

TRIALOG

**Shelter Policies
in socialist
Third World
Nations**

SOCIALIST HOUSING?

TRIALOG 6 erscheint als Sondernummer anlässlich des internationalen Seminars "Shelter Policies in Socialist Third World Nations" im Mai 1985 in Kleve, das vom TRIALOG - Herausgeberverein mitgetragen wurde. Wir weichen mit diesem Heft nicht nur in Umfang und Auflagenhöhe von unserem gewohnten Format ab; auch der Vorsatz, möglichst alle Beiträge in Deutsch zu drucken, wurde ausnahmsweise fallengelassen. Die Gründe dafür sind hauptsächlich pragmatischer Natur: zum Einen möchten wir alle Texte auch den überwiegend ausländischen Seminarteilnehmern zugänglich machen, zum anderen lagen fast alle Manuskripte der Autoren nur auf Englisch, Französisch oder Spanisch vor, und die Kosten einer Übersetzung konnte weder die Vereins-, noch die Seminarkasse aufbringen. Außerdem möchten wir die Gelegenheit einer erwartungsgemäß starken Zirkulation des Heftes im Ausland dazu nutzen, den Bekanntheitsgrad unserer noch jungen Zeitschrift auch international zu konsolidieren, auch wenn TRIALOG künftig wieder nur in Ausnahmefällen fremdsprachige Texte beinhalten wird. Wir bitten also diejenigen unserer Leser, deren Sprachtalente nicht gerade im Englischen liegen, für diese Ausgabe um Nachsicht und Zuhilfenahme eines Wörterbuchs. Die aktuellen Seiten, diesmal am grauen Papier kenntlich, sind natürlich wie gewohnt in Deutsch abgefasst.

Nachdem uns die Produktion der beiden vorausgegangenen TRIALOG Ausgaben mit ungeplanten Verzögerungen überraschte, und sich die besorgten Anfragen unserer Abonnenten häuften, die befürchteten, wir hätten vielleicht ihre Adresse verloren, legen wir mit dieser Ausgabe wieder Tempo zu. Auch die kommenden drei Ausgaben (siehe Heftvorschau) sind bereits in der Mache, so daß die Fertigstellung der angekündigten 4 Hefte in diesem Jahr (Nr. 5 bis 8) gesichert ist.

Außer der wiederholten Einladung an unsere verehrte Leserschaft, den Stil und die Qualität dieses Journals weiterhin durch Leserbriefe, Artikelvorschläge und tätige Mitarbeit in unseren lokalen Redaktionsgruppen mitzugestalten, möchten wir auch auf andere Aktivitäten der "Vereinigung zu wissenschaftlichen Erforschung des Planens und Bauens in Entwicklungsländern" hinweisen: In Zusammenhang mit der Jahres-Mitgliederversammlung findet am 26. bzw. 27. Oktober in Dortmund ein Kolloquium statt, bei der geladene Experten wie Mitglieder über aktuelle Arbeitsinhalte referieren und diskutieren werden. Ebenso werden dort neue Konzepte für künftige TRIALOG - Veranstaltungen vorgestellt werden: Vorschläge liegen bereits vor für ein Seminar über Erfahrungen mit "Upgrading" - Projekten, insbesondere in Zusammenhang mit NGO - Unterstützung, eine internationale Konferenz über "Angepasste Technologien für den Wohnungsbau in Entwicklungsländern", und die Beteiligung von TRIALOG am "International Year of Shelter for the Homeless" 1987.

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6

In many ways the housing problem in the Third World, and elsewhere, arises from the conditions inherent in international and domestic capitalism. Some of the resulting constraints could have been removed in countries with either socialist, or at least leftist Governments. However, while alternative approaches to popular housing provision had become possible, other unforeseen difficulties also soon became evident.

To discuss, compare and evaluate the experiences gathered with "socialist" housing policies in 14 third world nations, 39 scholars and experts from 14 countries gathered at a seminar held in Kleve (Germany) in May 1985. TRIALOG JOURNAL, who was one of the co-sponsors of the seminar, dedicates this special issue to the event, and hopes thereby to open a discussion on 'socialist housing policies' to a wider audience than was possible to invite to the seminar. The selection of articles included in this volume relies, in particular, upon those manuscripts which were at the beginning of the seminar available for printing in English and, which were short enough to be part of a relatively thin journal. Very recent information on the new housing law giving particular importance to self-help is also included in two background papers on Cuba, both of which were presented at another conference held in Hamburg* earlier this year.

This volume begins with a short interpretation of the key issues, which the organizers had expected might be approached differently in a socialist context. To facilitate a cross country comparison, a list of the included topics was circulated among the contributors in advance, with the result that many of the following articles refer specifically to one or several of the points mentioned herein.

DAVID BARKIN has been the rapporteur of a working group on 'housing and national development', and discusses in his paper the question why housing, although considered to represent a social service in most socialist states, tends to receive a relatively low priority in the National Plans. He also approaches the topic from an individual's point of view. That view attributes a much greater importance to housing and means therefore, the individual is prepared to invest extra time and means in self-help activities.

* Jornadas Internacionales "Renovación Urbana y Vivienda Popular en áreas Metropolitanas de América Latina". FSP 6, Technical University Hamburg

FARIDA SHERIFF'S paper on TANZANIA starts with a general introduction into the country's political and economic conditions. Later it analyses and eventually comments on the different attempts and failures to introduce a 'socialist' housing policy.

After referring to the constraints inherited from the pre-independence period, PER IWANSSON concentrates, in his article, on MOZAMBIQUE and aspects of popular mobilization in relation to choice of technology. He also indirectly refers to the more detailed paper by BARRY PINSKY on the Mexaquene project, already published in TRIALOG 4.

ANN SLYTER starts her report on the situation in ZIMBABWE with some general considerations on what can be 'socialist' in a housing policy and on the principle differences between short term and long term planning. Although she considers only urban housing in her paper, she succeeds in combining her practical field experience, gained by interviews with residents, together with a very abstract level of analysis.

ALLAN CAIN has expanded on the different forms of self-help that have evolved in ANGOLA since the revolution. He thus concentrates on one of the aspects mentioned in a lengthy article by OTTO GREGER in TRIALOG 4.

MATTED SCARAMELLA's report on ETHIOPIA highlights the problem any country must experience when it decides to nationalize land and housing, but remains committed to compensating those previous owners. Similarly, the problems arising from an explicit bias in favour of industrialized building technology, in a country dependent on importing almost all machinery, can also be encountered in many other socialist states in the periphery.

After a very enthusiastic paper on HOUSING IN CUBA, written by foreign visitors and published in TRIALOG 4, the Cuban architect MARIO COYULA gives, in this article, a good example of the concerned, but constructive self-criticism, that may be found with most Cuban officials. Beginning with the experience of the Micro-Brigadas, which was intended to provide extra housing without affecting the output of the 'productive' sector, he proceeds on to the more recent, and for foreigners, unexpected policies of slum-upgrading, self-help, and conservation.

We also include a short extract of a longer paper* by LUIS LAPIDUS on the

relationship between SELF-HELP and the choice of TECHNOLOGY. This is a particularly controversial issue in a context such as CUBA, that country having embarked, for some time, on industrialized building.

An outline of the NICARAGUAN housing system is given by KOSTA MATHEY. Although having the 'youngest' experience of a revolutionary struggle, the absence of slums, found in almost all other Latin American Countries, indicates a truly 'socialist' policy towards urban squatting. Particularly the programmes for the "Urbanizaciones Populares" can be cited as notable examples.

On a subject on which generally very little information is available, housing in VIETNAM, LARS REUTERSWÄRD, MARIA NYSTRÖM, and HANS ROSLUND present a well researched profile. In this case we can observe a late but convincing shift away from industrialized building systems, together with a grass roots decentralization of housing responsibilities.

PAUL BAROSS, in his work, evaluates HUNGARIAN housing provision and policies. Although this country can hardly be 'shelved' with the Third World, his example is included here as it demonstrates, in purely quantitative terms, a socialist state can produce as many houses it thinks necessary to build. The problem becomes one of the right priorities and of effective popular representation.

The body of this Journal dealing with Socialist countries concludes with a plea to support a solidarity project designed to improve housing conditions in NICARAGUA, through the provision of a Building Yard. It also includes the production of appropriate building materials, small scale industries, and a vocational training centre.

The editors regret that only a fraction of the material presented at the seminar could be included in this volume. However, all the papers (see list on page 85) can be ordered in xeroxed form individually. A comprehensive book edition of the conference proceedings is in preparation, and will include the reports from the working groups formed at the seminar, together with the editors' concluding comments. Readers wanting to reserve a copy of the seminar proceedings are invited to complete and return the respective card on page 75/76.

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Socialist Housing?

Some Key Problems to be considered in the Formulation of Housing Policies in Socialist States

Kosta Mathéy

Looking at the built environment of both the West and the East, it is difficult to spot a convincing difference between a "socialist house" and a "capitalist" one. Although the organization of the everyday life, the relationship between the sexes, the provision of communal services, and the percentage of people living below the poverty line should, and probably does differ theoretically in these two social systems, the basic need of housing is more dependent on climatic conditions and biological needs than political and economic parameters. It can be also said, that the social formation of any country under consideration will invariably include some compromise and thereby combine elements found in either socialist and capitalist political principles.

However, the way of best responding and satisfying the housing need is a highly political question. Since the access and distribution of scarce resources (like land), and the protection of the environment are matters which concern the whole nation, a coordinated effort is required among a larger number of people than just a family. It is also necessary to consider whether housing should be allowed to exist as an instrument for the man to exploit man, for it is this matter which ought to be handled differently in a society supposedly based on the planning for satisfying the needs of the workers, rather than the maximisation of profits.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING

Given the backlog of industrial development in all developing states and the typical burden of foreign debt, state expenditure tends to give priority to investments in the productive sector before raising the level of popular consumption. It remains a continuing debate in socialist states as to whether housing can be considered part of the productive sector, or whether it is a purely consumptive item. The necessity to rely on a healthy and locally concentrated labour force would strengthen the first argument, and has led to inter-linked development of factories, or agricultural centres, and housing, for

which certain projects by the Nicaraguan Ministry of Agriculture, or China at particular periods, can be cited examples.

In capitalist states housing remains, and is seen as, a commodity, which should be provided by the market. Socialist countries, on the other hand, view it as a social service. But notwithstanding this, housing is forced to compete with other social services. For, e.g. Nicaragua demonstrates, that a greater number of people will benefit by government investment in a literacy campaign than if the same investment was made in house building. How far the state feels responsible for housing provision should, thus, be examined; accordingly it should be born in mind as to what relation exists between housing expenditure and other areas of production or social services.

THE LAND ISSUE

Land is one of those resources which can not be multiplied, and as such it is an easy target for speculation in societies with high population growth rates. The extracted rent on the land is not based on the input of labour by the landlord, and contradicts socialist principles. Bearing this in mind most socialist states have nationalized land, or at least attempted to control the transfer of land. This has been in order to safeguard the optimum use of the land and thereby in turn serve the social needs of the community.

It has been particular in places, where inflation rates were high before the liberation, for parts of the middle class to invest their savings in land. This has been done without necessarily intending to speculate and make a profit on the possible sale later on. Expropriation is problematic in such a case, since it would tend to threaten the Government's support from a significant portion of the population. On the other hand buying the land at the market price and paying cash compensation to all those small land owners is largely beyond the means of a young socialist nation. Often nationalization and reprivatization of former large landholdings is the adopted practice. The government can in turn build up popular support particularly by the rural population. However, this policy may prove to be short-sighted, for problems in the future will arise when plots need to be divided among a deceased owner's heirs, for example.

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It may be concluded, that in many socialist countries, nationalisation of all land may not be possible, and is probably not necessary either. It should be questioned, however, whether the state can succeed in controlling the transfer of land ownership, and prohibiting the practice of land speculation.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE AND POPULAR MOBILIZATION

Bureaucracy is a problem almost everywhere in the World, and even more so in economies which rely on centralist planning. On the other hand a population which has successfully led a liberation struggle has gained a certain degree of experience and culture of self administration. A well organized community can have the potential to offset the deficiencies of bureaucratic structures, that it inherited from the pre-liberation administration, or that have developed since. Most countries have established a community representation structure at a grass roots level, thus with the intention for greater participation in both decision making and the execution of communal tasks. However, a typical problem seems to be a working link between the community level of grass root democracy, and the central bodies of the national Government.

Centralized co-ordination and planning is indispensable to facilitate balanced development. But decision making from the top down must be avoided if local resources are to be mobilized, and local needs be met effectively.

HOUSING PRODUCTION: PROGRAMS AND TARGETS

The traditional approach by socialist states to housing needs was mass housing. Particularly in eastern Europe, and to a certain degree in Cuba, a considerable proportion of the population could be provided with high standard dwellings. With a well organized state construction sector (direct labour), a qualified labour force could be steadily maintained, and the production targets could be programmed well in advance.

In the Third world, however, mass housing has always been too expensive to build in great quantity (leaving aside the oil producing states e.g. Algeria). Also the 'cheap recipe' of Sites-and-Services and Slum Upgrading, promoted as it is by the international agents, does not tend to offer a solution which can be implemented on a large scale at affordable cost to the residents.

In the socialist Third world states two specific kind of programmes in particular have been developed, which are not conceivable in a capitalist state. One of them is in the form of the 'building brigades' (or Microbrigadas as a Cuban particularity) who try to mobilize community labour for housing production. The other is in the form of the Nicaraguan 'Urbanizaciones Progressivas', who work on the basis of skipping the requirement of cost recovery and land cost for the very poor.

The questions to ask, in relation to Housing programmes and targets, however, are more fundamental:

1. Is there a need for specific 'programmes' and 'projects', since they inevitably

must represent an exception from the standard rule? Are there better means to achieve equally good housing conditions for the whole population?

2. The example of Hungary demonstrates that it is possible to produce an impressive number of housing units unparalleled in the other countries. But it is apparent that very little effort has been spent on improving the quality. Does the desire to fulfil a plan preclude a continuation of the 'number's game'?

HOUSING DISTRIBUTION: ACCESS, FINANCE, TENURE

In capitalist states access to housing is generally regulated through the market; which from the users point of view is segregated into either owner occupation or rented accommodation.

In the rented sector the rent is intended to pay back the initial construction cost, but after the depreciation period the landlord continues to collect the rent which then becomes his profit. However, in the situation where the landlord is the state or a co-operative, this profit can be 'socialized', in which case that extra rent will be utilized to make payments towards new housing for other members of the community.

This very simple thought has led many socialist countries to opt for, and make available, state rental housing. This socializing of the cost of housing makes it therefore possible, not to establish a direct link between the construction of the individual dwelling and the rent collected from the user (cost recovery), but to relate the rent to the income of the tenant (frequently fixed at about 10% of the salary). In a situation where the state is both the landlord and the employer, the rent, it is suggested, could be made nominal or scrapped altogether (bearing in mind that the rent has to come out of the salary). In any case, affordability is eliminated as the necessary mechanism in the distribution of housing. Dwellings may then be allocated according to need.

The criteria and methods of allocating the houses can vary greatly, being administered through the bureaucracy, workplace, or community representation. Sometimes merit was introduced as an additional criteria for allocation.

It should be asked whether access to housing functions without discrimination according to need, or which other parameters can interfere.

PRODUCTION PROCESS AND TECHNOLOGY

There are two aspects which deserve particular attention. One is the choice of technology in relation to the absolute cost of a building. The other is the matter of self-help construction (self-build), generally assumed to increase the affordability to the user.

Following standard economic debate, the cost of any product may be reduced through increasing division of labour and industrialization. Most socialist governments consider this rule to be valid for housing as much as it is for other commodities. On the other hand, the experience even from the most industrialized countries demonstrates, that there are particular conditions in the production of housing which apparently

inhibit such gains. Socialist states (e.g. Cuba) have also experienced that industrialized building can be more expensive than conventional building methods. Nevertheless, they often continue high technology housing production hoping that due to the resulting increased productivity (relationship labour to fixed capital), more workers can be employed in other sectors. Or, else, the total production could be increased and the housing deficit more rapidly reduced on the basis of the same number of construction workers. Sometimes, the already installed machinery producing industrialized building elements (often gifts from a other countries), can not be left to lie idle.

The whole argument as to whether to industrialize the building industry is relevant to those countries with highly nationalized economies, and high absorption rates of the effective labour force into the state employment system. However, the majority of countries moving towards socialism still have high rates of unemployment with the result that the application of labour intensive technology is more appropriate.

Industrialized building systems tend to be highly dependent on imports, which ought to be substituted in order to save foreign exchange. Conventional construction methods often still use local building materials, or can be adjusted to their use with the help of appropriate technology. By the same token small components made of local materials could be prefabricated in decentralized workshops. The Sandino system for example, used in Cuba, Angola, Mozambique and Nicaragua, is a good example for this possibility. (Although it has been reported from Angola that the system does not meet the climatic requirements in certain regions).

One common argument about SELF-HELP housing holds, that the user can contribute part of the building cost through his own unpaid labour, and also through the mobilization of private savings of his family and friends.

However, since self-help labour is an unqualified form of labour, by its very definition, such output of work thereby tends not to be very time-efficient. In the capitalist context a calculation of productivity on the national level is never made, because the economy is based on the 'in-house calculation' of individual enterprises. Extra labour spent by the worker in his 'free' time is not taken into account, or may even be calculated in such a way as to help to reduce his wage. However, in a socialist context, since a more complete calculation can be made, few arguments should theoretically exist in favour of self-built housing. Nevertheless, many socialist states rely increasingly upon the self-help contribution (though preferably of the collective type), but for a different reason: namely to reduce the high expense of maintenance work and administration that would come from a central agency together with any consequential interference from the bureaucracy.

There is a danger that both industrialized building and self-build could both become myths, and be promoted on an ideological bias, originating from the context of different social formations.

Housing and National Development

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When analysed on its own merits, housing is generally considered to be an important element in national integration and economic development. It is a basic need in the sense that everyone requires it in one form or another. The issues raised by the seminar concerned the problem of the possibilities of delivery of housing services to the majority of the population in the socialist countries of the Third World. In the workshop on the relationship between housing and national development we reached a consensus on two issues of great importance: the relationship of housing requirements to a) the general conditions of the world economy and b) to the particularities of the socialist countries.

A) With regard to the changing structure of the world economy, it was noted that there is a growing pressure from the leading centers of control to extract an increasing proportion of resources from all parts of the developing world through higher debt service payments and a larger proportion of exports. The real significance of the stabilization programs of the multinational financial and aid organizations is to reorganize production in these countries to make a greater proportion of total output available to the center in the form of resources which are useful for the growth of capital itself. This might take the form of either international money (foreign exchange - which can be used to purchase resources) or exports which are demanded on the international market. To do this, those countries which have not been able to avoid foreign debt and/or negotiations about their international economic structure with these multinational organizations are being obliged to reshape their economies to refocus an increasing proportion of their total productive apparatus towards the production of surpluses useful to the international market, at the expense of production for the internal market.

This means that domestic demands for basic goods must be restrained; hence the imposition of austerity programs. In capitalist countries, this has involved the reduction of real wages and living standards with a consequent re-orientation of private investment towards the international market. Spending by workers generally does not even adequately cover basic daily subsistence requirements, and plans for housing must necessarily be indefinitely postponed in the light of a general deterioration of basic nutritional

standards. In socialist countries austerity has also involved belt tightening and some restrictions in living standards but more often than not it takes the form of cutbacks in those areas judged to be of secondary importance, often including housing. Thus, housing programs have suffered from severe cutbacks throughout the Third World, but these are not generally accompanied by an erosion of socially defined minimum living standards in many socialist countries, as is normally the case in other countries. Furthermore, in socialist countries, the present situation might create the conditions for a definition of responsibility of housing from the State to individuals or neighborhood organizations.

B) With regards to the specific problems of housing within the socialist countries in the Third World we consider that:

1) Housing is widely acknowledged to be a basic social need. But it is accorded a relatively low priority in national development and investment programs. This apparent contradiction between its apparent importance and its real claim on resources is based on the widespread belief that housing is not considered to be a productive investment. Under existing price system it requires a subsidy from state revenues. That is, when housing is built by commercial or public authorities, any reasonable scheme for recuperating the cost of such investments would require payments (rents) far in excess of the ability to pay of most people in society. Thus, unlike productive sectors (or those which might be potentially productive) investments in housing services cannot become profitable; their provision for most of the population will require a continuing flow of public resources. Thus, housing is a basic social need which requires substantial resources and, as a result, is accorded lower priority in governmental budgets because it is directly competitive with other (presumably productive) investment projects.

2) Unlike other social services, housing development is considered to be competitive rather than complementary with other priorities of national development. Services like education and medical care are widely acknowledged to be of great priority because they directly increase individual productivity. Improving education levels prepares people for participation in the productive labor force, permitting them to

occupy more highly skilled positions than is otherwise possible and accelerating economic growth.

Similarly, preventive medical care is clearly understood as important and productive because from a strictly financial point of view it reduces the costs of reproducing the population and ensures that people will be better able to participate actively in the growth of their society. Of course, there are other political and humanitarian reasons for according great importance to these two areas of public concern which explains why virtually every socialist country in the Third World (in contrast to their capitalist counterparts) places such great importance on the measure used to judge success, most of the countries discussed in the seminar had achieved important improvements in the provision of services for the whole population in these areas.

Housing is qualitatively different from the other social services mentioned above. It is not immediately apparent that improving the quality of housing contributes to higher productivity. In addition, people are often able to improvise some individual or family solution to this problem which effectively postpones the problem or displaces it from the public arena. It is clear that virtually every society in the Third World now suffers from a serious and often growing housing deficit. This deficit often has wide-ranging effects on the society, such as slowing the rate of family formation or accelerating the rate of family disintegration, but these do not present immediately pressing political problems for the society. It also seems clear that one of the reasons why the subject is important is because its solution can contribute to the resolution of social and productive problems throughout society. On the other hand, housing investments are directly competitive with other investments. This competition can take several forms: a) housing might require building materials, tools, or capital equipment which are in short supply and are also required for the construction of directly productive facilities, like factories and machinery; b) it might require financing demanded by other projects; or c) it might use labor (skilled or unskilled) which is often in short supply in the countries which have embarked on a wide variety of projects. Generally, a society does not experience all three forms at the same time, since in those countries where materials and capital are particularly scarce, labor is a bottle-

neck, often because of low productivity, the limits of available materials and equipment prevents the wider use of labor for housing construction.

These resource bottlenecks are particularly evident in the case of the provision of industrialized housing. The predilection of many socialist third world countries to move immediately to large-scale industrialized models of on-site or prefabricated construction techniques often heightens the tension between housing and other investment programs. These techniques often require heavy initial investments in production plants (factories) and the use of industrialized inputs which are intensive in imports or other inputs (e.g. cement, steel, energy) also required in other sectors which have greater priority. Furthermore, such techniques although theoretically designed to increase labor productivity, often end up being substantially underutilized and lowering labor productivity because of lack of resources to fully utilize them or insufficient training of the people operating the equipment. These technical problems are often compounded by other aesthetic and environmental considerations which make this type of housing undesirable, even under conditions of extreme deprivation, as several very expensive examples demonstrated.

3) Self-help construction of housing might be an alternative strategy for the socialist countries of the Third World. Some of the resource bottlenecks discussed above might be less severe if housing with contradictions that become particularly severe in developing socialist countries. Perhaps the most notable problem with this approach is the explicit recognition of the individualistic nature of housing services which would be reinforced by the individual provision for its solution. This particular issue, however, seems to remain a problem regardless of whether the services are provided collectively or individually.

Self-help construction remains an interesting alternative because it facilitates the mobilization of resources which are either underutilized or not even identified in the "formal" economy. Self-help housing is interesting for individuals because it offers an alternative organization for satisfying a basic need which the state is incapable of resolving. It offers an alternative approach because people attach a different value to housing than most prevailing price and non-market allocation systems. The state is unwilling and/or unable to find resources which more traditionally organized systems can call upon. In formal terms, the use value of housing might be much greater than its exchange value because of imperfect markets or simply because insufficient incomes exclude the beneficiaries from the market.

It is true that the self-help approach is also an attractive method of confronting the housing problem in non-socialist societies. In fact, in the Third World it must, perforce, be the principal method of solving the housing problem since most people do not have sufficient income to obtain shelter in any other fashion. There is, however, an important qualitative difference between the place of self-help housing in capitalist and socialist societies.

Both involve what has come to be known as the petty-commodity production of housing but there are important differences in the way in which the builders are related to society as a whole in the two cases. In most capitalist societies, housing is treated like all other commodities; people can obtain it if they have the means and the energy to purchase and/or produce them. Housing is just one of a number of basic goods which must compete for a household's resources. In many socialist societies, in contrast, one of the collective provision of a basic basket of goods and services which are deemed important, including food, education, and medical care. For some poor socialist societies, such a goal cannot be reasonably achieved, since the provision of even this minimal package by the state requires more resources than are available. But even in these cases an explicit recognition of the collective responsibility remains.

Regardless of the level of wealth, however, housing is often accorded primary importance by the family in socialist societies. Self-help efforts proceed within the framework of the social guarantee of some minimum standard of living which is assured to everyone. In most other Third World countries there is no mechanism to protect the family against the erosion of this minimum. This protection - even when it is not effective everywhere - changes the relationship of the family to the society and frees material resources and human energies for the solution of housing problems which might not otherwise be available. Furthermore, if individuals are permitted to build their own housing they might choose to use their leisure time and the collective energies of their relatives and neighbors. In the Cuban experience, the provision of housing was used as a method to attempt to increase labor productivity in non-housing activities.

Self-help housing is generally recognized as a mechanism for mobilizing savings. It can be used to stimulate additional savings by reducing spending in other areas. More importantly, it can be a vehicle to channel savings towards investment in societies where no formal banking institutions exist to encourage such activities. It can also transform non-monetary resources into investment by encouraging the use of people's unpaid or leisure labor for

WHICH ROLE CAN SELF-HELP HOUSING PLAY IN A SOCIALIST COUNTRY, AFTER IT HAS BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH PETTY COMMODITY PRODUCTION FOR LONG?



Self-help housing is generally recognized as a mechanism for mobilizing savings. It can be used to stimulate additional savings by reducing spending in other areas. More importantly, it can be a vehicle to channel savings towards investment in societies where no formal banking institutions exist to encourage such activities. It can also transform non-monetary resources into investment by encouraging the use of people's unpaid or leisure labor for material production. These are all mechanisms to increase collective investment in poor societies where an important restriction on housing is financial. This approach may also be combined with industrial production strategies to increase the supply of basic construction materials required for housing, thus easing the resource constraints on material production. Furthermore, such an approach may also assist the government in resolving other macroeconomic problems by reducing social and political pressures for dedicating resources to housing problem. This makes self-help housing a particularly attractive means of attacking a vital social problem in both socialist and capitalist countries in the Third World. A significant difference between the two remains because of the context of basic material security generally afforded by the former in contrast to the deteriorating conditions of individual welfare prevalent in the capitalist world.

CONCLUSION

In practice, housing has a relatively low priority in national development programs. In general, the growing financial pressures of international multilateral organizations on countries in the Third World has particularly affected this sector. In the capitalist countries, worker's and peasant's living standards have been reduced substantially while austerity programs in the socialist countries have typically slowed growth by cutting into investment programs. In both areas, official support of housing is one of the first program to be sacrificed. It should also be noted that in those few instances where the country has adopted a pattern of autarky - type development (e.g. P.R. Korea), housing as a social priority has not been sacrificed to other sectors of national development, but rather incorporated into the program as a leading sector stimulating production in other areas.

It should be noted that the qualitative difference between the two societies means that socialist societies create an auspicious occasion for strengthening self-help programs at this time. This is the conclusion reached by several countries (e.g. Cuba, China) which have explicitly recognized the potential importance of individual efforts to solve a national social problem in housing. This is based on the real difference in the role of the individual in these societies, generally defined by their commitment to guarantee each individual in society a minimum standard of living in accordance with the collective ability to produce these goods. In these circumstances, the society is in a better position to attempt to encourage greater individual efforts to identify hidden sources of energy and savings for the solution of pressing problems.

Housing Policies and Strategies in Tanzania

Farida Sheriff

The paper presented at the conference included a number of statistical tables which had to be omitted here for lack of space.

PART I: BACKGROUND

- Population and National Territory
- The Economic Structure
- Balance of Payments and Public Finance
- International Aid Donors in Tanzania
- The Political Structure
- Contemporary Housing System

PART II: HOUSING POLICIES AND STRATEGIES: AN AGGLOMERATION OF CONDITIONS OF PERIPHERALITY AND "UJAMAA" IDEALS

- General Introduction
- Housing Policies and Strategies since 1961
- Nationalization of Land
- The Arusha Declaration: A Basis for new Policies and Strategies
- The Tanzanian Housing Bank
- Rural Housing
- Comment on the current National Housing Development Policy for Tanzania

NOTES AND REFERENCES



BACKGROUND:

Population & National Territory:

Located on the east coast of Africa, the Republic of Tanzania (constituting the union between mainland Tanganyika and Zanzibar Islands since 1964) has a current population of about 18 million and covers a national territory of 981,082 sq.km. 75% of the land is either uninhabited or difficult to manage because of the ravages of tsetse fly or unreliable rainfall. Thus the majority of human settlements in Tanzania are confined to about 25% of the total land area. A significant feature of the country is, however, the very uneven distribution of the population even within this limited habitable land area. Thus population density varies from about 170 persons per sq.km. in the Lake Victoria and Dar es Salaam regions, to 2 persons per sq.km. in the drier western and central regions. (Note: Population density in Dar es Salaam city, however, is 610 persons/sq.km.).

Tanzania is an agricultural country where 90% of the population are engaged in peasant form of agricultural production. 13% of the population now live in urban areas. There are nineteen major regional towns including Dar es Salaam which has, until now, been the capital of the country. It is also a primate city so that in 1981 its population was estimated to be 911,600, whereas that of Mwanza, the second largest urban centre was 110,000.

In terms of population growth it is important to note that the average growth rate is 3.5%, and that in the urban area it stands at a staggering average of 9% annually.

The Economic Structure (2):

Tanzania's major resource resides in its agriculture. Ninety percent of the population are engaged in this sector which furnishes about 40% of the GNP and 80% of exports. Coffee, cotton, cashew nuts and sisal are the main cash crops produced for export, while subsistence crops produced for domestic consumption consist of maize, rice, wheat and sugar. Overall, Tanzanian agricultural production is dominated by small peasant farms (0.8 - 2 hectares).

In terms of Gross National Product, Tanzania is among the twenty-five poorest nations in the world. By the late

1970s, the service sector contributed almost 50% while agriculture added 35% and industry 15%. A classical feature of an underdeveloped economy is reflected in the rapid growth in the service sector (6% between 1966 and 1978) while that in the agriculture, a key sector, remained at only 2% - well below the average 3% growth in the GNP.

Since 1967 all the key sectors of the economy have been owned and controlled by the state.

Balance of Payments and Public Finance (2):

Tanzania is well inserted in the international economic system. It retains the same foreign trade structures as it had during colonialism, particularly in regard to its position as an exporter of agricultural products, the prices of which are fixed by international consumers' organisations. Besides, manufactured goods make up only about 8% of the total goods exported. Consumer goods make up only 30-35% of the goods imported while machinery and other intermediate goods including construction materials make up the rest.

As a result of constantly deteriorating terms of trade, however, the balance of payments position of the nation has been worsening from surplus to one of constant deficit. According to Shaidi (3), Tanzania's economic performance in the early 1980's has been the worst since independence in 1961. The aggregate value of output from productive sectors declined from shillings 5,677 million in 1980 to shillings 4,459 million in 1982. This period has also witnessed a serious shortage of virtually everything from food products, to fuel and other consumer goods. In 1983, for the first time since independence, food was rationed (Shaidi, 1984 p.82).

It is therefore not surprising that Tanzania's public finance has been growing increasingly dependent on foreign loans and grants. The international component of the loans increased from 25% in 1966 to 66% in 1977 (4), and the signs indicate that this dependence is growing.

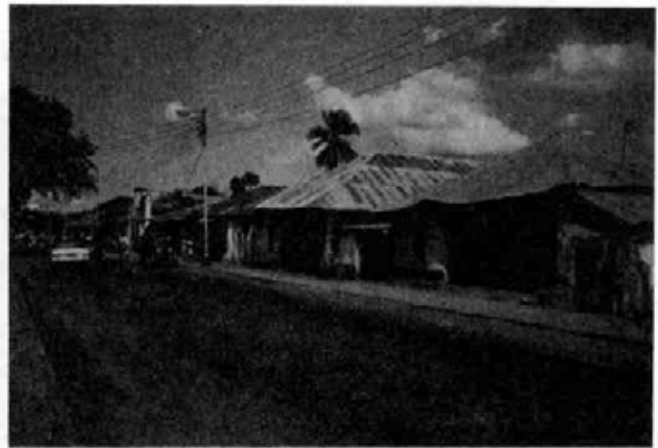
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Left: ADOBE BRICK HOUSING IN RURAL TANZANIA (Machöy). Right: SWAHILI TYPE HOUSING (Steinberg)



International Aid Donors in Tanzania

The World Bank (through IBRD and IDA) and the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) provide nearly half the estimated \$600 million in multi-lateral and bilateral aid which Tanzania receives annually. Other prominent donors are the European Economic Community, and the Danes (DANIDA), Norwegians (NORAD) and Finns who coordinate their activities closely with SIDA's educational and industrial development priorities. The British, Canadian and the American Governments are active in agriculture, transportation and health care.

