and-effect relationships.

The cause and effect logic of the problem tree is then translated into the objectives tree, which represents the same logical structure in form of means-and-ends relationships. Furthermore, the problem tree analysis includes indirectly

a group dynamic exercise, by motivating the participants to identify a "core problem", the starting point for the construction of the problem tree, through consensus.

Practical experience: Problems and solutions

The practical experience in district and national planning workshops shows a series of conceptual and procedural problems which are again related to the high degree of complexity of the analysis at these levels. These problems manifest themselves in the following ways: whenever the concept of the core problem as the starting point for the construction of the problem tree is introduced, participants normally tend to attribute various criteria of importance to their choice of the core problem. This is partly due to the term "core", which evokes associations with "heart" and suggests something which is particularly important.

In this situation, participants react in either of the following: In workshops, where the more analytical participants dominate, the consensus is built on a relatively abstract problem, which will find its location close to the top of the tree, such as "low per capita income" or "low standard of living". The further discussion of effects may still produce two or three other problems to be placed on top of the core problem. The major discussion will be on its causes. Here again, participants are inclined to build analytical categories most often according to traditional sectorial segments such as health,

education, and agriculture. The final result may be academically excellent with regard to the analysis of each sector, it is relatively comprehensive with regard to the number of problems listed, but the desired achievement to establish the intersectorial linkages becomes increasingly difficult and the output is likely to be deficient in terms of what people perceive to be their own experience and reality.

In other workshops, where the more emotional participants dominate, the consensus is built on problems, which are relatively basic and more directly perceived, such as "poor physical accessibility". These cases produce a situation, where participants are tempted to discuss the causes of the core problem in exhaustive and hairsplitting detail, while they face extreme difficulties in determining sufficient causes for other branches which are identified when working towards the top of the tree. The final result is likely to be deficient in terms of complexity, and the identified horizontal linkages are more or less arbitrary, while one or two problem clusters may be comprehensively and realistically analysed.

In other instances, participation engage themselves in extended "egg-or-hen" discussions of the kind "since the peoples income is low, the district financial basis is low and therefore the administration can not provide the necessary services" versus "the district has no financial resources and can not provide the necessary services which result in low productivity and consequently low incomes".



Working group at the SPRING-Forum 1992

Foto: Gurdeep Singh



A ZOPP-workshop

Foto: SPRING-Archiv

It is an anthropological premise that people have to think and operate within systems in order to survive. People reduce the complexity of their world by generalising, selecting and classifying the multitude of daily experiences and reconstruct new systems to explain their world. This being acknowledged, the following modifications of the GOPP methodology shall be recommended for the purpose of problem analysis in district development planning:

1. In order to minimise the time spent in plenary sessions and in order to shift the core problem exercise into a less complex context the problem analysis starts with a general brainstorming to identify the major development problems in the district. These problems are collected and divided into five or six less complex but still intersectorial thematic problem clusters such as "human development", "economic development", "spatial organisation", "resource protection", "administration and/or public finances"
2. Working groups are formed for each of the thematic clusters. They start by identifying their individual starting problem and proceed by discussing causes and effects. The problems which were highlighted during the participation analysis are also considered.
3. At the end of the session, every group presents its tree to the plenary and links between the trees are discussed.

Whatever the output of the problem analysis is, the planner is seldom satisfied. Intersectorial linkages are not sufficiently established, entire problem areas are

missing, problem descriptions are not realistic or not detailed enough, aspects of spatial and socio-economic differentiation have been neglected. Even though there will still be a need for further analysis in various areas, it is important to proceed to the formulation of the objective tree within the same workshop session in order to allow participants to immediately share the experience of transformation of the logical principle of the problem tree into the logic of the objectives tree. This learning process is instrumental to understand and to accept the structure and contents of the planning matrix. Missing information on problems and their counterparts, the missing solutions in the objectives tree can be boldly marked with question marks. These would serve as the agreed terms of reference for the further analysis done by the planner and/or other experts. The subsequent workshop session would then start with a report on these studies before alternatives are discussed.

5. Alternatives Analysis

The rationale of this step is to evaluate alternative solutions to the objectives in the tree.

Alternatives in district development planning have to be identified and evaluated at two levels: alternative policy approaches or development paths and alternative programme and project approaches.

Even though this planning stage occupies a relatively important place in district development planning, there are only few practical experiences in the frame of GOPP workshops at district or national

level. In general, this task is given to consultants and their recommendations are brought back to the community in order to be discussed in the forum of a community interface.

The general experience is that people are confused rather than enlightened when the sometimes sophisticated tools and assumptions for such analysis are explained. Whenever alternative development paths are discussed, the only aspect which raises genuine interest are the concrete lists of programmes and projects which are proposed as necessary packages within the frame of alternative development scenarios. The packages are perceived as different sets of shopping lists, in which case it is only rational to select the best from each list and to recombine it into a new package.

Some authors interpret this observation as indicative for "the African's inclination towards compromise" (Schmidt-Kallert 1989). This assumption certainly leads to a hypothesis worth being tested. However, the immediate cause of the problem is rather the fact that people have been disconnected and alienated from the progress in the planning process. The "inclination towards compromise" should rather encourage the planner to involve the community actively in the identification, assessment and final selection of alternatives.

There is a potential for more productive local participation, which is yet to be explored. A more participatory approach during the selection of alternatives would enhance continuous understanding and interest in the process of decision-making and therefore increase commitment for the decisions taken.

Various tools such as scenario writing and specifically all kinds of matrix based analyses are available which would eventually need only minor modifications in order to allow for more participation and smooth integration into the GOPP methodology.

6. Planning Matrix

Rationale

A planning matrix, or logical framework, contains the major elements of project design and is based on the findings of the analysis.

The first column of the matrix contains the system of objectives drawn from the logical hierarchy of the objectives tree.

They are classified in one goal, one project purpose which the project management has to fulfil and which contributes to the achievement of the goal, a list of outputs necessary to achieve the purpose, and all inputs required to produce the outputs. A second column contains the objectively verifiable indicators, which detail the quantity, quality, time, place and target group for the objectives to be reached at each level. In a third column the means and sources of verification for the indicators are stated, which describe the data basis for each indicator to be monitored. Finally, in the fourth column of the matrix, important assumptions are stated, which list major external influences with a possible risk to have a negative impact on desired achievements.

Practical experience:

Problems and proposed modifications

The main problem encountered during this planning step is basically conceptual:

Projects pursue a specific manageable purpose related to a well defined set of inputs and outputs. The project again is only one necessary condition for achieving the goal. Other projects may also have to be undertaken.

The situation is different in the case of district and national development planning. In the long term, the ultimate goal is identical with the purpose of the development plan. The management of the plan (ie. all citizens in their specific socio-economic and political position) is responsible for the achievement of that goal; and there are no other inputs and outputs available than those to which the district or the nation has access.

The considerations can be linked with the recommendation to form thematic clusters in the problem and objectives analysis. The ultimate objectives of these thematic programme packages would then be stated at the purpose level of the district planning matrix. And for each of the purposes the corresponding outputs, inputs, as well as their respective responsibilities (fed back from the participation analysis) will be identified.

With regard to the formulation and understanding of indicators no major problems have been observed, except in the area of administrative and institutional efficiency. In the other areas of human, economic, spatial development and the environment there is a vast selection of well tested indicators available.

A further recommendation shall be given with regard to future monitoring of important assumptions. The four by four standard matrix of the logical framework does not provide for space to include the indicators for the assumptions. It is therefore recommended that two additional columns for indicators and their means of verification related to assumptions be added.

Conclusions and outlook

The use of GOPP as a planning tool at national and sub-national levels in Ghana is without doubt of great didactical and practical value. It allows for a comparatively broad participation and a high degree of self-identification with the output of the planning process within a relatively short time. However, the instrument needs more improvement especially with regard to increasing participation during the stage of selection between alternative planning options.

Another broad field for further research and experimentation lies beyond the mere conceptual and procedural problems of GOPP as a planning instrument. The integration of GOPP into the structure and procedures of the planning machinery requires equal consideration. This includes the integration of planning and public budgeting procedures, the vertical integration and co-ordination of all planning activities from the village up to the national level, the allocation of monitoring responsibilities to political and administrative bodies.

Appendix:

List of district and national level development planning reports

1. SPRING Programme, Kwahu District Study Interim Report: A Development plan for the Afram Plains, Department of Planning, UST Kumasi, July 1987.
2. Programme for Rural Action, Damongo and Nanumba District ZOPP-Workshop Report, April 1989 (by Nicolaus Schall)
3. SPRING Programme, Techiman District Study: A Development Plan for Techiman District, Department of Planning, UST Kumasi, July 1989
4. SPRING Programme, West Gonja District Study: A Development Plan for West Gonja District, Department of Planning, UST Kumasi, July 1990
5. National Development Planning Commission, Cross-sectoral Planning Group for Human Development, Workshop Report on Human Development Goal Oriented Perspective Planning and Programming (GOPERS), Accra, May 1991 (by Christoph Kohlmeier)

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9. Ghana Association of Private Volunteer Organisations in Development (GAPVOD), Workshop Report on Ten Year Plan of Action for GAPVOD, Accra, October 1991 (by Christoph Kohlmeier)
10. National Development Planning Commission, Cross-sectoral Planning Group for Spatial Organisation and the Environment (CSPG-SOE), Workshop Report on Goal Oriented Perspective Planning and Programming for Spatial Organisation and the Environment (GOPERS-SOE), Accra, October 1991 (by Christoph Kohlmeier)
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The management dimension of planning

A case study of Uttar Pradesh, India

Kashinath Bhoosnurmath

Zusammenfassung

Verschiedene indische Bundesstaaten, darunter Uttar Pradesh, haben dezentralisierte Planungsstrategien eingeführt, um in ihrer Planung besser auf lokale Bedürfnisse einzugehen. Der District Magistrate als Leiter der District-Verwaltung übernimmt hierin unter dem neuen System die Rolle des Planers, hat aber wenig eigentliche Planungsaufgaben. Diese werden hauptsächlich von seinen Untergebenen ausgeführt, die dafür genauso wenig ausgebildet sind wie er selbst. Die Erreichung der in den Entwicklungsplänen gesteckten Ziele liegt zwar bei 100%, die Situation der Bevölkerung hat sich jedoch nicht verbessert. Diese Diskrepanz wird u.a. auf mangelnde Planungs- und Managementfähigkeiten der "Planer" zurückgeführt.

The present system of planning in Uttar Pradesh

In India several states have adopted decentralised planning as a strategy to respond to the locally felt needs and demands. However, the degree of decentralisation varies considerably from one state to another. In the State of Uttar Pradesh, though the first measure to decentralise was introduced nearly a decade ago, very little progress has been made to achieve the desired degree of decentralisation.

The present system of planning in Uttar Pradesh envisages 30 per cent of the total plan outlay of the state to be earmarked for "district sector" schemes and the remaining 70 per cent for "state sector" schemes. The "district sector" schemes are those which are supposed to have a direct bearing on the specific issues of individual districts in the State. However, the plan outlay for the district sector schemes is not at all "untied". Presently there is no provision of "untied" funds.

State sector schemes are those which have a geographical coverage that generally cuts across boundaries of two or more districts. Irrigation, power, road, etc. projects are some examples.

As envisaged in the decentralisation act of the Uttar Pradesh government, 1982, two committees in each district were created to realise the goals of decentralisation.

The second committee, namely District Planning and Monitoring Committee (DPMC) functions under the chairmanship of a minister from the state assembly.

Besides all MP's, MLA's and MLC's of the district, the District Magistrate is also a member of it. The Additional District Magistrate coordinates the activities of the committee in the capacity of its secretary.

Till the provision of "untied" funds existed, DPMC functioned as the supreme decision making body that decided the manner to spend it within provisions of district plan. Currently its main functions are:

- to give a final shape to the district plan after reviewing it;
- to make sectoral allocations for each block;
- to review the performance of district

and state sector schemes at an interval of two months;

- to prepare and forward new schemes (to State Planning Department); and
- to collect relevant information on plan implementation and expenditure.

There is no separate district planning department in the district. The DPCAC which is responsible for plan formulation, gets the task done through the District Statistics and Economics Department (DSED). The procedure which follows is rather simple, only the annual plans are prepared by the State Planning Department, for which planning calendar and guidelines are issued every year.