The Political Structure

After seventy years of colonial rule (German and later British), Tanzania became independent in 1961. The struggle for independence was peacefully conducted by the petty bourgeois leadership of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), led by Julius Nyerere, and supported by the peasantry. As of 1965, Tanzania became a one-party state in which the president of the party is automatically the president of the republic.

There is an assembly of 204 members; 107 are elected by universal suffrage for a term of five years; the others are nominated by the president and other authorities of state. The powers of the national assembly are the scrutiny of the budget and formalisation of governmental decisions into law. The assembly has no political powers as these are reserved for the party. The structural organization of the party is top-down, hierarchical and the decision-making process is highly centralised. Although the basic structure of the party cells of ten houses or families was established in 1964, these were obviously organised to extend the influence and control of the party into the remotest rural areas.

Workers were unionised under the National Union of Tanganyika Workers (NUTA), but this body lost its independence from the Government in 1964 after a number of disputes. Since then the Minister of Labour is also the secretary-general of NUTA. The right to strike has been abolished since the mid 1960's.

CONTEMPORARY HOUSING SYSTEM

According to Karlsson and Solomon (5), 86.9% of Tanzania's population live in the rural areas and 13.1% in the urban areas. (1/3 of the total urban population live in Dar es Salaam alone!). By 1977, 93% of the total households had built their houses themselves with or without temporary hired labour. In terms of cash investment, 50% of households paid less than 1000 shillings and 30% had paid no cash for constructing their houses.

Approximately 77% of the houses in Tanzania are constructed with unprocessed local materials and consequently, seldom last more than five years; 73% have no foundations and are therefore damp during the rainy season; 22% have no toilets and 73% have the use of a private or shared pit latrine. The most common type of house is that known as the "Swahili" type which is a single storey, rectangular, six-roomed house with cooking and toilet facilities outside.

According to official statistics, in 1978 there were some 4 million houses in Tanzania. 50% of the population was living in households with 6 or less persons and 50% in households with seven or more persons. This information is based on the official census figures which uses the average occupancy rate of 4.5 persons per house and 1.5 persons per room (Population Census, 1978). While such figures may truly represent housing occupancy rates in rural areas, they are certainly non-applicable to those in the urban areas. Highlighting the degree of overcrowding, a recent study (6) shows that the average occupancy rate in houses in Dar es Salaam is approximately 11.2 persons per house and 2 persons per room.

The role of public housing is limited to housing only 10% of the total population (or 24% of households).

Thus approximately 90% of the population live in owner-occupied or rented accommodation.

The magnitude of the housing problem in the urban areas in general and that in Dar es Salaam in particular cannot be ignored. Although Tanzania is one of the least 'urbanised' countries in Africa, the rate of urban growth has been alarming. . . Moreover, 2/3 of the population in Dar es Salaam for instance, live in houses built on unsurveyed plots and, 45% of the total dwelling units there house 65% of the

city's population. Since all land in Tanzania is state owned and controlled, the growth of spontaneous settlements in the urban areas presents a paradoxical and, in many ways, a unique version of the phenomenon occurring in other 'Third World' nations.

HOUSING POLICIES AND STRATEGIES IN TANZANIA: GENERAL PHILOSOPHY

"Ten years after the Arusha Declaration Tanzania is certainly neither socialist, nor self-reliant. The nature of exploitation has changed, but it has not been altogether eliminated....."

Further, our nation is still economically dependent upon the vagaries of the weather and upon economic and political decisions taken by other peoples without our participation or consent. And this latter is not a reciprocal situation; Tanzania is still a dependent nation, not an independent one..."

However,

"...Our people do not suffer from the tyranny of landlords who control their land and therefore their means of livelihood. They do not find it impossible to obtain or build a house because individuals own all their houses, and all the lands, and charge what they like".

(Nyerere: "The Arusha Declaration Ten Years After", 1977)

Such populist and nationalist rhetoric presents the official picture of the contemporary Tanzanian situation in general and that of housing in particular in a nutshell. Implicit in such an official statement is a stubborn persistence that Tanzania is still on the road to 'socialism'. This was clearly indicated in the President's recent statement made in London. While addressing the City of London financiers he stated, "You may ask me whether Tanzania is socialist or self-reliant. The answer is no. But then I did not expect it in eighteen years". - (Nyerere, Manor House, London, March 1985). A revival of the long - worn debate on Nyerere's style of 'socialism' is beyond the remit of this paper. Suffice to say that there have been rapid social changes in Tanzania since independence in 1961. A careful analysis of these social changes in general and their dialectical reflection in the area of our concern in this paper, i.e.

housing, in particular would clearly indicate the following: Firstly, as one of the twenty-five poorest nations in the world (World Development Report, 1984), Tanzania is indeed dependent on foreign assistance for its development since it did not initiate fundamental structural changes in the colonial-inherited economic system. Secondly, internal social changes have been neither revolutionary nor radical. They have not only consolidated the inherited class structure but have given rise to the emergence of a class of bureaucrats who constitute the state machinery and play an important and crucial role in the country's development process.

Thus, Tanzania's position vis-a-vis the international system is not so much a 'dependent' one (implying a helpless one-way relationship), but it is of a peripheral state capitalist nature.

Thus, Tanzania's position vis-a-vis the international system is not so much a 'dependent' one (implying a helpless one-way relationship), but it is of a peripheral state capitalist nature which combines the needs and requirements emerging from the dynamics of the internal social transformation with those of the international system. An important development area in which this peripheral capitalist nature of Tanzanian state is most tangibly manifest is the country's contemporary housing situation.

This paper therefore aims at presenting an analytical overview of the Tanzanian state's approach to the question of housing since independence in 1961. It contends, firstly, that in spite of all the popular 'socialist' rhetoric, state intervention in housing has adopted and intensified a traditional welfare state approach to the housing question. Secondly, the historical advantage surrounding the question of land, the limited role of public housing together with the international assistance have enabled the state to adopt particular forms of intervention which ensures housing benefits accruing to the emerging class of bureaucrats and civil servants.

As a theoretical point of departure, this paper maintains that housing as a material object is a commodity which involves a combined process of its production, consumption and exchange. As such it does not escape the generalised commodity relations which prevail in any society. In other words, it plays an important political economic role in the society's overall process of accumulation. Housing can therefore be defined as an expression, in residential space, of the political and economic bargaining power of the various classes. It is both historical and dynamic. Realisation of this expression is brought about by the direct or indirect state intervention in the development process in general and in the housing process in particular. State is a historically conditioned form of social relations which, through its exercise of hegemonic power, shapes and directs the housing process according to its priorities and objectives. Housing policies are therefore official statements which not only confirm the state's intention to intervene but, more importantly, they spell out the actual form of that intervention. For instance,

while the amount of national resources allocated to housing is a useful indicator of the state's concern over the housing problem, it is the ways in which these resources are to be developed which clarifies the state's objectives and priorities.

Although Tanzania became independent in 1961, it was not until 1982 that a national housing policy was explicitly formulated and adopted by the Government. However, for twenty years (1961-1981), allocation of housing resources and organisation of residential space followed the guidelines stated in the four Development Plans, (the Three-Year Development Plan (1961-1964), the First Five-Year Development Plan (1964-1969), the Second Five-Year Development Plan (1969-1974), and the Third Five-Year Development Plan (1974-1981)). More significantly, however, these Development Plans were intermediated by a series of policy statements in the late 1960's and early 1970's which set a more comprehensive and a new course for national development. Of direct relevance to this paper is one of these policy documents, namely, the Arushy Declaration of 1967, emerging during the middle of the First and Second Five-Year Development Plans respectively. For the purpose of this paper, the significance of this policy document lies in the fact that it gave rise to important strategies and institutional changes which facilitated and firmly consolidated the new patron-client orientation of the state's welfare approach to housing.

HOUSING POLICIES AND STRATEGIES IN TANZANIA SINCE 1961

With independence in 1961, Tanzania inherited the colonial relationship which, in economic terms, meant that a client 'independent' state was created in the periphery of western capitalism. In spatial terms, it inherited the colonial legacy of a dichotomous and uneven urban/rural development, rapid and disproportional urban growth, a total neglect of the housing problem in the rural areas and a differential approach to urban housing based on social classes in conjunction with racial segregation. The inherited social structure was based on class relations among the out-going 'metropolitan bourgeoisie', a rather weak 'commercial bourgeoisie' made up of Asian and Arab traders and business men, a newly emerging class of 'petty bourgeoisie' consisting of educated Tanzanian professionals and a class of Tanzanian workers and peasantry.

During the early years of independence, recourse allocation tended to be both ad hoc and laissez-faire. The major preoccupation of the TANU leadership at this juncture was the consolidation of political and constitutional affairs of the state and its relation to the masses whose support had been vital in the bid for independence. The problem of restoring 'African dignity' had to be resolved by outlawing racially discriminating practices in social life, in health and educational services and in housing.

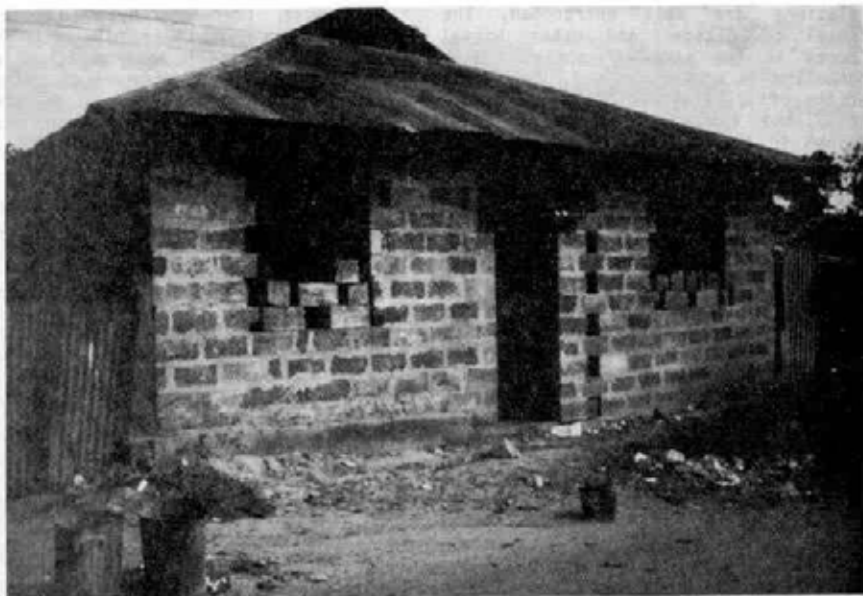
In the absence of any clear political direction, and in the face of mounting pressure on housing in the urban areas, the Tanzanian state adopted a traditional welfare state approach to housing. This was not a new idea because coloni-

al policies in this area were similar even though derisory in size which made them no more than token gestures. In the course of this paper it will be clear that the contemporary welfare state approach to housing in Tanzania has been essentially characterised by an acceptance of the need for government assistance when desperate need for housing is evident. It has generally restricted this assistance to the provision of some minimal aid to those in need, thus denying the fact that the lack of adequate housing for the mass of the population cannot be separated from the manner in which the housing needs of the rest of the population is satisfied. Similarly, implicit in this approach is the belief that, given the limited resources available, the housing problem can be solved by lowering costs of production and housing standards thus failing to recognise the vital link between the low-cost and high-cost housing production and consumption. The inexorable logic of progressive failure to realise housing targets, has turned attention to the idea of site and services and squatter upgrading schemes, a conclusion imposed by the limits of the welfare state approach to housing. Furthermore, an important complication in Tanzania's housing policies arises from a vestige of colonial housing policy. This complication, to be found in many ex-colonies, is the paradoxical belief that Government is also obliged to provide housing for higher civil servants and other senior officials. In the highly centralised and bureaucratic political economic system, based not only on the supremacy of the party but also on the operations of some 300 parastatal bodies, state housing provision has been further intensified to the point of being almost the only real beneficiary of national and international resources allocated to housing.

Returning to the early period of independence, the Tanzanian state spelled out the following policy statement as part of the Three Year Development Plan (1961-1964):

"The policy with regard to housing is to provide low cost housing for renting in the urban areas where private enterprise does not meet the demand; to encourage urban dwellers to own their own houses by means of an experimental tenant purchase scheme; to assist house owners by means of loans, to improve their houses by the construction of roofs in permanent materials. In rural areas the buildings of improved types of houses will be encouraged and assisted by community development techniques. It is also intended to investigate the possibility of establishing a Housing Corporation to finance house construction; Government would contribute to the initial capital which would be supplemented from outside sources". (7)

The above policy statement aimed at abolishing the provision of housing on a racial basis, to encourage home ownership and above all, to mark the potential role of the state as a landlord for those whose housing needs could not be met by private enterprises. This was of course, indirectly referring to the



housing problems in the urban areas as the policy was marked by the continued lack of concern for housing in the rural areas where the majority of Tanzanians have been living.

Following this policy statement, the NATIONAL HOUSING CORPORATION (NHC) was established in 1962 (Act of Parliament No.45, 1962) as a non-profit parastatal institution. It was initially given wide responsibilities to lend money for housing construction, to manage the renting of 4,366 houses built by the colonial government plus 317 housing units belonging to absentee landlords, and to construct new low-cost medium cost houses for rental and for tenant purchase. In addition, the First Five Year Plan, 1964-1969 (drawn up by western consultants hired by the government) introduced a policy of slum and squatter clearance which the NHC had to incorporate into its programme. This policy was, however, sensibly abandoned in 1969 because it was found to be costly and contributed very little additional housing stock to the housing units already in existence. Recounting the NHC performance over a period of 18 years between 1962 to 1980, Kulaba calculated that NHC managed to construct a total of only 13,366 new dwelling units at an average of 743 units per annum. (8) Not only has the NHC performance been abysmally poor, largely due to shortage of funds but, more importantly, most of NHC housing has been concentrated in Dar es Salaam. Thus, for instance, by the end of the First Five Year Plan, NHC had built 6,327 housing units of which 4,678 were built in Dar es Salaam. 60% of units constructed were under the slum clearance programme. Overall, "the NHC fell short of its target in the First Five Year Plan by 21,000 units". (9) Those benefitting from NHC housing were found to be the medium and low-income people, mostly employed in the Public Sector.



NATIONALIZATION OF LAND

Prior to independence, Tanzania had a dual land tenure system whereby privatised land ownership was protected by freehold titles in the few townships and some plantation areas, while customary land rights were observed in the rest of the country. In an important move in 1963, the independent government nationalised all freehold titles and turned them into government leaseholds. Previous owners were obliged to pay rent to the government, and development conditions were laid down for use of all urban land. This, however, still left the confusion surrounding customary land right particularly in villages around the old townships boundaries and some rural areas where the official encouragement of cash-crop farming was producing a small class of 'Kulak' farmers. In 1969, therefore, the state introduced the Right of Occupancy system as the only type of land tenure in Tanzania.



Top: INFORMAL HOUSING IN DAR ES SALAAM. This house of the "Swahili-type" includes several rooms for rent and is very common at the coast.

Centre: CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING IN DAR ES SALAAM. This 'self-help' scheme at the northern fringe of the capital was financed with the help of international aid in the 70's.

Bottom: COUNCIL HOUSING IN DAR ES SALAAM.

(Fotos: Florian Steinberg)

Nationalization of land was as important as it was easy for the state to achieve - for Tanzania had a rather unique historical advantage of inheriting a dual land tenure system in which interest in ownership of land was relatively less entrenched than say in the neighbouring Kenya. This historical advantage enabled the state to tackle the land question which is so vital and which would have otherwise proved too problematic in its approach to housing. Nationalization of land in Tanzania, however, has not meant its socialization (i.e., social/communal ownership and control over land). However, public ownership of land combined with the slow, highly centralized and bureaucratized processes of land allocation for housing has, paradoxically, encouraged the growth of spontaneous settlements in Tanzania. (10)

In the first five years after independence (1961-1966), housing policy in Tanzania was marked by the above two strategies: the BUILDING STRATEGY contained in the establishment of the NHC; and the LAND STRATEGY which found an expression in the nationalization of all land in Tanzania.

By late 1966, it was becoming clear that the Tanzanian leadership was experiencing disillusionment with the First Five Year Plan. Quick economic progress anticipated through an easy and substantial inflow of foreign aid was not in sight. Following political disputes with the United States, West Germany and Britain, expected aid did not come. Internally, the army, university students and trade unions rebelliously expressed their grievances which were forcefully suppressed by the government. Wages were rising but the gulf between rural and urban income was growing at an alarming rate. While per capita income in the rural areas had risen by only 5% since 1961, that in the urban sector had shot up by 50%.

Nyerere and TANU could still draw on a reservoir of mass affection. But it was clear that to retain it they would have to undertake new initiatives. The Party leadership chose to confront all the internal and external obstacles with a series of policy statements. The most important of these were the Arusha Declaration and the two papers, 'Education and Self-Reliance' and 'Socialism and Rural Development', all of which were approved by the Party during 1967.

THE ARUSHA DECLARATION (AD) - A BASIS FOR NEW POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

The Arusha Declaration was an explicit commitment of the Party to launch Tanzania on an "Ujamaa" or 'socialist' path of development. (The term 'Ujamaa' literally means kinship or the traditional institution of the extended family based on the pre-capitalist community of basic property, the obligation to work and mutual respect. It does not recognise the class basis of society and is therefore opposed to capitalism and socialism. In my view the term "Ujamaa" therefore, had the misfortune of being naively, though officially translated into 'socialism' - a term which has led to intensive intellectual debate and confusion. In this paper we maintain that in a society like Tanzania where peripheral capitalist

relations are well entrenched, the denial of classes and other social forces as the basis of social transformation is utterly absurd. Regardless of the official intentions and evasiveness, the term 'socialism', as contained in the Arusha Declaration, placed the issue of class struggles for the first time on the agenda of Tanzanian development).

Based on the ideas of 'SOCIALISM AND SELF RELIANCE', the Arusha Declaration formed the basis of a comprehensive policy for national development. Its pronouncement was immediately followed by the nationalization of the banks, insurance companies, most of the sisal estates, grain milling, and the Tanzanian assets of seven multinational corporations. In the following years much of the wholesale and import-export trade plus rental buildings worth more than 100,000/- shillings were also nationalized. By proclaiming the primacy of socialist rural development in Tanzania, the Arusha Declaration significantly altered the direction of urban policy in general and introduced important strategies that were to further consolidate the welfare state approach to housing in the urban areas.

The Arusha Declaration came towards the end of the First Five Year Plan. By this time the NHC had been established and its poor performance, as outlined above, noted. While the NHC was to take care of the medium and low-income housing demand, there was however, no institution to assist the housing demands of the medium and high-income people. Paradoxically, therefore, just when the country was being launched on a 'socialist' path of development, the government, in 1968, incorporated the operations of the Permanent Housing Finance Company (PHFCT) to provide loans for owner-occupied houses costing between 30,000 and 100,000 shillings. The limited operations of PHFCT were based on shares subscribed equally between the Tanzania government and the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC). In effect it was to cater for the needs of 10% of the wage earners who at that time earned above 500/- shillings per month.

The divisive income-based housing policy was further intensified by scaling down the operations of the NHC, and spreading out public funds more thinly to cater for the needs of low income people. In the Second Five Year Plan, therefore, the NHC together with the Ministry of Land, Housing and Urban Development were to develop a programme for the provision of some 5,000 site and services plots per year to mark the official beginning of self-help housing. Furthermore, since the Second Five Year Plan (1969-1974) had embraced the ideals of the Arusha Declaration (socialism and self-reliance), the collaboration between the concept of SELF-HELP and the diffused ideology of SELF-RELIANCE was opportune. Thus in accordance with the policy of 'self-reliance', the Second Five Year Plan stated,

"The rapid growth of urban population can claim high investment in infrastructure. This may lead to conflict between different objectives. On the one hand, shelter must be provided for urban populations, on the other hand Government is committed to redressing the balance between urban and rural areas. A sound housing poli-

cy must, therefore harmonize this apparent conflict. This will be done if as many town dwellers as possible look to themselves, singly or jointly in groups, to provide housing with only a minimum assistance from the state. This is the essence of Self-Reliance. (12)

Emphasis was thus laid on the achievement of a minimum level of housing for the majority of urban dwellers through mobilization and maximization of the self-help contribution. The government committed itself to the provision of 35,000 to 40,000 houses and housing sites over the five year Plan period. It also proposed the restructuring of allocation of resources away from luxury and high cost housing, thus restricting the operations of the PHFCT to medium cost houses at a rate of 400 per annum. In an effort to consolidate and rationalize housing finance, the Second Five Year Plan proposed to set up a single financial institution (the THB) responsible for lending money for construction of residential, commercial and other buildings.

Meanwhile, in 1971, the government initiated another major urban housing policy. It nationalized all rental buildings with a value of 100,000/- shillings and over. (13) This was clearly an attempt not only to stop the private accumulation of wealthy landlords (who were mainly Asian members of the politically weak commercial bourgeoisie), but also to add to the government stock of rental buildings. Thus the REGISTRAR OF BUILDINGS (ROB) was established initially to manage the nationalized buildings characterized as medium and high-cost units. Subsequently, the ROB took on the task of constructing similarly medium and high-cost dwelling units.

In its building activities, the ROB depends on the Tanzania Housing Bank and its own savings. To date, it has 2,438 buildings under its jurisdiction and out of this 1,322 buildings are located in the Dar es Salaam city. (14)

THE TANZANIA HOUSING BANK

In the early 1970's, the Tanzanian government realized that the operations of the PHFCT (the only existing housing finance company) were very limited and urban-oriented. Its commercial rates of interest at 8.5% were too exorbitant for the NHC which was supposed to use this financial facility for its low-rent and tenant purchase schemes. The government therefore dissolved the PHFCT and, in a clever move, set up the Tanzania Housing Bank (15) in its place. The THB commenced its operations in 1973 taking over the assets and liabilities of the PHFCT. It is wholly owned by the government and being placed under the Treasury, it is able to borrow at less than commercial rates. It was thus hoped that the THB would substantially affect the financing of low-cost housing in urban areas and "Ujamaa" villages. (16)

Thus for the first time, a comprehensive housing finance institution was to provide assistance to housing in both urban and rural areas. However, among the most important of THB principles were the following:

- a. the Bank shall finance only projects which are economically viable, socially desirable and technically feasible;
- b. in making loans the bank shall satisfy itself that adequate provisions for the enforcement of repayment of the loan and repayment of interest exist;
- c. the Bank shall satisfy itself of the expected ability of the borrower to repay the loan without undue hardship;
- d. the Bank shall take all necessary measures to protect its interests.

The sources of THB's finance are public deposits, the Workers and Farmers Housing Development Fund, external grants and revenue through repayments of housing loans. It has been recorded that by 1975, public deposits in the Bank accounted for a total of shillings 288 million, and the Workers and Farmers Housing Development Fund was at shillings 317.9 million. External sources consist of borrowed funds (mainly from the Commonwealth Development Fund payable at 8% interest and from the International Development Agency (IDA) World Bank payable at 2 1/2%) and grants from the Norwegian Development Agency (NORAD).

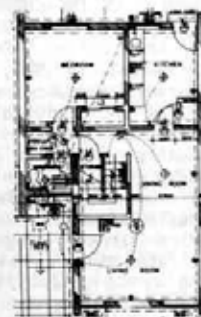
Against the rough idea of the above amount of local deposit, the THB between 1973 and 1980, advanced loans amounting to shillings 1,243.9 million for 26,840 dwelling units for the whole of Tanzania including the NHC and the ROB dwelling units built with THB loans. (See fig.4). The THB Annual Records for 1978-79 show that, loans given to individuals in this period for the construction of 7,908 houses amounted to shillings 315,537,736.85 million with Dar es Salaam region receiving 40.4% of all THB's loans in that period (see fig.5). The above local deposit and loan advancement figures, clearly demonstrate that external sources of funds account for a very large amount of THB operations. Such dependence on foreign assistance in a sensitive area like housing seem to fly in the face of the Tanzanian state's persistent ideological adherence to the concept of 'self-reliance'. Besides, in spite of the THB's commitment to extend its assistance to Tanzanians with low-income (hence its preoccupation with the national Sites and Services and Squatter upgrading schemes in the urban areas as its main project), intensive studies (17) have shown that the THB lending policies inevitably exclude a large section of the low-income earners who are numerically predominant in Tanzania (see fig.6).

It is important to note that in spite of all the stated official intention to redress the imbalance between the rural and urban housing considerations, and to reallocate building resources away from Dar es Salaam, the THB operations in Monetary terms are still concentrated in the main city. As seen above, between 1978 and 1979, for instance, of all the THB loans disbursed, Dar es Salaam dominated as the main beneficiary with 40.4% of the total loans. (18)

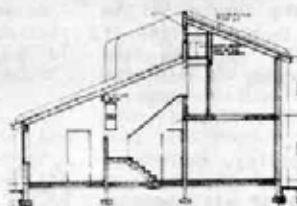
From the above it can be deduced that with the firm establishment of the THB, Tanzanian state has put the seal on its welfare state approach to housing. While continuing to operate a differential housing policy based on income,



INFORMAL SECTOR HOUSING IN THE OLD CORE OF DODOMA, THE NEW CAPITAL OF TANZANIA



INITIAL HOUSING DESIGN FOR DODOMA; PROPOSED BY EXPATRIATE CONSULTANTS. The cost of this kind of housing amounts to 300,000 TSh. Most of the few units completed are inhabited by foreign experts.



RECENT CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING, REPLACING THE PREVIOUS DESIGN. The cost of this type of housing amounts to about 100,000 TSh.

(Fotos: K. Mathéy)

it has been effectively concentrating its housing resources on the needs of those with medium and high income projects. The large majority of these people are civil servants and bureaucrats who work for the government and some 300 parastatal bodies. The pervasive ideology of 'self-reliance' and its close collaboration with the concept of 'self-help' housing thus seems to be pressed against the housing needs of the vast majority of low-income and poor Tanzanians.

RURAL HOUSING

As regards RURAL HOUSING, the Tanzanian state has positively recognized the problem in that area. However, its concern and prescriptions are couched in

terms of qualitative distinction of rural housing from that of housing in the urban areas. Thus in an attempt to train and encourage local building materials in the "Ujamaa" villages, the Building Research Unit (BRU) was set up in the mid 1970's under the Ministry of Housing, Land and Urban Development. BRU is funded by the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD). In the period 1977/78 - 1981/82 BRU received a grant of shillings 3.3 million to promote further research in appropriate technologies and local building materials in the rural areas.

Under the Tanzanian Villagization programme almost 14,874,600 people have been settled in 8,300 "Ujamaa" villages. In order to assist these villagers to build better, healthier and

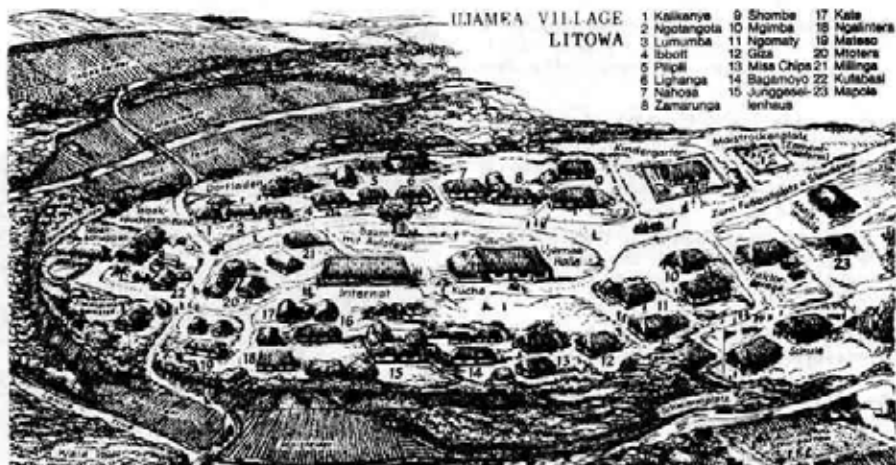
more durable houses, the 'Nyumba Bora' (better houses) Campaign was launched with the assistance of BRU. This campaign has been operating through some 65 Rural Construction Units (each with a staff of 200) which have built a few better houses for staff workers "to demonstrate how villagers can build cheap and better houses for themselves using the minimum of permanent building materials..." (19). This top-down approach has been the source of the very slow take-off of the Nyumba Bora Campaign and the operation of the Rural Construction Units. Lack of technical skills of these units has been recognised, as the current National Housing Policy, 1981, points out:

It is difficult to train all the workers in the units adequately to enable them to discharge their responsibility efficiently. Nonetheless the units will be strengthened by training building technicians and providing them with basic equipment". (20)

COMMENT ON THE CURRENT NATIONAL HOUSING DEVELOPMENT POLICY FOR TANZANIA

In December, 1981, the Government of Tanzania announced a new housing policy. It declared that the housing sector will be treated as a CATALYST in the country's economic growth and not as a SERVICE it has been hitherto. This view is essentially based on the Centre of Housing Studies occasional paper (21) which strongly argues in favor of the welfare state approach to treating housing as "a potentially powerful and effective development tool" to add to the National Capital Formation. It ignores the question of unpaid labour in the self-built housing sector which it ardently supports and neglects the heavy role of bureaucracy in both the production allocation and consumption of contemporary housing in Tanzania.

The current housing policy, therefore, is a modified expression which has put together the patchwork of all the previous policy statements. It continues to harp more strongly on the ideology of 'self-reliance' and the concept of self-help contribution by the villagers, the low-income and poor urban dwellers. "Every man in the village has the primary responsibility to build a permanent house" and, "...the best way to ameliorate the existing housing shortages (in the urban areas) is to urge and assist people to build their own houses" (emphasis added). (22) While referring to the massive subsidies enjoyed by the few senior civil servants and bureaucrats, it indicates an intention to redress this imbalance. Instead it further reinforces the role of the employer in ensuring housing provision for the workers. "From now on every employer has the responsibility to prepare and implement a housing programme for his workers." (23) This is obviously a populist view being projected to the workers. Since the government itself is by far the largest employer in Tanzania, the practicability of such a pronouncement is highly questionable. For instance, at the time the new policy was spelling out the intention to strengthen the construction capacity of the NHC and ROB (whose clients are mostly government employees), the 'Daily News' (a government daily) of 23rd September, 1981 reported:



"The NHC which is the largest public housing corporation in Tanzania got a government grant of 6.5 million shillings or 0.1% budget for 1981-1982, and 4 million shillings for its Kisarawe brick-making factory which represents 0.07% of the government development budget for the same year." (24)

More importantly, however, the number of Tanzanians in regular wage employment is appallingly small. According to the Survey of Employment and Earnings (25), in 1978, the number of total wage earners was only 535,945 (made up of 208,358 in 'Public Services' and 327,587 in 'Enterprises - largely constituting the parastatals). A crucial gender related point emerges when these figures are divided by sex:

Male	-	468,430
Female	-	63,319
Young Persons	-	4,196
(under 16)		
		535,945

Of the total number in wage employment a mere 11.8% are adult women. The crucial and wider implication of these figures in a country which has a majority of 51% woman (26) in the total population cannot be underestimated. Yet the current housing policy takes no notice of this point. Neither does it address the question of unpaid labour in the construction activities of women and men in the self-built housing which make up 93% of the housing stock in Tanzania.

One of the most crucial points which the current housing policy totally ignores is the critical link between bureaucracy and the overall housing situation in Tanzania. Not only do the senior members of the bureaucracy consume the bulk of the housing resources allocated directly and indirectly, but more importantly, complex bureaucratic procedures have greatly hindered the effectiveness of even the site and services and squatter upgrading schemes - in themselves a mere 'window dressing' when situated in the context of the national urban housing problem. In relative terms, Tanzania may seem to be making some well-meaning efforts to cater for the housing and other needs of the masses. In terms of outcomes, however, the combination of class-bias, poverty and bureaucratic oppression has intensified stratification which continues to mark the welfare state approach to housing.

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- (17) see
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- (23) Op. cit. 20 p. 28
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Housing Policies in Mozambique

Per Iwansson



Map of Mozambique

* PER IWANSSON is lecturer at the School of Architecture, University of Lund (Sweden). All photos were taken by the author.

Left photo: Traditional "CANICO BAIRRO" in the city of Beira
 Right photo: MODERN TOWN CENTRE OF BEIRO. The building in the foreground has been finished after independence, but only four floors are used due to the lack of lifts.

This paper is based on the author's experience as a "cooperant" in the Mozambique National Housing Directorate (DNH, later transformed into the State Secretariat for Physical Planning, INPF) between 1978-81. It is the author's personal interpretation of the "shelter" policy followed during the first years after independence 1975 and the paper has to be read with some care.

I. THE BURDEN OF THE COLONIAL HERITAGE

The typical Mozambiquean city shows two faces. You have the colonial "cement city", largely constructed during the 1960's and 1970's when Portugal, in order to finance the colonial war, opened up more and more of its colonies to other foreign investors. The two major cities, Maputo (750,000 inhabitants) and Beira (250,000 inhabitants), are thus in their cores made up of highrise blocks of flats or of individual villas surrounded by gardens.

Outside the cement city spreads the barrack-towns, the workers and worker's reserve suburbs, often named after the main building material in the Maputo region: the "canico" towns (canico is a kind of reed growing on wet land). Here lives still today the larger part of the population, or roughly 450,000 of Maputo's and 150,000 of Beira's inhabitants.

The "canico bairros" got some schools, water, and roads in a last minute charm-effort by the colonial government but remained in general largely unserved, and totally unstructured areas.

People had no right to land they lived on and rarely risked the economical burdens of trying to build houses of good quality materials. The typical canico house in Maputo had a life span of 5-10 years after which time its wooden structure collapses due to rot and termites. These housing areas were and still are often located on bad land. In Beira a large part of the population have to move away every now and then as their homes get flooded during the rainy season.

The infrastructural systems of the cities; water, sewerage, electricity (only Beira has a piped sewerage system, rapidly deteriorating, due to speculative construction in the 1960's) were built only to serve the upper classes in the cement city. And today as one tries to expand them to the masses of the people one is met by obstacles in the form of very insufficient basic installations. In Maputo it is thus necessary to increase much the amount of water that is captured; in Beira the main conduct bringing water to the city must be doubled.

On the countryside colonialism did nothing to improve on traditional (as transformed by colonialism) habitat, as most men were constantly moved around in forced labour schemes, or escaping those, periodically emigrated to mines in South Africa or other works in Rhodesia.

Using a simple definition of a reasonable housing standard - a house giving minimal protection and comfort, access to clean water, and to some health and educational service - one can say that



over 90% of Mozambique's 13.8 million inhabitants lived below this standard at the time of independence in 1975.

2. ECONOMICAL RECESSION AFTER INDEPENDENCE. NATIONALIZATION OF LAND AND OF HOUSING FOR RENT.

The exodus of 200,000 colonialists meant also a loss of all skilled technical and administrative personnel. Sabotage or just withdrawal of resources from industries and plantations and the sudden rupture of commercialization system in the countryside caused a break down of economy.

The building sector which immediately before independence was expanding fast in the sign of growing land-prices, came to a total stand still, as most companies withdrew investments, technical personnel and machinery, leaving 30,000 workers with very little capacity. In the cities, half-finished concrete skeletons of 10-30 storeys still stand as monuments to the technology used by former builders. The political response by the new Frelimo government was a large scale state intervention to keep production going and nationalization to reorganize it. In 1975 land was nationalized and in 1976 all rented houses.

The first intervention in the housing sector following this was a redistribution of the now empty flats in the cement-city. About 200,000 people benefited from this. The rapid partly spontaneous process has since caused some problems and the state organization rapidly created to administrate the state housing stock, APIE, has now and then had its organization shaken for reasons of corruption. A problem is also the deterioration of the existing housing stock as APIE has very small resources for repair. Houses still spontaneously occupied where rent is not paid and water and electricity is consequently shut off by the authorities fall apart. Many houses half-ruined in the tumult around independence never got rebuilt. In the larger cities many houses have been used as offices for the new national administration, decreasing further the housing stock.

Rents are set in relation to income and housing quality at a maximum of 12-15% of the income. To get a flat in the cement city one must, however, earn over a certain income and the redistribution of flats has served mostly the cities' new administrative cadres. A strange aspect of nationalization of houses is that the state has come into possession of a large amount of rental speculation barracks in the canico areas. At least people here have got their housing costs reduced and a greater security of tenure.

3. A HOUSING POLICY

It was obvious that it would take time to reorganize the building sector. And the very elementary housing or "shelter" policy defined by Frelimo's 3rd Congress in 1977 was that housing would mainly be people's own concern, while the state would concentrate its resources on social service and infrastructure. Planned use of land without the obstacle of private ownership was to be a major part of mobilization of people and of coordination of state intervention.

The Ministry of Construction had and still has the task of reorganizing the building sector. A new department, the National Housing Directorate (DNH) was created to take care of physical planning and to develop a popular housing policy.

One can identify since then two main elements of state housing policy in Mozambique:

- Relying on popular mobilization where the state's role is one of initiating and guiding the process. Principal means to improve living conditions are planned use of land, improving social and technical infrastructure, improved hygiene through the use of latrines and to a small extent improvements in "traditional" construction materials and techniques.
- Reorganizing a "modern" building industry and trying to redirect it towards the country's and the people's need. The means have been the creation of provincial state building companies and, specific for housing, attempts to develop other housing types than the point-block flats and large villas left as models from colonial times. Some attempts have also been made to introduce a different construction technology, than the reinforced concrete one mostly used earlier.

A third element of the housing policy is physical planning. Its role in connection with the two others is obvious. But physical planning has also been given increased importance in the general economical and social planning system as there has been a growing awareness of the importance of coordinating, regionally, investments within various economical sectors and of the importance to steer effectively the distribution of population. The DNH has also been turned into a State Secretary for Physical Planning depending on the National Planning Commission instead of on the Ministry of Construction. In the following we will however not go further into the contents of planning principles. What is attempted is to counterbalance the regional imbalances created by colonialism. One is tied for economical reasons much to existing infrastructure, but still new industrial and agricultural projects are to a large extent placed outside the existing large cities.

4. INTERVENTIONS BY THE STATE RELYING ON POPULAR MOBILIZATION

The immediate post-independence optimism gave birth to various projects.

In the countryside the experience of the collective villages in the former liberated areas was expanded to the whole country. In theory, but not always in practice, state support to this collectivization of the countryside was to be a major means of reaching the people with health and educational services and to raise productivity. The process of the collective villages deserves a special paper and I will not further treat it here. One can say that although the villages often show a social success - people like to get together, to have access to school, etc. - they have seldom succeeded in an economical sense. Many villages were created too fast, badly located and not

linked to the actual local way of agricultural production. State support to the villages has also been only marginal compared to what has gone into the large state farms (mostly economical failures). The villagization has still meant the resettlement of close to 14% of the population; roughly 1300 villages exist today.

In constructing their traditional houses people are normally helped with transport by local government organizations. Some villages showing good popular initiative have also got some of the social service and infrastructure (water) provided by the state.

In the cities' canico areas, the National Housing Directorate continued some projects, started under the transitional government, of resettling large numbers of people from bad land on to better land, and of actual housing production through aided self-help. The last showed little success in quantitative terms as the projects depended on access to building materials that soon got to be in short supply.

The first large scale effort at doing something about living conditions was more of a success. The Maxaquene project managed in a couple of years through activities based on and largely performed by the Frelimo neighbourhood committees to structure a formerly totally anarchical area of 45,000 inhabitants, to thus give people formal right to the land they lived on and then increase the supply of access roads, electrical light, water, improved latrines and spaces for gatherings and social service. The project depended on a combination of popular mobilization without which it would not have been able to do anything (30% of all houses were shifted around in the process) and some investments by the state. Trenches for water supply were, for instance, dug by people of the area while a state company drilled for water, built water tanks and laid the pipes.

Although a success as a pilot project, the Maxaquene project was not immediately continued. One reason was that there was a heavy emigration towards the larger cities as a result of the general economic crisis. The first national census confirmed in 1980 that Maputo and Beira had growth rates of 5%, and new unplanned and unserved housing areas would thus be created at the same rate as old ones got up-graded unless one managed to stop and control the process.

A major step for this was to recreate local government in the cities, and in 1979 a national meeting set down political and organizational directives for City Councils. To improve people's living conditions one would rely on popular organization into "Bairros Comunitários", much along the lines experienced in Maxaquene. It was stressed that it was the City Councils' responsibility to organize people in the practice of collective construction using local resources. Government input was to be not only in social service and infrastructure but also to help create green zones for vegetable and small animal production. The national control of land-use through over-all physical planning was to be of increased importance.

The restructuring of the City Council has however been a slow process. There is a large lack of technical cadres.

Those left from colonial housing sector administration are used to a previous formal process of building permits related to Portuguese legislation and the building of villas and high-rise buildings so there has been a lack of understanding of the necessity to proceed along quite other lines. Today only Maputo and Quelimane, where the INPF has placed an expatriate regional planner's team, have a functioning City Council department for urbanization problems. They continue today in collaboration with the INPF the policy of interventions in popular housing: simple urban plans coordinate infrastructural investments to be made when possible by the state firms executing those (water is generally in short supply). People get the right to land. Cooperatives of producers of building material (e.g. cement stabilized soil blocks) are encouraged. An improved latrine programme is being promoted.

In Maputo the City council has distributed 20,000 plots in the last years. Although they are rarely serviced by more than a dirt road, it means that a certain control over the city's growth can be kept with a very limited number of technical staff (a few architects and surveyors).

5. ECONOMICAL RECUPERATION FOLLOWED BY NEW AND DEEPEEN CRISIS

The years between 1977 and 1981 saw a reorganization of society and economy that for a while seemed promising. From 1981 and onwards the process of recuperation has however come to a halt and even become negative. External pressure and sabotage through the armed bandits, or, as they call themselves the National resistance Movement (MNR), supported by South Africa and ex-colonialists, in combination with a rapid deterioration of the balance of payments, due to development of world market prices and loss of hard currency incomes from transit traffic and mine workers in South Africa, have left little margin for their own errors in economic policy. Prolonged drought has made the situation even worse.

The policies of reorganizing colonial large-scale plantations into mechanized state farms and investing in some key agro-industrial complexes have not given the results needed to bring growth to the economy. The 4th Frelimo Congress in 1983 called also for changes in the direction of more support to the family and cooperative farming sector and a reduction in large scale investments, and emphasized the role of local management and development at the expense of centralization.

6. STATE HOUSING CONSTRUCTION TO SERVE ECONOMICAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Productivity in the building sector grew by 25% between 1977 and 1981 and was also one of the very few sectors that showed a positive growth in 1982. The figures reflect a certain success in forming state regional construction companies out of the remains of a large number of private enterprises. Actually Mozambique had and has, in the African context, quite a large modern construction sector. The basis for this are three cement factories, and a large factory for producing asbesto-cement products. But there are also brick



TERRACED BRICK HOUSES BUILT BY THE MINISTRY OF CONSTRUCTION

making industries in operation, and scrap iron, and others. The building sector is almost all state run, in addition to the provincial construction companies there are others specialized in, for example, roads or hydraulic works. Some international collaboration exist. A couple of Portuguese building companies provide technicians and machinery for some works. A Brazilian company is active on a housing scheme. Various housing projects have been drawn up by Portuguese, East German, and Bulgarian firms but never reached implementation. Also the material producers are largely state, some are owned also by mixed capital, a few private ones exist. The state also controls distribution and commercialization of building materials. As there are always shortages they get distributed to priority projects according to the yearly stataal plan. A comparison with colonial times show that especially smaller and medium size firms have ceased to exist, as they were first abandoned and then incorporated in the regional based restructurization of the sector.

The relative success in raised productivity figures does not however mean much in terms of housing production. Works for industries, major infrastructure, works to support agriculture, for defence, health and education have had higher priority.

The "modern" construction sector has been used for two kinds of housing production. The first has been to finish some of the left-over unfinished high-rise buildings in the major cities. Obviously this kind of housing is not in tune with the country's present economy (an elevator is an investment in the order of 30,000 US\$), but to leave the buildings to deteriorate would have been a hard political choice to make.

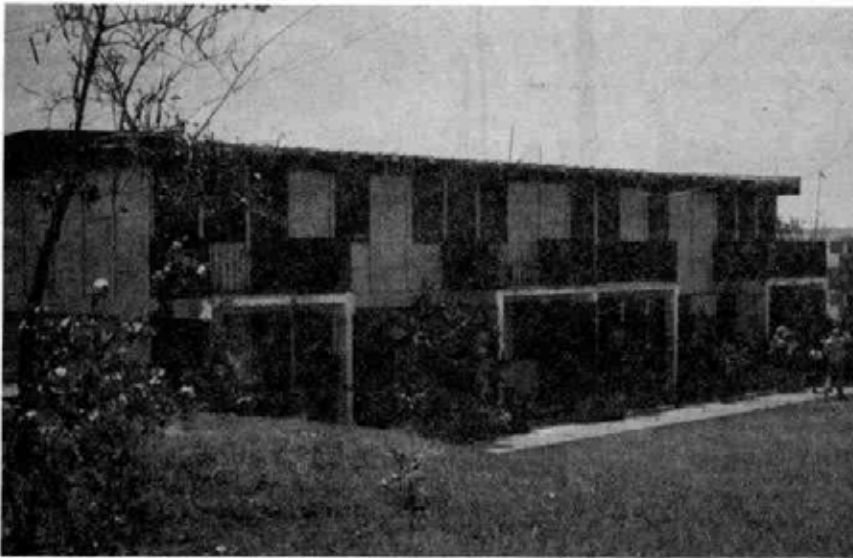
The other part of production has been directed towards serving the needs of important development projects over the country, to house foreign technicians, the administrative and technical cadres.

The first type of production continues to use mostly colonial standards in the types of flats as well as in the quality of finish. The second represent attempts at creating a more suitable standard. The only models existing of what is a good house are colonial villas and large flats and it has meant a minor struggle to promote other types. Houses are mostly one storey semi-detached or terraced housing, where for instance three room flat occupies about 70 sq.m. No 'fancy' architecture, no use of extra concrete, floors are no longer covered by hardwood (that can instead be exported), kitchens and bathrooms are not clad with imported tiles. Still the houses have a standard far above any actual capacity to fulfill even a minimum of housing needs. The total production of housing units including flats finished in high-rise blocks between 1977 and 1983 produced by the Ministry of Construction was 4,300 units.

7. LIMITED RESULTS FROM PREFABRICATION

Some hopes have been tied to prefabrication based on the country's own production of cement. For the purpose a Cuban system of small-scale local workshops, the Sandino system, has been set up in all provinces. Columns and thin concrete wall elements are moulded in simple forms. Weights of elements are such that they can be handled by hand. Similar systems already existed in Mozambique as they were used by the colonialists to build schools, and continue to be used. Factories have also been built for production of large span concrete beams and for an East-German wall-panell systems, but they have not yet been into production, as the present crisis does not permit it.

The limited experience of pre-fab has so far not been a success. The main problem for the construction sector has been, and is, supply of building materials. The cement and asbesto-cement factories have suffered prolonged periods of stand still as a machine has been broken or because some essential



THE SANDINO SYSTEM IS USED IN MANY SOCIALIST COUNTRIES FOR HOUSING, PARTICULAR IN RURAL AREAS. It has gained its wide popularity through Cuban foreign aid, and because of its simplicity and the handy dimensions of the individual components: the panels measure about 50 x 100 cm and can be carried without machinery, the pillars have a double- π section into which the panels can slide. Also 2 storey buildings and different kinds of roofs are possible. The top photo shows Sandino housing units in a housing co-operative in Cuba; middle: self-help construction of the same system; and bottom: Sandino workshop in Mozambique.

(The photos were taken by K. Nathej (2) and Per Iwansson (1))

chemicals had to be imported and production has never been enough for all housing planned. Wood production has declined as small sawmills have stopped for similar lack of some necessary imported parts. The same goes for brick factories, stone quarries and alike. Other imported materials such as fittings, hinges for doors and windows, locks and metal hooks, sanitary goods, electrical cable, paint, etc. have had to be restricted to a minimum.

To give an idea of the difficulties one can quote figures on the production of cement: The installed capacity is of 816,000 tons. In 1981 the plan was for 500,000 tons, but only 260,000 tons were produced. In 1982 corresponding figures were 350,000 planned, and 261,000 produced, 1983 320,000 tons were planned but only 187,000 tons produced. Other materials show similar figures: 15,000 m³ bricks were produced in 1981 of a total capacity of 25,000 m³, the production dropped to 9,000 m³ in 1983.

The small-scale prefabrication systems have in spite of stops in cement provision produced their foundations pillars and walls. However this has shown to be the least problematic part of production. For that, one can use bricks or cement blocks. What has shown itself to be difficult and often impossible has been to finish houses off.

The balance for supply water and roads in housing areas is similar. Water requires major investments practically everywhere as present supply systems can not cope with the demand.

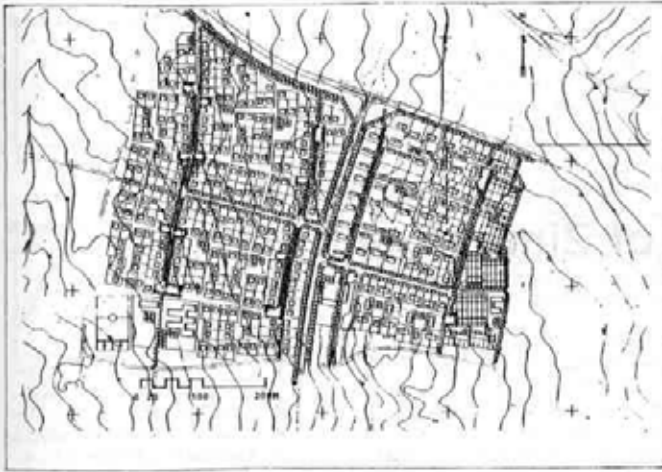
8. OTHER HOUSING INITIATIVES

The state housing construction described above is, however, not the whole story about housing production in Mozambique.

You have, as mentioned, people's self-production. In the countryside, with access to natural materials, people build houses according to their own ability, and also schools, health posts, etc. Some limited state activities are directed towards this. Mostly they consist in teaching and spreading the use of artisanally made burnt bricks, and there are villages producing a surplus they sell to the surrounding region. In the cities it is more difficult to come by natural building materials. "Canico" reeds sold on the open market are more expensive than cement blocks as they have to be taken further and further away. Soil for bricks is not always at hand, neither is fuel to burn them with. It is hard for ordinary people to come by industrially manufactured brick or cement. Lack of materials more than lack of money is also the factor restricting people's building of houses by themselves or through local craftsmen.

The state is also involved in the housing sector in other ways than through the Ministry of Construction and the regional construction companies.

State enterprises created around special development projects as well as other state bodies responsible for development of an economical sector or a region have, at times, created organizations for the supply of housing to workers. They can put workers on the



pay-roll for this, as they have easier access to building materials than individuals. It is within this sector of state activities that one can find reasonable quantitatively important examples of provision of low cost housing. Houses are built in improved traditional techniques or in very simplified normal techniques. It is estimated that about 3200 housing units were built this way between 1977 and 1983.

One example is the case of the new town of Messica. IFLOMA, a state enterprise for the development of forestry activities including forest industries, created its own local organization for building houses and social service with about 250 workers. They have, since the beginning of 1982 built over 400 houses, a school, nursery, shop, simple roads and piped water to each lot (more workers from other organizations have built other high standard housing - very few - electricity system, industry, etc.). The houses of 26 sq.m. are the first two rooms of an expandable semi-detached house, built in brick with asbesto-cement roof. Doors and window-shutters for glassless windows

ILLUSTRATION TOP LEFT:
TOWN PLAN OF A PART OF MESSICA

PHOTO TOP RIGHT:
LOW COST HOUSES IN THE NEW TOWN OF MESSICA

PHOTO BOTTOM LEFT:
TRADITIONAL BUILDING IN THE NORTH OF MOZAMBIQUE

PHOTO BOTTOM RIGHT:
A COMMUNAL VILLAGE IN MOZAMBIQUE



are made on site. Latrines are also built for the people, who however have to construct their own kitchen. Houses are rented to the company's workers.

The Messica project has had resources far beyond what is normal partly through foreign finance. But corresponding schemes exist also in other places.

The State Secretariat for Cotton has, for instance, set up its own organization to provide farm workers and farmers within their area of responsibility with improved traditional houses. The State Secretariat of Tea has done similarly. The now state sugar plantation, Sena Sugar, is another example. There are attempts to organize local production units in City Councils, or through provincial representatives of the Ministry of Public Works.

9. WHAT HOUSING POLICY IN THE FUTURE?

It is very hard to say what housing policy can have success in the future. The present economical situation gives very little, if any, margin, for the "modern" sector of production of materials and of construction. Although Mozambique has cement, bricks, wood, etc., production within the country, all of it uses, more or less, foreign currency in the production process. An increase in the "industrial" output of building materials and houses can only come with a general economical growth.

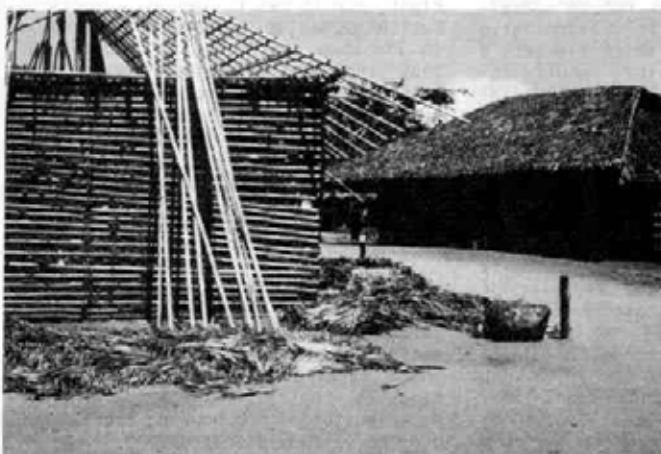
If one wants to achieve any mass effect, resources have to be used to give many a little better condition rather

than try to build full standard houses (although some will be necessary to house foreign technicians). One main condition for this, the state control over the use of central assets such as cement, already exists.

As the situation is today, the "modern" sector is by necessity reserved for export and development projects. Building materials for popular use will have to come from the creation of a local artisanal production of bricks, of lime, through the use of adobe etc.

The Messica example and similar cases point towards the necessity of and usefulness also of locally based construction initiatives. If one is to succeed in the innovative use and mixture of "traditional" and "modern" construction technologies it is necessary to know the local conditions well. Whether local housing schemes should be of self-help type, through organizing cooperatives or executed by paid labour (state or another) is similarly something that cannot be generally decided as material, social and political conditions and aims will differ from case to case.

The Maxaquene experience and the system of land management derived from it and used in Maputo has shown how popular mobilization can improve living conditions significantly (better infrastructure, hygienic conditions through installation of latrines). In the present economic and political situation (practically a war economy), where no investments at all can be diverted to mass housing, this approach seems to be the only feasible option to improve the housing conditions in the country.



Housing Strategies - The Case of Zimbabwe

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NOTES

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1. INTRODUCTION

This paper has been prepared for a seminar which aims to provide information on and critically evaluate the extent to which nations undergoing rapid or revolutionary social change have improved housing conditions. After sixteen years of struggle, Zimbabwe obtained national independence under majority rule in April 1980. Five years is a short time for a government to formulate and implement new policies, and it is premature to discuss evaluations. This paper can but discuss strategies adopted by the new government in relation to the inherited housing situation. The description of the inherited situation will, however, be rather impressionistic and limited to Harare.¹⁾

1.1 Socialist or social housing policies?

The government of Zimbabwe has declared socialism to be a primary objective. Is there something which can be called a socialist housing policy? In the call for papers for the seminar, writers are urged to concentrate on innovative approaches and programmes which distinguish between what might be called conventional approaches undertaken by governments in market/mixed economies (some mix of public housing, low cost housing or core housing projects, slum and squatter eradication or upgrading services...all of which when considered together are not on a scale to have much impact on need).

In many Third World countries, the governments declare their objectives to lie in a socialist direction, and inspiration for solving problems related to basic needs is searched for in socialist countries. There is a simplistic but widespread view of which elements a socialist housing policy should include. The view of housing as a social right, and the emphasis on governmental responsibility are two such elements, which have been mentioned in the formulation of housing policies in Zimbabwe.

The view of housing as a social right was declared by the Minister of Housing in 1981: "The first democratically elected Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe has vowed to assure for all its people shelter, food and clothing. These need not to be elegant; it is enough that they are of the kind that permit human dignity and human life. Nobody, we say, should be allowed to be so poor as to starve, live in the open

field or go naked." (Zvogbo, 1981) The governmental responsibility for housing was also stressed: "It must be clear that the society as a whole owes the poor a duty or obligation to live in environments that are not merely dignified but are conducive to better health and a better life."

Putting a stop to speculation in housing and land, and emphasis on industrialization to solve housing shortages, are two other elements, which used to be mentioned as socialist housing policies. These elements have, so far, not been included in the Zimbabwean housing policies for reasons which will be discussed later. Instead of industrialization, building brigades have been presented as the socialist way to increase housing production.

The view of housing as a social right, interpreted as the right for everyone to get a house of at least a very low standard, is hardly an exclusively socialist view, but can be integrated into a humanist-liberal perspective as well. Further, it is not only governments with socialist goals, which have increased their interventions into housing, so have states of all political colours. The labelling of some policies as socialist does influence the debate and formulation of housing policies, but it seems hardly fruitful to use such distinctions in an analysis. In countries where a mixed market economy is maintained as in Zimbabwe, it seems more appropriate to talk about social housing policies.

A social housing policy can simply mean, that the policy is social motivated. It does not necessarily include an acceptance of housing as a social right, nor it has to include a redistribution mechanism, though it often does. In Zimbabwe statements have been made, that the housing policy should be a mechanism for redressing colonial inequalities and wealth according to socialist goals (Patel 1985).

1.2 Approaches to analyses of social housing policies

In an attempt to clarify what social housing policy could be, I will define three strategies: a social right, an optimum and an avant-garde strategy.⁽²⁾ These strategies are defined in relation to their aims regarding future distribution of the housing stock according to various standards.



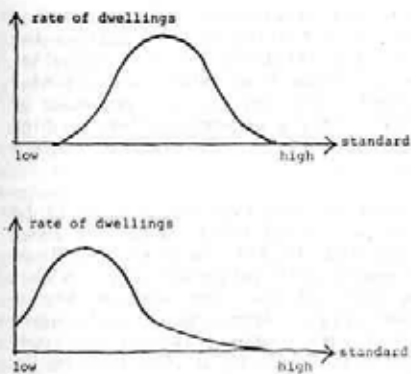


FIGURE 1
HYPOTHETICAL DISTRIBUTION OF DWELLINGS ACCORDING TO STANDARD
(a) in a wealthy, developed city
(b) in a poor city with a high rate of homeless

In Figure 1, a curve represents a hypothetical distribution of the existing dwellings, according to standard. Standard of dwelling includes the standard of the house as well as the spatial standards of the residents. All existing cities have their own specific curve which differ from the "normal" distribution shown in (a). Curve (b) shows the situation in a city in a developing country with a high rate of homeless (at the point zero) and a large part of the population in shantytowns.

Figure 2 tries to in a schematic way illustrate the housing strategies. The social right strategy follows from the declaration of housing as a social right and that nobody should live beneath a certain standard level, and

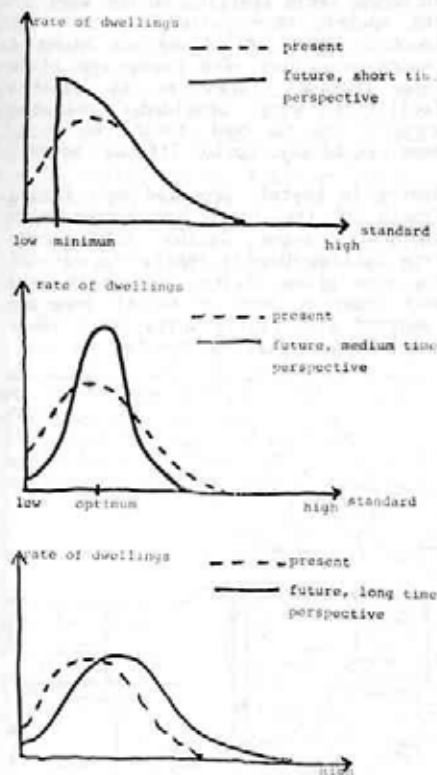


FIGURE 2
AIMS OF HOUSING STRATEGIES
ANTICIPATED DISTRIBUTION OF DWELLINGS ACCORDING TO STANDARDS

- (a) in the social right strategy, short time perspective
- (b) in the optimum strategy, medium time perspective
- (c) in the avant-garde strategy, longer time perspective

that all governmental support should be directed so that everyone will be lifted to live over the minimum standard within the shortest time possible. Houses have to be built on a mass scale at such a low standard that everyone can afford them or can have access to them by using subsidies. The level of the standard will be dependent on how much resources are allocated to subsidies. The social right strategy aims at a rapid transformation of the curve to be wholly on the right side of the defined minimum standard (a).

In the optimum strategy, a standard is defined which will be accepted as the standard for the majority during quite a long period. The construction of housing of low standard as well as of high standard are both seen as a waste of resources. Houses should be built at a decent standard and the social distribution can be manipulated by subsidizing low-income households. Taxes and charges can be used to keep down the production of houses of a higher standard. The optimum standard strategy aims at a rather rapid transformation according to figure (b).

The avant-garde strategy is to support the construction of high standard housing. No standard can be too high. The upper and middle income earners are seen as the avant-garde who today can realize the dream of tomorrow. It is generally believed that the lower income groups in some way or another will follow. Thus, the avant-garde strategy wants to move the whole curve towards the right side (c).

These categorizations of strategies will be used to clarify what the discussion is about. In order to understand the meaning of social housing policy in a special social situation or to assess the reasons for the poor outcome of nice policy declarations, other analytical tools are needed.

Housing have, together with health and education, been one of the three basic fields of welfare policy. In Western Europe the social policy is under threat and the dismantling has gradually begun in conservatively ruled nations. Lebas (1984) notes the irony in that redistributive welfarism begins to disappear before a left academic critique of the phenomenon has been fully developed. One of the characteristics of the capitalist Third World countries is their inability to provide for the basic needs of the population, and tools for analyzing social policies are even less developed in the context of these nations.

Marxist scholars have made analysis of housing policy in terms of state intervention. The state is not seen as representing consensus but as an instrument for the dominating classes or as an arena of class struggle in itself with a relative independence towards the dominating classes. Recently, the debate on the class interests of the African states has been extended to include the local governments (Rakodi 1964).

In newly independent countries which are undergoing rapid social change, there is an ongoing reformation of class-structures also within the state apparatus. In countries with a weakly developed capitalism, the concept of a dominating class can also be blurred by

regional and ethnical contradictions. Analyses in terms of client-patron relationships have sometimes turned out to be more fruitful than analyses in terms of classes.

Housing policies must be analysed not only in relation to its aims, Lebas mentions analyses of the "silences" in housing policy. Which classes or social groups are not addressed in the declarations? How are their needs satisfied? The housing policy is not just an outcome of the class-structure of the state, it can also be analyzed together with the total urban policy including processes of both spatial concentration and fragmentation of classes.

Marxists have studied housing policies as state intervention in valorization processes of land and capital, and in the reproductive sphere of the labour force. It has been argued that studies of a special policy provide too limited a view, but in regarding processes of the reproduction of the whole society, one can study how policies are contributing to these processes. This approach is difficult, especially when studying contemporary processes in societies which are undergoing rapid social change. This short paper will discuss only one question which can be derived from marxist approaches of study: Which class benefit from the actual implementation of housing policy?

2. THE ZIMBABWEAN CONTEXT

2.1 The political situation

The ZANU (PF) party under the leadership of Robert Mugabe won the first democratic election in Rhodesia in what was announced over the world as a landslide victory, and in April 1980 Zimbabwe could be declared independent. ZANU had been fighting a war for a socialist Zimbabwe. After coming to power the policy developed was pragmatic, emphasizing the reconciliation between blacks and whites. The Lancaster House agreement will be followed until 1990, the Prime Minister has assured. This means maintenance of the multi-party system, in which the whites continuously get parliamentary representation above their numbers. It also means that land cannot be nationalized without compensation according to market prices.

The policy conducted has been a balance between the needs to meet the great expectations of the African population and to mitigate the whites' fear of changes. If they lose too many privileges the whites will leave the country, which will suffer from loss of capital and know-how.

In Rhodesia there were about 200,000 whites, in Zimbabwe today there are about 130,000, and their position is still strong, if not politically, then economically. They own the farms and dominate the industry and the banks together with the multi-nationals. In addition to the restrictions laid on space for reforms by this situation, the effects of the vicinity of the powerful neighbour in the south should not be underestimated. As the other countries of Southern Afrika Zimbabwe is subjected to the destabilization policy of South Africa.

The conflict between the ZANU and the ZAPU parties, which emerged early during the liberation war, has not been overbridged, but is still one of the difficulties of Zimbabwe today. The political essence of the conflict is blurred by regional and ethnic aspects. Contradictions difficult to understand for outsiders also exist within the parties, resulting in sudden reformulations of policies.

Among the social reforms which have been carried through are mini-wages, free schools, free health for the poorest, rent restrictions, and a recognition by law of women as major persons. A land reform has not had any significant impact on the unequal distribution on land, and the peasants, who carried the burdens of the liberation war, are waiting. The young men who joined the guerilla and fought the war, find themselves in a weak position, compared with those who fled and got an education abroad, when having to compete in a tightening labour market.

Since liberation there has been rapid formation of a new upper or middle-class. Refugees returned, now with academic degrees, and moved into the houses, earlier inhabited by whites. They got posts within national and local governments, posts which they can use to defend their new-won privileges. In the ZANU congress, in 1984, this was condemned by the Prime Minister, Robert Mugabe: "We can't have leaders which are preaching socialism in daytime and capitalism in night." To be a party-leader (which certainly is a merit if you are looking for a high post within the government) you have to follow the "leadership code", which was adopted by the congress. Leaders may not receive more than one wage, they may not own tenants houses and not more than 50 hectare land.

2.2 Urbanization and housing policy

Urban living has always been controlled in Zimbabwe. In 1894 a Town Management Ordinance gave powers to the governing body of an urban area to set up and control "native locations". (Cormack 1983, p 78) Since 1945 local authorities were obliged to set aside land, and to provide housing for all Africans working in the towns except those provided for on approved private premises. The townships being built were technically within the white areas, and thus Africans were living in them not as a right but as a privilege.

The urban Africans were regarded as migrant labourers by the settlers, and this view legitimized the poor housing conditions. The policy was to regulate the flow of male migrants according to the availability of employment and prevent the accumulation of unemployed. Males were supposed to work in the town for some years and then go back to their families in the reserves. Still in 1958 less than half of all employees in the formal sector were living in houses to which they were allowed to bring their families (Patel 1984).