The heads of line departments at the state capital indicate to their respective agencies at district level the schemes to be undertaken and their respective financial and physical targets. On the other hand, the DSED circulates a set of guidelines received from the State Planning Department to all the sectoral departments in the district. Based on the two, the district departments prepare proposals containing the financial outlays and physical targets and submit the same to DSED before a specified date. The District Statistics and Economics Department puts together the proposals of all the sectoral departments to evolve an annual district plan. The DPCAC makes cursory changes here and there in the plan and forwards it to DPMC. The District Planning and Monitoring Committee, after routinely scrutinising the plan, sends it to the Divisional Committee. After ensuring coordination among the districts falling within the division, this committee further forwards the plan to the State Planning Department. Among others, all District Magistrates in the division are members of the Divisional Committee.

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The first committee, namely the District Plan Coordination and Action Committee (DPCAC) comprises the following district level officials.

- District Magistrate Chairman
- Additional District Magistrate Secretary
- District Economics and Statistics Joint Secretary Officer
- All District Departmental Heads Members

The main functions of DPCAC are:

- to prepare district plan as per the guidelines issued by the state government;
- to formulate perspective (five year) plan for the district (no guidelines issued and never prepared so far);
- to review monthly progress of the plan implementation; and
- to suggest corrective measures to improve the performance of the plan.

From the above description it becomes amply clear that a professional planner at district level does not exist. However, in the present set-up of planning the District Magistrate plays an important role. Besides being the chairman of DPCAC, he is a member of DPMC and also the Divisional Committee. Until a professional planning team is built or at least a regional planner is included among the staff of DSED, the District Magistrate can be regarded as the planner.

District Magistrate and his roles as a planner before decentralisation

District Magistrate is the head of district administration. He belongs to the prestigious Indian Administrative Service and has a minimum of eight years of experience before becoming District Magistrate. He has received training basically to become a public administrator.

Traditionally he had to perform four major functions which are:

- maintaining law and order situation;
- collecting revenue on behalf of the government;
- acting as the magistrate in civil court; and
- ensuring smooth functioning of district administration.

However, he was called upon now and then to attend to some of the social welfare functions and also to distribute agricultural crop loans.

He was also made responsible for implementing "drives/campaigns/programmes" such as literacy, family planning and small savings, among others. Drought and flood and relief programmes

were also implemented through him. That is, until late 1970's he performed very little of development and planning functions.

To perform the above functions and tasks, he depended mainly on his administrative skills. The skills required to perform the functions were provided through an in-house and an on-field training programmes. A scrutiny of the curricula of the training programmes conducted up to 1988 reveals that neither "planning" nor "management" were among the subjects taught. Through an informal discussion with the senior faculty members in the Academy it was learnt that, as district magistrates they rarely adopted any of the management techniques to perform the tasks assigned.

A major shift in the role of the district magistrate occurred when "Integrated Rural Development Programme" was launched in 1979. Another function, namely "development" was thus added to the list of functions that he performed traditionally. He now was required to spend some of his time to attend to development related work.

However, he continued to perform the development functions in the manner he attended to his other duties. That is, he depended on his administrative skills and did not feel the necessity of acquiring management skills.

The guidelines issued for his tasks were highly detailed and gave instructions on every step that had to be taken to implement the programmes successfully. Routine administrative skills and common sense were good enough for this purpose.

From the above it becomes evident that the district magistrate did not play the role of a planner before decentralisation. The development functions that he performed were restricted to implementation of centrally planned programmes and schemes. Though there was some scope for improving the monitoring and evaluation mechanism, the guidelines that came along with the programmes did not encourage him to do so. He handled monitoring and evaluation in a manner he handled other routine administrative work. For this he did nothing more than receiving feedback on the target achievement of the various programmes.

Though near 100 per cent targets (physical and financial) were always achieved in each of the programmes/scheme implemented, a perceptible change in living

standards of the beneficiaries could not be realised. There were too many weaknesses in the implementation design which encouraged corruption amongst both officials and beneficiaries.

Lack of planning and management dimensions at lower levels was identified as one of the reasons for the failure of the system. As a result moves were made to introduce limited administrative decentralisation.

The role of district magistrate as a planner: after decentralisation

Decentralisation of planning, as mentioned earlier, was introduced in Uttar Pradesh in 1982-83. In the present planning system the district magistrate has been given the task of preparation, implementation, monitoring and review of district plans. That is, he is the one who plays the role of a district planner.

Planning role of the district magistrate can be examined in the light of a traditional definition of management. According to this definition, management is viewed as organisation of men, money, materials, machinery and minutes (time) so as to achieve the stated objectives.

As head of the district administration the district magistrate has at his disposal a team of officials (both technical and non-technical) at all the three levels, namely village, block and district. Although the district sectoral officials are controlled by their respective head offices at divisional and state levels, he can requisition their services as and when required. From time to time, depending upon the planning calendar notified to him by the State Planning Department, he calls meetings of the committee of which he is the chairman. He makes the full use of the expertise of the District Development Officer (DDO) and District Economics and Statistics Officer (DSEO) in formulating the District Annual Plan. In fact the District Economics and Statistics Officer is the one who collects proposals/plan outlays from all the sectoral departments in the district. For the purposes of implementation of the plan, the District Magistrate or the Additional District Magistrate or the District Development Officer call meetings of all the officials at block and village levels in each of the blocks. In such meetings efforts are made to thrash out the problems such as lack of coordination, dispute over selection of beneficiaries, controversy over selection of sites, etc..

The District Magistrate also appoints a task force at regular intervals comprising a selected group of district level departmental heads. These task forces are entrusted with the responsibility to monitor the implementation of plan at village and above levels.

The resources that might be made available for the district plan is indicated well in advance. The District Magistrate has so far little role in mobilising financial resources other than that he can negotiate with the officials of State Planning Department to grant him more funds. He has no powers to levy taxes or duties so as to collect funds for the plan. He can however, advise the Lead Bank of the district the manner in which the institutional credit should be invested.

Regarding mobilisation of other inputs required for the plan implementation, he delegates the power to his subordinates. It is their responsibility to ensure that all the required inputs reach the district from the State Headquarters as also from the Central Government. The District Magistrate intervenes in case they fail to obtain the materials. He generally corresponds with the concerned agency and tries to obtain the materials.

The district magistrate is very much a public figure who has little time for his own personal life. Time is very precious for him as he has the responsibility to not only maintain the law and order situation in the district but also has to attend to the development functions. Ever since decentralised planning was introduced, the district magistrate spends nearly 50 per cent of his time attending to development functions. Though most of this time is spent on attending meetings, he does put aside some time for touring the district. As mentioned earlier, the State Planning Department provides him with a planning calendar which equips him fully to manage the time available to him. By adhering to the time schedules in calling meetings, in launching new schemes, etc., an experienced district magistrate succeeds in achieving the targets set forth in the plan. Before coming to any conclusions, it is worthwhile also to examine his role in the various stages of planning. SPRING divides the process of planning into four stages. They are analysis, prospects, planning and implementation.

The present degree and nature of decentralisation does not really let the planner at district level to adopt the various stages of planning. However, at the first stage of plan formulation he engages the services of the DSEO to collect and com-

pile the necessary data. The DSEO compiles and presents the data in the form of a statistics handbook. The data includes, among other things, summaries of demographic features, agricultural census, livestock census and certain aspects of infrastructure facilities. The use of this exercise is highly limited. The data is rarely analysed further to arrive at planning decision. It is consulted occasionally to identify locations where certain schemes could be implemented.

Certain special surveys are also conducted from time to time to find out number of shelterless families, number of bio-gas plants that are operational, number of families below the poverty line, etc.. But such surveys are conducted not at the initiative of the district magistrate. They are done to comply with the orders received from State/Central Governments. Depending upon requirements, the results of the surveys are sometimes included in the plan.

While DSEO and DDO are involved in such surveys, the district magistrate also involves himself in the analysis stage of planning. This he does in two manners. Firstly, he visits among other places, special problem areas to take a stock of the situation there. Depending upon the nature of problems and solutions thereby, he coordinates with DSEO to include proposals for such areas in the plan.

Secondly, people of the district, through letters and representations, bring to his notice their problems and requirements. After deciding upon suitable solutions in consultation with the concerned department, he again passes them on to the DSEO. If such proposals are within the purview of the plan, they are included in it.

Though formulation of a perspective plan (five year plan) is one of the responsibilities assigned to the DPCAC, such a plan is never prepared. That is no exercise in 'prospectus' is undertaken. At the stage of planning, the district magistrate plays the role of a coordinator of the various inter-departmental meetings held. Decision regarding blockwise and sectorwise allocation of resources are made in such meetings. He uses apparently no planning or management techniques and therefore he is often forced to bow down to political and other pressures. Compromises made due to lack of preparedness (plan is not prepared scientifically) often results in defeat of the objective to reduce intra-district disparities. Implementation of the plan is undertaken by the sectoral departments. It is the responsibility of these departments to see to it that the

targets are achieved. No details of the means to implement nor the 'plan of action' are prepared. However, in some cases monthly/quarterly targets are also worked out. The district magistrate conducts monthly/bimonthly/quarterly meetings to review the progress of plan implementation. He also appoints a task force comprising 4-5 departmental heads to verify the target achievements in the field.

It is not very uncommon to see in a district that the whole district administration is geared up towards the end of each financial year to achieve the physical and financial targets. The lack of a sound implementation design is one of the major reasons for this last hour rush.

Is there a management dimension to planning ?

The preceding discussion brought out several important points. First, the decentralisation in Uttar Pradesh is still at its infancy. Second, there is no district planner in position, however though the district magistrate can be regarded as the planner. Third, his supporting staff especially the DSEO and DDO play a dominant role throughout the process of planning. Fourth, though his role is the most important, it is restricted to giving final decisions. And last, in spite of poor planning and management skills, most of the targets are achieved.

At the outset it might appear, especially because of 100 per cent target achieved in most schemes, that the goals of development planning are also being achieved. But the facts speak about something else. Poverty, unemployment, malnourishment, etc. continue to be the major problems.

So what is wrong? Though the role of planner has changed and is performing certain new tasks, the degree of change is really minimal. With whatever little change has occurred, there ought to have been efforts to upgrade his managerial and planning skills so that the planner could play his role more effectively and efficiently.

That is, without adding any kind of management dimension to the process of planning, decentralisation itself is suffering a setback. Though the desired degree of decentralisation cannot be realised over night, better results in terms of positive qualitative changes can be achieved by emphasising improvements in implementation mechanism.

Neue Bücher

Book Notes

Rezensionsartikel/Review article

Kosta Mathéy. *Beyond Self-Help Housing*. 417 S., 1992. München: Profil Verlag.

"Self-help policies are very appealing to a wide variety of people for a wide variety of reasons" "The only problem is: self-help policies are not likely to work."

This opening paragraph of the first chapter by Peter Marcuse might suggest that the whole purpose of the book is flawed, but fortunately quite the opposite is shown. After a most articulate expansion of this thesis of why conventional self-help projects will not work Marcuse then spells out five 'specifics that would be necessary to make self-help a progressive and viable contribution to resolve the housing problems of low income households. This in fact is the real focus of this book. It takes forward the over-polarized and at time oversimplified and sterile debates of the early 1980s to 'search for forward-looking strategies that have the potential to overcome the present rather hopeless panorama of housing policies and programmes'.

It does this very effectively precisely because it does not attempt to ignore the theoretical or political aspects, rather it attempts to close the previously widening gap between theory and practice. The book consists of 20 chapters divided into five sections. The first of these, 'Theoretical Propositions', provides a comprehensive and valuable overview of the key standpoints and issues of this complex field. Fiori and Ramirez develop a conceptual framework for the analysis of self-help housing policies in developing countries. Like most of the contributions it is positive and constructive in nature, attempting to provide a critical analysis which seeks to identify strategies and scenarios which could open the way for progressive policies that not only provide solutions in the short term but also create conditions that might in the long term help to change the social context which generated the problems in the first place. (...)

Other theoretical contributions include Rod Burgess on the relationship between self-help programmes and changing development ideologies (Modernization, basic needs, redistribution with growth and articulation theory) He argues cogently for a global perspective and his analysis is incisive but not optimistic. Another chapter by Caroline Moser analyses the impact of self-help housing policies on women and women-headed households. She provides a conceptual framework for analysis and policy making and stresses the need for approaches which are sensitive to the triple role of women (reproductive, productive and community managing). These issues are not merely academic: in the urban areas of Latin

America and Africa the proportion of women-headed households exceeds 50 per cent, and a disproportionate number of these are among the poorest. With examples from different countries she identifies a range of reasons why it is essential for women to participate meaningfully in housing projects, not least to improve levels of efficiency, effectiveness and cost recovery. However fundamental changes in attitude are required if the many constraints are to be confronted and genuine gender sensitive approaches are adopted.