Influx control kept the rate of urbanization relatively low, and the growth of squatter areas, which accelerated in neighbouring African countries during the sixties, was in Zimbabwe prevented. Only with the intensification of the liberation war did the implementation

of influx control break down. The existing housing areas became heavily overcrowded and some squatter settlements developed. In 1978, 16.8 per cent of the total African population (7 millions) were living in towns. In 1982, the rate was estimated to be about twenty per cent. After the war, some refugees returned to the rural areas, but the rapid movement into towns have continued.

During the colonial and during the Smith regime, Zimbabwe was divided into farming land for white settlers and reserves for the Africans. The housing situation in the reserves were not subjected to any concern of the white government, neither was the situation in the farm labourers compounds, so when reviewing housing policy, the discussion has to be limited to the urban areas. This situation is changing. A rural housing programme was presented in 1982.

The priorities of the present Government of Zimbabwe lie in integrated rural development projects which aim to redistribute resources to the mass of the population and to increase the production of food. The rural development projects do not always include housing, there are sectors in more urgent need of support. In nine resettlement areas, projects with a rural housing component have been planned and are being implemented in 1984. There are some other projects, for example, a demonstration project in Gutu. There are, however, only around 6,000 houses being planned for all together.

This paper will not discuss the priorities between urban and rural areas or between housing and other sectors of concern, but is limited to a discussion within the urban housing sector, and furthermore to the capital city, Harare.

3. THE INHERITED CITY

3.1 The central parts of Harare

Harare has a beautiful city centre, especially in the spring, in October, when the jacaranda trees are blue with flowers. The vegetation, not the houses or the urban pattern differs from European cities. Shops, offices, banks,

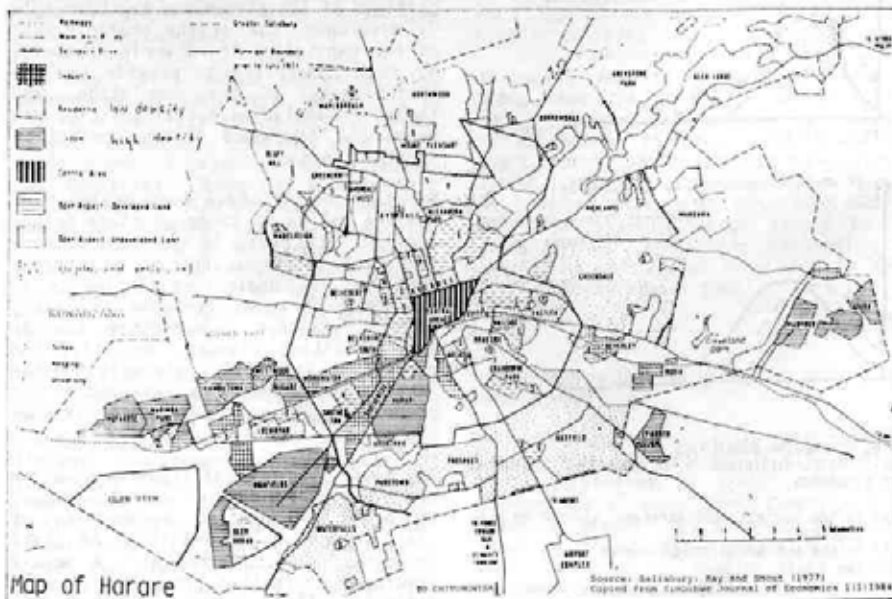
hotels and restaurants are concentrated here. In a continuing grid pattern towards the north-east, a residential area is under transition. Old colonial residents are one by one replaced by offices, hotels or modern flats in high rise buildings or exclusive terrace houses.

An area of the type which used to be called a "second class commercial area" is located in the south-west part of the square grid patterned city. In this area many of the shop keepers are of Indian origin. From the central square in this area busses leave for the townships which were built for Africans on quite a distance from the city. The oldest African township, Harare, is located only on the other side of the railway. There is the large African market, and there the busses from the country-side stop. This township has now given its name to the whole city, formerly known as Salisbury. (Figure 2.)

3.2 Low-cost rental housing

In most directions, especially in the north-east, the former white suburban residential areas sprawl. There are the bungalows, but at the back of the large gardens, there are as many small houses, inhabited by the servants. Along the railway in the south-west the large industrial areas and most of the African townships are located. By bus one can reach Highfield, Glen Norah, Glen View or any of the other areas. There are the so-called bachelor hostels built for migrant workers, who were not allowed nor given the means to be able to bring their families to the town. In the hostel, rooms with four to eight immobile beds are lined up along a central corridor. The rooms are black from charcoal fires as no kitchen facilities were provided, and the workers had to cook their own food. Needless to say, hostel life was hated.

Berths in hostels provided more than a fourth of the low-income accommodation units in Harare (Garaba 1982, quoted from Mutizwa-Mangiza 1984). The rate of the population living in hostels were much lower as berth on hostels here are compared with family units often inhabited by more than one family.



The hostels were often built as three-storeyed barracks, but it is the endless lines of small family-houses which gives the character to the townships. The town planning pattern is as inspiring as are the names of areas and streets: 1st stage, 2nd stage, etc., and endless number of streets and avenues, just numbered. In huge areas identical small boxes are lined up, and there is little variation between the areas. The size of a dwelling ranges between thirty and sixty square meters, and the space is usually divided into two or three rooms and a kitchen. Sometimes the kitchen is only a roofed area outside. Toilet and shower are either internal or external. Electricity is supplied. Figure 4 shows a typical three bedroom house. These older houses are of a rather high space standard, given that the house was inhabited by one family only. So was often not the case, according to estimations they were rented at a cost which was affordable only by a quarter of the income-earners. Harare City Council has always applied the cost recovery principle.

The location of the townships is obviously in line with the colonial government's policy of racial segregation. The poor, but rather spacious layout, can be seen as a tradition from the South African miners' housing, idealized by garden city dreams but implemented as it fitted into control and order. In the fifties, Bettison (1959) made a study of "the attitudes of the Africans to house and housing". He noted that opposition had never been organized because of bad housing conditions, but because of high rents in housing schemes and that "the freedom of a slum was often spoken of as preferable to the order and discipline of municipal housing schemes". Concerning the layout he noted that urban housing did "not encourage man's, women's and children's talk and play groups so common in the African villages", and that the houses not were designed to fit the living habits. Bettison did not recommend any changes of the form of housing provided. His conclusion was that Africans had to adopt to modern urban life. The study says as much of the attitudes of the whites as of the Africans.

In the early sixties, a core house was introduced in order to reduce the costs and make housing available for a larger proportion of the wage earners. The core house schemes were first very limited in scale, but later they were provided in greater number. The core

houses have one, sometimes two small rooms, a kitchen, and toilet/shower. About half of the income-earners could afford such a house. (Figure 4).

In an attempt to meet the emerging squatter problem in late seventies, experiments were carried out in large scale to build cheaper structures in cheaper material (Figure 4). The experience of cement reinforced with iron-mech was, however, discouraging, and the "ultra-low-cost-units" were later built with cement blocks. Usually, a unit consisted of two small rooms connected with an open entrance and a toilet. In spite of the name, about twenty percentage of the wage-earners could not afford these houses.

Finally, a serviced site with a wet core was within reach for all but 10 per cent of the wage-earners. Glen View from the late seventies, was the first large area to be built through self help.

Altogether fifteen townships for Africans were located in the periphery of the city especially in the south-west. Two were built east of the town during the seventies in order to provide housing for domestic servants. From the townships the workers had to use expensive and time-consuming transport. The urban structure was built on order to segregate races and classes.

3.3 Self building in Glen View

In Glen View, 1,005 houses were constructed for rental. Most of them are, however, already sold to the tenants. 7,342 plots for home ownership were provided with a wet core by civil contractors. The invitation to self-builders in 1978 was met with an enormous response: Over 17,500 applications were received. The applicants were first expected to have a monthly income of less than Z\$ 100, a limit which was raised to Z\$ 150. The monthly payment for a plot was about Z\$ 14. Loans in the form of building materials up to Z\$ 200 were offered each plot holder, additional loans on longer terms could be issued when the core of the house was constructed. The council offered type plans for houses, but own layouts could also be approved. In addition 271 plots of 400m² for higher class houses were provided.

Though the main part of Glen View was originally intended for lower income earners, there was rapid development of big houses on the plots. Most houses

were built for the owner and for a number of tenants. A civil servant at the local authority told me: "In the beginning we tried, in our old paternalistic way, to allow only one external door for each house. But it became so unpopular that we could not continue. And there is a need for rooms." Tenants are supposed to be registered to pay a reduced charge for water and services, a thing which probably contributes to the fact that many tenants are not registered but claim to be relatives or members of the families.

On an average there are 2.5 registered tenant families in each house in addition to the owner's family. In reality, there are even more. In each house, planned and looking like an one-family house, about 30 persons live.

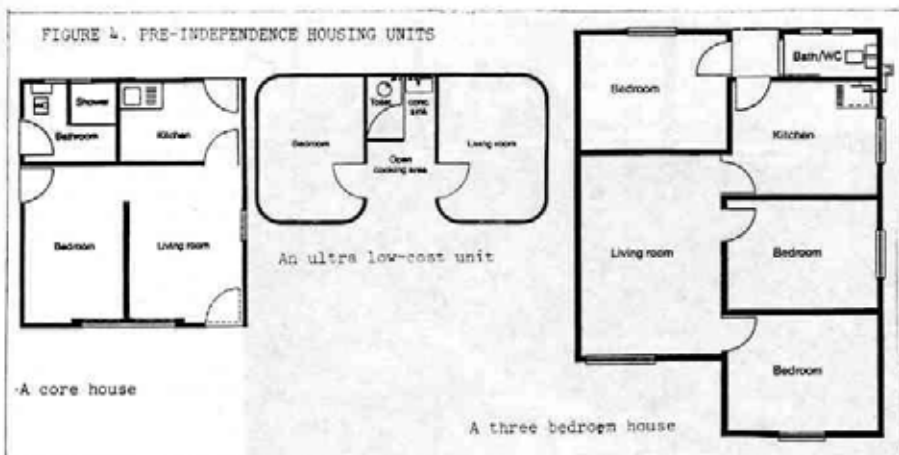
3.4 A voice from Glen View

One Sunday in October 1982 I paid a visit to Glen View and walked around looking. On one plot a man was busy laying the first shifts of the brick wall of his house. The foundation was finished and the floor slabbed with concrete. His pregnant wife fetched and carried for him. They laughed in a friendly fashion to me and worked at an increased tempo so as to demonstrate their skills. When I continued to watch them, they stopped and invited me. The man presented himself, Mr. Mapana (fictitious name). Yes, he was a skilled builder. He earned his living building houses for others. He was self-employed. Sometimes he employed a "mud boy" to help him. During evenings, nights and weekends, he worked on this house of his own.

At the rear of the plot he had already built a small house connected to the toilet which was provided by the City Council. The layout was similar to those of the "ultra-low-cost" houses built by the City Council, with two small rooms and an open entrance. The builder, his wife and two children lived here, while they worked with the larger house in the front of the plot. "My house will not be like any other house. I have done the layout myself. This room is for my daughter, and this is for my son, this is the bed-room and this is the living-room." He is pointing proudly on the marks on the concrete floor. He has also provided water for a kitchen and an internal bathroom. "Unfortunately, it takes more time to build than I had calculated. The building material has become so expensive, but next year, I will have roof on my own house."

Two years later I made a revisit and found a nice large house on the site. Mrs. Mapana invited me and proudly demonstrated three rooms and the two small rooms, which in the future were to be provided with plumbing and other hardware and turned into kitchen and bathroom. I was offered a seat in the front room, which was used as a living-room. In the future a larger living-room was to be built. The foundation was laid and the space was being used as a terrace.

Mr. Mapana was not at home. He was working outside Harare and spent only one weekend a month with his family. Therefore improvements to the house were a slow process. Then next measure to be taken was to make a ceiling, the



boards were already purchased. In addition to Mrs. Mapana and her three children, her sister and brother lived in the house. Temporarily, her father was there as well. The small house in the back yard was let to tenants.

The optimistic view painted in 1982 of a large house for a nuclear family with one bedroom for the boys, one for the girls and one for the parents was not realized but Mrs. Mapana was content, well aware of that her housing standard was far above the average and that they had the possibility to further improve it.

3.5 Chitungwisa - the Soweto of Harare

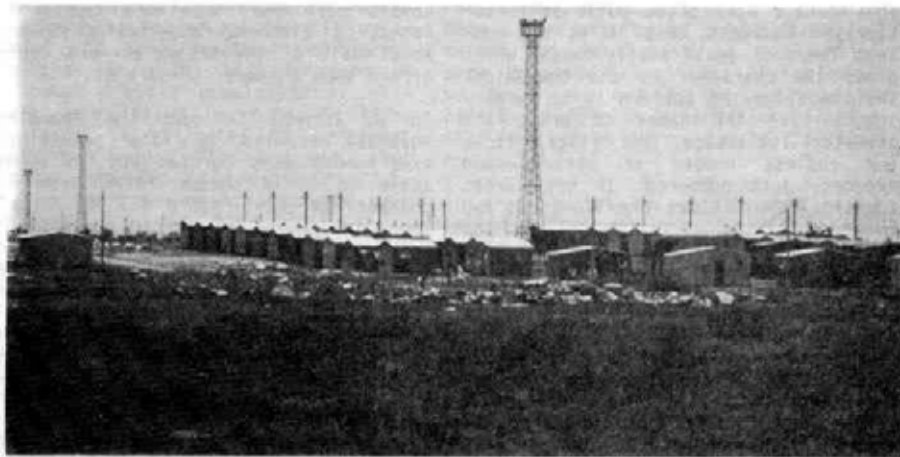
Chitungwisa is a dormitory suburb of Harare, which was planned by the previous government according to the intention to apply an increasingly strict policy of racial segregation. To reduce the rate of Africans in the city, townships for the working force were to be located outside the urban area on "tribal" or communal land. Going south from Harare, passing tobacco farms and a river, one approaches a stony and infertile ridge. The lighting-towers dominate the first impression. My first association was to an oil field with drill towers. At a second glance I realized that they were lighting-towers and I thought I had come to a prison or a concentration camp. Now, I know that the people living there are very happy to have security lighting and do not share my negative feelings about the towers.

In 1982 there were about 29,000 housing units in this area, and the population was estimated to be something between 300,000 and 500,000. Schools, clinics and other services were not dimensioned for this population. They were as overcrowded as the houses or the busses to Harare.

3.6 A voice from Chitungwisa

During a visit to Chitungwisa in 1982, I stopped and talked with a young mother. She was carrying her baby on her back and some goods from the shop about two kilometres away on her head. She told me where she lived and confirmed that she had no services more nearby. She rented one of the ultra-low-cost houses of two rooms, as did three fourths of the population (Figure 4). She was happy to show me her neat and tidy room. The second room, on the other side of the open entrance was let to lodgers. She seemed to regard it as a luxury that her small family of three persons had a room of their own. The room was filled with a bed, a table with an electric cooking plate and a sewing machine. Electric supply had been given priority, the mayor later told me, in order to prevent new vegetation from ending up as fuel. The landscape had not always been so moonlike, the desperate need of wood had made it so.

Though Mrs. Chapata is proud of her home, she admits to having problems, due to low standards. The drainage of the road is insufficient, and as the house had no floor but lies directly on the ground below the road level, sometimes it gets flooded by storm water. She is also discontent with the asbestos sheets which cover the window openings. The room is completely dark, when it is shut, and it is not safe as it is easy to break in.



3.7 Squatters

The strict control of the urban population made it possible for the previous regime to avoid the large squatter areas, which sprawl around the cities in so many African cities. To a limited degree, people who earned their living from the urban informal sector could reside within existing settlements outside the city boundary. For example, about two hundred people had since the fifties lived illegally on European-owned land close to a granite quarry in Derbyshire. In 1976, due to the war the population grew dramatically to about 12,000 inhabitants.

The population in the squatter areas are poorer and more often unemployed than the average population of the city. Many couples were also living in unregistered marriages, a fact which disqualified them from renting housing from the City Council. In Derbyshire 18 per cent of the households were female-headed (Patel 1981).

During the last years of the war, it was not possible to stop the refugees, and squatter areas began to grow. A transit camp, Musika, was provided by the City Council in the centre of the township Harare, near the bus station and the market. Some seven hundred plastic tents were erected, water and communal services were provided. The residents had to pay Z\$ 1 a week.

The government did not allow squatter settlements to grow. Already in 1976 the settlement in Derbyshire, called Chirambahuyo, was destroyed and about 9,000 people were moved to an area in Zengeza, now a part of Chitungwisa. Pro-

visions were made for 2,637 plots of 9.5 x 10 square meters with communal water and pit latrines. The area was declared to be a transitional settlement. People had to build their own mud brick houses, waiting for an offer of an "ultra-low-cost" house to rent. However, most of them could not afford even a subsidized "ultra-low-cost" rent, especially as most of them were unemployed and had lost their opportunities of finding some income-generating activity within the informal sector.

People were also moved from Musika. The Red Cross provided six hundred houses, with expected life-length of four years, which were erected in Chitungwisa. The settlement in Musika remained, however, and in 1979 the camp was made more permanent in that four hundred shelters of concrete poles and panel were provided.

There is only one large unplanned settlement in the Harare region. It is Epworth. Outside the city boundary the settlement was not originally a squatter settlement as the former land owner, a methodist mission, allowed settlement and protected the settlers. Already by 1950 there were approximately 200 agricultural and 300 residential tenants permitted to live here. Most of them had close religious and social ties with the mission. During the liberation war many families found refuge in Epworth, and many families who had been evicted from other squatter areas found a safer place here.

Most of the houses in Epworth are built in mud bricks, a few have thatched roofs, but the most common roofing



TOP:
VIEW OF CHITUNGWISA

LEFT:
"ULTRA-LOW-COST" UNITS

(Photos: Ann Slyter)

materials are asbestos or iron sheets. Many of the houses are well built and maintained and are probably as good to live in as the "low-cost houses" provided by the City Council. The area is, however, lacking roads and services as water sewerage and electricity.

3.8 Some figures on population and housing

In 1978 Harare had 430,000 African inhabitants, figures from 1982 indicate a total population in Harare of 656,000. To this figure the population of the areas outside the city boundary has to be added. In the satellite town of Chitungwisa only, the population was estimated to be 172,500. There were also growing squatter areas such as the one in Epworth outside the city boundaries (28,000 inhabitants in 1983). Furthermore, case studies in some townships indicate that these figures are gross underestimations, and figures of more than a million for Harare and 350,000 for Chitungwisa have been mentioned (Patel 1984). Figures from a census in 1982 are not yet officially released, but it is commonly assumed that it will show a population which is much larger than previous figures show. Urban growth rates for the coming decade have been estimated to be between 7.5 and 11.5 per annum. If not yet, the Harare urban region will soon have one and a half million inhabitants, and if growth rates do not decrease, around three million in ten years.

There were about 70,000 houses under City Council control in Harare and 29,000 in Chitungwisa in 1981. There were 35,000 units of domestic quarters, about 5,000 units in hostels, and about 500 squatter houses within the Harare boundary, 2,600 in Epworth and about as many in "transitional camps" in Chitungwisa. (Hoek-Smit, 1982)

The accommodation was already heavily burdened; the townships were crammed with people who were desperate for a roof over their head. So were the domestic servants' quarters despite the fact, that officially, before 1980, only persons working in the premises were allowed to live there.

It was estimated that 4 per cent of the households had less than one room (more than one family in one room). 34 per cent of the households had one single room and less than 10 per cent had more than three rooms. 20 per cent of the families were extended with relatives, 10 per cent of the households were female headed.

Compared to other African cities, the Harare housing stock had at the time of liberation some special characteristics. There was a highly polarized situation with one set of standards in the African areas and another in the white areas. Because of the low rate of middle-class houses a curve of the dwelling standard would almost be divided into two (Figure 6). From the controlled urbanization followed a rather homogenous housing standard for the African population. The curve is therefore more high and narrow than the curve of other African cities. The housing stock was of a comparatively high technical standard, but it was severely overcrowded.

4. URBAN HOUSING POLICY SINCE 1980

4.1 Goals and constraints

At Independence, the new Government of Zimbabwe had to face an acute and growing shortage of urban housing. Already in March 1981 a five year development programme for low income housing was presented. Projections of the urban population growth and estimations of the backlog were used for a calculation of how many houses should be built in the coming years. The new Government wanted to provide decent houses by increasing the construction activities. Exact figures were given on how many houses were to be built, and of what standard. Water, sewerage, drainage and roads were to be provided for each house.

An exercise of this kind served the purpose to get a picture of the situation. The fact that the needs were severely under-estimated is perhaps less serious than the over-estimation of the capability of building and planning and the availability of resources. Almost five years later, it is easy to see that the first plans were over-optimistic. It has not been possible to increase the building activities.

To begin with, housing was under the Ministry of Local Government and Housing. The Minister, Cde Zvogbo, made declarations in which he emphasized housing as a social right and governmental responsibility (see 1.1). Organizational problems probably delayed the further formulation and development of policies. First there was a change of Ministers, then a split of the Ministry, so that a new Ministry of Housing was to be built up. Then again there was an amalgamation of two Ministries. So, from January 1984 the responsibility of housing rests with the Ministry of Construction and National Housing.

The responsibility for the implementation of housing policies lies with the local authorities. Compared to other African countries at their independence, Zimbabwe has a well established local administration (Jordan 1984), a fact which can be regarded as an asset. The administration was, however, divided according to race. Since 1980 much effort has been laid on bringing together the former African areas and the white areas under one administration, "the one city concept". Naturally, this has delayed the development of an efficient and creative administration of new housing projects.

Inherited constraints on building activities are, obviously, not only the physical structure of the city, but also the institutional and legal frameworks. The authorities have inherited an elaborate technical code of standards and bylaws, under which they still have to labour.

Finally, the economic situation constitutes a constraint for building activities. In line with the policy for a redistribution towards rural areas, the governmental budget for housing was cut to much less than half in 1983. Primarily, this hit the loan-giving activities, but the budget for wages and subsidies had to be reduced as well. It was said that government funds were only available for ongoing projects and, in general, donor assistance or

own local resources had to be relied upon. Dependency on international funding organizations is still a constraint to the development of an independent housing policy.

4.2 Ownership to land and housing

In all urban housing the land question is essential. The urban land question cannot be seen as isolated from the land question in the whole of Zimbabwe. As mentioned, the Lancaster House agreement stipulates that private ownership of land is to be maintained in Zimbabwe. If the Government wants to gain control of land the owners have to be compensated according to market prices. British fund for such compensation have not been made available as was presumed. Urban land has been purchased by the Government in, for example, Epworth and Kuwadzana, but with the limited resources available, this cannot be done to an extent enough to influence market prices and provide for a land reserve for development.

The only large new township planned since independence in Harare (not counting Chitungwisa) is Kuwadzana. The area is located twenty kilometres west of the city, on virgin farm land. There is no declared policy to support such a location. The policy of the racist government to locate "Sowetos" in areas of "common land", these are the former "native reserves", is broken in so far as Kuwadzana is located on former white land, but it is still a location on the periphery. Kuwadzana was located at this distance only because there was a farm available for purchasing and development.

Only for leaders of the ZANU party restrictions on land ownership have been introduced (see 2.1). Private property in form of home ownership is not only maintained but supported. Home ownership is one of the corner stones of the housing policy. Among the first policies declared by the new Government was that rental housing was to be transferred into home ownership, in order to grant greater security to those living in urban areas. Not until the seventies were Africans allowed to own land in urban areas, and then only in specially designated areas, but already under the Smith regime preparations were made to sell some of the old poorly maintained City Council houses. The idea then was to sell them to market prices. After independence, ownership of the houses was transferred to tenants at a price dependant on how many years they had lived and paid rent in the house. Tenants with an occupancy period of thirty years or more immediately took ownership without payment.

The system of renting with the right to buy the house at a reduced price later, is used in new developments as well. For example, the rented houses in Glen View were sold if the tenants wanted to buy them.

I have no information about any conditions tied to the agreements concerning further sale of the premises, in order to prevent speculation.

4.3 Rent restrictions

One of the first actions undertaken by the Ministry of Local Government and Housing was to introduce the Housing

and Building (Lodgers' Rent Restriction) Regulations of 1980. The rent paid by lodgers in the high density suburbs was maximized to Z\$ 8 a month. This law is intended to prevent exploitation of the poorest members of the society, and though it is impossible to enforce, the existence of the law might have some influence in strengthening the position of the lodgers vis à vis the landlords. The housing shortage is, however, so desperate that many continued to pay up to Z\$ 30 a month.

Rent restrictions also refer to flats in the more central parts of Harare. After independence many Africans moved into these areas, which had previously been reserved for whites. The owners of the estates have tried to turn houses into offices, in order to be able to raise the rents, and some evictions were given publicity in autumn 1982. The Herald (30 October 1982) saw the rent restrictions as responsible for the almost total stop in private investments in rental housing. In the same newspaper a representative of the Ministry promised support to local authorities if building rental housing. He added that land prices were too high for local authorities in the center of the city and that a densification of the suburbs was to be preferred.

4.4 A high standard policy

In October 1982 it was announced that the Minister of Housing had adopted a policy concerning standards of plots and houses:

- no plot should be smaller than 300 square meters;
- it was desirable if plots of 300, 400, 500 and 600 square meters were integrated in the same project;
- minimum core house of two bedrooms, dining-room, kitchen, and toilet / shower should apply (Figure 5);
- minimum floor space of 50 to 60 square meters;
- provision should be made allowing for an extension of another three rooms.

These high standards are called minimum standards as permits for buildings of lower standards may not be given. (Zimbabwe, 1982)

Between 1980 and 1982 the construction of ultra low-cost units continued, a thing which was subjected to criticism from the inhabitants and local politicians. The expectations following independence were high and these housing units symbolized the unequal standards of the colonial society. Thus, the aban-

donment of low standard housing certainly had a popular support, though the consequences for the low-income groups were not widely recognized. This high standard policy was declared without a discussion of social housing strategies, that is a discussion on housing related to income and needs in a time perspective. Instead, three strategies for housing production were presented: aided self-help, building brigades and co-operatives. By these methods of production it is hoped that the costs will be kept so low that the houses will be affordable.

4.5 Building brigades

The strategy of building brigades is offensive and an innovation presented by the new Government. Self-help schemes as Glen View had successfully been implemented before independence, and this experience was developed and continued. The idea of co-operatives had a slow start and up to 1984 non was formed in the Harare region.

I was told in Harare that the politicians responsible for housing made a world wide tour to study housing strategies. They were startled by the urban housing situation of many African countries. They did not like the views of the large squatter areas, nor were they impressed by the upgraded squatter areas. It was still a substandard they did not want to accept in Zimbabwe. They did get impressed, however, when visiting the suburbs of Havana and other places on Cuba. The Cubans could proudly claim success in building with brigades.

Subsequently, the idea of building brigades was adapted to Zimbabwean conditions. Three major categories of brigades were sketched: the construction brigades, the upgrading brigades, and the material production brigades.

In Cuba the brigades were first and foremost a way to solve the problem of shortage of labour, which was a constraint in construction and limited housing production. At places of work, groups of workers elected some among them to go to construction while the others promised to keep up production at the same level. The houses built by the brigades were then to be inhabited by the participants in this deal. In Zimbabwe there is no shortage of labour. On the contrary, unemployment is one of the largest problems. The Zimbabwean building brigades therefore did not aim to overcome a shortage of labour in the construction industry.

From the beginning it was a bit unclear, what a Zimbabwean building brigade was. In 1981 the Minister wrote: "Any family in need of but unable to afford a house will have to join a brigade. Together the brigade members will donate their labour." But instead of being units for collective self help, the brigade in the end turned out to be units of wage workers within the local administration. By the brigades "the state avoids leaving the public to the whims and appetites of private enterprise." (Zvogbo, 1981) By competing with the construction industry, the prices are supposed to be kept down.

In the construction industry there are some larger companies, but for construction of home ownership housing small contractors, self-employed with appren-

tices dominate. Building brigades is one of the three strategies of construction. The other two are aided self-help and co-operatives. As owner of a plot in a self-help scheme, you can chose if you want to build yourself, or if you want to engage a small contractor or the building brigades. Up to 1984 no co-operatives were formed in the Harare region.

4.6 A voice from Kuwadzana

The Kuwadzana project is supported by USAID with a US\$ 38 million loan. In this project the minimum standards declared in 1982 are applied, a thing which the funders tried, but did not manage to avoid, as the project first aimed low income earners. There are five housing types - rented houses and self built houses but all of a rather high standard. To be accepted as a participant you have to be residing in Harare, own no house, be on the waiting list, and earn between Z\$ 100-175. The medium income was estimated to be Z\$ 175 in the whole of Harare (Z\$ 130 in the City Council areas), but almost a third of the population earned less than Z\$ 70.

As a whole it has not been possible even to reach this group of middle income earners, and most inhabitants of Kuwadzana are on the upper half of the income scale. Those with lower or with uncertain incomes have great difficulties to build the four-room core house within eighteen months, which they originally were required to do. Now, they have been allowed to use another six months, but that will not be enough, at least not for the man who is quoted below. I met him in November 1984.

"I have built a house here, but as you see, it has no doors, no window-panes, no floor. It is just the walls and the roof. The loan was too small, only Z\$ 1,139. I have added more than that from my own savings, but it is not enough. I am in trouble because I lost my job. My job was finished, they stopped production and closed the plant. You cannot get a new job at my age, I am over fifty years old.

I can buy no material to continue the construction and I have to pay Z\$ 21.38 a month for the plot and the service. I cannot afford to pay for two places so we have moved here. I have got a wife and six kids. This structure is not fit to live in, but we have to. We could not do it if not one of my daughters lived in the house next door, which is more finished. Her husband is a domestic servant, and he earns only Z\$ 60 a month and they got children as well. Some are big, but unemployed. Can this one work for you?

The houses will be nice but they are too large and too expensive. Can you imagine, this house have nine doors and nine door-frames! They are so expensive! At home, in the rural area, we can get the mud free and build a nice house. Here we have to use those stones and those steel-framed doors, and everything is very expensive.

No, I will not sell the house. I am not allowed to, and I do not want to. We may not sell the house until it is completed. You see, we were on the waiting list for a house. We wanted a house to live in, we did not want to build a house. We thought the City Council was giving people already built

FIGURE 5. POST-INDEPENDENCE HOUSING UNIT





KIJWADSANA: A BUILDING BRIGADE IN ACTION

houses. So when we filled in the forms we thought we had got a house. (He is laughing and acting the scene of astonishment and despair, when he first arrived at Kuwadzana.) Instead we got a ground without anything, not even a toilet. We were surprised and said: No, we cannot manage to do this. Then the City Council told us that we have to stay as tenants and on the waiting list for a house for seven more years, then we might get a house. We had lost the only chance we had! So, we could not do anything, we just had to face the building matter.

We wanted to build two rooms to begin with, but we were not allowed to do that, we were forced to build this four roomed house within six months. We have worked so hard, and we have used all our savings but we do not manage. We are afraid that the Government will take the house from us and give it to somebody else. We want to stay here now. We got all those kids looking for jobs in the future, that's why we want to keep it. The loan was too small. Is the Government going to help us?"

4.7 The squatters

Almost immediately after independence the camp at Musika was cleared. People were given support to return to their areas of origin from which they were refugees. Many, however, considered that they had nothing economically viable to return to, and they wanted to stay in Harare. Some of the families staying were then accommodated in former "single" mens' hostels, others became lodgers or squatters somewhere else. (Patel, 1984)

Also Chirambahuyo, the planned resettlement area for squatters, at that time housing about 30,000 people, was demolished. In the area which was planned and organized with plotting, water and other services, people had built their own houses in mud bricks. In spite of the acute housing shortages these self-built houses were demolished without any compensation to the owners to whom the houses represented quite an investment. Few of the inhabitants could afford to accept the offer of rental housing, and many went to an unplanned

settlement growing in Chitungwisa, Muyambara. They had, however, to move again when this area was bulldozed in 1982.

In October 1983, when discussions on upgrading and other alternatives to bulldozing had taken place, the stand against squatter areas was reconfirmed by a nation-wide "Operation Clean-up", initiated by the central committee of the ZANU (PF) party. Squatters were arrested and taken to prison, while their houses were demolished. The same operation was also directed against prostitution, and women walking at night in public areas without the company of a man were arrested as well, a thing which was met by protests from some women's groups.

The squatters were urged to go back to the rural area. They had, however, opted for the city. The drought was severe and all of them did not have access to land. Some of the squatters were from neighbouring countries, others lived in unregistered marriages, which neither was to be accepted in the rural villages, nor made them eligible as tenants in City Council houses. More than ten per cent of the households were single women, and women have more difficulties in getting access to land.

Epworth, the largest squatter area in the region, received many families which had been pushed from place to place by bulldozers. In 1983, when the Government declared its intention to upgrade the area, about 28,000 people lived on 3,670 hectare. The state had bought the land and it was administered by the Ministry of Local Government and Town Planning. At the same time it was made clear that progress was dependent on whether funds could be made available. The United States Agency for International Affairs, USAID, was engaged in making a feasibility study, and a programme for upgrading was worked out within the Ministry. (Zimbabwe, 1984)

Efforts have been made to mobilize the inhabitants in Epworth. Staff have been working in the field to act as liaison between the community and the planners. In June 1983 elections were held for four area development committees of ten

members each. Over 10,000 people participated in these elections. The development committees raised and discussed problems faced by the residents. These range from clean water supply to high crime rates. The committees have stressed the need for economic activities in the area (unemployment levels are a high 11%), and they have had developed ideas in the field of agriculture, tourism (balancing rocks) and small industries. A list of ideas is appended to the upgrading programme. The upgrading programme puts great emphasis in developing the agricultural potential of the area, instead of infilling to create an urban suburb, the approach is to give security of tenure on large plots to be utilized for cultivation. Co-operatives should be established for dry land cultivation. Irrigation and woodlots were planned.

No agreement was reached with the funding agencies. The terms for the loan could not be settled, and in the end of 1984 it seemed as if the project was to be redefined as a cheaper project, based on the mobilization of the local resources in the area.

Epworth will be kind of a test of the upgrading policy, and success or failure here will be of a great importance for the continuing policy, not only in Harare. At the same time as upgrading intentions of Epworth were announced, a firm stand was taken against the growth of new squatter areas, and a further growth of Epworth was prevented by the taking of areal photographs and the making of a declaration that any houses built after the photo in December 1983 were not accepted for upgrading but were to be pulled down. Epworth have nevertheless been growing, and such a decision might be difficult to implement.

4.8 Chitungwisa - towards autonomy

Chitungwisa was inherited as a township from the racist government, it was there, and it had to be developed. The goal set was to develop Chitungwisa into a town, which could reach some degree of autonomy from Harare. Industries and other sources of employment have to be located within its

area. Zimbabwe, still having a market economy where, with some exceptions, the productive production is in private hands, it is neither an easy nor a fast process to plan for industrial development. "We have had advertisements in the newspapers about the industrial plots we have available, and we hope for some answers", said the mayor in an interview in 1982. A governmental school for the education of teachers was located to the area, but other establishments were slow. Transport problems had to be solved in the first instance. A railway connection would help, but was not recommended by the American experts, which were consulted.

Many burdens have been laid on Chitungwisa, for example, the burdens of the squatter problems of Harare. Chitungwisa Town Council had no choice but to house the Chirambahuyo squatters. Between 1980 and 1982 the Town Council also arranged accommodation for well over one thousand ex-combatants.

In 1982 only one housing scheme was under way in Chitungwisa, adding about 1,000 units to a housing stock of 29,900 houses. The overcrowding problem was serious, in each house at least 10 persons lived. The total number of registered lodgers was 16,000. They paid a service fee to the Town Council and were put on the waiting list for a house of their own. It seems as if they will have to wait for quite a while. In opposition to national policy the Town Council has argued to the building of two-roomed core houses, and not higher standards, in order to increase the number of houses.

5. PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

5.1 An unequal urban pattern

How can, at this very preliminary stage and in absence of reliable statistical data, the urban housing policy of Zimbabwe be characterized? Looking first at the urban policy, one must remember that the Government of Zimbabwe inherited cities with severe problems. Urban land was divided according to race, and Harare was, like all urban areas, strictly segregated. An urban spatial structure is not easily changed. Radical actions are needed, for example, transfer of offices and various types of workplaces to the townships, and the building up of well serviced township centres. The only possible way to handle the inherited situation is to try to develop the dormitory townships into areas of more varied functions. As an autonomous authority, Chitungwisa might have better possibilities than the townships to develop into an autonomous area in other respects as well. Successes and failures will be followed with interest as it can be regarded a testing ground for what once will have to be done on a much larger scale in Soweto and other townships in the free South Africa.

Densification of the low-density areas should be necessary element in a policy for a more equal urban pattern. In the low-density areas there are already at least two residential houses on each plot: the main house and the servants' quarters. The former regime was disturbed by the fact that the white areas were inhabited by as many Africans as whites. One fourth of the African housing in Harare is servants' quarters.

The plots could be divided and the servants be allowed to buy their houses on the same terms as the tenants in the City Council houses. Subdivisions for development of additional small houses are fully possible. None of these suggested radical actions have taken place. Discussions on a physical development plan of Harare have just begun.

5.2 Tendencies in social housing policy

Since some over-optimistic declarations and plans were presented soon after independence, housing policy formulation and implementation have been slow and vague. In this paper a series of circumstances is reviewed, which can help to understand why it has been so. The new Government inherited in 1980 many constraints and difficulties. With socialist goals on its programme, the leading party, ZANU (PF) developed a pragmatic policy balancing between groups and classes. Within the frame work of a maintained private ownership to land and housing in a market economy a social housing policy was to be developed. Progressive reforms in support of tenants' rights were implemented.

In the first declarations on housing policy there was a clear ambition to view housing as a social right. Every Zimbabwean had the right to live in a dignifying and healthy environment. As a strategy for a social housing policy, this corresponds to the social right strategy, type a) in Figure 2. The bulldozing of squatter areas was motivated as an action in line with this strategy. Inhuman conditions, housing of a standard lower than accepted minimum were eradicated. Unfortunately the people evicted were not given sufficient support for provision of better accommodation. If they had had been able to afford alternatives, they would never have been squatting. Now they were left to worse alternatives: squatting in areas further out the city, or be lodgers in extremely overcrowding conditions. A social right strategy, as described in Chapter one, cannot be applied by bulldozing, but by the provision of improvements or better alternatives for all households living below the accepted minimum standard. To a limit extent the strategy has been implemented, but only for special groups such as ex-combatants.

Cost recovery has always been the principle in housing provision in Harare. Due to the strict "influx control", it was possible for the previous regime to provide the total urban population with housing. The poor were not allowed to stay in town. Subsidies for those who cannot afford the minimum standard are a necessary consequence of the social right strategy. Cost recovery is, however, maintained as a principle today. It is also in line with the policy of most foreign aid agencies, on which future projects will be dependent. With growing population and unemployment, the cost recovery principle in combination with provision of houses of rather high standards means that the low-income earners are left outside the housing projects. One can conclude that the social right strategy has been rejected by the Zimbabwean Government.

There have been tendencies in the Zimbabwean policy pointing at an optimum strategy. The simple core houses built in Chitungwisa can be seen as part of

an optimum strategy. The standard provided is not much above what the majority of the households can afford. At least not if the house is shared by two families. Home ownership opens the door for individual improvement to better standards. The national policy declarations, however, proclaim objectives of a much higher standard. In Kuwadzane, the only area within the Harare City Council which has been planned since 1980, the prescribed standard is four roomed houses, fully serviced. In interviews with politicians, I met a defence of this high standard policy, built on arguments as if it in fact was an optimum policy. The high standard was regarded as an optimal compromise between various demands. In the optimum strategy, as defined in Chapter one, type b) in Figure 2, the standard level should be close to the existing standard of the majority, the high standard level corresponds rather to the avant-garde strategy, type c) in Figure 2.

5.3 The emerging middle-class as avant-garde

The dominating tendency in the Harare housing policy can be classified as an avant-garde strategy. Some reservations have to be made due to the dual character of the Harare housing stock (Figure 6). Governmental support has not been given to the housing of the upper-class in the former white areas, but to the housing of the emerging middle-class (Figure 7). According to the strategy it is assumed that somehow low income households will follow suit and move towards better standards. This is, however, an unrealistic assumption. With-

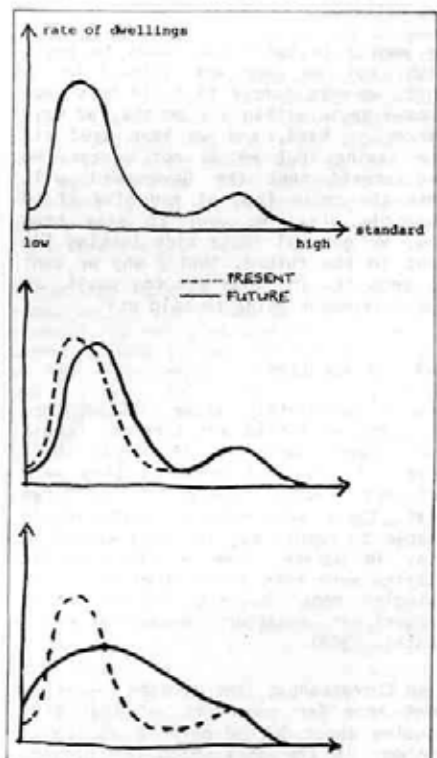


FIGURE 6. HYPOTHETICAL DISTRIBUTION OF DWELLINGS ACCORDING TO STANDARD. The inherited stock of Harare

FIGURE 7. THE HARARE VERSION OF THE AVANT-GARDE STRATEGY.

FIGURE 8. POSSIBLE OUTCOME OF THE AVANT-GARDE STRATEGY.

out special efforts to support the poorest it is much more likely that the curve will take the shape illustrated in Figure 8. The rate of households living in good accommodation will increase but so will the rate of households living in dwellings of poor standard. In other words, the housing conditions will become more unequal.

The use of the middle-class as an avant-garde in the urban housing strategy has not been unique for Zimbabwe. Most African nations, regardless of ideological orientation, put emphasis on middle-class housing during their first years of independence. It can be seen as optimism and a wish to improve, but it can also be seen as a consequence of the formation and power of the new middle-class. Politicians and civil servants first identify the problems which they meet themselves.

The building of middle-class housing can also be seen as support to the creation of a middle-class. The creation of middle strata in the highly polarized former colonial societies is by various regimes in many countries recognized as a way to reach a greater social stability. Houses for the lower middle-class will be showpieces for the poor. The workers can aspire to this standard. By giving well-paid employees the possibility to settle in home ownership areas, and to build rooms for lodgers, they might as petty-landlords be able to accumulate capital enough to enter into business. In inflationary economies, there are few other ways of saving.

5.4 The home ownership strategy

According to the discriminatory laws of the former regime, Africans had only under special, rare circumstances been allowed to own land in urban areas. To eliminate such discrimination, home ownership is presented as increased freedom and increased security for city dwellers. The more far-reaching consequences of creating a private marking of houses, and of the mechanisms in force when the former City Council houses are transformed to commodities, has to my knowledge not been discussed.

It can be argued, but this has not been done in Zimbabwe, that home ownership schemes which include building of rooms for lodgers, is a realistic way to overcome the immediate shortage of accommodation. By using self-help and individual loans taken by the owners, it is possible to mobilize savings and resources for housing to a degree which could not easily be done in other ways. A room built especially for lodgers with its own entrance door and access to the toilet/shower unit at the back of the house, is a better dwelling for poor households than lodging in houses, not built for it. When the housing shortage is no longer so acute, it will be possible for the owners to raise their spatial standard and convert their houses into one-family houses.

To prevent the development of absentee landlords profitizing on the shortage of rooms on the tenants' market, certain control measures has to be applied. It is too early to say if such control will be efficient in Zimbabwe, when home ownership is adopted as a cornerstone on which three strategies of housing production are built.

5.5 Strategies for housing production

Three strategies for housing production have been declared: aided self-help housing, building brigades and co-operatives. All three strategies are innovations in the Zimbabwean urban housing production, which was dominated by private contractors, and where the small "informal contractors" and the self-employed only accounted for a small part of the production. Some aided self-help areas for middle-income earners were, however, planned during the last years of the former regime, and the construction of the areas was under way in 1980. Large houses with several rooms for lodgers were erected in a short period, an experience which was seen as positive regarding the acute shortage of accommodation. As in self-help areas in other countries, the actual construction was to a large degree let to informal contractors. Some owners engaged builders to be responsible for the whole house including the purchase of material, others only engaged bricklayers on a day to day contract.

The small contractors have not been positively viewed by the Government. Instead, co-operatives and building brigades have been presented as alternatives in order to avoid costs due to the profit made by the contractor. The building brigades turned out to be units of employed workers within the local authority. The small contractor usually built a house at a fixed price, and had himself to pay for all interruptions in work due to shortages of material, trouble with transports, etc. Furthermore, he often used very low-paid labour to help him. In the building brigades, the construction workers will have security of wage and employment, so for former day labourers it is certainly a step forward to get into a brigade. It seems, however, unlikely that the brigades will more effectively press the costs of construction, than do the small local contractor acting in highly competitive market.

The building brigades are presented as the socialist element in the Zimbabwean housing policy. The role of the brigades is difficult in the market economy. It can be feared, that a failure of the brigades will be interpreted of a failure of socialist and social housing policies and thereby open the way for a strict adaption to the market forces.

In spite of political support to the idea, no housing co-operatives had still been formed in Harare in late 1984. Concrete action to assist co-operatives has to be developed if this strategy is to contribute to the production of urban housing. Co-operatives could be one way to mobilize the people. The paternalistic tradition of local governments in the provision of urban housing has to be broken in favour of more participatory approaches. Popular mobilization is a basic element in policies with socialist goals.

The growth of the cities will continue, and the number of new inhabitants to be housed every year will increase. Land must be made available, building materials must be supplied and the strategy for the social distribution of housing must be reconsidered. An emergency strategy for mass production of housing can be developed as a part of a socialist transformation of Zimbabwe.



VENDORS AND ROOF LAYERS IN EPWORTH (Photo: Slyter)

NOTES

1) The impressionistic description of Harare and the preliminary analyses presented in this paper are based on observations and interviews carried out during two short visits in Harare in 1982 and in 1984. For detailed information, especially on the squatter areas, I draw heavily on the writings of Diana Patel.

2) In defining these strategies I draw from Gustavsson (1984). He is, however, discussing Swedish policy and is concentrating on how the subsidizing of individual households can be used to manipulate the housing and tenants markets within an existing housing stock. Social housing policies in the Third World have to focus on mass provision of new houses. Gustavsson defines a minimum policy, which I prefer to call a "social right strategy", in order not to mix concepts and cause confusion. The so called minimum standard policy of Zimbabwe is a maintenance of high standards and has nothing to do with this strategy. It can be disputed whether the avant-garde strategy lives up to the table of a social-housing strategy. Gustavsson points at a parallel with nursery and hospital care in Sweden. No governmental support can be given other than care of high standard, irrespective of how long the waiting-lists are.

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Building Participation in Angola

Allan Cain

A BRIEF HISTORY OF BUILDING PARTICIPATION IN ANGOLA

Community participation in Angola could be seen to fall into three basic categories:

1. Traditional village self help
2. Political mobilization to meet a particular goal
3. Mechanisms set up by the State to encourage community participation for long term development.

1. SELF HELP

Despite the undermining of traditional culture and the village economy by centuries of Portuguese colonialism, community self help can still be found in rural settlements. The type of village cooperation encountered at planting and harvest times is often carried over into the collective provision of facilities for a school or health centre. Such local projects do not necessarily receive outside assistance and are simply a village's response to a felt collective need. If building is involved, the new school or medical post normally takes the same physical form and uses the same materials as local traditional housing. Investment by the village is in terms of labour rather than in scarce capital or materials.

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2. POPULAR MOBILIZATION

Popular mobilization with clear political goals in mind has its roots in resistance to Portuguese colonialism. During the independence struggle rudimentary health services and schools were set up in liberated zones. Education linked to production was a necessity in order that the new schools could be self sustaining. There has been an attempt in post independent Angola to institutionalize some of these lessons of participation in production learned in the rural liberation schools. Several new "Provisional Schools" have been set up to train older illiterate children through an accelerated educational programme linked to cooperative production. These schools are not only meant to be self sustaining but to encourage collective decision making and discipline and the formation of socialist ideals.

Community mobilization has been one of the main roles of the "popular" organizations, such as OMA the women's organization, JMPLA the youth organization, and UNTA the workers syndicate. The popular organizations have set out to train development dynamizers to mobilize people for voluntary work such as sanitation drives and public health campaigns and repairs of school buildings. Such mobilization campaigns are often easier to organize in rural areas where the rudiments of traditional village cooperation exist.

This fact was illustrated to us on a recent visit to a village improvement project at Mulenvos Baixos in Luanda province organized partly by the women's group OMA. The chief dynamizer pointed out that it had been relatively easier to enlist the participation of the older established families in the village in comparison to the newer immigrants who were not as strongly linked to the traditional networks of cooperation. The Mulenvos Baixos project had begun with limited goals of upgrading public health standards and had moved on to establish basic social services. A number of house owners volunteered to build improved pit latrines and were assisted with materials to install toilet squat slabs. Voluntary clean up campaigns are organized regularly. Several families have temporarily donated space in their houses for classroom use and community water points have been established. Several houses have been designated as models after their owners had made kitchen and sanitary improvements. The community has also organized itself to take on

the construction of a new school and clinic, having already donated the land, but is held up by the lack of capital to buy cement and roofing materials.

While numerous examples can be cited of rural participation, it has proved more difficult to mobilize urban people. To a large extent it is true that the urban dwellers' time is too often occupied with the daily struggle for existence and they do not have a slack season when time is available for community endeavors. With urban migration the culture of village cooperation has been lost, though in its place mutual assistance networks do exist in urban "unplanned settlements". Such networks however tend to be more complex and less geographically defined than in the village environment and are therefore more difficult to mobilize for community improvement projects.

Despite these problems the popular organizations have in the past organized some successful mass campaigns, notably for literacy and immunization. Currently the youth organization JMPLA is planning to set up a series of volunteer brigades for primary school building. The Agostinho Neto Brigades are presently constructing twenty classrooms in the Luanda bairro of Samba, using conventional cement block building methods.

3. INSTITUTIONALIZING PARTICIPATION

The Angolan government has decided to encourage in parallel the three sectors of the economy - the private, the cooperative, as well as the state owned. The latter two types of enterprise have largely been adapted from varying sized production units abandoned by the Portuguese colonialists at the time of independence.

Cooperatives or their nuclear form, peasant associations, are largely agricultural or fishing based, but there is an attempt to link co-ops as well to industrial production. The timber milling and carpentry co-op at Ucuia in Bengo province is a case in point. The previous employees of a private Portuguese timber mill/workshop took over the remnants of the abandoned production unit shortly after independence. They were left with what equipment could not be carried away or sabotaged by the departing owners, a few hand tools and the skeletons of non-functioning heavy machines.



The cooperatives ran at a low level, gradually losing members during the years following independence, producing small building components or crude furniture and milling timber by hand or on improvised equipment. Despite attempts to improve production through organizational means, many of the skilled workers left to find urban jobs and others, remaining cooperative members in name only, reverted to marginal farming.

DNACA, a government directorate within the Ministry of Agriculture, was set up to assist peasant associations and cooperatives like the one at Ucuca. Recently, with local and international NGO support, DNACA was able to supply the Ucuca co-op with replacement parts and some new much needed equipment to revitalize the production unit once more. Now remains the perhaps more difficult task of reactivating the participation and cooperative production. The now dispirited coop workers have lost much of the enthusiasm which motivated the members to initially form the co-op in the optimistic days following independence.

Probably one of the Governments's most significant attempts to use its resources to assist in projects of popular participation is the national programme for "Auto-Construcao". It is primarily aimed at assisting people to meet their habitat needs and the community to provide itself with basic infrastructure and public facilities. A special law of December 1980 defines "Auto-Construcao" as the "collective or individual construction of housing or public works, with the people's initiative and using locally available materials with the technical direction of the state."

All auto-construction activities are overseen by the Ministry of Provincial Coordination. The Ministry of Planning defines priority areas for auto-construction projects, but the Ministry of Construction's role is the most comprehensive. The Ministry of Construction is responsible for carrying out urbanization studies, investigating the possibility of using various types of traditional construction, elaboration of prototypes of housing and community buildings and developing plans for urbanization and upgrading projects. Regional offices were set up all over the country to work with the local administrative structures to facilitate and execute auto-construction projects.

CONCLUSIONS

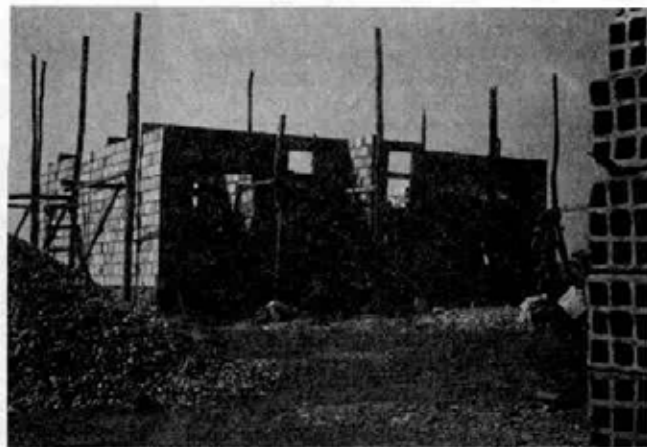
In the context of most Third World Countries, popular participation must play a major role in development. Countries having very restricted access to capital resources have no choice but to rely on their own population's labour, skills and materials to meet development goals. Too often though, in many governments' development plans, the rural areas are assigned a series of participatory projects while the urban areas receive what capital investment is available. We must be careful to avoid the trap of our arguments in favour of participation being used as excuses to rationalize the maintenance of an imbalance between rural and urban investments.

Is participation in itself sufficient to achieve a sustained development? We have seen from several Angolan experiences that participation can take vari-



COMMUNAL SELF-HELP BUILDING-MAKING USE OF LOCAL BUILDING MATERIALS

(Photo: G. Greger)



LEFT: INDIGENEOUS ARCHITECTURE IS STUDIED IN ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY TO BECOME A BASIS FOR MODERN HOUSING DESIGN

RIGHT: PROTOTYPE FOR RURAL HOUSING DEVELOPED FROM THE STUDY BEFORE (Photos: G. Greger)

ous forms, the most basic being village self help. No exogenous investments need be introduced for a village to provide itself with classroom space if traditional technologies are employed and the community is motivated to build for itself. Communities can be politically dynamized to work collectively for village improvement as OMA has shown in Mulenvos Baixos. The Mulenvos Baixos project perhaps as well gives us an indication of the limits of participatory development. The self help initiative was slowed by the failure to find capital needed to buy materials for completing a number of community projects to the improved standards that the village aspired to. The Ucuca co-op illustrates the shortcomings of participation without parallel technological and capital investment. As well, popular energy, when the results are not visibly forthcoming, becomes quickly dissipated and is very difficult to re-activate.

An Angolan militant once stated that the country's political revolution must be accompanied by a technological revolution. This could be paraphrased to say that political mobilization or participation must be paralleled with appropriate technological development. Popular participation is therefore a necessary but not exclusively sufficient component for sustained development.

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Ten Years after the Revolution: Urban Housing in Ethiopia

Matteo Scaramella

IMMEDIATE INTERVENTION

The Revolution of 1974 tried to change the feudal regime which had ruled Ethiopia for many centuries, and to lay down the way for a process of modernization of the country in a socialist direction. Among the principles guiding the first steps of the Government of Socialist Ethiopia was the social ownership of the most fundamental resources, and in this spirit both rural and urban land were nationalized.

An typical example of land ownership prior to the Revolution is the case of Addis Ababa: at the beginning of 1974 only 7% of urban land was owned by private citizens, while the remaining percentage was almost equally shared by the Imperial family, the Ethiopian Church and the feudal lords, with the exception of another 7%, owned by foreign embassies. Speculation on urban land existed since Menelik's time, and was one of the most important ways of accumulating enormous wealth. The same applies to house rents.

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This article is an extract from the original paper presented at the Kieve Seminar, which contained detailed data from the recent housing census in Addis. The manuscript can be ordered from the DIPARTIMENTO DI URBANISTICA, ISTITUTO DI ARCHITETTURA DI VENEZIA, attn. D. Pini, S. Croce 1957, I-30125 VENEZIA.

The Photos were taken by Daniele Pini.



Different from the practice in most African towns, the practice of self-build was extremely limited both in Addis Ababa and in other major Ethiopian towns. Being almost totally excluded from the access to urban land, urban dwellers had to rent houses from landlords who used to develop their land, through contractor build rental housing. The historical background explains the difficulty of launching today self-build housing, being a non-traditional form of construction. It is contrasted by the present urban pattern of Addis Ababa, characterized in the inner part of the town by a high number of row-houses and compound-houses, which are often shared by non-related households, coming from different regions and ethnic groups.

The proclamation n.47 of July 1975 put an end to land speculation and exploitative letting of dwellings, by nationalizing urban land and second homes. Every citizen is guaranteed a plot "up to 500 square meters" to build a house. At the same time all previous landlords were obliged to choose one of the houses they owned to live in, while the other ones were nationalized. The administration of the houses that had been nationalized, i.e. about 140,000, was transferred to two different institutions: those houses which had been rented for less than 100 Ethiopian Bin (1 US\$ = 2.07 Eth.Bin), were put under the management of Kebeles, while for the management of the other ones, (about 8,000) a specific organisation was created, the Agency for the Administration of Rented Houses (AARH).

The Kebeles, whose official description is 'Urban Dwellers Association', are the basic political and administration level in urban areas, each having an average of 8 to 12 Ha with an average population of 5,000 - 7,000 inhabitants. The first action of the Kebeles was to reduce rents by up to 50%. Since then rents have never been increased, and 70% of them are below 10 Bin a month. On the other hand the AARH did not reduce rents, but in 1978 almost tripled rents to foreigners, thus establishing one of the main sources of housing finance.

Both institutions, Kebeles and AARH, according to the proclamation, have to compensate the previous owners of nationalized houses. Such compensation has never been paid so far, instead the

former owners continue to receive a monthly allowance equal to the amount of rents they used to collect, but with a maximum of 250 Bin/month. While for AARH such an expenditure is almost negligible if compared to the income, for Kebeles it amounts to 60% of the total rents collected.

THE PRESENT HOUSING POLICY

While proposals for a comprehensive housing policy are at present under study, the housing sector is regulated by a set of proclamations and norms issued from time to time during the past ten years. Apart from the reduction of rents of existing houses and the nationalization of urban land, other measures were mainly concerned with the institution of housing cooperatives, the creation of the 'Housing and Savings Bank', and of the 'Ministry of Urban Development and Housing'. However, in spite of such measures, housing production is still very low, in the order of 2000 - 2500 new houses built per year in Addis Ababa alone since 1975. In the same period in all urban centres, for a total population of 4.7 millions (about one third of which is concentrated in Addis Ababa), slightly more than 5,000 new houses have been built p.a. This are only 1.1 new houses per 1,000 inhabitants per year, against an average of 3 new houses per 1,000 inhabitants built in 1972 in Africa and the recommendation of the United Nations to reach a ratio of 8 to 10 during the decade 1970-1980.

Many reasons are contributing such such a small housing production, depending on both the national and international economic situation, such as the almost complete freeze of salaries since 1975 and the extremely high construction costs have significant influence.

The lack of a comprehensive housing policy, and the fact that housing has been considered a social service rather than a productive sector, has also contributed to the present housing condition and production, which is can, after all, only partially be explained by the low investment figures.

As far as maintenance of the existing stock is concerned, it must be noted that Kebeles (which own 58% of the houses), are not in a position to carry out any maintenance. Rents are too low, and often difficult to collect, and with paying compensation to ex-owners, no money is left for regular maintenance.



TOP AND CENTRE: "TRADITIONAL" HOUSING CLUSTERS IN THE CENTRAL AREA OF ADDIS (TCHIKKA HOUSES)

BOTTOM: RECENT HOUSING SCHEME FOR THE MIDDLE CLASS

The Housing Registration Census made in 1978 in Addis Ababa revealed that 4.9% of the total stock should be demolished and 18.6% required extensive repairs.

On the other hand the AARH has greatly increased both its revenue and its stock. They collected rents for 31.2 million Birr in 1978, which they invested again in high-standard housing mainly for the international community, which is quite large in Addis Ababa due to the presence of the Economic Commission for Africa of the UN and of the Organization of African Unity. In 1983 the AARH had a gross revenue of 80 million Birr, and only a minute part of it is devoted to low-cost housing programmes. Furthermore, AARH being structured to deal with high-standard housing, the 'low-cost' schemes they manage to complete, would still imply an economic rent which is affordable only by the upper 10% of households. The houses are therefore rented at a political price, and require heavy subsidies although they only benefit a small number of middle-income dwellers.



Other low-cost housing schemes have been carried out by the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing, and fall into two categories: 'pure self-help' and 'aided self-help'. The difference is that "aided" schemes receive a loan at 6% interest rate, the "pure self-help" schemes only receive technical assistance. Such low-cost schemes, however, have produced only about 250 houses per year during the last ten years; a number insufficient to make an impact on the total housing need, estimated between 16,000 and 40,000 houses per year, of which 85% account on low income groups. Yet the majority can not afford these housing schemes anyway and would not even be able to pay for their share of the infrastructure alone.

The way land for housing is allocated to applicants tend rather to increase the cost of infrastructure networks. In spite of the limited number of plots given, i.e. 2,000 to 2,500 per year, the waste of land has been considerable, because the average plot-size is more than 300 sqm. Such a plot-size is certainly too high, if considering that about 70% of the houses built do not exceed 30 sqm of built-up area, and the remaining part of the plot is not used.



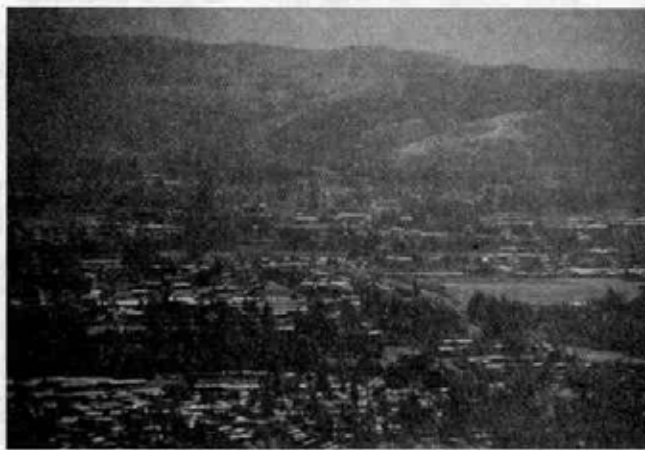
The present capacity of the authorities responsible for the provision of infrastructure does not allow to keep pace with urbanization, so that the construction of roads is often left to dwellers, and fees for water and electricity are very high. This means that the cost of infrastructures is reaching, and sometimes exceeding, 50% of the cost of the house. The effective demand is accordingly low, as the people realise that they cannot afford the costs involved.

Applicants for a plot have to fulfil certain requirements. The most important one is to prove the financial capacity to build a house; applicants must therefore deposit at the Housing and Savings Bank a certain amount of money, which they can withdraw the deposit once the plot is allocated, provided they start building within six



LEFT: RECENT LOW-COST HOUSING SCHEME IN ADDIS

RIGHT: ADDIS ABABA: At the foot of the mountain the central and oldest area, below in the plain the more recent post revolution expansion.



months. The plots can belong to one of four categories: the first include the areas close to major infrastructures and services, the second are the areas less close to them, and so on, up to the fourth in the most deprived areas. Plot categories are allocated according to the financial capability of applicants. People showing a deposit of 20,000 Bin or more qualify a plot in the best areas, while applicants with between 10,000 and 20,000 Bin receive a plot in the second category, between 5,000 and 10,000 Bin a plot in the third group, and the fourth group corresponds to less than 5,000 Bin. Plot sizes should also consider the means of the applicants, but this rule is rarely observed.

In the absence of a Master Plan for Addis Ababa, plot allocation is not coordinated with infrastructure planning, so that those who receive plots in peripheral areas have to wait a long time for connections.

Housing credits are regulated by Proclamation n.60 of 1975, establishing the Housing and Savings Bank (HSB). The interest rate for borrowers is fixed at 9% net, which becomes about 11% if additional charges such as life and fire insurance, are taken into account. Housing co-operatives, which receive help from HSB for their accounting, are charged an additional 1%. The duration of loans can vary from 15 to 30 years, according to the principle "the lower the income of the borrower, the longer the duration of repayment". Since the repayment must be completed before the borrower reaches the retirement age, i.e. 55 years, the repayment period rarely exceeds 25 years. The amount of the mortgage is calculated on the base of annuities not exceeding 25% of the salary as certified by the borrower's employer. However many craftsmen, traders, etc. can not obtain an income certificate if they are self-employed or work in the informal sector. For this reason, mainly after 1980, the number of applicants' for housing loans severely dropped, and recently the HSB activity has shifted towards the finance of building offices, hotels, etc.

One of the aims of the Housing and Savings Bank, as is stated in the proclamation, is to provide credit to the construction industry. Unfortunately,

not a single loan in any form has been granted to the construction industry since 1976, because, according to HSB, no application has been submitted by construction firms. The only hypothesis that can be made is that the situation of the construction industry is so bad in general terms, that the requested investments to top up the loans are difficult to afford.

The building materials industry has a very low production at high cost, and this is probably the biggest constraint for an expansion of housing production. Traditionally, houses were built mainly in "chicka", which is a sort of mud, compacted of a frame of eucalyptus poles and sometimes plastered. Due to the rapid deforestation in Ethiopia the price of eucalyptus poles have risen to the point where a chicka house is only 10% less expensive than a concrete block house. Given the rise in prices of traditionally-built houses, and the constraints of the building materials industry, it is now extremely difficult to build any sort of house at all within affordable cost limits.

Municipal staff assume that spontaneous building of houses in some central Kebeles before 1979 and in the inner peripheral area of the town during the whole period reach 5000.

PROSPECTS

The urgency of a comprehensive policy in the housing sector is now receiving due attention from the Ethiopian Government, but, of course, the dramatic situation generated by the drought requires that the Authorities devote most of their time and resources to face the emergency situation. Furthermore it must be stressed that the consequences of the drought will effect the national production pattern for some years to come, and for the housing sector available resources will be quite limited. Nevertheless awareness is now growing that the urbanization process, in a country where almost 90% of the population is rural, can play a stimulating role for the overall economic development. Ethiopia is rich in raw materials such as stone, lime, gypsum, pumice, and the new cement factory of Rugher has tripled the national cement production. Also iron bars are produced in the country. The reorganization of the building materials industry can help to increase housing production figures and reduce the cost for the individual house simultaneously.

The Government should concentrate its limited resources to provide the lacking investment in the construction and building materials industry to eliminate existing bottlenecks, and to give incentives to potential individual and cooperative housebuilders, instead of engaging itself in the business of house-building. Credit facilities should be extended particularly to the co-operative movement. Cooperatives can also play a major role in building materials production and in the contracting field. The dispersal of private, public and cooperative owned small-scale plants over the country can help to reduce transportation costs.