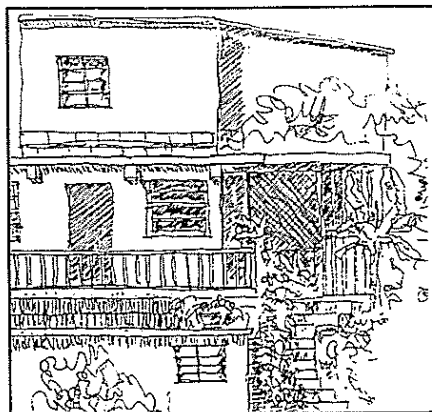
Although Turner always stressed the universal character of housing processes (and he mentions it again in his foreword of the book), the bulk of the literature has understandably concentrated on Third World situations, and rarely attempted to compare and relate self-help housing actions in the developing countries with those taking place in industrial contexts. Hans Harms attempts to do just this. He describes how in the Northern Europe changing political and economic circumstances are opening up new and potentially exciting possibilities in non-conventional housing provision, but the relevance of these to the Third World where the economic situation is deteriorating appears minimal or at least of merely academic interest. However in his introduction Kosta Mathéy provides a very helpful analysis of the salient differences between the main contexts and identifies a dual dichotomy: between socialist and capitalist economies and developing and industrialized countries. His argument about the critical nature of the social formation and the implications and effectiveness of self-help policies are developed further in his chapter on self-help and the microbrigades in Cuba.

Given the disappointing record of self-help in capitalist societies what happens when self-help is promoted in a radically different context? Cuba is undoubtedly a fascinating laboratory for

experimentation in numerous fields, and the account by Mathéy of the massive building efforts and enthusiasm of the microbrigades cannot fail to impress even the most skeptical observers. Using the research data combined with personal experiences with the microbrigades he attempts to test and clarify the main issues: commodification, double exploitation, cost reduction, income generation, popular mobilization, pacification, access, social integration, work satisfaction, use values and replicability. His analysis provides us with wonderful glimpses of a society (still) free from the shackles of the market and able to base many housing decisions on progressive social values. But above all the aided self-help approach is effective: it 'offers a realistic solution to the housing problem in Cuba, and produces quantitatively and qualitatively superior results compared to both spontaneous self-building and assisted self-help programmes in other Latin American countries'.

The Cuban experience demonstrated what can be achieved by self-help approaches within a radically different socio-political context. Even within market economies there is a scope for effective action especially when support from the state is forthcoming, but the most significant element as demonstrated by several case studies is the social dimension: well organized and motivated collective action can achieve most impressive results: Karin Meffert describes a radical cooperative in Mexico City which 'tried to combine collective self-help with concepts of 'popular' urbanization and local democracy at the neighbourhood level. Self-building and self-administration were understood not only as a necessity to save money, but also as a means of fostering community identity and of generating a sense of collective responsibility, competence and autonomy among its members. The list of achievements of this well-organized is impressive but we must remember that it was only possible that the progressive policy (now under threat through Structural Adjustment) of a government agency (FONAPO) to provide funds, land and finance for professional support through an NGO.

Even where government support is withdrawn it is still possible to build on earlier advances; this as the case of the well known Villa EL Salvador in Peru. Calderon Cockburn stresses the value of collective consumption, action and management and provides an optimistic account of attempts to develop and defend the collective interests of the community. In some societies the traditional patterns of participation and decision making can be strengthened to stress the collective dimension. Florian Steinberg describes how in Indonesia traditional values



which place community interests above individual concerns provided a firm base for the participatory approach of the Kampung Improvement Programme. These collective approaches are very much in line with Turner's thinking as repeated in the foreword. He again stresses that despite ideological differences the key issue is how to achieve a symbiosis between state powers and market forces in order to support local self-management, especially at the community level.

In addition to these social and organizational aspects there are several other sub-themes running through many of the contributions. Commodification is one of these and is expanded in detail by Ramirez, Fiori, Harms and Mathéy in their study of the *barrios* of Caracas. Their use of family case histories is refreshing in methodological terms and very effective in unravelling the complexity of interrelated actions and concepts. They discuss eight components related to housing production, exchange and consumption: house development as use value, land provision, the building of houses, exchange relations, administrative framework and technical assistance, neighbourhood development as use value, community organization, costs, finance and affordability. The detailed analysis of these processes is enlightening and the overall conclusion encouraging: '... the poor population definitively benefited from the self-help housing policies, which opened up new channels for political negotiation and eventually resulted in a considerable transfer of resources towards this population.'

Other analyses are less encouraging. Using an impressive quantitative data base van Lindert explores the relationship between social and residential mobility in La Paz, Bolivia. He reports that the effect of upgrading can be to stimulate housing turnover and hence undermine stability. In a five year period after World Bank upgrading two thirds of residents had left. In contrast van der Linden describes a World Bank sponsored site-and-services project which provided housing options for the poorest in Hyderabad, Pakistan.

As must be becoming clear, the book is broad in scope and ambitious in intent. Mathéy has brought together a team of 22 authors who explore self-help from a variety of different contexts. The geographical spread is uneven: virtually all case studies are from Latin America, some from Europe, a couple from Asia, but only one from Africa (Egypt). The inclusion of experiences from different socio-political contexts (e.g. Cuba) provides a stimulating frame of reference with which to contrast self-help in capitalist market economies. Although of some theoretical and historical interest, the chapters from Northern Europe (both capitalist and former state 'socialist') are less rewarding and perhaps make the volume unnecessarily large. For example, computer-aided self-help in Austria is light years away from the reality of subsistence construction in most Third World countries; no doubt for the price of the computer alone several enterprising Third World households could make dramatic improvements to their housing conditions.

The technical aspects of self-help are also included, particularly light-weight prefabrication. Can such construction systems play a positive role in self-help or collective housing programmes? Yves Cabannes explores the interrelationship between social processes and technical options in five countries in Asia and Latin America. This forms part of an international research programme co-ordinated by GRET and IHS. The chapter concludes that on the available evidence mutual aid processes can make good use of prefabricated systems, but that prefabrication as such is not necessarily a facilitator of such processes. However there is undoubtedly a close correlation between technical and social

processes which is worthy of further research. Curiously no mention is made of an apparently parallel research programme funded by Spain and operating in 17 Latin American countries (CYTED-D: Technology for Social Housing).

A couple of chapters addresses the challenge of high-rise self-help. Ana Brumlik describes a new build project for rehousing families made homeless when their houses were destroyed in a landslide in Caracas. Unfortunately we are not given sufficient detail about how the residents were organized or obtained technical support and finance; to be able to assess the potential replicability of this type of approach. In contrast the detailed case study by Tipple and Wilkinson describes how residents and small contractors (illegally) extends small and inadequate multi-storey flats in Cairo. Given the scale (and condition) of government-built blocks in certain Third-World cities this approach has considerable potential to increase and improve the housing stock. Interestingly this is another example of the collective dimension to 'self-help': a high degree of collaboration and co-ordination is required between the resident involved.

Since the publication of Peter Ward's 'Self-Help Housing: A Critique' ten years ago, the world economic and political situation has changed considerably and housing problems have worsened. Effective approaches are needed more urgently than ever before. To this end the book deepens our understanding of the implications and limitations of different housing approaches and offers us a more mature and coherent interpretation of self-help. It should be read by all those involved in attempting to improve the housing conditions of the urban poor.

Peter Kellet/Open House International

Buchhinweise / Book Notes

Wohnungsversorgung

Stephen Malpezzi, Gwendolyn Bail. *Rent Control in Developing Countries. World Bank Discussion Papers No. 129.* 84 S., ISBN, 0-8213-1910-8, 1991. US\$7,-. Washington DC: The World Bank.

Die Autoren sind dem Ruf ihres Auftraggebers treu geblieben und haben das herausgefunden, was sich widerspruchsfrei in die Politik der Strukturplanung einfügt: Mietpreisbindungen sind auch in Entwicklungsländern ineffizient und sollten schleunigst abgeschafft werden. Als Begründung wird angeführt, daß sie zwar die durchschnittliche Mietbelastung der Betroffenen von 20% auf 10% des Einkommens beschränken, diese Einsparung jedoch längerfristig durch ein geringeres Angebot an Mietwohnungen zu nichte gemacht wird – und damit einen "negativen Nutzen" darstellt. Ferner wird angeführt, daß ein gewisser Prozentsatz der Mieter ohnehin reicher ist als die Vermieter, weswegen auch der soziale Umverteilungseffekt kein Argument sein kann.

Die vorgeführte Argumentation krankt, wie viele rein empirisch ausgerichteten Studien, an mangelndem Interesse für die Ursachen der festgestellten Mängel. Die Diät hat den kranken Patienten nicht gesunden lassen, also verzichten wir künftig auf die Diät. Nicht gefragt wird, ob die Diät vielleicht eine andere Zusammensetzung haben könnte, oder gar der Gesundheitszustand ohne Diät noch fataler wäre. Ein weiterer Schwachpunkt der Studie liegt in der statistisch belanglosen Anzahl von nur vier Orten der Fallstudien (Rio, Kairo, Kumbasi, Bangalore) – wobei für ein Teil der Auswertung die Daten von Rio noch nicht einmal berücksichtigt wurden. Daraus Empfehlungen für alle Entwicklungsländer ableiten zu wollen, scheint sehr kühn. Als auffällig

vernünftiger Gedanke ist immerhin die Feststellung zu zitieren, daß der Ruf nach Mietpreisbindung als Indiz dafür zu werten sei, daß die Wohnungspolitik insgesamt reformbedürftig ist – was durch Eingriffe im Mietsektor allein natürlich nicht in die Reihe gebracht werden kann. Übrigens auch nicht durch Zugang zu Krediten, wie die Weltbank-Autoren abschließend behaupten.

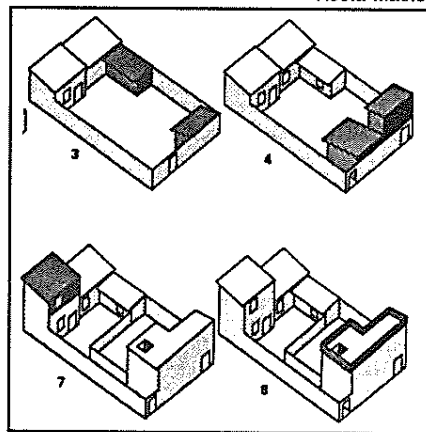
Kosta Mathéy

Robin Spence, Jill Wells, Eric Dudley. *Jobs from Housing.* 103 Seiten, ISBN 1-85339-212X, 1993, £ 10,-. Intermediate Technology Publications, 103-105 Southampton Row, GB-London WC1B 4HH.

Der Text war ursprünglich als Positionspapier für die Overseas Development Administration anlässlich der 14. Sitzung der 'UN Commission for Human Settlements in Nairobi, April 1993' verfaßt worden. Anders jedoch als üblich bei derartigen offiziellen Berichten wurde hier auf allgemeine Floskeln und unverbindliche Wunschvorstellungen verzichtet, und eine aktuelle Zusammenfassung von fast allen wesentlichen Aspekten der Wohnungsverversorgung präsentiert. Der Titel "Jobs from Housing" ist nicht wörtlich, sondern eher philosophisch zu nehmen: wichtig erscheint dabei die implizite Feststellung, daß sich gute Wohnverhältnisse makroökonomisch in höherer Produktivität niederschlagen, und deshalb nicht, wie meistens üblich, dem 'unproduktiven' Konsum-Sektor zugerechnet werden sollten.

Die neun Kapitel der Studie sind zwei Leitthemen zugeordnet: Wohnungspolitik (hier als Wohnungswirtschaft betitelt) und Baumaterialien. Die einzelnen Kapitel werden jeweils mit einer Fallstudie abgeschlossen, die – zumal es sich in der Mehrzahl nicht um die allseits publizierten Paradebeispiele handelt – leider etwas kurz ausgefallen sind. Hier wären zumindest weitere Quellenverweise nützlich gewesen. Insgesamt jedoch bietet der Band nicht nur für Fachfremde eine gelungene Einführung in die Thematik.

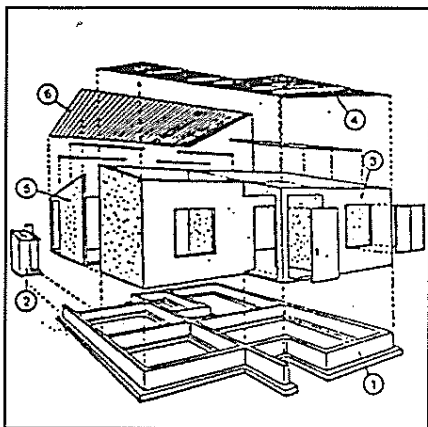
Kosta Mathéy



Frans Beijard, "And I promise you..." *Politics, economy and housing policy in Bolivia, 1952-1987.* 279 S., 1992. Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. Erhältlich vom Autor unter folgender Adresse: Vossiusstraat 37-3, NL-1071 Amsterdam.

Es handelt sich um die Doktorarbeit des Autors, die an der Fakultät für sozio-ökonomische Studien an der Freien Universität Amsterdam angenommen wurde. Das Werk gliedert sich in zwei klar voneinander abzugrenzende Teile: in fünf Kapiteln werden Aufbau, Rahmenbedingungen und Ergebnisse einer quantitativen Forschung über Eigentumsformen an Wohnraum und sozio-ökonomischer Status der Bewohner in La Paz präsentiert, während die Kapitel 6 bis 10 sehr detailliert die Wohnungspolitik Boliviens in verschiedenen Epochen beschreibt. Besonders der zweite Teil dürfte für viele weitere Arbeiten

zu La Paz oder Bolivien eine wichtige Informationsgrundlage darstellen, die bisher wahrscheinlich an keiner anderen Stelle so gründlich aufgearbeitet wurde. Kosta Mathéy



Sebastian Kassak. Wollt ihr uns etwa aus dem Viertel vertreiben? Stadtentwicklung in den Armutsvierteln von Luanda, Angola. ASA Texte 2. ISBN 3-923020-12-0, 1992. DM 14,80 Berlin: FDCL/LN Vertrieb, Gnelsenastr. 2, Berlin 61.

Die Publikation entstand als Ergebnis eines von ASA geförderten Gruppen-Studienaufenthaltes in Angola im Jahre 1989, der auch eine empirische Befragung von 180 Familien im informellen Wohngebiet Gebiet Lixeira im Barrio Sambizanga von Luanda einschloß. In vier Kapiteln werden der gesellschaftliche wie geographische Kontext des Untersuchungsgebiets beschrieben, die quantitativen und qualitativen Ergebnisse der Feldforschung vorgestellt, Beispiele für Stadtteilverbesserungen in anderen Ländern geschildert, und schließlich werden auch die Entwicklungsperspektiven der Stadtentwicklung und Wohnungsversorgung für Angola thematisiert.

Besonders aufschlußreich und an keiner anderen Stelle in dieser Ausführlichkeit dokumentiert sind die Inhalte der beiden erstgenannten Kapitel, die qualitativ sogar das Niveau mancher Dissertation übersteigen. Der allgemein gehaltene Abschnitt über Strategien und Beispiele der Stadtteilentwicklung stellt einen Rundumschlag durch eine extrem komplexe Thematik in aller Herren (Entwicklungs-) Länder dar, die in anderen Arbeiten gründlicher und z.T. auch kompetenter (d.h. nicht nur auf Literaturswertung basierend) behandelt wird, und in dieser Veröffentlichung wie ein fünftes Rad am Wagen erscheint. Auch das Kapitel über die Perspektiven Angolas ist nicht so überzeugend wie der erste Teil des Buches, da hier in der Hauptsache jüngere Entwicklungen des Landes nach Abschluß der Feldforschung aus europäischen Medien ausgewertet wurden, und weniger eine kohärente Strategieempfehlung aus den bisherigen Erkenntnissen der Forschung abgeleitet wird. Dennoch: Als bislang gründlichste Veröffentlichung über Stadtentwicklung und Wohnungsversorgung in Angola verdient die Arbeit hohes Lob und ist zur Anschaffung zu empfehlen. K. Mathéy

Klaus Selle, Mit den Bewohnern die Stadt erneuern. 280 S., ISBN 3-924352-60-7. 1991. Dortmunder Vertrieb für Bau- und Planungsliteratur, Gutenbergstraße 59, Dortmund.

Die Publikation faßt die Ergebnisse eines sehr umfangreichen internationalen Forschungsprojektes zu intermediären Organisationen als Unterstützerinnen von Selbsthilfe-Initiativen im Wohn- und Stadtplanungskontext zusammen. Während die Länderstudien zu Deutschland, den Niederlanden, den USA, Großbritannien, der Schweiz und zu Österreich als separate Publi-

kationen erschienen, gibt dieser Band sozusagen die Schlüsselinformationen zu dem Projekt preis. Dazu gehören natürlich die Forschungsfragen, Annahmen, Angaben zur Forschungsmethode und – entsprechend der Konvention – ein Resümee der Erkenntnisse. Diese Gliederung des Materials wird zwar mehr oder weniger übernommen, doch ist das Themenfeld so komplex und die Situation in den gegenübergestellten Ländern so unterschiedlich, daß eine klare und knappe Beantwortung der Ausgangsfragen *nonsens* wäre. So finden sich in der Einführung bereits Erkenntnisse und in der Zusammenfassung erneut offene Thesen, was die Orientierung des Lesers oder der Leserin mitunter beeinträchtigt. Dennoch, jeder Abschnitt des Buches ist lesenswert und bringt viele Zusammenhänge auf den Punkt, die seit längerem in unterschiedlicher Auslegung durch die Literatur geistern. Dazu gehören z.B. die Ausführungen über Sinn und Zweck von Selbsthilfeinitiativen im Quartiers- und Wohnbereich (bezogen auf den zentral-europäischen Kontext), deren essentielle Voraussetzungen und evidente Grenzen. Es wird festgestellt, daß die Selbsthilfe in jedem Falle äußerer Hilfe bedarf – und dies um so mehr, je bedürftiger die Akteure sind. Ein wichtiges Moment in dieser Unterstützung stellen die sog. intermediären Organisationen dar. Diese können privat oder staatlich, kirchlich oder kooperativ getragen werden, und in der Regel operieren mehrere von ihnen parallel in der gleichen Region. Die Fragen, die sich in diesem Kontext stellen (wie Qualifikation, Finanzierung, Konkurrenz etc.), waren der eigentliche Gegenstand der Forschung – aber auch ein Einstieg in andere, damit zusammenhängende Thematiken, etwa alternative Stadtplanungspraktiken, Ökologie, Partizipationsmodelle...

Die Absorption der reichen und mannigfaltigen Information beansprucht Zeit; wie die Erkenntnisse in den nur zwei Jahren der Hauptstudie gesammelt und niedergeschrieben werden konnten, erscheint wie ein Rätsel und verdient ungeteilte Bewunderung. Doch der Nutzen der Publikation für alle, die an den Themen Selbsthilfe, Nicht-Regierungsorganisationen, Bürgerbeteiligung, Planungskulturen, Stadtteilentwicklung arbeiten ist unbestritten. Dem (übrigens sehr preiswerten) Buch ist eine weitere Verbreitung zu wünschen als dies bei kleinen Verlagen mit geringem Werbeetat erwartet werden kann.

Kosta Mathéy

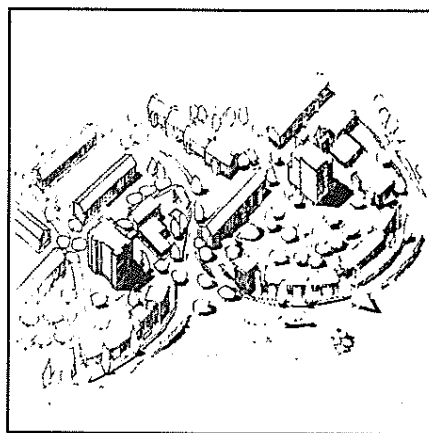
Lederer, A.; Ragnarsdóttir, J. Wohnen heute – Housing Today. 147 S. 1992. Stuttgart / Zürich: Krämer Verlag.

Der Rezensent hätte es ahnen können: Dieses Buch präsentiert sich mit einem viel zu weit gefaßten Titel vom "wohnen heute", meint aber nur das Wohnen in den Ländern des reichen Nordens, und seine Beispiele berichten überwiegend vom Wohnen der (relativ) wohlhabenden Eigenheimbesitzer (wenn es auch einige wenige Beispiele des Arbeiterwohnungsbaus und von einfachen Selbstbauhäusern gibt. Die architektonische Bandbreite der vorgestellten Bauten (teilweise bekannt aus Bauwelt-Publikationen) belegt das Verdikt der Herausgeber von der unsäglichen Vielfalt in diesem geradezu klassischen Themenfeld: es reagiert Einfachheit in Form und Materialien, oder Verspieltheit, oder Dominanz von wuchtigen Konzepten der Moderne. unter den Beispielen finden sich etliche durchaus originelle Bauten wie die Haans Villa, das Haus Rentschler, das Wohnhaus in Lyon-Vaise oder das Wohnhaus Plötzeinsdorf; sowie die anheimelnden, organischen Formen des Hauses Prinz. Etwas öde dagegen sind die Wohnsiedlungen von Aubervilliers und Myllärintanhuu, und der Wohnhausblock vom Luisenplatz läßt an der Bedeutung des Stadthaus-Konzeptes zweifeln. Florian Steinberg

Stadtentwicklung

Paul Baross, Jan van der Linden. The Transformation of Land Supply Systems in Third World Cities. 430 S. ISBN 0-566-07019-7, 1990. Aldershot: Avebury/Gower.

Der Zugang zu Land gilt heute als das größte Hindernis in der Versorgung mit Wohnraum für die unteren und mittleren Einkommensgruppen in Entwicklungsländern; gleichzeitig stellen monopolisierte oder ungeklärte Bodenbesitzverhältnisse ein entscheidendes Problem der Stadtplanung dar. Mit der neoliberalen Privatisierungs-Euphorie staatlicher und kommunaler Landreserven wird das Problem nicht einfacher. Daher sind qualifizierte Arbeiten zu diesem Themenkomplex besonders dringlich und finden in der Regel eine aufgeschlossene Leserschaft. Das gilt sicher auch für das vorliegende Buch, das die Ergebnisse eines großangelegten, internationalen, und 1987 abgeschlossenen Forschungsprojektes zusammenfaßt. Aus der Entstehungsgeschichte des Projekts ergibt sich, daß die meisten Beiträge Fallstudien darstellen, und zwar zu Mali, Kairo, Mexico, Bangkok, Delhi, Karachi, Lissabon, Ismailia, Bogotä, und Hyderabad (Pakistan). Zu den Autor/inn/en gehören die bekannten und renommierten Expert/inn/en des Fachgebiets, die über die gleichen Projekte auch schon an anderer Stelle publiziert haben: u.a. Jan van der Linden, Mulkh Rai, Paul Baross, Peter Ward, Alan Gilbert, Alain Durand-Lasserre, Florian Steinberg oder Shlomo Angel. Das Verdienst der Publikation liegt damit weniger in den (teilweise schon älteren) Einzelbeiträgen, sondern in deren Verfügbarkeit in einem gemeinsamen Band. Als "Arbeitsbuch" präsentiert sich die Publikation durch den wenig attraktiven Schreibmaschinensatz (zu lange Zeilen) und die geringe Zahl an Abbildungen. KM



Wentz, Martin (Hrsg.). Wohn-Stadt. Die Zukunft der Stadt Band 4. 231 Seiten, ISBN 3-593-34723-7, 1993, DM 78,-. Frankfurt: Campus-Verlag.

Als intellektuelles Gegengewicht zu dem künstlerischen Schwerpunkt des Mainufers gibt der Frankfurter Planungsdezernent diese anspruchsvolle städtebauliche Buchreihe heraus, deren vierte Folge im Sommer 1993 unter dem Titel *Wohn-Stadt* erschien (der vorherige Band III hieß *Planungskulturen*). Der Band enthält eine Sammlung kompetenter Vorträge zu aktuellen und historischen Fragen des Städtebaus, jüngere Wettbewerbsentwürfe zu Wohnsiedlungen in Frankfurt, Projekte und Gedanken zur Flußbrand-Bebauung bezogen auf andere Städte in ähnlicher Situation (Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Ludwigshafen, Wien), und schließlich eine Serie von Aufsätzen zur jüngeren Stadtentwicklung im Ausland (Mailand, Madrid, Stockholm, Lyon).

Die Publikation ist in mindestens zweierlei Hinsicht willkommen. Einmal spiegelt sich die

zeitgenössische Diskussion über Aufgaben und Probleme der Stadtplanung in relativ kurzgefaßten Essays durch exponierte Vertreter der Disziplin wieder – die woanders nicht so bequem zwischen zwei Buchdeckeln zugänglich ist; zum anderen liefert die gute visuelle Präsentation aktueller städtebaulicher Entwürfe ein nützliches Material für den städtebaulichen Unterricht in der Lehre oder als Anschauungsmaterial für ausländische Besucher und andere Interessenten. Die Kosten einer derartigen Materialsammlung, hier wohl durch die Stadt Frankfurt getragen, wären für einen einzelnen Wissenschaftler oder für ein Hochschulinstitut kaum aufzubringen gewesen; aber auch die Praxisnähe ist typischer Bonus des kommunalen Herausgebers der Serie.