A new state-owned contracting firm specializing in low-cost housing is under study. It could be the leader in studying, developing and testing new building materials, techniques and know-how suitable for adaption by small-scale private and cooperative contracting firms. The contracting sector need to be strengthened through professional training schemes; and the grouping of existing small contractors into co-operatives would facilitate the administration of financial and technical support to them.

Town planning and housing development must make the best possible use of existing infrastructures and minimize transportation costs. Average plot-size should be reduced, with residential densities around 250 inh./ha. Great importance will be attributed to "in-fill" programmes in already urbanized areas and to programmes for the upgrading of existing residential settlements. Within such programmes, as well as within housing schemes in newly developed areas, great importance will also be given to the creation or the improvement of neighbourhood scale economic activities, through the provision of space and equipment for handicraft and trade activities and through the mixing of different income-groups.

The population is expected to increase, in Addis Ababa alone by 670,000 inhabitants during the next ten years. To provide housing for them, to ease overcrowding and to replace unfit houses, at least 16,000 houses need to be produced annually. The average figure for the last decade was 2,500 houses per year. It will certainly be a difficult task to do, but not an impossible one if human resources are fully mobilized. Ethiopians have always showed a great skill in dealing with difficult problems.

This paper was originally presented at the "JORNADAS INTERNACIONALES" : Renovación Urbana y Vivienda Popular en Áreas Metropolitanas de América Latina, held at the Technical University Hamburg-Harburg in Feb. 1985. The original Spanish version can be ordered from the Hamburg TRIALOG office.

THE CARTOONS USED WITH THIS ARTICLE WERE TAKEN FROM "CUBA FOR BEGINNERS" by Rius.

Housing, Urban Renovation, and Popular Power

Some Aspects concerning Havana

Mario Coyula

INTRODUCTION

Cuba is the largest of the Antilles islands with an area of 110,000 km², and a population that recently reached 10 million. Four and a half centuries of colonial domination and neo-colonial dependence have created structural deficiencies that the country itself expresses.

The successful revolution of 1959 was faced with a capital city where 20% of the 6 million inhabitants of the country lived. Additionally, 3/4 of the nation's industry, not connected to the production of sugar, and the bulk of transport services, health facilities, higher education and tourism were concentrated in the capital. This imbalance between the capital and the rest of the country encouraged heavy migration that, frequently, resulted in spontaneous settlements where people lived in the unhealthy conditions of marginality. These areas were segregated from the bourgeoisie and also from the proletariat who, with a tradition of urban living, occupied the compact area of the old centre. The city centre was in a constant process of deterioration into slum areas which had resulted in the exodus of the dominant class.

The general housing situation in the country was critical; more than half of the population lived in uninhabitable conditions, basically depending on self-help with no kind of official help whatsoever. Furthermore, there is no national tradition in the creative use of craft techniques and local materials which could be used in the construction

of buildings in relatively compact settlements, as is the case in other countries with an established popular culture. This technical and cultural underdevelopment was connected with the subsistence economy, related to the precarious nature of the land ownership system. This came to influence the ideology of a great mass of the population who were dispossessed, not only of land, but of hope as well.

From the very beginning, the revolution had made a rupture in the previous society, with sweeping changes like agrarian reform, the national campaign for literacy, the nationalisation of foreign companies and the creation of so many new jobs in agriculture and industry that it was possible to eliminate unemployment in a short time. The historical inequalities in the country began to be reduced, with the construction of a network of new towns, to support the co-operatives and the state farms, with the necessary infrastructure.

In the specific field of housing, a first phase of heavy construction activity was carried out in the capital, immediately after the triumph of the revolution, so that employment was created in an important sector that had previously been fundamentally in private hands. At the same time as the construction of the new area of "Habana del Este", designed as a neighborhood of 15,000 inhabitants; with 4 and 11 storey apartment blocks and an extensive green area, various housing schemes were constructed with individual houses of one or two storeys and apartment blocks of four storeys - in-



tended to, in part, remove the principal areas of insanitary and unstable housing.

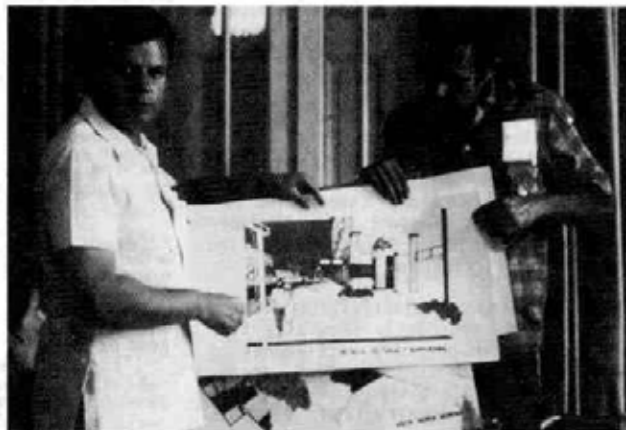
At the same time, revolutionary measures were taken to benefit the population like, for example, the lowering of rents in the Urban Reform Law of 1960 that converted the majority of tenants into home owners. The allocation of the new housing and of those houses that had been left vacant by the bourgeoisie, who had massively abandoned the country in the first years, had a beneficial effect in rupturing the social spatial segregation; - implicit in the previous zonation of the city and inherited from the previous political system. This mobility sometimes had its negative side, as it contributed towards the accelerated deterioration of multi-family buildings by new tenants who were used to a very low level of housing conditions - the most critical situation being the cases where whole populations were removed from old insanitary settlements to new neighborhoods. The previous social development itself, combined with new forms of housing distribution, made it possible later to resolve this problem.

The activity of this stage was characterised by a certain continuity, with the use of standard schemes and the conventional construction techniques used in the housing of the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie before the revolution; - attaining good design quality and execution, but without trying to resolve the technical and economic problems that would make possible a massive state response to the accumulated housing need. For Cuban architects it signified their first attempt at solving urban scale problems, and simultaneously, the construction of new

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All photos for this article were taken by Kosta Matkay in 1981 and 1983.





INDUSTRIALIZED CONSTRUCTION FOR HOUSING



ADAPTATION OF COMMERCIAL PREMISES FOR HOUSING

rural settlements and the first studies of organising land - including the elaboration, in 1963, of the first scheme of the "Plan Director" or "Indicator Plan" of La Habana.

The carrying out of large investment to secure the material base of agriculture and industry and the equalising of regional inequalities in the country, had a positive effect; parallel with the ending, without coercive methods being necessary, of the flood of migration towards the capital. Although, from the mid 60s, it had the negative result of reducing the construction, renovation and maintenance of housing in La Habana. The consequent acceleration in the deterioration of the existing housing stock, aggravated the situation produced by the inherited deficit and by the increasing population of the capital in the first post-revolutionary decade. The unpainted facades and, later, propped up house fronts, combined with the results of changes in the commercial and service network, and even the old american cars without spare parts influenced the deterioration of the urban image, especially in the central areas.

From the first years after the revolutionary triumph the idea gathered strength that it was necessary to industrialise construction, in order to be able to meet the housing need, and also to solve the problem of the scarcity of some resources and the scarcity of a qualified manual work force; which in themselves implied the use of conventional techniques. In the case of housing, the solution was conceived as being large scale with standard projects using prefabrication and other highly technical elements made by state companies. The design solution for housing schemes was based on the idea of isolated blocks, aiming at high density by increasing the number of floors.

As a result of this idea the material base was lost and also qualified personnel for conventional construction. On the other hand, the priority given to programmes of economic and social importance strongly limited the availability of resources to take advantage of the large scale development which could, in theory, be obtained with advanced techniques in housing construction. Another indirect result was the loss of techniques of maintenance and restoration of traditional housing, that formed a major part of the existing housing stock and remained under used.

The accelerated deterioration of this stock, without an adequate systematic response to the problem, not only cut short their useful life cycle but also produced a qualitative worsening of buildings. The situation was all the more serious for being related to a large area of buildings in central areas, of greater quality and with better services and communications than the newly developed areas in the suburbs, and frequently with historical and environmental importance that should be preserved as part of the cultural heritage.

POPULAR ACTION: PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES

On the other hand, the accumulated housing deficit, combined with the interest in maintaining older houses in order to take advantage of their central position, encouraged people to construct extensions, subdivisions and modifications using their own methods. This frequently increased the number of inhabitants and the urban services and technical systems, that were already insufficient, were under excessive pressure. Traffic congestion was aggravated, the structural stability of buildings threatened and the original architectural and planning ideas were altered.

One of the most disturbing demonstrations of this spontaneous activity was the adaptation of old, inactive, commercial premises for use as housing - altering the urban image at street level often without resolving the fundamental aspects of ventilation or privacy. Other spontaneous urban solutions extensively used were the construction of intermediate floors, taking advantage of the high ceilings of old houses, and the construction of small huts, made out of unstable materials, on flat roofs. These irregular building activities generally encouraged successive others in the continual densification process inside the buildings, which maintained in general the basic urban plots and exterior shell of the building. However, in many cases this involved truncated windows, shut off doorways and additional floors projecting into the public space.

These self-help activities in compact central areas apparently show a certain similarity with periphery settlements of spontaneous housing. In these areas, the objective limitations of available materials and construction elements

like, for example, the weight, size and form of making and positioning elements by self-help, seem to have been influential and, in a lesser way, the cost of these elements. But, some aspects may indicate the persistence of communal cultural patterns, probably of rural origin, still not assimilated into urban lifestyle. This is a field that deserves to be studied objectively, to control negative effects, and to generally direct and canalize better the positive aspects that could be taken advantage of and, perhaps - why not? - incorporated into the designers vocabulary.

The action of the people has not been limited to housing in use or to adapting commercial premises, but it had also been directed towards the recuperation of uninhabitable housing that had been put into disuse due to dangerous deterioration. This has meant that demolition has been avoided and the continuity of the compact urban plots, typical of central areas, has not been lost as in other cases where gap sites, which are generally unuseable, exist. It has also allowed those who are interested, to obtain, through their own energies, well situated houses that in many cases turn out to be more attractive than a new apartment in a suburban development. The uninhabited houses are allotted by the "Poder Popular" or "Popular Power" group in the municipality. They set technical requirements and the time phasing for rehabilitation - taking into account the necessities of the applicants, who may receive help from their work centres and get financial facilities.

IT WAS ALSO DECIDED (THE PEOPLE, ONCE IN POWER HAD TO REPAIR WHAT HAS NEVER BEEN REPAIRED BEFORE) THAT EVERYONE WOULD BECOME THE OWNER OF THE HOUSE OR APARTMENT THAT THEY WANTED... AND THAT THEY WOULD KEEP ON IMPROVING THEIR OWN UNKIND FOR THE FAVORABLE PERIOD OF FIVE TO TEN YEARS...



THESE "NEW" HOUSES FROM THE 60s PEOPLE WERE EXPROPRIATED, TO GIVE THEM TO THOSE WHO DIDN'T HAVE ANY...

THIS PARTIALLY RESOLVED THE HOUSING PROBLEM THANKS TO THOSE FEW THOUSAND WHO HAD MORE THAN ONE... (LIKE CASTRO'S OWN SISTER ANITA, THE BROTHERS OF THE DUPONT FAMILY, ETC. ETC.)



BUT NOT FREE! THEY HAD TO BE PAID FOR IN 5 TO 10 YEARS, AT THE VALUE DETERMINED BY THE OWNER!
IF THE ARCH DON'T WANT TO BE CHRISTIAN AND WISDOMLY GIVE UP WHAT THEY DIDN'T NEED, THE REVOLUTION WARS FORCED TO TAKE IT... UNWILLINGLY!

THE "MICRO" BRIGADES

In about 1970 the idea arose, out of a direct move by Fidel Castro, to find a way, parallel with purely state action, to construct housing. The "microbrigada" movement, as it is known, mobilized workers in production centres, administration and services, to organise the construction of their own buildings for housing - despite not having been previously trained in construction skills. The brigade members receive technical advice, equipment and materials from the state. The work normally done by them in their work centres was, then compensated for by their colleagues doing extra work, as set down by the work assemblies.

Housing constructed in this way remains at the disposal of the workers collective of the centre, being also allotted by the assembly, who bear in mind the work credits and personal necessities of applicants. Although the fact of having worked on a building is considered an important aspect when places are being distributed, it is not necessarily a determinant factor. There was a case where a worker did not get accommodation in the first building he worked on as he gave more priority to other cases at the distribution assembly. In this same style of personal denial, the microbrigade members give housing to those that need it - as, for example, to the Chilean refugees who came to Cuba after the fascist coup that overthrew the Popular Unity government.

Microbrigades are also organised to construct community buildings in new housing areas. Although initially work was done on the basis of standard models with semi-skilled methods, latterly more developed technology has been used as well.

The movement has been a success since the start, which is clear from the rapid rise in housing figures and of microbrigades being founded; - rising to 1,150 in 1975. In fact, the applications to form microbrigades quickly exceeded the capacity to provide material and technical help. This limitation is combined with another; - the nature of the movement itself is such that it was directed at, first of all, providing for the needs of workers in a centre, leaving the most needy social cases - people without work connections or those belonging to a centre without microbrigades - without provision. In addition the housing needs created by development plans and others affected by the results of priority works were not provided for. On the other hand, if construction materials were the principal limitation it was necessary to first secure provision for the state brigades formed by normal construction workers.

In the end, the objective of solving workers housing needs in this way is determined by the changes which are imposed by life itself. In the course of time work transfers occur, deaths, divorces, and house exchanges that break the initial work housing relationship. As the main part of these development zones are situated in large peripheral areas, near the production centres, when the work connection is lost the inhabitant loses the main advantage of the whole idea - work house proximity - remaining, however, in a peripheral area with transport difficulties, deficient

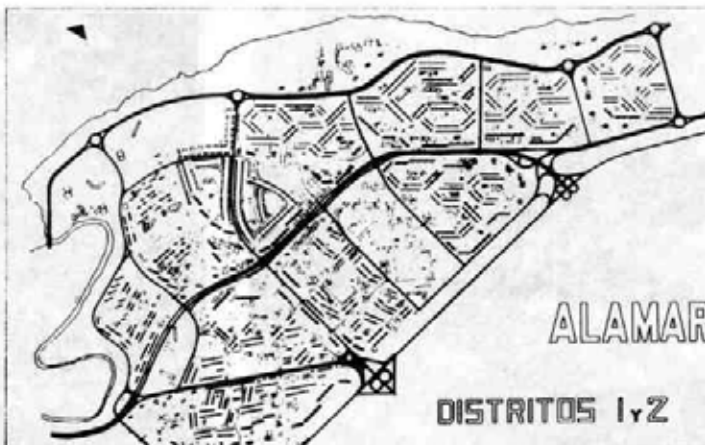
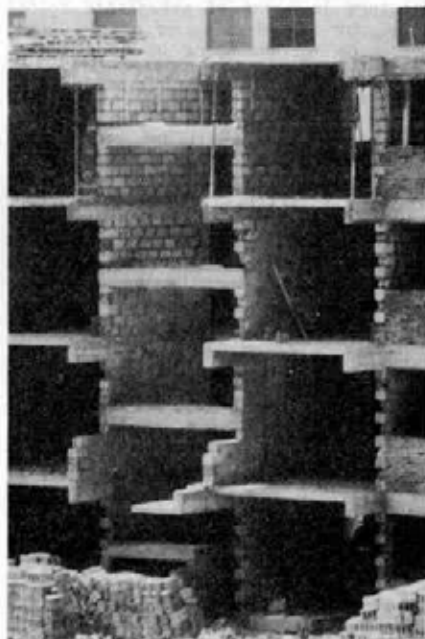
services, especially cultural and recreational and, not exclusively in the suburban areas, dust, noise and other nuisances from where construction work is uncompleted.

Furthermore, these areas need a new technical infrastructure that can only be built by concerted state action that, in actual fact, should have been done previous to the house construction. The continuing growth of the city boundaries constitutes one of the main problems of the capital.

The above aspects also sum up the difficulties which arise in the small rural communities which have been constructed all over the country to ensure particular agricultural and livestock development programmes. In a period of less than 10 years a large part of the population lost their work connections, and have moved to work in other activities or have migrated to nearby established towns where they find more options open. In the case of Havana, in spite of the economic inducement that the microbrigade members pay only 6% of their salary, instead of the usual 10%, a certain tendency to move towards the traditional central district can be observed - despite the congestion problems and physical deterioration of this area.

Taking an overview of 15 years, the microbrigade movement has given a positive contribution that shows the potential of self-help combined with state help. This has been achieved in a way which overcomes the individual motivation of conventional self-help construction and allows as well the use of more complex models and techniques to be introduced into the urban fabric, it as well helped to increase the construction force by attracting back construction workers who had since changed their work and also by giving many skills to thousands of new workers.

The most important zone of microbrigade concentration in Havana has been Alamar, situated on the east coast and designed for 120,000 inhabitants with an actual population of 60,000. Jointly with the neighbourhood of "Habana del Este" and some small, pre-existing settlements, Alamar is expected to be included in the greater east-west boundary that the "Plan Director" proposes as a development alternative for the city. In this way obtaining a more satisfactory equilibrium with respect to the traditional centre, taking advantage of a zone with good ecological conditions near to the extensive beaches that are the principal recreational resource of the capital, and preserving the agricultural land of Cordón and the subterranean water basin that supplies Havana.



HAVANAS SUBURB
"ALAMAR" (plan)
WAS ALMOST
COMPLETELY BUILT
BY "MICROBRIGADA"
LABOUR.

Qualified Labour is often reserved with "highly productive" industrialized construction works, but microbrigadas are normally using conventional construction methods, often mixing different techniques and materials (see photos above).

This perspective implies the construction of important engineering works and the development of a massive rapid transit system that combines a metro and suburban train with buses which are, at the moment, the only method of public transport in the city. Investigative work for a metro has already started and it is expected that the first line will be in operation by 1993.

Independently of these solutions that are directly related to the structural model that the city will adopt, it is necessary to work on the scale of urban design to improve the functional and visual quality of the existing peripheral areas of housing developments that, as well as Alamar, include; Altahabana, the south, Reparto Electrico towards the south-east and Ermita-San Augustin to the west. The urban conception and the architectural typology used in these areas should be revised in order to obtain greater variety, identity and environmental quality.



A recent study was carried out by the "Dirección Provincial" of Architecture and Planning of the "Poder Popular" in the city of Havana, in order to rationalize street names and the numbering of buildings in Alamar that had reached a state of such complexity that it demonstrated the lack of structure and identity of the housing scheme. (As postmen know to their cost.) It is, consequently, interesting to analyse how an area of buildings of 5 or more storeys has not managed to have any urban character while central traditional areas show, despite a variety which is almost excessive and an average height that does not reach 2 storeys, a definitely urban environment which is much more rich and stimulating.

In the 1981 census of Havana the city had a population of 1,929,432 inhabitants and a housing stock of 526,000 units, of which approximately half were in a bad to moderate condition, despite 55,000 new houses having been constructed between 1959 and 1980. This makes it necessary to work on a massive construction programme in response to the demand created by population increase - (although, the growth rate of the capital decreased in the 1970-81 period to 0.68% which is relatively small and a rare case for a Latin American city.)

But, above all, in response to the demand created by the decay of the housing stock, accelerated by over-use and the lack of systematic maintenance.

Similarly, it is necessary to stimulate the rehabilitation and maintenance of the part of the housing stock that is in a favourable condition to extend its useful life. The inversion that this involves, within the concept of trying to solve the housing problem by way of state action, is overwhelming - as much for Havana as for the rest of the country - taking into account the need to ensure economic development, guarantee defense and maintain the level of education and health already reached, among other tasks which are state priorities.

At the end of 1983 the technical-economic principles of the "Plan Director" for Havana were completed, continuing an uninterupted line of work that had its antecedents in schemes of 1963 and 1970. These principles were approved by the provincial assembly of "Poder Popular" of the city of Havana and by the council of Ministers. They contained an analysis of the actual situation, the prognostic that was derived from the long term economic and social development plan of the country, ("Plan Unico de Desarrollo Económico Social") and the development proposals that set the political measures and perspective indicators in terms of urbanistic solutions. For the drawing up of the work, the zone of influence of the capital was studied, including neighbouring provinces, with the widest horizon of 50 years.

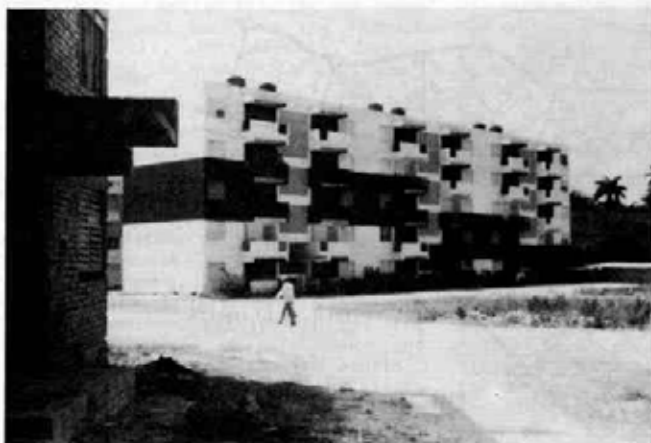
After the technical-economic principles, the project of the "Plan Director" began, constituting the second stage of the work and covering a shorter period of time (1980 - 2000). In this the more detailed urban solutions are worked out and the proposals for the phases of execution and for the inversions to be made by the city over a 50 year period. The "Plan Director" complements this with a system of norms and judicial-administrative arrangements that include the regulation of the plan itself, and urban regulations that are specific regulations for zones, and procedures for the obtaining of localized areas and projects. This system of norms and regulations integrates and completes regulations of a national character with those at present issued by the provincial direction of physical planning and of architecture and urbanism, subordinate to the provincial assembly of the city.

The small scale location of inversions are taken over by the executive committee of the provincial assembly ("Comite Ejecutivo de la Asamblea Provincial") after consulting the relevant municipality and the administrations involved. The population participate in specific ways and at different levels. In the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution ("Comités de Defensa de la Revolución") at the block level, problems are discussed that need the support of inhabitants to control construction and other aspects that affect the organisation and cleaning of public space. Cleaning tasks are referred to here and regulations like attention to green areas, painting of facades, construction and repair of pavements and fences, among other things. The participation of Neighbourhood Committees ("Consejos de Vecinos") from housing blocks approve work on the buildings where they live and, very often the people themselves do the painting and maintenance work in the communal areas. In both cases the people receive materials equipment and technical help from "Poder Popular". These actions with the people widen the always limited possibilities of official plans for maintenance and construction. And, they reinforce the identification of residents with their physical environment, although it hampers conventional control through the established regulations, owing to the non-professional character of such action carried out at irregular times.

In the special assemblies that take place twice a year, citizens receive information about plans and projects of local importance from the elected delegate. And, they may disagree, propose alternatives, or ask for information about the plans or any other problem, not only in the assemblies but also in the weekly reports with the delegate who must periodically give an account of activities. Other aspects are commented on and reported on in the press and on the air or discussed in study circles by the people. Nevertheless, it is necessary to find faster and more productive ways to spread information and discuss, with a wide social base, plans and projects of greater complexity and specialisation.

Left: STANDARD DESIGN FOR 4 STOREY WALK-UP BLOCK OF FLATS IN MOST MODERN HOUSING AREAS OF CUBA
This photo was taken in Alamar.

Right: URBAN RENEWAL / INFILL IN LA HABANA.
An industrialized building system was tested for housing purposes.



THE PROGRESSIVE UP-GRADING OF UNSTABLE SETTLEMENTS

Despite the efforts made since the first years after the revolution, including the total eradication of the larger areas of insanitary housing, variable sized settlements of unstable housing still exist in Havana. These settlements differ in essence from traditional areas of insanitary housing in that their inhabitants are found to be marginal for ethnic, economic and social reasons. Owing to the construction characteristics of the housing and the conditions of their being set up, a process of gradual improvement has developed which stems from the housing conditions themselves. This process is a combination of the self-help efforts of the occupants who substitute original unstable materials for more solid ones, and state action to provide electricity, water supply, waste system and the construction of social facilities and roads.

In a study of these settlements in Havana, completed in 1983, the environmental conditions, road system, location and technical state of the houses and technical infrastructure were studied, along with the guidelines foreseen for the occupied land, in the "Plan Director". The study showed that 28 settlements should be excluded from the category of "insanitary" as they had now reached an intermediate point such that they could be included in the urban network. Another 34 settlements were considered to be only for partial eradication as they had a large number of houses that had reached an acceptable level.

The first analysis of this situation showed the possibilities of self-help combined with state support, with some necessary restrictions like, for example: - adequate siting, normal lay outs and ordered locations that ensure the permanency and consolidation process of the settlement. In the case of large cities it is necessary to look for solutions that allow acceptable densities, as could be achieved with duplex type terrace housing, that permits future growth without occupying more land, and the gradual improvement of construction quality without affecting adjacent houses.

SPONTANEOUS SETTLEMENTS USED TO BE CALLED "BARRIOS INSALUBRES" IN CUBA. SELF-HELP ACTIVITIES ARE NOW SUPPORTED IN THE MORE CONSOLIDATED OF THESE AREAS. The photos were taken in Pinar del Rio and La Habana.

SELF-HELP CONSTRUCTION

In March of 1984 the XI National Seminar on Housing and Urbanism was held in Havana on the subject of self-help housing construction. The contributions presented agreed on the importance of supporting and adequately channelling the self-help potential. This resulted from a census of housing constructed in the country between 1981 and 1983 that showed that 3.7 times more housing had been constructed in this way than through the state brigades. (This does not include housing co-operatives that grew out of existing ones, or as spin offs from them, or those that adapted to other areas.) There were 49,785 state units as against 182,439 individually produced ones, although of this second total only 39.7% could be classified as in good condition. The proportion has been increased and, in 1983, nearly seven times as many houses were constructed by individuals as by the state. This situation is caused by the better availability of materials for the people in recent years and the growing usefulness of the local organs of "Poder Popular". Nevertheless, a large quantity of houses are of poor quality which demonstrates the inadequacy of urban controls and technical assistance. Havana is the exception, but this situation should be resolved with the creation of municipal directives for Architecture and Urbanism in the whole country. The proposal is already approved, the list of model projects has been drawn up and the option of supervision that is offered by the Union of Architects and Construction Engineers (Unión de Arquitectos e Ingenieros de la Construcción) was established in 1983. It appears that self-help may acquire an important position in rural towns and in small and medium sized cities. Thus avoiding the contradiction of having built, in new rural towns of previous years, 4 to 5 storey buildings, while the large cities grew uncontrolled with single storey housing; they have tripled their area since 1959 and at the same time doubled the population.

This seems to suggest that self-help in the big cities should be directed towards extensions, constructing on flat roofs or doing in-fill in suburban areas of detached houses. Only 5% of the 224,000 houses that must be constructed in Havana between 1980 and 2000 could be accounted for in this way. This prognostic may be seen as conservative, bearing in mind the whole range of possibilities that have been

opened up with the new General Housing Law Number 48. And, the fact that of the 16,000 housing units constructed in the capital between 1981-83, 37% have been by self-help and only 8% were classified as unstable.

THE GENERAL HOUSING LAW (LEY GENERAL DE LA VIVIENDA)

This law, approved in December 1984, transfers the ownership of houses to the tenants of them, using as payment the actual rent. It also favours the construction, conservation, rehabilitation and extension of houses using self-help, not only individually but as well through finance or through construction co-operatives. The law regulates the management of houses belonging to state entities and it also allows the renting of rooms as a way of reducing the housing deficit. If the reduction of rented accommodation and the urban reform done in 1960, was at the cost of the house owners, this law is made at the cost of the state's own property.

Individual or co-operatives action, will be of fundamental importance in conserving the existing housing stock, that had been lagging behind for many years with respect to inversion made in new state housing. During 1984, the sale of construction materials to the population passed \$ 20 million such that, jointly with the \$ 35 million worth of materials used in maintenance and repairing of housing by "Poder Popular", it surpassed the \$ 36 million inverted in the construction of new housing by the state in the capital.

URBAN RESTORATION, REANIMATION AND REMODELATION

The necessity to densify Havana foreseen by the "Plan Director" as well as the criteria derived from the critical evaluation of the areas of new housing development and the need to revitalise old central districts, have led to work in three complementary lines; restoration of monuments, urban reanimation and urban remodeling.

Restoration has concentrated, up to now, on the colonial heart of old Havana which was declared a monument of historic importance to humanity (Patrimonio de la Humanidad) in December of 1982. Independently of the values which have already been recovered, the practical demonstration of potential has been effective in going beyond the original frame of the urban nucleus, to include



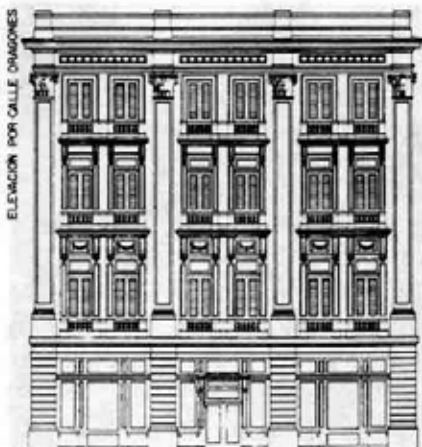


large sectors which are not so old and with less isolated buildings of special value. But, they also have their own value for the urban fabric and a typology that not only helps to explain the evolution of the city's historical process of amalgamating with neighbouring settlements but they also show, in their own right, a useful value that justifies, economically, their conservation.

Urban reanimation is a defined scale within the dialectic of conservation/renovation that aims at a rapid qualitative change, with the use of few resources, of the urban image in central zones affected by physical decay, loss of activities, over-use, changes of use and illegal constructions. It can also concern spaces which were originally badly defined and have come to have a central location as the city grew. This kind of work was begun in Havana in 1974 by the "Dirección Provincial de Arquitectura y Urbanismo" who completed an integral study of the city in 1981. It defines 68 existing and also potential points or nodes which, after being treated, should operate as the kind of catalyzing poles which existed previously, along the main roads which they connect.

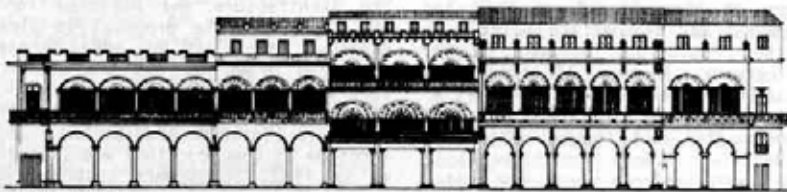
In order to achieve this rapid and inexpensive change of image, work that emphasises the potential value of the place, changing inappropriate additions that have been introduced and strengthening deficient services where possible, has been instructed; including a general clean up of buildings in the area, especially of the exteriors and above all of elements which have the most visual impact on the public. This activity deals with exterior colours, including external wall paintings as well as green areas, pavements, urban furniture and street signs.

Remodelation implies more profound changes with the possible change in the urban structure and the partial replacement of buildings. Of the 224,000 units to be constructed up to the year 2000, it is estimated that some 45,000 are to be by remodelation.



In 1973, the first stage of the remodeling project in Cayo Huesco in the municipal district of central Havana, began to be carried out. The initial study started off with 746 Ha. and working with the premise that buildings in a bad condition would be substituted and those in good to medium condition would be conserved. The existing population is to be maintained or increased, the effects of road and services construction minimised, the tree planted green area to be increased to 8 sq.m. per inhabitant and deficiencies in services would be remedied. The design for the first five blocks is based on isolated industrialised housing of 5, 12 and 20 floors.

After a review done in 1983, the number of existing buildings to be conserved was increased and more new buildings were incorporated. Some of them were not of the typical model but introduced



CONCLUSIONS

The Cuban experience of work in 'Popular Power' ("Poder Popular") put us in a position to be in control of state and individual construction activity, preservation of monuments and the conservation of the existing housing stock. This experience enables us to arrive at a general revaluation of the city which can be summed up in the following points:

1. In the field of housing, the participation of those who are interested in construction, and especially in rehabilitation, extensions, repairing and maintenance, makes up an important force that should be directed and aided as a way which is parallel to state action. The new housing law establishes different ways that, in the case of the capital, should fit in with the characteristics and regulations of the different zones.
2. Starting with a wider conception of conservation values, the preservation of monuments goes beyond the point where it was conventionally restricted to the original historic nucleus and is widened to include the whole city. Thus following its formation process and the cultural values relating to the specific eras, programmes, typologies and socio-economic conditions. This concept goes farther than what is specifically artistic and historic in order to incorporate patterns of the urban structure, functional and technical-constructive solutions, ways of

to make better use of the land and reduce the number of intermittent spaces which would not make useable green areas. This, combined with the integral study of exteriors, has made it possible to reduce the visual rupture that isolated blocks produced when introduced into the traditional urban fabric of the neighbourhood. The final population of these five blocks, that in addition contain a supermarket, a school and other services, will be 3,000 inhabitants. The continuation of studies to remodel all the area was given impetus in 1984 with the signing of an official co-operation agreement between the mayors of Havana and Berlin, capital of the G.D.R.

The experience derived from these five blocks should make possible a more profound review of the concept that has generally served as the basis of other similar projects, where the isolated block design solution not only ruptures the surrounding urban fabric, but also obtains, despite the height, densities similar to those already existing. And, what is more important, similar densities to those that can be obtained with buildings of 3, 4 or 5 storeys with an architectural solution and distinct urban form to that which is used at present, but, very similar to the traditional city.

life, scale and character which have demonstrated their flexibility and effectiveness through time.

3. The conservation of large sectors of the city unites cultural interests with utilitarian ones, allowing the lengthening of the useful life of housing, which is from a stock of a far superior quality and better situated than those which are being newly constructed. By avoiding demolitions not only is the coherence of the compact urban fabric protected but energy and materials are saved. The conservation of buildings is not limited to the restoration of buildings as symbols but it also includes, with degrees of rigor and depth, the utilisation of everything that can rationally go on fulfilling practical necessities.

4. The ways that have been habitually taken by spontaneous action to construct houses, introducing extra floors, additions, small huts on flat roofs and so on, should be studied in order to take advantage of the positive aspects in the creative use of space, materials and available techniques. This would make it possible to channel energy more adequately and to as well extract criteria which are applicable to designed solutions.

5. Summing up, it is a question of defining, conserving and stimulating what is valid in physical terms and in ideas that we have inherited from the past; and also what is offered to us, sometimes in ways which are conventionally seen as unacceptable, by the spontaneous action of the people.

On the conditions of Self-Help Housing in Cuba

Participation, Self-Help Housing and the Choice of Technology

This article is a short extract from a paper presented at the "JORNADAS INTERNACIONALES": Renovación Urbana y Vivienda Popular en Áreas Metropolitanas de América Latina, held at the Technical University Hamburg-Harburg in Feb. 1985. The original Spanish version can be ordered from the Hamburg TRIALOG office.

The so-called pre-industrial materials and also cheap light industrial materials can be, according to local circumstances, used extensively in housing. On the other hand, the concept of appropriate technology, which is valid in general terms, can become a resource that contributes to housing solutions under the extreme conditions of the present time - without becoming a paternalistic cult of primitive forms of construction, or negating the feasibility of industrialisation. Furthermore, the use of traditional craft construction is only of real help in those countries which have genuine values in this respect, derived from their historical process and natural resources.

At this point it makes sense to consider the concept of self-help, thought of as the participation of the user to a distinct degree in the creation of his own house. It is obvious that the force of popular participation represents an important contribution to the solution of the problem; so much so that a solution cannot be guaranteed by any other way. In fact, it is an absolute necessity at the present stage. But, self-help presents, as well, limitations that can lead to mistakes:

- Self-help is only a concession to the present conditions of development since it implies a degree of contradiction with the principle of the social division of labour as it obliges the users to dedicate a large proportion of their free time.
- It requires available materials as a fundamental basis - attainable by the users through their buying power or through financing.
- It requires a specialized work force or, in any case, supervision, for the construction stages that people cannot do alone.
- It requires controls in order to avoid undesirable results that affect the existing buildings, especially in urban areas.
- Where self-help does have a wider area of action is in the activities of conservation, house extensions.

The concept of self-help, and others like the revival of popular, traditional construction, demonstrate that no option should be ignored and that everything is valid if it contributes, even if it be only partially, to alleviate this urgent problem. Through stimulus from government, institutions or progressive groups, quick results have been obtained, showing the potential

Luis Lapidus

that participation by those in need has. When it is based on a clear focus of social mechanisms, the mobilization of forces and of goodwill towards the struggle to obtain improvements, can have a crystallization effect; - not only in terms of material achievements, but also in encouraging community spirit and solidarity out of the fight for a common cause - which can find subsequent continuity in much wider action. In any case, there always remains the importance of struggle, of example, and the accumulation of experience; the support of which cannot be ignored.

Nevertheless, the danger of idealising these alternatives and over-estimating their possibilities must be avoided. The appraisal of participation is susceptible to manipulation, becoming conceptually counterproductive and clouding an integral vision, or tending to divert attention from the basis of the actual circumstances.

For example, self-help construction in itself is far from securing that the masses - living in the poverty of dependent countries, in crisis due to the proliferation of marginal settlements - will discover a way out of their living conditions. The manipulation of the self-help concept can lead to appeasement or to false positions that tend to perpetuate prevailing circumstances.

In the case of Cuba, the General Housing Law, approved recently, gives substantial weight to the potential of self-help construction and provides for an integral standardizing body. Thus, parting from the premise that the responsibility of the socialist state is to achieve decent housing for every family and looking for ways parallel to state construction and using semi-craft skills.

The first basic objective of the law is logically and fundamentally just: the elimination of the onerous character of profit from housing, by means of converting occupants into property owners as soon as they are able to pay the legal price. The absurd ties for which the material good necessitates an indefinite economic burden without ever reaching the point of having benefit from it, are thus removed.

On the other hand, the law institutionalises the diverse possibilities of reducing housing deficit through the actions of the users, either individually or in cooperatives. This does not only concern technological decentralisation to stimulate the development of craft skills, or leaving the user free to

follow his own destiny in the solution of the problem, but it concerns the recognition of a real necessity that the citizen has; the right to follow a legal course to obtain something that the state still produces in insufficient quantities. Conditions that let the self-help capacity of the masses show itself remain in evidence thanks to the economic stability, buying power and general social well-being created by the Socialist Revolution.

It is, also, not a question of freeing the user from paying rent in order to burden him with the economic load of conservation and maintenance. The law is essentially realistic and recognises what the logical alternative is for the existing stage of development, helping actions that would, in fact, go on in any case. It is, as well, not possible to consider a legal document as a finished product, cut and dried, but as a sensitive tool which can change according to the circumstances of practical application. Experience shows that legislation should be conceived with a margin of tolerance that allows a dialectic encounter with the practical context.

Perhaps the future solution to the housing problem is to be found in the coherent union of industrialisation with participation, achieving simultaneously, quantitative advances combined with human and social factors.



PEASANTS IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE COUNTRY, NEAR SANTIAGO DE CUBA (Photos: K. Mathéy)

Housing Policies in the Sandinista Nicaragua

Kosta Mathéy



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IN SEARCH FOR AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO FACE THE HOUSING PROBLEM

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The photos were taken by the author. The drawings were taken from: NICARAGUA PROYECTET, Project report by the Technical University Lund, 1982.



Introduction:
IN SEARCH OF AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO FACE THE HOUSING PROBLEM

Any attempt to give yet another report on the growing housing problem in Third World towns and cities would be futile. Even the governments of the countries concerned dissociate themselves increasingly from the idea of overcoming the housing shortage by means of housing development programs accessible to the general public; they rather limit their activities to the promotion of single pilot schemes, which are supposed to serve as examples as to how people looking for accommodation might be capable of helping themselves to get out of the mess. Even though housing supply for lower income groups needs public support and promotion it ought to be financially self-sustaining at least in the long run. The increasing pauperisation of the Third World, caused by the structure of peripheral capitalism is, in practice, an inherent obstacle to achieving this desirable end. Post completion evaluations show that even the highly subsidized self-help housing development programs of the World Bank do not reach the most needy target groups which they were aimed at. Moreover it is doubtful whether the ruling elites of many of those countries have any interest at all in improving the living conditions of the poor - or generally speaking - in the redistribution of society's wealth.

As far as Nicaragua is concerned the beginning of the revolution seems to have rendered much of this doubt quite unjustified. It might therefore be interesting to investigate, which would be a housing policy honestly intending to serve the needs of the whole population, what it can achieve in practice and which obstacles are in the way of such a housing development strategy.

I. PRECONDITIONS AND THE FIRST STEPS AFTER 1979

Foreign academic observers easily make the mistake of idealising Nicaraguan housing policy as the realization of the 'socialist utopia', which might, as well, serve as a model for possible reforms elsewhere. Such a model does not exist in Nicaragua. Nicaragua does not even claim to be a 'socialist' country and after the overthrow of Somoza in 1979 the Sandinistas took over in a crucial situation demanding an emergen-

cy program rather than enabling a fast realization of the most desirable development. One might compare the situation of the government after the 'Triunfo' with that of a nonswimmer, who fell into the water: The question as to how to swim at all will occupy his mind rather than how to swim perfectly. Even before the country became formally independent a large part of the population had already lost their means of subsistence as a consequence of the establishment of 'latifundios' and plantations; infrastructure was concentrated in Managua, which developed into a typical 'primate city' (1), - or: 'economic hydrocephalus' (2). Many people migrated into the town stimulating the growth of slums, and the practice of illegal land subdivision. Housing conditions, bad enough as they were, changed for the worse as a consequence of the flood in 1961 and with the earthquake in 1972. Statistics from 1984 show, that almost 20% of those living in Managua lack a dwelling of their own, another 15% of families inhabit houses in need of substantial repair, and a further 30% live in huts consisting of only one room (3).

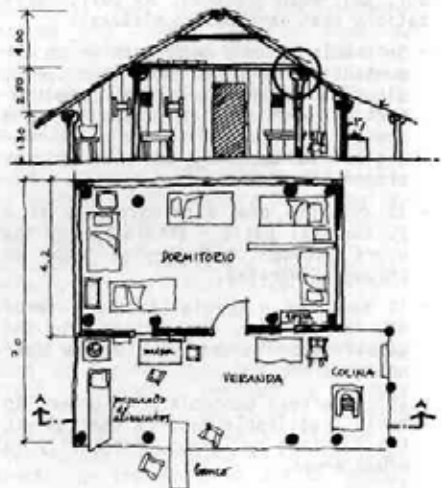
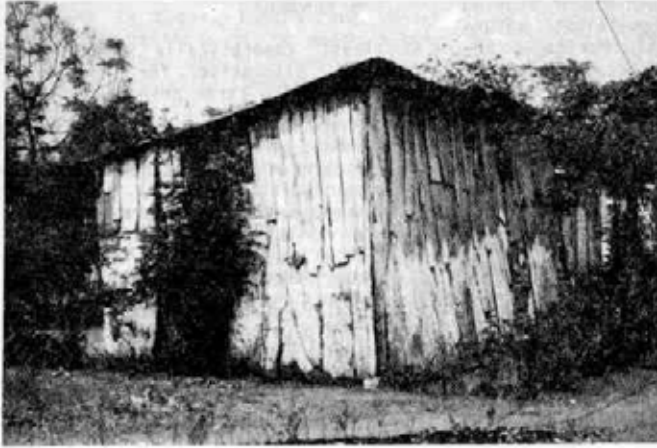


Table 1: HOUSING DEFICIT 1981

Missing units	50,000
in urgent need of repair	146,000
single room shacks	181,000

This deficit will increase at an annual rate of 40,000 units, of which 25,000 can be attributed to the natural decay of the existing stock, and 15,000 to the population growth.

Source: From tables of MINVAH (84a)



II. HOUSING PROGRAMMES AND PRODUCTION SINCE THE REVOLUTION

For the evaluation of a Government's housing policy we are used to comparing the figures of housing units or of "housing solutions" produced within a given period. For politicians in capitalist and in socialist countries alike it is a popular exercise to play the 'numbers game', since other improvements of possibly much wider impact on the housing situation of the poor, such as rent control or land reforms, can not be expressed so impressively in figures. Counting the housing production in Nicaragua, we must bear this paradox in mind. In fact the numbers of houses built by the Government are relatively low, and have very little impact on the housing situation of the masses, unlike the effects of other improvements in the legal situation of tenants, squatters and low income owner occupiers, or other social programmes indirectly affecting the housing situation.

There are basically four programs by which the Nicaraguan state has been involved in the production of houses:

a) Construction of Housing Estates ("Complejos Habitacionales")

This is a conventional mass housing programme of the type which can be found in most socialist countries. The minimum number of units built as part of a scheme is 150, which are built by the state enterprise ECOVIN (comp. chapter IV), normally following a standard design and aiming at a relatively high standard. The "complejos" are located in one

of the big cities, unless they are connected to a new agricultural, agro-industrial, or mining production unit. On average there were some 4,000 units built annually over the first four years after the revolution (1980-83), 65% of them in the two biggest cities Managua and Leon alone (MINVAH 84b: 30-31).

b) Self-build Housing ("Proyectos de Autoconstrucción")

Already before the revolution several self-help housing projects had been started with World Bank funding. These programmes require a relatively large amount of professional assistance implying high administration costs, but in most cases the costs for the participants are still far too high for typical low-income families. After 1979 only some 700 houses (*) were built (or finished) as part of this programme.

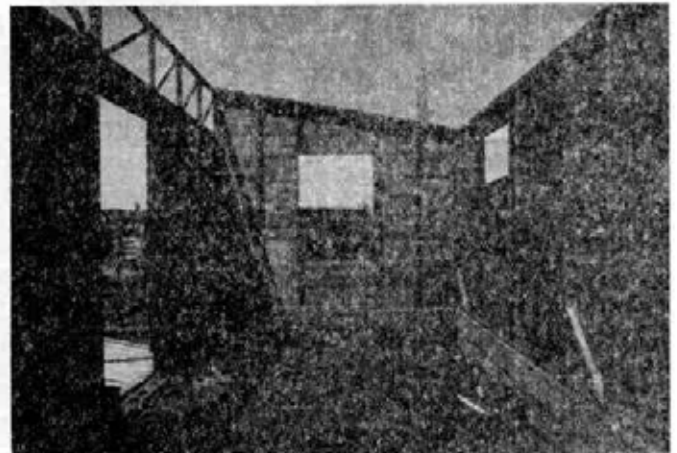
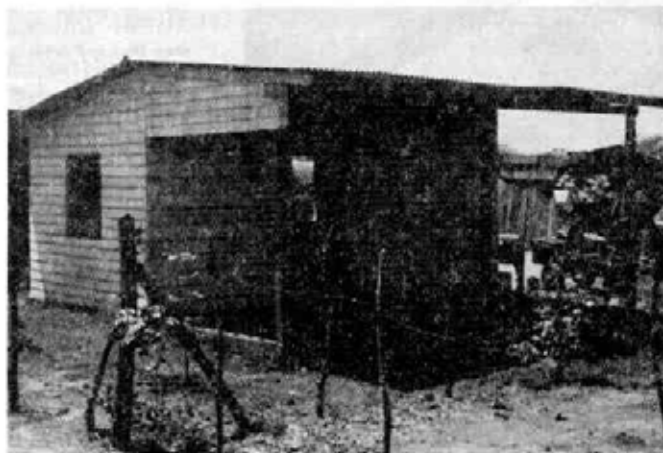
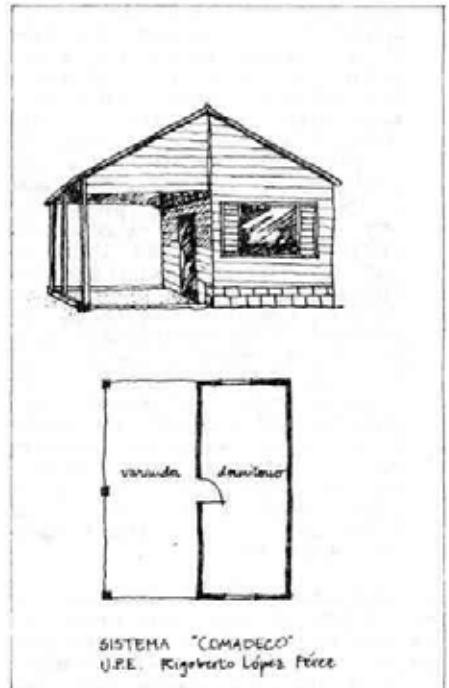
c) Building Materials Deposits and 'Standard Modules' ("Bancos de Materiales" and "Modulos Basicos")

This programme was to replace the previous "Self-Help" scheme and was directed at families in possession of a building site, or of a house in urgent need of repair. Complete kits to assemble a simple timber dwelling were available as well as loose building materials at controlled prices. Together with the "Self-Help" programme about 1,900 units were erected in the 1979-1983 period, and 40% of it went to the two special development zones in the forest region, (Rio San Juan and Rio Coco).

TOP LEFT: INFORMAL HOUSING FROM THE PRE-REVOLUTION STOCK IN MANAGUA.

TOP RIGHT: MASS HOUSING ("COMPLEJO HABITACIONAL") BUILT BY THE MINVAH IN THE PREVIOUS CENTRE OF MANAGUA (San Antonio). The houses are partly unfinished and not occupied for a number of years.

DRAWING AND BOTTOM PHOTOS: "MODULO BASICO": Self-help housing kit distributed by a "Banco de Materiales" in Masaya 1983.





d) Progressive Development ("Urbanizaciones Progresivas")

Realizing that the housing problem in the cities could not be solved with a high standard in the short run, the emergency programme of the "Urbanizaciones Progresivas" was introduced in 1982 in an attempt to control spontaneous squatting in the bigger cities. In Managua particularly families occupying geologically hazardous land, such as earthquake rupture lines (fallas) or potential flood land near the shore of Lake Managua, were offered alternative sites with basic infrastructure provision (communal water taps, electricity, road access). Also free transport was offered to bring any reusable material from the old shacks to the new site. Since most of the 'Urbanizaciones Progresivas' were located along the existing ring roads with existing bus lines the cost both for the Government and for the residents was minimal, and the benefit obvious. Compared to conventional "sites-and-services" schemes - as known in many other countries - the residents in the 'Urbanizaciones Progresivas' were given the land free with full security of tenure. Among the different housing programmes the 'Urbanizaciones Progresivas' have had the biggest impact so far, catering for 22,000 families (63% of them in Managua - MINVAH 84b:34).

In contrasting to the experience in most capitalist countries almost all the beneficiaries of the above programmes belong to the low income bracket: 17.8% of the beneficiaries earn less than 1 minimum salary (S), 78.1% (!) earn between 1 and 3 minimum salaries. Only 4.1% of the beneficiaries belong to the middle class with a family income between 3 and 6 minimum salaries.

Adding up all the housing solutions provided within the different schemes, not more than 3.25 units were produced annually per 1,000 inhabitants. Assuming a life expectancy per dwelling of 30 years and an occupancy rate of 10 persons per house, this production would just be enough to maintain the existing situation. Statistically not a single additional unit was provided to cater for the natural population increase, or to house the refugees coming from the countryside where they are exposed to the terror, murder and burning by counter-revolutionary guerrillas ('Contras').

For the time being, the formal private sector is unlikely to invest in housing for rent, given the 'socialist' nature of housing legislation. Mortgages are available in the owner occupied sector, but the applicants have to compete with the state sector (administered by MINVAH) and receive only a very small fraction of the limited funds available. Apart from this building materials are scarce and expensive, if bought in the parallel market.

The most common way by which the homeless solve their housing problem to date is squatting - and Nicaragua is no exception. This phenomenon was particularly significant directly after the triumph of the revolution in 1979/1980, and shortly before the elections in 1984; the homeless were obviously speculating with Government support. In contrast with other Latin American countries there are no mass invasions or 'overnight' constructions, since there is no threat of forceful eviction. Instead the squatters tend to organize themselves relatively early, elect their representatives (CDS), give a name to their settlement (very often referring to a socialist country) and start negotiations with the Government for the provision of better services.

In spite of the obvious housing shortage there are no 'slums' in Nicaragua today, unlike most other Third World countries. The reason is not so much the impact of the formal housing programmes, but more the complementing provisions in the social and legal field: the organization of the population at the base, health and educational facilities and programmes, land reform and housing legislation.

III. REGIONAL PLANNING AND ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES

At least theoretically the national resource allocation for housing is meant to follow three principals:

1. Subordination of spatial planning to economic planning.
2. Priority of agriculture as a sector of accumulation.
3. Reshaping the structure of population distribution to complement political and economic decentralization attempts.

Politically, the Sandinistas explicitly subordinate area planning to economic planning. (MINVAH 1981: 13) Faced with an extremely high foreign debt the prime necessity is seen in securing national economic independence. Agricultural self sufficiency (increasing the production of basic food) plus cultivation especially of cash crops (like coffee, sugar cane, cotton, meat) is supposed to provide for this security. Education and public health services are similarly considered a priority to housing development because investment in these services has a stronger direct stimulating effect on the economy and immediately reaches a greater number of people with a given investment: it has been argued, for example, that the costs of making almost two million Nicaraguans literate was not more than would have been needed for the construction of just 2000 housing units. (Argüello 1984: 3) Moreover, the present economic situation is determined by high defence expenses caused by the war, aggravated by the foreign debt inherited from the Somoza regime and - last but not least - influenced by the pressure exerted on the country by



SQUATTING IN MANAGUA SHORTLY BEFORE THE ELECTIONS IN 1984. Since there was no threat of eviction by the police or the army, the occupation and building of the huts advanced quietly and openly. The squatters could count on the collaboration with the authorities once they had organized in a CDS ("Comité de Defensa Sandinista" = Neighbourhood committee)



MURAL ON THE WALL OF MEETING ROOM OF A CDS IN "ZONA 8" (ca 10,000 inhabitants) IN CIUDAD SANDINO / MANAGUA.

MINVAH EXPERIMENTAL BUILDING IN MANAGUA DATING FROM THE FIRST YEARS OF THE REVOLUTION.

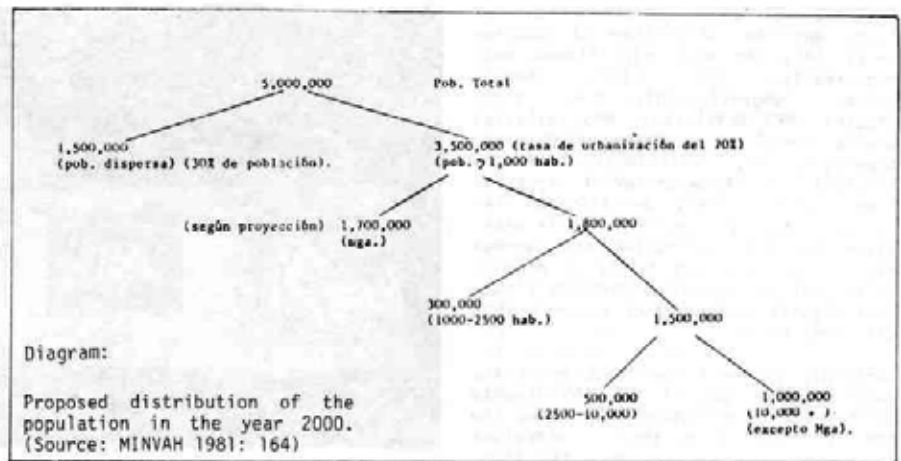
international organisations, who ask for cuts in social expenditure. Under these circumstances it is worth noting the fact, that public funds - however limited - are still invested in a non-productive sector like housing development.

The statement, however, that housing development is accepted to be an exclusive and unreserved part of the consumption sector, is not quite correct. The Ministry of Agriculture, for example, emphasizes that adequate accommodation counts as a productive factor in agriculture (MINVAH 1981: 42); this ministry partly promotes settlements for agricultural labourers at its own expense independently from the Ministry of Housing. Also within the MINVAH (Ministerio de Vivienda y Asentamientos Humanos) priority is given to construction of accommodation for labourers when new production units are promoted in forestry, mining and fishery projects. (Tapia 1984: 98)

Preferential promotion of agriculture and forestry is at the same time supposed to help in the achievement of a more even distribution of resources among the different provinces. But the traditional primacy of the capital Managua is still a problem: 38.1% of economic activities are located in Managua, where only 25.1% of the population lives (on 0.7% of the Nicaraguan territory). (MINVAH 1983: 3) However, existing efforts to change this pattern do not feed on simplistic socialist ideas of dissolving the towns; they rather aim at the distribution of population over the whole scale of regional centers, sub-centers and other smaller places, which partly will have to be newly founded and partly added to existing settlements. This new pattern of towns has been put down in 'SISTEMA URBANA NACIONAL' (SUN), which is based upon an estimation of population growth until the year 2000. SUN aims at the following distribution:

- One national centre (Managua as capital of the country), which is to be the seat of the government, public services, national broadcasting etc.
- Nine regional centres ('centros regionales') with 20.000 to 100.000 inhabitants and a catchment area of 50.000 to 500.000 inhabitants.
- Nineteen secondary centres (centros secundarios) with 10.000 to 20.000 inhabitants and a catchment area of 25.000 inhabitants.
- Fiftyfive service centres (centros de servicio) with 2000 to 10.000 inhabitants and a catchment area of 5000 to 25.000 inhabitants.

Apparently the plan suggests a development, which will turn the majority of the population into urban dwellers by the year 2000. According to the diagram shown above Managua (today: 700.000 inhabitants) will be inhabited by 1.700.000 people in 30 years from now, and according to newer calculations the number will even be 2.200.000. Other documents from the same authority, however, show the intention to limit the population growth to 4% (which is a rate even higher than the present population growth of 3.26%; confer INEC 1983: 33). Especially the promotion of small centres (up to 10.000 inhabitants) aims at limiting migration towards the larger cities. A first step in this direction was the establishment



of the new provinces, but further activities had to be delayed until the future due to military operations of the 'Contras' (the Somoza guerrillas) in many rural regions (MINVAH 1983: 16).

Thus the policy of decentralization is supposed to be realized on two different levels: on the one hand it aims at distributing the increasing town population within a comprehensive system of urban centres, covering all provinces, and on the other hand it aims at directing investment towards the rural areas, securing strategically important frontier settlements, strengthening agricultural production and making a basic infrastructure and at having sufficient accommodation available to the population in rural areas, where housing shortage is an especially serious problem. Both intentions are at the same time directed at limiting the present village-town migration. (MINVAH 1984a: 1, 9) Thorough reading of the statistics however, shows that during the first years after the revolution public investment was still mainly absorbed by the capital Managua - despite the best of intentions (Tapia 1984: 102). This concentration of investment in the capital is increasingly counterbalanced by the fact that about 41% of the total budget needs to be spent on defence, part of which is again invested in the infrastructure, in housing development and services for remote areas.

Apart from the - partly contradictory - plans for decentralization, Nicaragua has until now failed to develop an alternative strategy on how to avoid those economic, ecological and social problems which urbanisation has been apt to produce in other parts of the world. Experiencing a period of worldwide technological change one might - especially in a revolutionary country undergoing a process of social reorganization - sooner or later be prepared to reconsider the role of towns and their physical structure, and to accept unconventional strategies (6).

IV. STRUCTURE OF ADMINISTRATION AND PARTICIPATION OF USERS IN THE HOUSING SECTOR

Immediately after the revolution all activities concerning spacial planning and housing were taken over by the 'Ministerio de Vivienda y Asentamientos Humanos' (MINVAH) which had been established for this specific purpose. As its name indicates the ministry's duties consist of two main activities:

* The 'DIRECCION GENERAL DE DESARROLLO URBANO' is in charge of designing and controlling town - and regional planning including the preparation of master and development plans.

* The 'DIRECCION GENERAL DE VIVIENDA' is responsible for planning, programming, supervision and implementation of all investments of the ministry - it is thereby more influential. Its duties include building all state housing schemes, the administration of the housing stock, the redistribution of land and coordination of all technical and infrastructural facilities. (7)

In the end MINVAH depends on the Ministry of Planning which allocates its budget; MINVAH on the other hand has subsidiaries on its own, such as regional building companies to realize its own projects (ECOVIN = Empresa de Construcción de Viviendas Nacional). Although other authorities like the Ministry of Agriculture (MIDINRA) or the municipality of Managua (IRM) have their own planning boards, these still depend of the Ministry of Housing being the senior planning authority. Also every activity in construction and redistribution of land that is promoted by MIDINRA within the schemes of agrarian reform requires the approval by the MINVAH. Technical infrastructure is normally provided by specialized service boards or ministries.

In many respects the population has been formally invited to participate in policy formation and implementation. To further this, the cooperation of Nicaraguan mass organisation is sought, especially regarding matters of decen-



tralization, the redistribution of land, and the allocation of housing units (8). The most significant mass organizations like CDS's, AMNLAE (women's organization), J.S. 19.J. (Youth), MPS (children), MPS (militia) are a formal part of the FSLN party apparatus (9). Participation of the population in these different organizations relies mainly on informal relating in the neighbourhood and is activated for the realization of concrete tasks. This has very little to do with party work or 'partisan loyalty'; many participants are in fact members of a different party.

Certainly the most important among the mass organizations is the CDS (Comite de Defensa Sandinista); much like the CDR in Cuba it exists in different levels of organization, from the town-district, block and street level. Within the local CDS purpose oriented committees are formed; they deal with rather specific questions which are often of immediate interest, like information an preventive medicine (health care, hygiene), vaccination campaigns, coordination of foreign aid offers, cultivation of communal gardens, support of infrastructural measures and reforestation campaigns etc. (Mathéy 1984: 117).

In contrast to the self-organized help on the local level the influence of these organizations in the activities of the ministries is limited, because institutionalized representation of the CDS's only exists at the upper regional and the national administrative level. In practice, however, during the re-allocation procedure of vacant sites, or for the localization of infrastructural services the flow of information appears not always to be sufficiently effective as to keep up democratic control on a 'grass-root level' (Mathéy 84:113).

Along with many other Third World nations, Nicaragua too seems to share the problems of bureaucratization and of rivalries for competence between different authorities. Foreign relief organizations are regularly frustrated because most projects tend to be delayed by quarrels on questions of competence.

V. ALLOCATION OF URBAN LAND AND HOUSING

Because Nicaragua is hoping to keep the idea of a 'mixed economy', private ownership of real estate has never been really questioned. Large parts of state-owned land have in fact been re-privatized. But due to the expropriation of the Somoza family's real estate after the revolution, the Nicaraguan state remains the biggest land owner nationwide today.

In urban areas the legal right of the population to adequate housing is meant to be satisfied by several laws within the framework of the 'REFORMA URBANA'. Similar to the provisions of agrarian reform no monetary value is fixed to the land for distribution; thus the allocated land does not have to be mortgaged and paid off - in contrast to the practice of most countries with a free market economy. Although regulations concerning the sale of houses do not yet exist, the registration of land / ownership titles is subject to approval by the MINVAH - in order to prevent any speculation.



LEFT: INDIGENEOUS ARCHITECTURE NEIGHBOURHOOD OFFICE OF THE MASS ORGANIZATION "CDS" IN A SECTOR OF CIUDAD SANDINO (Managua), serving ca. 10,000 inhabitants.

A first measure against urban speculation on land in connection with illegal land subdivisions was taken by passing a law (10) to stop the sale of unserved land in illegal subdivisions. The existing subdivisions could be taken over by the MINVAH in order to provide urgently lacking infrastructure, before transferring the ownership to the occupants. So far, this policy has resulted in the expropriation of 84,000 plots in 420 settlements altogether (MINVAH 1984b). Since then MINVAH itself is the recipient of the rents from the leaseholders (residents) and thus has collected 20 million Cordobas which were meant to be invested in infrastructure projects (MINVAH 1984b: 19). Some of these expropriated lots (about 13,000) were assigned to the inhabitants (11) (MINVAH 1984: 4), especially in cases where the previous landlord had overcharged the tenants for years, so that the latter had already paid off the value of the house once or several times (12).

Also vacant land, which has been zoned for residential use, may be expropriated (13), if necessary, for the realization of public building projects. This measure especially was not generally approved by the public, because after the revolution buying land was one of the few means for the middle class to invest their savings and avoid inflation losses. Today if an owner has land expropriated he receives no money but a compensation certificate, which is due to be paid only after several years, its value (14), or purchasing power thus being difficult to assess today.

Parallel to the redistribution of land, measures were taken to readjust rents and mortgages. In 1980 all rents were reduced to 40 - 50% of their previous value. If a house owner does not provide for appropriate maintenance of his property, the state can interfere on behalf of the tenants, act as a deputy for the owner, collect the rent and spend them on repairs and maintenance (compare chapter IV).

This intervention, of all possible administrative interventions, is frequently subject to criticism. It is argued, for instance, that in the case of rent reduction the amount of rates and taxes is not taken into account, so that consequently the new rents do not even cover the current expenses on taxes, and make regular maintenance financially impossible (see interview with Sanchez above). Also the MINVAH, on the

other hand, did not manage to ensure regular maintenance of those buildings to which they had extended their administration: the rental revenue from 35,000 flats and 50,000 lots in 1982 amounts to 68.5 million Cordobas, whereas an amount of 8.84 million Cordobas has been spent on repairs and renovation of only 353 dwellings (Tapia 1984: 98).

By the same law every tenant is guaranteed security of tenure since adequate housing as well as health services and education have been chartered as basic rights. However this protection apparently does not extend to the tenants of state-owned flats: as recorded by Domingo Sanchez member of the National Council (Partido Socialista Nicaragüense) MINVAH maintains its own special constabulary ('CORPO DE PROTECCION FISICA') to kick out late payers and withhold their furniture in settlement of rent arrears. As a result a number of MINVAH flats are still unoccupied today, since the principle of cost recovery (imposed by foreign finance institutions?) raises the rent to a level equalling several minimum salaries.

An even more decisive bill was proposed by the government in 1982: the long-term intention was to completely abolish the private rented housing market based on the idea, that after 20 years the building costs of a house can be considered paid off by the rent. Therefore, by the end of this period the property should automatically be assigned to the tenants. This draft was debated in great detail at the 'grass-root' level in the mass organizations and, as a result, the bill was considerably modified and tempered (Robinson 1984: 313).

Whenever lots and newly built housing is to be distributed for the first time, MINVAH uses to delegate the selection of applicants and the allocation of dwellings and sites to the local self-administration executed by the CDS. In this distribution process, families with many children, key workers and problem families are to be treated preferentially. Potential disputes are to be settled by a conciliation committee CCAH (see footnote 8).

Finished flats tend not to be affordable for people in greatest need, whereas, at the same time there is not enough residential building ground zoned for immediate use in Managua to match the great number of applicants.

Consequently, unauthorized squatting takes place and multiplies during certain, opportune periods. This happened, for example, during the first year after the revolution (15) and a few months before the elections in autumn 1984. Contrary to other Latin-American countries, land-occupation and the building of huts do not take place in the form of mass invasions or happen secretly overnight, as the squatters do not have to fear police intervention. Instead, the neighbourhood organizes itself very soon, gives itself a name (for reasons of expedience often names like 'Villa Bulgaria', 'Villa Cuba' etc. are chosen) and starts to negotiate with the authorities on the quick installation of infrastructure.