K. Mathéy

Beirat für Stadtentwicklungsbereiche. Planung als Prozeß. Wien wächst Band 1/1992. 44 S. ISBN 3-901210-10-5. erhältlich vom Herausgeber: A. Klotz, Magistratsdirektion Stadtbau, Gruppe Planung, A-1082, Wien.

Eine Mischung zwischen Mitteilungsblatt des Stadtplanungsamtes und avantgardistischer Fachpublikation – produziert anscheinend anläßlich einer nicht genauer bezeichneten Tagung (dafür spricht die Angabe des Tagungssekretariats im Impressum). Um dem zweiten Anspruch gerecht zu werden, sind die Beiträge zu knapp gehalten, obwohl der inhaltliche Aspekt innovativ genug wäre. Positiv ist die teilweise unkonventionelle Darstellung, wie z.B. der imaginative Dialog zwischen Zentrum und transdanubischer Peripherie, den sich Rudolf Kohoutek ausgedacht hat.

Hans Helms (Hrsg.). Die Stadt als Gabentisch. Beobachtungen der aktuellen Städtebauentwicklung. ISBN 3-379-00732-3. Taschenbuch 586 S., 1992, DM 24.-. Leipzig: Reclam Verlag.

Vier Textbücher in einem Band: In eigenständigen Abschnitten wird über gegenwärtige Problematiken der Stadtentwicklung in den USA berichtet; darauf folgen eine Reihe von Aufsätzen über entsprechende Tendenzen in Westdeutschland und im übrigen kapitalistischen Europa, Impressionen (westdeutscher Autoren) und Analysen (ostdeutscher Wissenschaftler) zur Situation der Städte in den neuen Bundesländern, bis schließlich Gedanken zur künftigen Hauptstadtentwicklung den Abschluß bilden. Angeführt von einem brillanten Einführungsartikel des Herausgebers Hans Helms offerieren die einzelnen Autoren eine links-kritische Perspektive, wobei ein Schuß Zynismus die im Großen und Ganzen wenig erfreulichen Tatsachen etwas verdaulicher machen. Zu den Autoren der insgesamt 31 Beiträge zählen u.a. Klaus Brake, Werner Durth, Bernd Grönwald, Bernd Hunger, Peter Marcuse, Klaus Schmals, Claude Schnaid – um nur die bekanntesten zu nennen. Damit wird schon deutlich, daß es sich bei dem Band um ein zeitgeschichtliches Dokument der Umbruchphase zwischen beiden Deutschlands handelt, bei dem jedoch noch in guter DDR-Tradition die Texte vor der Aufmachung stehen, und das bei Stadtplanern (soweit sie des Lesens mächtig sind) wie Stadtsoziologen sicher ein wichtiges Referenzdokument werden wird.

K. Mathéy.

Arbeitskreis Stadterneuerung an deutschsprachigen Hochschulen. Jahrbuch Stadterneuerung 1992. 380 S., ISBN 3-7983-1489-6, 1992. Berlin: Technische Universität (Abt. Publikationen, Straße des 17. Juni 135, FAX 030-31424743)

Die zweite Ausgabe dieses prinzipiell begrüßenswerten Jahrbuchs enthält wiederum eine Vielzahl an Analysen, Berichten und Projektbeschreibungen aus ganz unterschiedlichen geo-

graphischen und sozialen Kontexten. Mit Ausnahme des neu hinzugekommenen, und an der Anzahl der Beiträge gemessen umfangreichsten, Abschnitts "Projekte" wurde die Struktur des Bandes aus dem Vorjahr beibehalten.

Unter der Rubrik Lehre und Forschung werden die fachrelevanten Studienschwerpunkte an den Universitäten Hamburg-Harburg und Dortmund vorgestellt, wobei allerdings die Information über Lehrinhalte und bearbeiteten Studienprojekte gegenüber der personellen und institutionshistorischen Selbstdarstellung zu kurz kommt. Unter der Überschrift Geschichte und Theorie der Stadt finden sich hauptsächlich stadthistorische Arbeiten (Lübeck, Braunschweig, Hamburg, Hamburg, nochmal Hamburg) und nur ein Theoriebeitrag über die Ökonomie der Stadterneuerung. Letzterer wurde von Stephan Krätze, der dieses Fach z.Z. an der TU in Hamburg vertritt, verfaßt, und nimmt sich eine Definition des Faches vor und faßt in übersichtlicher Weise wichtige sozio-ökonomische Stadttheorien der letzten Jahrzehnte zusammen, wie z.B. das Konzept des *filtering*, stadtgeographische Verwertungszyklen (Harvey u.a.), Konsummodelle (Häusermann & Siebel u.a.). Der dritte Abschnitt Altbauernennung-Neubauernennung berichtet im Grunde genommen über versäumte Chancen der Stadterneuerung in den neuen Bundesländern vor und nach der Wende (Leipzig, 3x Dessau, Brandenburg) plus einen – leider zu kurzen – Beitrag über Mieter/innenbeteiligung bei der Nachbesserung von Großsiedlungen.

Für TRIALOG Leser/innen am interessantesten dürfte der Teil Stadterneuerung im Ausland sein. Er beginnt mit einer sehr nützlichen Übersicht über internationale Initiativen und Förderprogramme der Stadtentwicklung im Kontext der EG, und einer aufschlußreichen Herausstellung dominanter ökonomischer Interessen in den verschiedenen Phasen der jüngeren Stadtentwicklung Amsterdams. Zwei Beiträge thematisieren die Rahmenbedingungen der Stadterneuerung in Rio de Janeiro und in Santiago de Chile, ohne daß es dabei allerdings besonders bemerkenswerte Entwicklungen im positiven Sinne zu berichten gäbe. Das Interesse liegt somit eher in der Dokumentation von nützlichem Hintergrundmaterial für künftige Arbeiten zu sehr speziellen Fragestellungen in diesen Städten. Besonders interessant ist der Beitrag über verschiedene Massenwohnungsbau-Programme der letzten 40 Jahre in Moskau und den dabei zwischenzeitlich akkumulierten Defiziten bzw. Ansätzen zu deren Behebung.

Der Abschnitt Projekte bezieht sich sowohl auf Forschungs- wie Studien- und Praxisprojekte in beiden Teilen Deutschlands, doch die Abgrenzung zu den Beiträgen des 2. Abschnitts (Geschichte) ist nicht ganz überzeugend. Als gemeinsamer Nenner der "Projekte" ließe sich ggf. die geographisch kleinteilige Bearbeitung und deren Aktualität identifizieren. Daran logisch anknüpfend folgen einige Berichte über jüngere Fach-Veranstaltungen und Buchrezensionen im letzten Teil des Buches.

Das Jahrbuch stellt ein wichtiges Medium zur Information und Diskussion eines in der gegenwärtigen Epoche zentralen stadtplanerischen Aufgabenkomplexes dar, und gehört in ohne Frage in die relevanten Fachbibliotheken. In künftigen Ausgaben sollte vielleicht die Gruppierung der Beiträge überdacht und ggf. stärker nach geographischen oder noch besser nach Aufgabenfeldern sortiert werden. Die Hochschulinstitute könnten kontinuierlicher über ihre aktuellen Arbeitsschwerpunkte im Info-Teil (Berichte, Rezensionen) informieren. Schließlich könnte die Lesbarkeit durch einen ansprechenderen Umbruch (kürzere Zeilen bzw. größere Buchstaben) in Verbindung mit einem energiegelichen Lektorat (stilistische Überarbeitung und Kürzungen) noch verbessert werden.

Kosta Mathéy

Gesellschaft und Politik

Dritte Welt Haus Bielefeld. Atlas der Weltentwicklungen. 206 Seiten, ISBN 3-87294-490-8, 1992, DM 19.80. Wuppertal: Peter Hammer Verlag.

Eine Sammlung von kopierfähigen Schulbildern über die wirtschaftliche Beachtung der Entwicklungsländer, Ökologie und soziale Fragen. Jedes der Themen wird gleichzeitig durch einen einseitigen Text kommentiert. Die Verwendung des Materials ist im Unterricht bei der Schul- und Erwachsenenarbeit gedacht.

Die Publikation knüpft an das bewährte, jedoch hoffnungslos veraltete Buch von Strehm an, und ist besonders wegen der aktuellen Daten und Fragestellungen nützlich. Leider sind die Schaubilder nicht immer selbsterklärend, auch die Bezugsgrößen wurden auf den Abbildungen gelegentlich vergessen. Hier sind also weitere Verbesserungen, vielleicht bei einer späteren Auflage, möglich.

Die Wilden und die Barbarei. Lateinamerika Analysen und Berichte. Jahrbuch 16, herausgegeben von Dietmar Dirmoser et al. 273 Seiten, ISBN 3-89473-333-0. Lit Verlag Münster und Hamburg. 1992.

Markt in den Köpfen. Lateinamerika – Analysen und Berichte. Jahrbuch 17, herausgegeben von Dietmar Dirmoser et al. 276 S., ISBN 3-927905-80-1. Horlemann Verlag, Bad Honnef, 1993, DM 29.80.

Zur 500-jährigen Wiederkehr der spanischen Ankunft in Südamerika paßt kein anderes Thema besser das Verhältnis der Weißen zu den Farbigen auf diesem Kontinent. Die Lage ist allerorts finster, das wissen wir, doch die Einzelbeiträge, die sich jeweils auf die Situation in einem bestimmten Lande beziehen, enthüllen beachtliche Unterschiede in konkreten Kontexten. Nur der letzte Aufsatz, in dem Hans-Rudolf Wicker über den Guarani-Stamm in Paraguay berichtet, überrascht mit einem Lichtblick: diese Volksgruppe hat es offensichtlich geschafft, in Subsistenzproduktion relativ frei von kapitalistischen Außenwirtschafts-Abhängigkeiten zu überleben; sie konnte sogar einen Teil ihres früheren Wohlstands zurückgewinnen und traditionelle Bräuche wieder aufleben lassen. Dennoch führt sie kein total isoliertes Leben, was wohl heutzutage auch nicht mehr denkbar wäre, und tauschen beispielsweise ausgewählte Güter zur Bereicherung ihrer Subsistenzproduktion auf dem externen Markt.

Das soeben erschienene, 17. Jahrbuch steht unter dem Thema der verlorenen Dekade, nachdem die zentrums-kapitalistischen Gesundheitskuren die wirtschaftliche Lage in Lateinamerika weiter verschlechtern ließen, und auch die sozialistische Alternative – siehe Nicaragua – nicht mehr präsent ist. Zwar zeigen jüngste UN-Statistiken ein Überwinden der Talsohle auf, doch mehrere Beiträge dieses Bandes illustrieren, daß diese Aufwärtstrends nur unter schamloser Ausnutzung von Naturreserven wie Eingeborenen möglich waren – also kein Zukunftsmodell aufzeigen. Die Frage wird gestellt, wieso so viele der einst radikal denkenden Intellektuellen in Lateinamerika jetzt plötzlich das verhängnisvolle neo-liberale Wirtschaftsmodell mittragen – die Abhängigkeit von ausländischen Fördermitteln allein kann es ja nicht sein! Spielt da vielleicht die Vorliebe für modische Paradigma-Konjunktur mit, die schon das Auf und Ab früherer Leitbilder (Dependenz, städtische soziale Bewegungen usw.) in der Vergangenheit erklären könnten?

Wie schon bei den früheren Jahrbüchern ist das letzte Drittel jedes Bandes kürzeren Länderberichten – angereichert mit aktualisierten Statistiken – vorbehalten. Diese sind fast ausnahmslos aufschlußreich und von Autoren vor

Ort verfaßt; eine Ausnahme bilden allerdings die beiden Cuba Berichte von Bert Hoffmann, die mit seinem inzwischen bekannten, primär auf Sekundärquellen basierenden Stil des Katastrophen Journalismus eher langweilen. Trotz des erneuten Verlagswechsels konnte der traditionelle Ladenpreis des Jahrbuchs gehalten und die Druckqualität wieder etwas angehoben werden, doch auf die aussagekräftigen Fotos der frühen Jahrgänge wurde leider weiterhin verzichtet.

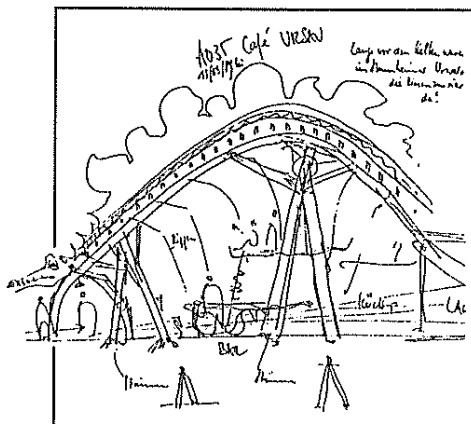
Kosta Mathéy

Architektur

Manfred Goss. 24 Jahre Selbstbau - Experimentelles Bauen. Schriftenreihe Baukonstruktion Heft 26. 123 Seiten, 1992. Stuttgart: Universität; Lehrstuhl für Baukonstruktion und Entwerfen.

Als Jubiläumsschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Prof. Peter Sulzer erschien diese Dokumentation von ausgewählten Experimentalbauten, die an seinem Stuttgarter Lehrstuhl zusammen mit Student/innen entworfen, und zum größten Teil auch realisiert wurden. Dazu gehören die bekannten Arbeiten wie die *Bauhäusle* auf dem Uni-Erweiterungsgelände in Stuttgart, Kinderspielflächen, Jugendhäuser, Kommunikationszentren u.a.m. Überzeugende Beispiele, wie innovativ und motivierend gut angeleitete Student/innen-Arbeiten sein können.

KM



Andritzky, Michael (Hrsg.). Oikos - Haushalt und Wohnen im Wandel / von der Feuerstelle zur Mikrowelle. 492 S., ISBN 3-87038-169-8. 1992. Gießen: Anabas Verlag.

Es passiert nicht zum ersten Mal: da kommt ein exzellent zusammengestellter Ausstellungskatalog mit (in diesem Falle rund achtzig) meist ebenso kompetenten wie spannenden Sachbeiträgen ins Haus, doch die pure Fülle des Materials läßt jede Hoffnung schwinden, auch nur die Hälfte davon lesen und verdauen zu können. Wie beim Essen, dem Hauptthema des Buches, steigert sich der Genuß ab einem gewissen Schwellenwert nicht mehr mit der konsumierten Menge. Es bleibt nur die Verwunderung, wie man soviel Information, zwar reich bebildert aber dennoch in der Hauptsache Text, in einer einzigen Ausstellung vermitteln kann. Dies läßt sich zumindest überprüfen, denn nach Stuttgart und Zürich wird die Ausstellung auch noch an anderen Orten gezeigt.

Doch nun zum Thema selbst. Es dreht sich also um Lebensstil und Wohnen, um Küche und Kochen, Speisen. Mit dem Herausgeber Michael Andritzky, der selbst auch neun Beiträge verfaßt hat, ist der Architekturbezug ebenso wie ein interdisziplinärer kulturkritischer Grundtenor garantiert. Dieser wird in verschiedenen Facetten ausgeschmückt von Detlev Ipsen, Hartmut Häusermann/Walter Siebel, Günther Uhlig, Ot Hoffmann und vielen anderen mehr. Auch einige ins technische Detail gehende Aufsätze wurden

eingestreut, wie über neue Herdgenerationen, die Sterlingmaschine als revolutionäres Öko-Energiezentrum im Hause, oder architekturgeschichtliche Texte, wie über die Frankfurter und Stuttgarter Küche. Ein wunderbares Buch, um es auf dem Kaffeetisch, in der Schublade mit den Serviettenringen, unter der Garderobe, im WC oder auf dem Nachttisch herumliegen zu lassen.

KM



Technologie

Hill, Neville; Holmes, Stafford, Mather, David, 1992. Lime and other Alternative Cements. 3137 S. ISBN 1-85339-178-6, £22.50. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Ein Sammlung von Aufsätzen unbekannter Provenienz über Kalk und andere Bindemittel für den Bau, die als Alternative zu Zement verwendet werden können. Die Texte sind drei Abschnitten zugeordnet: nach den eher allgemein gehaltenen fünf Beiträgen der Einführung folgen 17 Aufsätze zur Kalk- und Pozzolana-Produktion. Den Abschluß bilden 11 Artikel über die Nutzung von Kalk am Bau - was für die TRIALOG-Leser der interessanteste Aspekt sein dürfte. Besonders hervorzuheben sind ein Beitrag von David Webb "Lime stabilized soil blocks for Third World housing" über Stabilisierungsmethoden von Lehm und andere wichtige Aspekte bei dem Einsatz von Lehmziegelpressen, und eine Übersicht über verschiedene Lehmörtel (Lime - a common binder for preparation of mortar in Earth construction) von Hugo Houben. Die übrigen Kapitel, vielfach Fall- und Länderstudien, sind teilweise sehr speziell oder wiederholen bereits mitgeteilte Informationen. Der Vorzug des Buches liegt in seiner Konzentration auf das Thema Kalk, worüber kaum andere Einzelpublikationen verfügbar sind. Die Einschränkung in der Empfehlung erklärt sich aus den erwähnten Redundanzen und der offensichtlichen Zufälligkeit in der Zusammenstellung der Beiträge. Da für den einzelnen oder die einzelne Leser/in doch nur wenige der vielen Informationen interessant sein dürften, ist eine Ausleihe in der Bibliothek der Anschaffung in den meisten Fällen vorzuziehen.

KM

Jon Broome, Brian Richardson. The Self-Build Book. 253 S., ISBN 1-870098-23-4, 1991, £ 15.00. Green Books, Ford House / Hartland, GB-Bideford, Devon EX39 6EE, Großbritannien.

Das Buch wurde von zwei Autoren verfaßt, die ihr eigenes Haus in Selbsthilfe zusammengezimmert haben. Selbst nach dieser Erfahrung sind sie immer noch von der Idee begeistert, und glauben, daß Sie auf diese Weise eine Menge Geld gespart haben. Mit dem Buch wollen andere motivieren, es ihnen nachzumachen. Somit ist die Zielgruppe der Publikation definiert: potentielle Selbstbau-Herren und -Frauen, möglichst mit Wohnsitz oder Grundstück in Großbritannien.



Die vermittelten Inhalte erstrecken sich über viele Aspekte des Hausbaus: sollen erfolgreiche zeitgenössische, historische, und ausländische Beispiele Mut machen, ein Selbstbau-Projekt anzugehen; gleichzeitig werden auch die notwendigen technischen und administrativen Schritte erklärt. Beides ist den Autoren erstaunlich gut gelungen; als Laien können Sie bestimmte Sachverhalte für Normalverbraucher/innen anschaulicher darstellen als manche Expert/innen. So wird beispielsweise die *pattern language* von Christopher Alexander aus der Sicht der Nutzer erklärt, baubiologische Prinzipien der Materialauswahl werden in einem einzigen Absatz auf die wesentlichen Merkmale zusammengefaßt. Die zentrale *message* der Publikation ist allerdings die Bau- und Entwurfsmethode von Walter Segal, die an zahlreichen realisierten Beispielen genauso wie in Form einer Bauanleitung ausführlich erläutert wird. Besonders wegen dieses letzten Aspekts dürfte das Buch auch außerhalb Großbritanniens seine Leser/innen finden.

Kosta Mathéy

Charles Choguill, Richard Francey, Andrew Cotton. Planning for Water and Sanitation. 28 Seiten, 1993. Centre for Development Planning Studies, The University of Sheffield, GB-Sheffield S10 2TN.

Ein kurzer Report über Wasser- und Abwasser Ver- bzw. Entsorgung in Entwicklungsländern, konzipiert als Rückblick auf die internationale Wasserdekade. Die wesentlichen administrativen und technischen Alternativen werden kurz beschrieben und bewertet. Brillante Farbfotos illustrieren das elend. Eine ausführliche Darstellung der technischen Details wurde nicht angestrebt, stattdessen wird eine nützliche Liste relevanter Fachpublikationen zusammengestellt. Eine brauchbare Einstiegslektüre.

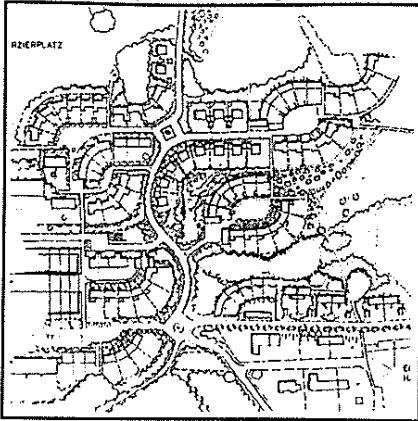
KM

Ökologie

Thomas Grohé; Fred Ranft (Hrsg.). Ökologie und Stadterneuerung. 222 Seiten, ISBN 3-555-007212-1. 1988, DM 39.80. Köln: Kohlhammer Verlag.

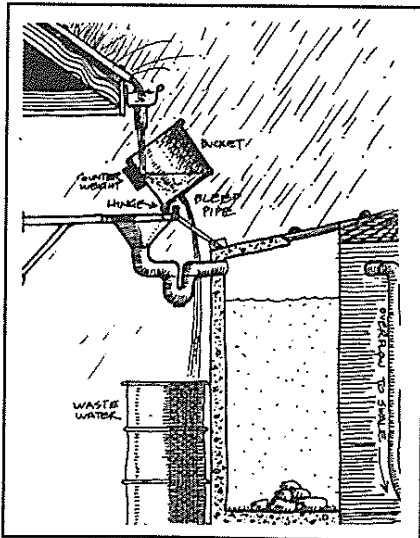
Eine Sammlung von 11 verschiedenen, aber gut aufeinander abgestimmten Aufsätzen zur Stadtökologie. Die Beiträge lassen sich in zwei Gruppen einteilen: Einmal prinzipielle Informationssammlungen zu den Hauptproblembereichen Artenschutz, Bodenschutz, Stadtklima, Wasserhaushalt, Luftreinhaltung, Schallschutz, Abfallwirtschaft, Wohnumfeldverbesserung, und zum anderen eine Sammlung von vorbildlich verwirklichten Beispielen, die einen oder mehrere dieser Aspekte wegweisend aufgegriffen haben (Hasenhecke Kassel; Humboldt-Gremberg in Köln, Berlin Block 6). Einige nützliche Tabellen, wie über Verantwortlichkeiten für notwendige Maßnahmen im kommunalen Umweltschutz, ergänzen den Band. Insgesamt also eine praxisnahe Materialsammlung zur Stadtökologie (wobei sie

die Einschränkung auf den Stadterneuerungsaspekt im Titel wohl nur auf die quantitativ häufigste Aufgabenstellung (bezieht), die in vielen Teilfragen weiterhilft, aber nicht beispielsweise wie Lehrbuch systematisch aufgebaut ist. *KM*



Sigrid Rughöft. *Wohnökologie-Grundwissen*. 279 S., ISBN 3-8252-1679-9. 1992. Stuttgart: Verlag Eugen Ulmer.

Wie bei Lebensmitteln wird heute vieles als ökologisch angepriesen, was sich durch keine besonderen Merkmale für dieses Attribut qualifiziert. Genauso verhält es sich mit diesem Buch, das mit gleichem Inhalt vor fünfzehn Jahren unter der Rubrik Partizipation, oder vor dreißig Jahren als Fachbuch der Gebäudekunde durchgegangen wäre. Im Grunde handelt es sich um einen Mini-Neufert für den Wohnungsbau-Bereich, mit jeder Menge Grundriß-Varianten (und kaum Perspektiven, keinen Schnitten). Die Autorin, offensichtlich nicht selbst Architektin, hat die Informationen – zumindest die Illustrationen – aus der allgemein zugänglichen Sekundärliteratur zusammengestellt, doch dabei nicht immer eine glückliche Auswahl getroffen: viele der als vorbildlich angeführten Beispiele würden an einer deutschen Architekturakademie selbst als Erstentwurf nicht anerkannt. Lobenswert bleibt die unpräzise Aufmachung, die diese – besser unter einem anderen Titel anzukündigende – Einführungsliteratur für Interessierte aus der Architektur angrenzenden Disziplinen preislich in einem vernünftigen Rahmen hält. *K. Gregor*



Mollison, Bill. *Permaculture - a Designers' Manual*. 576 Seiten, ISBN 0-908228-01-5, 1988, viele Abbildungen (z.T. Farbphotos), ca. DM 100,-. Tagari Publications, PO Box 1, Tylgum, NSW 2484, Australia.

Das von dem Australier Bill Mollison propa-

gierte Permakultur-System ist nach Übersetzung der beiden Einführungsbände auch in Deutschland in weiteren Kreisen bekannt: die Prinzipien beruhen auf den jahrhundertelangen Erfahrungen seßhafter Naturvölker in Australien ebenso wie in anderen Erdteilen. Bodenbewirtschaftung wird nicht, wie in der modernen Landwirtschaft üblich, unter hohem Energieeinsatz und mit dem Ziel eines (kurzfristig) hohen Ertrags gegen die Natur betrieben, sondern mit der Natur unter minimalem Energie- (und damit auch Arbeits-) Einsatz, wobei der Mensch nur steuernd eingreift. Zur Philosophie gehört auch eine weitgehende Unabhängigkeit von Marktmechanismen: In anderen Worten: ein hoher Grad an Selbstversorgung wird angestrebt. Deshalb gehört zu dem Wissen, das dieses Buch vermittelt, viel mehr als nur die Nahrungsmittelbeschaffung, so beispielsweise auch der Hausbau, Transport, Wasser Ver- und Entsorgung, Naturgesetze ...

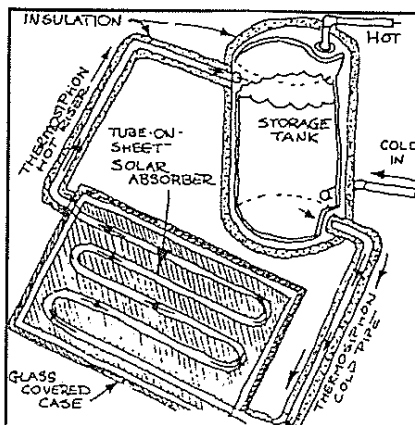
Nicht alle angebotenen Informationen sind direkt anwendbar, doch das Aufstellen einer solchen Forderung entspräche ja auch nicht der zugrundeliegenden Philosophie. Interessant zu lesen sind jedoch alle Kapitel, der/die Leser:in muß sich nur die Zeit nehmen. Man könnte Tage oder gar Wochen dabei verbringen...

Kosta Mathéy

Michael Knoll; Rolf Kreibich (Hrsg.). *Solar-City*. 264 Seiten, ISBN 3-407-85305-X. 1992. Weinheim: Beltz Verlag.

Der Sammelband enthält elf Aufsätze zu umweltfreundlichen Technologien im Wohn- und Verkehrsbereich. Somit stehen Sonnenkollektoren, photovoltaische Zellen, Elektroautos, Wärmepumpen, Wärmedämmung und Wasserstoff-Energie im Mittelpunkt des Interesses. Obwohl die Beiträge, wie in der Einleitung hervorgehoben, für breite Bevölkerungsschichten verständlich und motivierend sein sollen, ist der größte Teil doch Grundlagenforschung und sehr "fachwissenschaftlich" abgefaßt. Selbst mit der Materie vertraute Architekten werden viele Detailinformationen nicht nutzen können, während andere rein anwendungsbezogene Empfehlungen als Allgemeinwissen inzwischen bekannt und redundant sein dürften. Das heißt, die Zielgruppe ist extrem heterogen – für mich enthielten willkommene Aha-Effekte die Angaben über transparente Wärmedämmung (in dem Beitrag von Stahl und Goetzberger), eine Gegenüberstellung zwischen passiver Energieregulierung in der Tierwelt und potentiell ähnlichen Anwendungen in der Architektur (in dem Kapitel von H. Tribusch, der allerdings hinsichtlich der Beispiele aus der traditionellen Architektur eher banal ist) und eine Wirtschaftlichkeitsberechnung für Sonnenkollektoren in unseren Breitengraden (Helmut Weik).

Kosta Mathéy



Forthcoming Events

Veranstaltungen

15.-16. Oktober 1993 in Bornheim-Walberberg bei Bonn: Internat. Seminar "Chancen und Voraussetzungen einer ökologischen Entwicklung auf Kuba". Unkostenbeitrag incl. Dolmetscher, Unterkunft und Verpflegung: DM 120,-. Info: Dr. Hans Wilhelmi, Venusbergweg 13, Bonn, Tel. 0228-224627.

15.-17. Oktober 1993 in Nürnberg: Seminar "Praktikum in der Dritten Welt". Kosten DM 30,-/DM 50,- abzüglich Fahrtkostenerstattung. Info: Heinz Schulze, AG SPAK, Adlzreiterstr. 23, 80337 München.

22.-23. Oktober in Darmstadt: Jubiläums-Fachtagung: 10 Jahre TRIALOG. Wandel im Planen und Bauen in der Dritten Welt. Information und Anmeldung: Hassan Ghahemi, Dieburger Straße 234E, Tel. 06151-78 44 44 & 71 77 74.

18.-29. October 1993 in Havanna, Cuba: Principios para la rehabilitación de zonas urbanas de valor histórico-cultural. US\$120,-. Info: Arq. Zoils Cuadras, Centro Nacional de Conservación, Restauración y Museología, FAX 00 53-7-338212/3.

25.-30. October in Antwerp, Belgium: Urban Environment social Issues and Health in the Cities. First global and European Conference. Info: City 93 & EPH 93 Secrétariat, Community Health Services, Uitbreidingsstraat 506, B-2600 Antwerp, Tel. 323-2309232.

17.-19. November in London: Renewable Energy - Clean Power 2001. The international conference will review the present situation on renewable energy technologies, and will explore the respective policy aspects. It will cover the following topics: wind, tidal, medium and small scale hydro, wave power, geothermal, biomass and solar. Details: Conference services, IEE, Savoy Place, GB-London WC2R 0BL, Tel 71-3445477, FAX 71-4973633.

18.-19. November in London: The Urban Agenda (Conference): Transport, Urban Noise, Housing, Food in Urban society, Water. Fee £ 292,-. Contact:

Catherine Gibbs, Institution of Environmental Health Officers, 16 Great Guildford Street, London SE1 OES, FAX 00 44 71 9286006.

6.-17. Dezember 1993 in Havanna, Cuba: Arqueología histórica en el Caribe. US\$180,-, Info: Arq. Zoils Cuadras, Centro Nacional de Conservación, Restauración y Museología, FAX 00 53-7-338212/3.

6.-10. Dezember 1993 in San Francisco, California: International Conference on Healthy Cities. Info: Western Consortium for Public Health, 2001 Addison Street, Suite 200, Berkeley CA 94704-1103, USA. FAX 510-644-9319.

12.-14. January 1994 in Paris, France: International Congress on "City and Society: Crisis, social integration and urban policies". In the organizers' view, European and North American cities are all experiencing social disintegration. The purpose of the symposium is to review this urban crisis and to undertake a comparative assessment of urban policies to deal with it. Organization: Paris 8 University in association with PIRville (CNRS) and DRED (Ministry of National Education). Info: Francois-Xavier Merrien, Université Paris 8, 2 rue de la Liberté, 93526 Saint-Denis, Cedex 02, France, FAX 49406712.

März 1994 in Kairo. Upgrading the Built Environment. 2nd Housing International Conference. Call for Papers. Info: Department of Architecture and Housing, General Organization for Housing, Building and Planning Research, 56 El Tahir St. - Dokky. P.O. Box 1770 Cairo. FAX 711564.

12.-14. April 1994, in Birmingham. 2nd Symposium: Housing for the Urban Poor. Info: Kosta Mathéy (TRIALOG Süd). Anmeldung: Rick Groves, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, GB-Birmingham B15 2TT, Tel. 0044-214-145027, Fax 0044-214-143279.

Mai 1994 in Tallin, Estland: The Humanization of Stony Cities: Theory and Practice. Info: Mati Heidmets - Stony Cities, P.O.Box 572, EE-0010 Tallinn, Estonia, Tel. 007-0142-426-586, Fax 7-0142-425-339.

Mid-1994 in Nairobi, Kenia. Seminar on Gender and Housing. Organized by the International Sociological Association, RC43. Info: Diana Lee-Smith, P.O.Box 14550, Nairobi, Kenia.

Juli 1994 in Bielefeld. VIII World Congress of Sociology. Die Untergruppe "Housing and the Built Environment" wird koordiniert von: Dr. David Thorns, Department of Sociology, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand. FAX 64-3-3642977.

Conference Reports

Konferenzberichte

Low-Cost Housing in the Arab Region

Summary of the Symposium in Sana'a, 24-28 October 1992
by Guido Ast

Yemen, a country of great architectural traditions and arabic masterbuilders of world reputation, was proud to host a large number of organizations and participants, predominantly from the arabic world. Participating countries included Algeria, Libya, Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Bahrain, Oman, Iraq, Lebanon, Egypt, Holland, Belgium and Germany.

UN-institutions active in the human settlement field, such as UNCHS/HABITAT, UNDP, UNRWA and UNESCWA/Amman which organized through its specialised staff Riyadh Tappuni and Roula Majdalani the symposium, sent numerous representatives. Research, Documentation and Training Centres, Banks, Business Associations, Universities, Private Sector-Consultancies and Housing Development Corporations were equally represented from the arab region. A total of 26 organizations and 170 individuals were registered for this event, including GATE, SKAT, IT and CRA-terre.

A total of 36 papers and 5 exhibits covered the main themes of the symposium:

- Finance and Management
- Crisis Housing
- Institutions and Country Reports
- Environment and Technology

The activities of the symposium included a field-trip to the earthquake damaged areas of Dhamar, where a reconstruction project was executed with OXFAM-assistance. An audio-visual programme presented seven films on Water Supply and Sanitation (UNCHS), Community participation in Zimbabwe (UNCHS), Self-Help Building at Dhamar/Yemen, Building Materials and Techniques (OXFAM), Squatter-Upgrading (Hyderabad/India and Amman/Jordan) and Earth Construction Technologies (University of Leuven/Belgium).

The opportunity was also offered to visit the General Organization for the Preservation of Historic Cities in Yemen (GOPHCY) which coordinates international support for the restoration and revitalization of the old City of Sana'a. Mainly traditional building techniques and processes are used to retain the architectural beauty and structural qualities of residential and public buildings and pavements are executed in natural stones.

Recommendations were discussed on the basis of the presented papers according with the main themes:

Finance and Management recommendations include 19 particular points requesting Governments to:

- encourage savings for private low-income house-building
- revise lending procedure for low-income groups
- open bank-branches outside capital cities
- upgrade banking skills and practices
- include informal sector activities in lending
- enhance cooperation of low-income housing groups and banks
- stimulate cooperatives, also of public sector personnel
- spread successful ideas
- use NGO-experience, including women's / informal sector groups
- innovative housing finance approaches / job creation for women
- decentralize Government services
- focus on squatter settlements and community participation
- establish training units for housing finance and management
- train for income-generation at family level
- organize land-provision for low-cost housing symposium
- move barracks and industrial complexes outside urban areas
- protect arable land

Crisis housing resulted in 7 recommendations to Governments:

- develop seismic centres
- prepare building regulations for earthquake resistance
- spread public awareness for disaster-preparedness
- use international experience in crisis management
- create multidisciplinary ESCWA expert group to develop strategy
- limit congested cities by secondary city promotion
- decentralize planning and implementation of urban development
- enable existing institutions in crisis management

Environment and Technology led to Government-action-requests on the following recommendations:

- encourage locally available building materials for housing
- review materials available in arab region for increased use
- strengthen coordination and cooperation within region by ESCWA
- promote transfer of foreign expertise through ESWCA
- establish channels of technical advice to low-income groups
- adopt ESCWA-programmes in maintaining existing housing stock
- focus on self-help and locally available materials
- establish environmental management centres in towns
- sensitize architects in environmental and site appropriateness
- encourage traditional and modern passive heating/cooling
- upgrade quality control agencies and spread of information

General recommendations included:

- attention to land registration
- exemption of low-income groups of real estate charges/taxes
- support to local contractors and consultants
- residential development to include job-creation components
- low-cost housing to be disassociated from lower service standards
- technical assistance and material support to be provided to Yemen through UNDP, ESCWA and other agencies in low-cost and crisis housing
- land-use and planning regulations to be established to limit quick profits in land speculation
- squatter settlements to receive increased attention through provision of basic services and encouragement of local initiative in building processes
- encouragement of ownership and provision of low-priced land to low-income groups
- encouragement of regional and international organizations to stimulate private and cooperative sector activities in low-cost housing
- establishment of a housing and population data bank for the arab region

A final Report on the Symposium has now been published by ESCWA which can be ordered under the number E/ESCWA/HS/1992/WG.1/35 from ESCWA, Amman, P.O.Box 927115, Jordan, FAX 694981, Tel. 694351

25 Jahre Planen und Bauen in Entwicklungsländern

Symposium an der Architektur-fakultät der Universität Stuttgart vom 3.-4. Juni 1993

berichtet von Gisliind Budnick

Anlaß für das Symposium war der Rückblick auf 25 Jahre Lehre im Fach Planen und Bauen in Entwicklungsländern am Institut für Baustofflehre, Bauphysik, Technischen Ausbau und Entwerfen unter der Leitung von Professor Lothar Götz, der in diesem Jahr emeritiert wird, und der Ausblick auf die Weiterführung des Faches durch Prof. Eckhart Ribbeck, der 1991 in eine eigens dafür eingerichtete Abteilung im Städtebaulichen Institut an die Architektur fakultät berufen wurde. Entsprechend war das Symposium gemeinsam organisiert und geleitet.

Zur Diskussion standen Inhalt, Methoden und Ziele der Lehre und deren Wandel in den letzten 25 Jahren – am ersten Veranstaltungstag aus der Sicht von (ehemaligen) Studenten, Doktoranden und Mitarbeiter des Instituts, am zweiten Tag aus der Sicht von Hochschullehrern und Vertretern aus der Praxis.

Begleitet wurde das Symposium durch eine umfangreiche Ausstellung im Foyer der Architektur fakultät, die Themen und Beiträge der Exkursionen, Diplomarbeiten und Dissertationen am Institut für Baustofflehre, Bauphysik, Technischen Ausbau und Entwerfen dieses viertel Jahrhunderts dokumentierte – zusammengestellt von Antje Wemhöner.

Retrospektive und Stand – Was ist die Herausforderung des Faches "Planen und Bauen in Entwicklungsländern"?

Die Referate von Prof. Götz und Prof. Ribbeck leiteten den ersten Tag mit folgenden Kernaussagen ein:

- Es gibt in diesem Fach keine Leitbilder – aber den Anspruch, ganzheitlich zu bewertende Lösungen bei widersprüchlichen Anforderungen zu entwickeln.
- Es geht in diesem Fach darum, vor allem die Prinzipien des Bauens im Kontext anderer Lebens- und Bauweisen zu erkennen.
- Da die Schere in der Forschung – Voraussetzung für zukünftige Lebensqualität – zwischen Nord und Süd immer größer wird, sollten die

Kollegen aus Entwicklungsländern vermehrt in die Lehre und Forschung eingebunden werden – so Götz.

In Anbetracht der häufigen Paradigmenwechsel im Themenbereich des Planen und Bauens in Entwicklungsländern stellte Ribbeck ergänzend fest:

- Das Fachgebiet ist keineswegs ein konsolidierter Wissensbereich – im Gegenteil.
- Das Themengebiet erfordert deshalb einen großen Überblick bei gleichzeitiger Spezialisierung und
- beinhaltet völlig neue Probleme, wie das der Megastädte, für die es weder Erfahrungen geschweige denn Rezepte gibt.
- Die notwendige Auseinandersetzung gilt daher der Frage nach einem zukünftigen Entwicklungsstil, der eine globale und ökologisch sinnvolle Entwicklung ermöglicht, die zu einer tatsächlichen Kluftverkleinerung führt.

Wie zum Beweis der nicht aufhörenden Suche nach Lösungen für eine schier unlösbare Aufgabe fügte sich der Vortrag des Ehrengastes des Symposiums, Prof. Otto H. Königsberger, mit einem Überblick über die Ansätze zur Wohnungsversorgung in Entwicklungsländern in den letzten 50 Jahren ein. Hierbei ist seiner Auffassung nach der Umdenkungsprozeß in den letzten Jahren von Bedeutung, in dem nicht mehr die Herstellung von Wohnungen, sondern die dafür günstigen Rahmenbedingungen im Vordergrund stehen und eine weitreichende Partizipation der Betroffenen.

Die eingebrachten Erfahrungen der (ehemaligen) Diplomanden, Doktoranden und wissenschaftlichen Mitarbeiter – von Ulrich Malisius, Ali Labib Mohamed, Juan Felipe Yep, Ulrich Leander Braun, Ulrich Schramm, Mohamed Tamer El Khorazaty und Antje Wemhöner – im Bereich Planen und Bauen in Entwicklungsländern waren in der Zusammenschau typisch für ein Dilemma in diesem Fach:

Während die deutschen Kollegen die Auseinandersetzung als eine Bereicherung, ja sogar als ein zusätzliches Lernen für sich selbst, auch für die Arbeit hier einschätzten, berichteten die Kollegen aus den Entwicklungsländern eher von Schwierigkeiten bei der Orientierung im akademischen, wissenschaftlichen Apparat, bei der Verständigung zwischen ihnen als "Betroffenen" und den Hochschullehrern, der Entfernung zum Studienobjekt in ihrem Heimatland u.v.a.m., welche sich jedoch für die Chance, sich mit dem Thema auseinanderzusetzen, gelohnt haben.

Die Mehrzahl der dargestellten Beispiele aus ihren Arbeiten zeigten den Schwerpunkt bei der Auseinandersetzung mit den Bedürfnissen der Benutzer, ob durch sorgfältige Befragung und Beobachtung, durch aktive Einbeziehung oder als "Politisierung der Planung" im ländlichen Raum – wie der peruanische Kollege es formulierte. Ein richtiger Schritt in die von Königsberger beschriebene Richtung ...

Die Idee, die Beschäftigung mit dem Planen und Bauen in Entwicklungsländern / in anderen Kulturen / unter anderen Bedingungen / unter extremem Ressourcenmangel – um nur einige Vorschläge für eine angemessenere Bezeichnung zu erwähnen – sollte nicht als einzelnes Fach, sondern als ein permanenter Aspekt in der Architekten- und Planerausbildung vertreten sein – ähnlich wie es auch für die Ökologie zu fordern ist – schloß den ersten Tag aus der Sicht der "Lernenden".

Aufgaben für die Zukunft – Welches Berufsverständnis wird im Planen und Bauen in Entwicklungs- ländern erforderlich sein?

Die einleitenden Statements skizzierten zugleich das ungesicherte Feld der Berufsausübung: Einerseits – so Ribbeck – können heute kaum die Prinzipien etwa des Einfachbaus, der Spontansiedlungen, der Schattenwirtschaft, der Megastädte, der Stadt-Land-Wanderung erkannt und erklärt werden und entziehen sich bislang auch der Beurteilung, weswegen Architekten und Planer immer mehr auf Improvisation angewiesen sind denn auf gesicherte wissenschaftliche Erkenntnisse. Andererseits – so Götz – besteht eine umfassende Verantwortung des Architekten für die gebaute Umwelt, also ein Anspruch, der größtes Wissen, Sensibilität und Mut voraussetzt. Es liegt auf der Hand, daß für diese Aufgaben das hier und dort vorhandene Wissen zu gleichwertigen Kooperationsbeziehungen in Lehre und Forschung zusammengeführt werden muß, in deren Rahmen auch Studenten aus verschiedenen Ländern an einem gemeinsamen Projekt arbeiten können.

Die Beiträge der eingeladenen Hochschullehrer bestätigten diese Positionen – zunächst Prof. Martin Einsele, Vertreter des Fachs an der Universität Karlsruhe mit der Meinung, daß man für dieses Fach eigentlich nicht im klassischen Sinne ausbilden könne, sondern der Schwerpunkt vielmehr im "Vermögen voneinander zu lernen" liegen muß, um

zu einer gemeinsamen (Über)-Lebensstrategie hinsichtlich der globalen Probleme zu gelangen. Entsprechend sah auch Prof. Hans Harms einen akuten Bedarf bei völlig neuen Ansätzen für eine selbstbestimmte Stadtentwicklung. Diese neuen Ansätze beinhalten eine Reihe neuer bzw. bisher nicht einbezogener Elemente, wie institutionelle und rechtliche Aspekte, Organisations- und Finanzierungshilfen, Unterstützung der Selbsthilfepotentiale, Ermöglichung problemorientierter und dezentraler Planung u.v.a.m. Insgesamt sind sie gekennzeichnet durch die Abgabe von Kompetenzen und Ressourcen auf die lokale Ebene. Ergänzend zeigte Prof. Mohamed Kamel Mahmoud, Dekan der Ain Shams-Universität in Kairo, zum Problem, daß 80% der Gebäude ohne Architekten entstehen während die wenigen von Architekten gebauten Gebäude den Benutzerbedürfnissen nicht gerecht werden, einige optimistische Gegenbeispiele aus Ägypten.

Die Positionen aus "der Praxis" waren entsprechend der Tätigkeitsbereiche weit gefächert:

Dr. W. von Richter skizzierte die Hochschulkoooperation aus der Sicht der GtZ, wobei nur etwa 10-15% der Entwicklungshilfemittel des BMZ für Bildungsaufgaben vorgesehen sind und die Grundausbildung vor der Hochschulausbildung rangiert. Entsprechend sieht die GtZ die Rolle der Hochschulen eher auf der konzeptionellen Ebene zur Verbesserung des Lehr- und Forschungssystems, der Relevanz und Effizienz der Lehre, der Forschungskapazitäten und der Stärkung des Wissens- bzw. des Wissenschaftlertransfers. Da Hochschulen ein sehr sensibler Bereich der Beratung durch ausländische Experten sind, gibt es dafür erst wenige Projekttypen, wie Hochschulentwicklungsplanung, Institutionenbildung, Ausbildungs- und Forschungsk Kooperationen. Jedoch gilt auch hier, daß die entsprechenden Spezialgebiete wie Forschungsplanung, Systemberatung und Organisationsplanung wenig entwickelt sind.

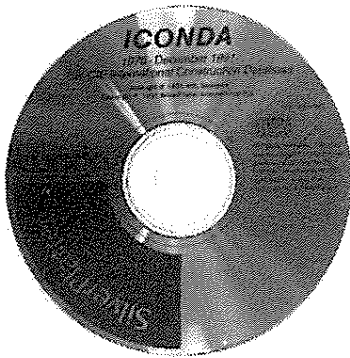
Aus seiner langjährigen Erfahrung in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit auf dem Gebiet der Raumplanung stellte Prof. Klaus Kunzmann, Universität Dortmund, den Sinn solcher Projekte generell in Frage: Die Legitimation eines Wissenstransfers in der Stadtplanung sei fraglich, die Finanzmittel förderten nur die Bürokratie, Planung habe als Mittel zur planvollen, wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung die Erwartungen nicht erfüllt und zur Steuerung der räumlichen Prozesse ver-

sagt ... Gerade wegen dieser kategorischen Absage enthält sein neues Bild des Wissenstransfers in der Stadtplanung neue Rollen und neue Aufgaben: Stadtplanung muß sich mit den realen Bedingungen auseinandersetzen, ihre Instrumente und Methoden darauf abstimmen, die Erkenntnisse aus den lokalen Gegebenheiten gewinnen, sich um administrative Prozesse und Verfahren kümmern und echte Überzeugungsarbeit leisten, um nur einige Attribute der neuen Planergeneration zu nennen.

Die diesem Ansatz entsprechende Rolle für den Architekten im Sinne des Baumeisters ergänzte das Referat von Eike Jakob Schütz, gestützt auf Erfahrungen mit Projekten der Behausungsversorgung, die von MISEREOR finanziert wurden. Wenn der beratende Architekt der spezifischen Logik des Bauprozesses und dem vielfältigen Nutzen, den ein Haus in den Armensiedlungen darstellt, folgt, öffnen sich eine Menge neuer Felder der Unterstützung des Bauens der Armen, wie bei der Legalisierung des Bodens als Voraussetzung für Infrastrukturmaßnahmen, Ausbildung für Selbstbau und Bauberatung, Umgang mit alternativen Baumaterialien und Planung von Gemeinschaftseinrichtungen – alles unter dem Grundprinzip der Zusammenarbeit und Vermittlung, eine alte Grundfähigkeit des Baumeisters – und heute wiederentdeckt für eine neue Rolle im Habitat der Armen? Schön wärs.

Das zahlreich anwesende Publikum dankte den Referenten für den Zündstoff mit einer ausgesprochen regen Diskussion und weiteren Beiträgen zur neuen Rolle der Architekten und Planer z.B. als "Partner der Siedlerorganisation". Folglich wurde auch das Tätigkeitsfeld (in Entwicklungsländern?) und die Berufsbezeichnung (Architekt?) in Frage gestellt. Ob sich der Vorschlag von Prof. Mönning, Leiter des Lehrstuhls für Tropenbau und Dekan der Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen in Weimar, diesen Beruf mit Entwicklungsingenieur zu bezeichnen, durchsetzen wird, bleibt abzuwarten.

Für alle, die dieser Bericht neugierig gemacht hat oder die lieber die Originalbeiträge lesen möchten: Der Symposiumsbericht "25 Jahre Planen und Bauen in Entwicklungsländern" kann beim Institut für Baustofflehre, Bauphysik, Technischen Ausbau und Entwerfen angefordert werden – ebenso der Katalog zur Ausstellung (jeweils für 25 DM). Bestellanschrift: IBBTE, Universität Stuttgart, Postfach 106037, 70049 Stuttgart.



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