VI. TECHNOLOGY AND PRODUCTIVITY THE INFLUENCE OF BILATERAL AND INTERNATIONAL AID

In regular MINVAH housing projects the demanding technical standards result in relatively high rents. Thus for example the newly built 'Complejo' in San Antonio in Managua remains mostly vacant, since few people can afford to pay the cost-related rent of 3,900 Cordobas per flat. Although, since 1981, the ministry has tried to reduce costs by opting for prefabrication and industrialization. Yet potential savings (16) have been rapidly compensated by increasing import costs for high quality building materials and components (electric installations, metal fittings, ceramics, steel) typical for this kind of technology (MINVAH 1984b: 45). Even though 55% of the cost of production of cement have to be spent to import the energy required in the process (TAPIA 84:101), officially continues to prefer concrete construction systems for housing estates:

"Con este programa de Complejos Habitacionales se atiende en forma prioritaria la demanda de los productivos rurales y urbanos. Los construcciones son masivas para aprovechar al maximo las ventajas de la sistematización y la prefabricación en los procesos productivos." (MINVAH 1984: 8)

Occasionally, even within Nicaragua this very "technical" approach has been strongly criticized considering its financial and socio-cultural consequences (MINVAH 1981: 84). By relying more on domestic resources for building and mechanical developments, the Ministry of Agriculture (MIDINRA) has in fact demonstrated a more flexible approach: close to the town of Esteli it operates a centre for appropriate technology (CITA) and thus it is able to accept certain offers of foreign aid (i.e. from the West German GATE in 1982), which are rejected by the Ministry of Housing. NGO's cooperation mainly with local organisations are as well testing successfully import substituting building techniques (17). Along with various international organisations (CEE, CONFER, UNICEF, CEPAD, CARITAS) they have acted as advocates of an 'alternative' approach and have supported self-help programs such as the "Modulos Basicos", while bilateral aid (from France, Canada, Sweden, Argentina and the USSR) tended to subsidize the building of 'Complejos' (MINVAH 1984: 10).

According to the statement of a MIDINRA representative during an international conference in Managua (MINVAH 1981: 84), foreign aid has often meant a temptation to opt for unnecessarily expensive technology without sufficiently drawing on local resources.

VII. Conclusion: ASSESSMENT OF 'REVOLUTIONARY' POLICY ASPECTS

Evaluating the absolute figures of shelter provision in Nicaragua after the revolution, an increasing deficit can be noticed. One reason for this is the total lapse of private building activity within the formal sector, whereas the production in the informal sector has not been registered in the respective statistics. With the aim to introduce a sound social housing program the necessary legal reforms were passed, and a powerful and well equipped Ministry created, which is the MINVAH. However, the financial crisis due to the war has curbed the disposable housing budget drastically. The unwillingness of the Ministry of Housing and Human Settlements to improvise might be an additional handicap, as well as its sticking to the myth of industrialization as a recipe for cost-efficient housing production. Furthermore the attempt to coordinate better the complementing measures of different authorities has not yet achieved the intended results.

Nevertheless, the implemented housing policy basically contrasts favourably from most experiences in purely market economy oriented developing countries, both in quantitative and in qualitative terms. In this context, it has to be pointed out, that about 90% of all housing investment favours the lower income groups (Tapia 1984: 101). The 'Urbanizaciones Progressivas' policy provides free access to land and basic infrastructure for many urban homeless, which can be considered 'revolutionary' even compared to openly socialist countries. In rural areas the agrarian reform represents a comparable program, which however is explicitly intended to strengthen the productive sector, understanding improvement of the housing situation as an integral part of the other.

The policy of the 'Urbanizaciones Progressivas' may not have been carried through without the actual state of emergency. Similarly, under the present financial crisis, new and partly unconventional learning processes are

invented in the need of the day. Also in the long-run these experiences are an asset to improve housing and infrastructure provision locally. In this context, particularly the activities of local 'grass-root' organisations such as CDS should be kept in mind, which, in some neighbourhoods, define the priorities in the establishment of infrastructure, try to find independent sponsorship, organize voluntary working groups or communally build gardens and parks. Furthermore, some of the projects supported by foreign NGO's comprise elements of appropriate technology, of organizational alternatives, and of integrated development. These centrally administered self-help activities will hopefully avoid the danger of allowing the central Government administration become too powerful in the future.

NOTES:

- (1) On 'primate cities' see: Linsky, SOME GENERALIZATIONS CONCERNING PRIMATE CITIES. In: BREESE, G. THE CITY IN NEWLY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, London 1969/72.
- (2) In 1980 22% of the whole population and 47% of the urban population lived in Managua; 93% of the total investment for the drainage system and 85% of that for construction were concentrated in Managua. (Tapia 1984: 91)
- (3) Own calculations of percentages based on data issued by the Ministry of Housing (MINVAH 1984a: 4). It is true, that the housing situation has changed for the worse since the revolution (due to migration and natural increase in population) in spite of the number of houses build, but on the whole this situation results from the structure of supply under Somoza.
- (4) spread over 13 schemes (MINVAH 84:10)
- (5) The minimum salary amounted to 1350 Cordobas per month (TAPIA 1984:99)
- (6) Some interesting ideas on the role of the cities in the computer age can be found in: Hahn, Eckhard, DIE ZUKUNFT DER STADTE, Frankfurt (Peter Lang), 1985.
- (7) The provision of technical services is the duty of special enterprises: 1. INSTITUTO NICARAGUENSE DE AGUEDUCTOS Y ALCANTARILLOS (water supply, sewage); 2. Instituto NICARAGUENSE DE ENERGIA (electricity, street lighting); 3. JUNTOS MUNICIPALES (municipalities) (garbage collection, road surfacing etc.)
- (8) Concerning decentralisation they state for example: "El pueblo organizado participara de manera activa en la elaboracion y aplicacion, tanto de las metas del plan, como de las otras decisiones que tengan influencia sobre su futuro. Ademas, vigilara la ejecucion de los planes y programas para cada territorio." (MINVAH 1983: 24)

To settle all tenancy conflicts is the function of regional committees (CRAH=Comite Regional de Asuntos Habitacional), which are formed by one official of MINVAH and two representatives of the mass organizations. (MINVAH 1984a: 18)

The distribution of plots and building material is also organized by a committee



MINVAH EXPERIMENTAL BUILDING IN MANAGUA DATING FROM THE FIRST YEARS OF THE REVOLUTION.

(CRALOMBA-Comita Regional de Asignacion de Lotes y Modulos Basicos) under the chairmanship of a MINVAH delegate, to which also belong three representatives of the mass organisations and one representative of the regional government (MINVAH 1984: 13).

- (9) FSLN - Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional
- (10) Ley de Repartos Illegales, published as "decreto 97" in LA GACETA, ano LXXXIII, No 18, Managua 1979, p.137-139.
- (11) Ley de Titulación de Lotes en Repartos Intervenidos, decreto 923, in: LA GACETA, ano LXXXVI, no 16, Managua 1982, p. 169-171.
- (12) This regulation is based on the assumption that the investment of a house is amortized by the rent received for it after 20 years. This implies, that tenants automatically become owners after paying rent for 20 years.
- (13) Ley de Expropiación de de Tierras Urbanas Baldías, decreto 903, in: LA GACETA, ano LXXXV, no 286, Managua 1981, p. 3511-3512.
- (14) "Ley de Incluinato", in: LA GACETA, ano LXXXIV, no 1, Managua 1980, S.1-5.
- (15) In Managua alone some 4575 lots (87.5 ha) were squatted between 1979 and 1981, which means that about 25.000 settlers were involved (Tapia 84:99)
- (16) Also in the industrialized countries industrialized building techniques have not proved to be cost-saving. Nicaraguan's own experiences tend towards the same direction. The average productivity was calculated for the following building techniques: wood construction 3,3; conventional solid construction system 2,92; Sandino system (using prefabricated elements) 2,3. (MINVAH 1984b)
- (17) By the establishment of a sawmill in San Carlos, Medico International (Frankfurt) has already provided for the lack of infrastructure for the local wood construction in the region. In El Pochote, the international labour brigades are using fibre cement as a substitute for expensive metal sheets.



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APPENDIX: HOUSING LEGISLATION IN NICARAGUA SINCE 1979

LEY DE (INTERVENCION DE) REPARTOS ILLEGALES (26.9.1979)
prohibits the sale of plots in illegal subdivisions

LEY DE INQUILINATO (2.1.1980)

Reduction of all housing rents to 40-50% of its previous value, except for high standard housing for which 5% of its fiscal value is the permitted maximum rent p.a. In cases where the landlord fails to carry through the necessary repairs the Government can intervene on behalf of the tenants and take over the management of these dwellings.

LEY DE DONACIONES DEL CASCO URBANO (4.1.1980, amended 8.4.1980, and 5.7.1980)
Municipalization of all unused sites in the centre of Managua, for which a general development ban had been issued after the earthquake 1972. Compensation is to be paid to the previous owners, after deduction of all accumulated tax debts.

LEY DE REGULACION DE LAS QUOTAS DE AMORTIZACION DE VIVIENDAS DEL SISTEMA FINANCIERO NACIONAL Y DEL MINVAH

Reduction of mortgage payments to correspond with the average income situation of the population affected. All mortgage payments done within the last 20 years will be accounted as down payment towards the definite transfer of ownership towards the occupants.

LEY CREDORA DE LA CORPORACION NICARAGUENSE DE BIENES RAICES (CINIBIR) (4.9.1980)
Creation of a subsidiary of MINVAH (CONIBIR) to handle the administration of the housing stock in the care of the MINVAH.

LEY SOBRE EL USO DEL SUELO EN LAS AREAS DE DESARROLLO DE LOS ASIENTAMIENTOS HUMANOS (30.8.1980, amended 12.5.1983)

Transference of the planning authority to the MINVAH. Development Plans (Planos de Desarrollo) and Structure Plans (Planos Reguladores) are to be the binding planning documents.

LEY PROCESAL DE INQUILINATO (17.2.1981, amended 21.12.1981, annulated 6. 7.1983)
Procedure instructions related to the Ley de Inquilinato.

LEY ORGANICA DE LA CORPORACION CONSTRUCTORA DE VIVIENDAS (31.8.1981)
Creation of the state owned Direct Labour and Planning Enterprise COVIN

REGLAMENTO DE LA LEY ORGANICA DE COVIN (11.12.1981)
Procedure instructions related to the Ley Organica...

LEY DE EXPROPIACION DE TIERRAS URBANAS BALDIAS (14.12.1981)

Provisions to enable the expropriation of any unused urban sites if these are needed for the public interest. The compensation will be paid in form of investment certificates at an interest rate of 2% p.a. over a period of 20 years after which the value is due for cash payment. (So far some 377 ha. have been expropriated according to this law, and slightly more than 30% of this land has been reprivatised again - see MINVAH 84)

LEY DE EXPROPIACION DE PREDIOS BALDIOS EN EL CASCO URBANO DEL CENTRO URBANO DE LA CIUDAD DE MANAGUA (16.12.1981)

Provisions for the Expropriation of sites in Central Managua

LEY DE TITULACION DE LOTES EN REPARTOS INTERVENIDOS (2.1.1982, amended 9.4.82 and 7.10.1982)

Supply of ownership certificates to the owners or occupants of private sites under Government administration

REGLAMENTO DE LA LEY DE TITULACION DE LOTES EN REPARTOS INTERVENIDOS (12.10.-1982)

Procedure instructions related to the "Ley de Titulacion..."

LEY de "BONOS DE EXPROPIACION DE TIERRAS URBANAS BALDIAS" (6.6. 1983)
Compenstaion of expropriated urban sites in the form of certificates

QUARTIEREN IN ENTWICKLUNGSLÄNDERN (DEVELOPMENT OF Urban Low Income Neighbourhoods), Darmstadt, p. 105-132..

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Shelter Policies in Vietnam

Lars Reuterswärd
Maria Nyström
Hans Roslund

1. INTRODUCTION
2. SHELTER - HISTORY AND CURRENT TRENDS
3. HOUSING NEEDS AND THE ROLE OF THE CONSTRUCTION SECTOR
4. GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE
5. THE URBAN LAND ISSUE
6. PRODUCTION PROCESS
7. THE HOUSING AREA FOR VINH PHU PULP AND PAPER MILL WORKERS
8. CONCLUSION

The three authors, all architects, work at the LCHS of Lund University, Sweden. They have been recently involved in a development project in Vietnam.

This article has been slightly shortened. The original version contained a project report on the HOUSING AREA FOR THE VINH PULP AND PAPER MILL WORKERS, including the application of appropriate technologies.



1. INTRODUCTION

The recent history of Vietnam and its political development 1945-1975, is, we believe, comparatively well known, and do not have to be reviewed in this paper. From an ideological point of view, housing is considered to be an amenity, to be provided free of charge (or almost) to all citizens. However, Vietnam is by all standards a poor country, and its economy is dominated by rural/agricultural activities, rather than by urban/industrial activities. For this reason, the "right to housing" is only bestowed to (some) state employees, and could justly be considered as an indirect salary. The vast majority of housing is provided on a private or co-operative base, with no intervention of the state.

This paper argues, that the housing policy in Vietnam has changed considerably over the last years, away from a more dogmatic socialist standpoint, to a more dynamic and liberal attitude. An issue to be discussed further, is whether this change merely is a tactical adaption to current economic and other constraints, or whether the change follows and supports, a corresponding long-term shift in Vietnam's development strategy?

This paper is structured in the following way. Next chapter is a direct quotation of a personal communication from a representative of the Ministry of Construction, Hanoi. This covers both northern and southern Vietnam. After that, all chapters deal mainly with the situation in northern Vietnam. Housing needs, Government Structure, Urban Land, and the Production and the Process are some covered issues. In contact to this "top-down" or policy review, the planning and implementation of a housing area is subsequently reviewed more in detail. The last chapter outlines some pertinent trends in current Vietnamese housing policy, as they can be deduced from available general information and the case-study.

It should be cautioned, that not too much objective information is available on the subject, and that this paper merely seeks to analyze whatever, that is available, and thereby to provide a base for further studies.

2. SHELTER - HISTORY AND CURRENT TRENDS.

(Based on personal communication from Bui van Cac, MoC, Hanoi)

"Owing to historical circumstances the housing problem has had to be tackled in different manners in northern and southern Vietnam.

Northern Vietnam

Since our August revolution, in northern Vietnam land ownership by landlords has been step by step eradicated, firstly in liberated zones and after the Geneva agreement, in the whole northern part of our country. Communal authorities received delegation of power to allocate land to production and to housing. We have then witnessed tremendous changes in the housing conditions of our population in countryside: before the revolution they have only "a dug-hole to creep in and to creep out" and now they have a real home, at first built of light material and progressively replaced by hard materials, with the stress put on the roofing, according to the motto "replace straw by tile" since the introduction of high yield varieties of rice: We get more rice and less straw, and straw is to be let on the field as a bonificator.

A negative side of past years is to be noted: the area used for housing has constantly expanded, out of control, the cost of which is the dwindling part left to agricultural production. As a consequence, for some ten years, we had to lead a comprehensive resettlement.

From the evaluation of our countryside situation we can conclude that we have got spectacular results out of the development of the rural economy and the self-help movement based on the right to occupy building land ascertained to our rural population, with a somewhat scarce aid from public authorities.

The other side of the medal had been less brilliant: Housing conditions in towns and cities have been very poor, out of the meager heritage left by colonial times as well as out of serious damages from destructions and bombing and also due to the fast natural growing up of the population. Participation from the population has been ignored for many decades: New built houses, reparations, rehabilitation are to rely uniquely on the public funding which lacked far behind the housing needs of our citizens. We started with very low standards: 4 sq m per capita of living area (i.e. corridors kitchen, sanitary rooms... not accounted for). From now standards have been upgraded to 6-8 sq m for collective housing with four, five storeys. Our first steps in participation are allowing people to make a managements, adding space to their houses with hard materials. After that, we have designed some new streets, built them with electricity and water supply and other sanitation works and allocating building parcels to people who are to build their own houses in due time with their funds. Among these operations we can cite the street Lo Duc - Minh Khai, Cau Niem - Kien An in Haiphong. But in North Vietnam, we have not yet raised private funds in participation to build collective housing. Our recent experiences about participation are promising, and we have got the first warning: More attention must be paid on the architectural aspect, too much freedom in building leads to no architecture.

On the public side - at different levels, from the government to communal authorities - participation means creation of new building sites, building areas, investments for the infrastructure, affording possibilities to buy building materials and giving permits and advices.

Southern Vietnam

In the southern part of Vietnam events have followed quite different trends. People chased out of the rural zone have fled into towns, that were quite out-of-scale as compared with the

national economy and were a huge source of earning. A new industry has sprung out: building apartment houses to rent: as soon as the houses were completed, they were rented with a five year contract, the amount of which was so high that paid in one cash gives to the owner enough money to start building another house. At first houses of this type were built according to laws and regulations, afterwards, as building lands became scarce, there was illegal occupation of land - if we let the term of squatting aside for low cost housing only - occupation of public lands and of private lands as well. At the same time single family houses of higher standard have grown up, numerous. For low-cost housing the puppet regime has set up a board of low-cost housing (Gia Cu Liem Gia Cuoc) that has started building in Saigon-Cholon some rows of compartment houses and some blocks of collective housing. Afterwards the board has been replaced by the general direction of housing (Tong Cuoc Gia Cu) that has started building new quarter of collective housing such as Thach Da Quarter, and twinhouses of higher standard.

Squatting came in practice, particularly done by a category of people: the disabled soldiers, acting on their behalf or as windshield to other people. Among these operations it is worthy to note: the establishment of slums along the beautiful seabeach of Nha Trang, and on the open canalizations of Saigon.

In rural areas our people witnessed a new type of housing: The strategic hamlets, consisting of rows of barracks with corrugated iron sheet roofing. Outside these hamlets, as traditional villages suffered destruction after destruction, houses were moved around the parcel, and were reduced to a simple light roof made of leaves.

After the liberation of the south and the reunification of the country, we began the resettlement of people to give more manpower to agriculture - not always successfully because lack of effectiveness of our management: as a result of which we had to relodge the people who had returned to town living on the side-walks. There was also an urgency: the clearing of slums. Being well aware of the difficulty of the problem, we started studying its different aspects for many years, and in extension of the infrastructure network, and building new low-cost houses, all this with the participation of the population. One of our first success to be noted is the clearing of the zone around the Nguyen van Troi bridge in Ho Chi Minh city (the seabeach of Nha Trang has been cleared in the very first days of the liberation of the town). As a recent development of our housing policy one may cite the completion of four storey houses totalling 100 two-room flats in the tenth circumscription of HCMC with public funding supported by private funds raised among the population.

In the countryside, self-help houses are made with traditional building materials with a tendency toward precast elements of reinforced concrete. The participation of the state is the procurement of building material, the introduction of new building techniques."

3. HOUSING NEEDS AND THE ROLE OF THE CONSTRUCTION SECTOR

Statistics on Vietnam is scarce, and not always reliable. However, based on information available in the World Development Report, and in the

compendium of Housing Statistics and on a general knowledge of Vietnam, some traits can be identified. The population growth is 2.5-2.8 % annually, which is normal for a low-income developing country. The growth rate of urban population is however only 3.3 %, which is among the lowest within this group of countries. This means, that the excessive urban migration, plaguing other countries has largely been checked in Vietnam. This has been achieved a.o. by decentralizing industries, facilities and the administration to predominantly rural provinces.

Further, Vietnam is particular, compared to similar countries for the reason that there is quite a large quantity of multi-storey residential urban constructions being carried out.

This is in line with a housing policy, which has undergone considerable change over the last years. Up to 1980, housing was to be provided, as an amenity, to all state employees. At that point in time, it became evident, that the state would not have enough resources for this. For this reason, the housing policy was liberalized. Small-scale private construction enterprises were promoted, and individuals were encouraged to construct their own dwellings. The impact of this new policy has been profound. In addition to multi-storey state-financed buildings, single-storey, detached brick-buildings are being built in large quantities. This is especially so in the rural and semi-rural areas, where these modest but convenient houses greatly have improved housing conditions.

In most developing countries, the construction sector absorbs some 40-70 % of the gross capital formation, out of which the housing construction alone accounts for 10-30 %. If the "informal" housing would be included, this share would no doubt be greatly increased. This is particularly so in Vietnam, where housing construction is currently a major, informal activity. This is to say, that the way resources are used for housing has a profound impact on the general social and economical development of Vietnam.

4. GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE

National and regional Planning

In Vietnam, as in most socialist countries, the long-term priorities are given by the five-year plans. These plans are worked out centrally by the State Planning Committee which is appointed by the National Assembly. Based on these plans, more detailed one-year plans are elaborated. The overall physical planning is an integrated part of this economical long-term plans.

The economic structure is rather decentralized. Each province has a certain degree of independence and a production based on its geographical and social prerequisites. The province administration also comprises departments for architecture and physical planning.

Ministry of Construction

The Ministry of Construction plays a central role for all construction activities. It has a wide spanning field of work within the sector; from research to material production and construction work.

Research is often pursued as experimental construction as the housing problems are acute and the situation needs a quick improvement. Standard type-projects and plans are also carried out centrally and given a general approval for



CURRENT CONSTRUCTION IN VIETNAM. NOTE THE SIMPLE KITCHEN BUILDING ON THE RIGHT

(Photo: Lars Reuterswärd)

construction. Another method is to give a number of standardized technical solutions for details, dimensioning tables etc.

The bigger construction companies belong to the Ministry of Construction. They are each active in different regions of the country.

The ministry is also the owner of a large number of building material plants, e.g. cement factories and bigger brickyards. The greater part of the predominant building material, brick, is produced at province level and at the many cooperatives.

Design and Approval

Detail plans and designs are normally carried out by each ministry, e.g. Ministry of Transport & Communication, Health, Education etc.

Before a project is finally approved, all designs and calculations are carried out in detail. The process is clear, since all major projects pass, and are approved by the State Planning Committee. The construction start is then depending the assignment of funds from the Central Bank.

Construction

The responsibility for providing housing accommodation for the employees primarily lies on each ministry, authority or company. They demand the town or province authority to carry out the work through their construction companies. Bigger projects are often built by the Ministry of Construction.

Rural Conditions

The local construction activities are often not directly regularized by central authorities, though their decisions influence rural construction.

An extensive construction activity and building material production lies within the management of the district authority and the cooperatives.

The district authorities administer the distribution of land to individual persons and has a certain control over the private building sector.

In the cooperatives, the community construction activities are planned internally and in cooperation with the district authorities. The construction investments are depending the production results of the cooperative. This also applies to the private construction within the community, since a higher income gives possibilities to invest in a house. New families are given a private plot of about 300 m² if possible. Construction land is scarce in the delta regions since it is prohibited to make use of the rice fields.

Consequently, both the district authorities and the cooperatives have great autonomy in local matters.

5. THE URBAN LAND ISSUE

The scarcity of land is a major problem. The bulk of the population is living in the areas where the staple-food (rice) is grown. The traditional unit of housing is the hamlet, and cities do not in general have a tradition of more than 100 years.

In the Northern Vietnam the urban population is some 10-15 % of the total population. During the period 1965-1973, very little was built, due to the war. Decentralisation was a safety measure and for this reason slums and squatter settlements are scarce.

In Southern Vietnam, the trend was the reversed. During the war, many people migrated to the cities, for opportunities and relative safety. Some 25 % of the population live in urban areas, many of which in very poor shelters.

In Northern Vietnam there exist three levels in town planning within a city

1. Smaller housing areas of 8 000-12 000 inhabitants shall have service covering their daily needs.
2. Housing areas of 25 000-35 000 shall have additional services and secondary schools.
3. The city.

The scarcity of land is a major argument serving the proponents of multi-storey housing, and they are equally liked by officials, for the reason that they look "modern" and provide for a collective form of housing.

Urban land is privately owned, in central Hanoi to an extent of about 2/3. Land, and buildings can - and are - bought, sold, and inherited. The urban landowners are cautious about their property, and the city has to offer them housing of corresponding quality and size, if a private building in central Hanoi needs to be removed. The city does not have powerful planning instruments for obtaining private urban land, and disputes are in general carefully solved in negotiations, in order not to upset the public opinion. Almost everybody lives in private housing.

The future need for urban land does not primarily seem to stem from migration or even internal population increase. The need will be generated by the urgent need to increase the floor area per capita. In 1975, the average floor area per capita was 1-2 m² (not counting kitchen, toilets etc). The minimum norm was established at 4 m², and have since been increased to be 6 m². To fulfill this norm only, the floor area will thus have to be doubled, or trippled.

Number of rooms per flat	Different stages of development:		
	I	II	III
1	3-4	2	1
2	5-6	3-4	2
3	> 7	> 6	> 3

Number of persons per flat. Today corresponds to stage I, and stage II and III are future projections.

This is a major reason for the current emphasis on decentralisation of housing industries and services, to the provinces outside the densely populated Red River Delta.

6. PRODUCTION PROCESS

The production of housing is catered for at many levels of the Vietnamese society.

As for multi-storey housing, these have been built mainly by the state, and by Provincial Authorities. Over the last ten years, there seems to have been an internal debate concerning the choice of technique. On the policy level, many have advocated the use of wall-sized concrete elements. This technique is associated with industrialized, large-scale methods and is thus considered to be "modern" and further it is argued that it does not demand a great number of skilled construction workers.

The success of this technique has been below targets, as the following quotation shows:

"Several factories for large concrete panels have been given to Vietnam. The theoretical production capacity of the commissioned factories is rather impressive, some 2 600 flats/year, but the actual production is far less:

FACTORY	PROD CAP	PROD -82	PLANNED PROD -84
Dong Bi	600	0	?
Dao Tu/Vinh Y	800	200	10 000 m ²
Xuan Mai	1 200	limited	25 000 m ²
Chem	2 400	---	10 000 m ² not yet commissioned

Table 1: LARGE-PANEL FACTORIES IN NORTHERN VIETNAM
(Source: Ministry of Construction, Hanoi, 1983)

Why has the production of these factories been so meager? The production technique in itself is well tested and rather unsophisticated, and some of the factories have been operational for as long as ten years. One reason could, of course, be that the buildings have proved to be less well-adapted to Vietnamese living conditions and especially to the climate. Another reason could be the cost. One square meter of useful area, corresponding to two square metre of constructed area, costs about 8000 dong. This is twice the cost of building in a more conventional technique, e.g. bricks.

The major reasons for the shortcomings are, however, to be found outside the factory and its finished buildings. The Vietnamese society has great problems in providing the

necessary quantities and qualities of building materials. The technique is not adapted to locally available natural resources. Moreover, the transport of the finished panels has proved to be almost impossible, due to the weak transport infrastructure of the country. Large building cranes are in short supply at the sites" (Reuterswård 1984:36).

For these reasons, some have argued, that this kind of buildings should be built by more conventional methods, e.g. bricks and precast concrete floor cassettes. Recent trends have been in favour of this more traditional approach (costs of -85: 6 000 dong/m² versus 3 500 dong/m²). As for housing construction by enterprises and cooperatives, the conventional approach is employed in general.

Construction of individual housing is mainly made privately (in Hanoi, 75 % was privately built in 1984). For this, locally available materials are mainly used, i.e. bricks, tiles, lime, wood and bamboo. Cement is used, when available. These buildings are usually designed by, or based on earlier designs by architects or engineers. Furthermore, skilled craftsmen are contacted for the joinery, and usually also for bricklaying, mortarworks and decorations.

8. CONCLUSIONS

This paper seeks to support the notion, that Vietnam's housing policy is undergoing a rapid, if not a revolutionary change since the early eighties.

Multi-storey housing blocks are still being constructed by the State, powerful ministries and companies, and by central authorities on the provincial level. This activity is however limited, due to the high unit cost, and for the same reason are buildings, built by heavy-weight, largescale and "modern" techniques" replaced by similar buildings, built by more "traditional" methods. These methods are no doubt less in line with the stress on heavy industry development, typical for socialist ideology and practice.

However, more striking is the shift of responsibility for housing construction industry from the State, i.e. the Ministry of Construction, to other Ministries, and further on to the individual enterprises, which in turn have to accept and promote the private initiative of its employees for the construction of dwellings. The crucial issue, that still has to be analyzed, is whether this transfer of responsibility is lack of resources, or whether it implies a more fundamental change of strategy or policy.

As concerns the physical planning, the State, i.e. Hanoi, seems to have a limited influence within other provinces. Further, the provincial authorities are responsible for master planning, for town planning, and for the allocation of land for settlements. However, the distribution of plots, and the general use of allocated land, seem to be heavily influenced by the district. Again, the leaders of a district might have forceful formal powers, but they are living amongst their people, and seem to be prepared to give way for truly popular sentiments. Thus, popular participation in planning is indirectly guaranteed, and this will increase further, the more the district and individuals are becoming responsible for the housing construction. The



TOP: ONE OF THE FIRST NEW HOUSING UNITS TO BE BUILT WITHIN THE PAPER MILL HOUSING AREA

BOTTOM: LATERITE BRICKS WERE PRODUCED LOCALLY

(Photos: Lars Reuterswård)



crucial issue here is, whether such planning powers are currently being transferred from central to district authorities, or whether the observed shift of responsibility concerning the housing construction is merely a late adaption to an already existing situation in the field of planning. We do not have enough information to date to further analyze the relation between these two issues.

Annexed to this paper, two multi-storey housing areas in Hanoi are described as of 1976. The areas are truly conventional, but it was already then reported, that the construction of large-panel buildings was discontinued, in favour of similar buildings in bricks.



MULTI STOREY HOUSING IS BEING BUILT IN SPITE OF A LACK OF A MODERN EQUIPMENT (Photo: Reuterswård)

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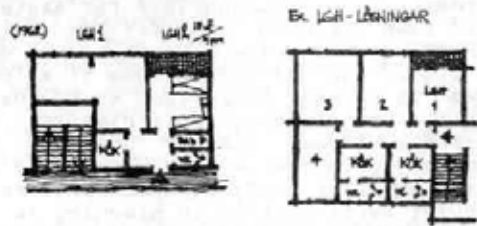
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KIM LIÊN Kim Lien quarter has its name from Ho Chi Minhs native town. The construction of the quarter began in the year 1958. It was the first big new residential area outside Hanoi at that time. It can be seen as the pioneer work to improve the housing conditions in Vietnam. The construction work came to a standstill during the war and was recommenced in the 1970's.

Kim Lien is situated in the vicinity of Hanoi: 4 kilometres outside the center of the town. About 22 000 inhabitants lived there in 1976, most of them were civil servants. Some dwellings are, however, put at diplomats disposal.

The dwelling-houses are mostly 4 storeyed buildings without cellars. There are some houses of one and two storeys too, which are sponsored by aid from Cuba and Japan. There is also a spontaneous housing area with traditional settlements; bamboo and straw-walls.



TRUNG TU

Background

This residential area was under construction in 1976. The number of inhabitants will be 20 000 and the housing area contains 26 five storeyed buildings. The construction of the first phase began in the year 1972, but at Trung Tu the construction work was interrupted by the war. In 1975 the first phase was completed. It includes 25 000 square metres of gross floor area excluding kitchens, washing rooms and toilets. This corresponds to about 1 000 apartments for 5 000 inhabitants.

Phase two was intended (1976) to include 23 000 square metres for another 5 000 inhabitants. The buildings will be built in traditional techniques and bricks will be used, in contrast to the first phase in which prefab wall panels were used exclusively.

The third phase is already a built-up area which causing certain problems for this area to be rebuilt with new housing.

The housing

The dwellings are primarily intended for those people who had their home destroyed during the war and secondly for employees and industrial workers employed by the state. Trung Tu should also serve those people who come from the countryside and work in town.

The housing area consists of balcony access blocks of different sizes; for 40, 60, 80 and 100 families. The flats are about 24-27 square metres and have two rooms and their own kitchen as well as washing room and toilet.

The sketch below shows the flats in one of the buildings.

Service

Schools and nursery:

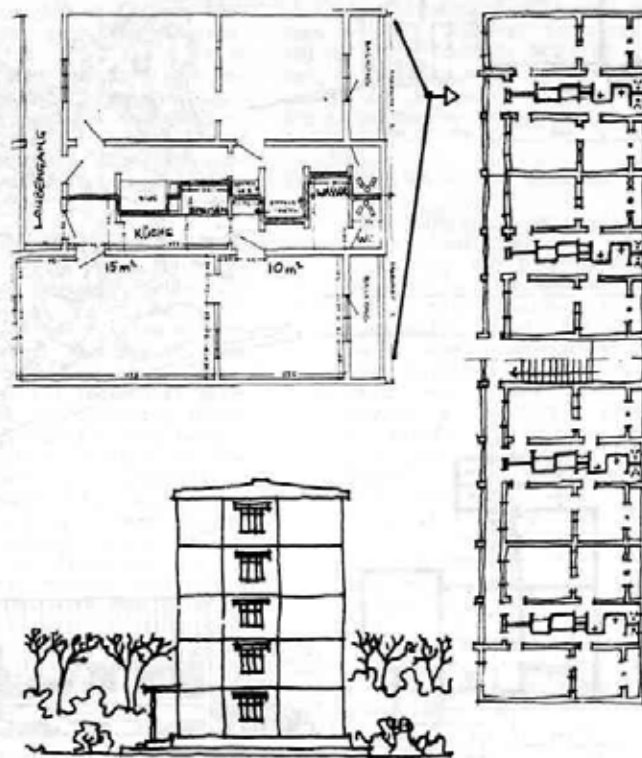
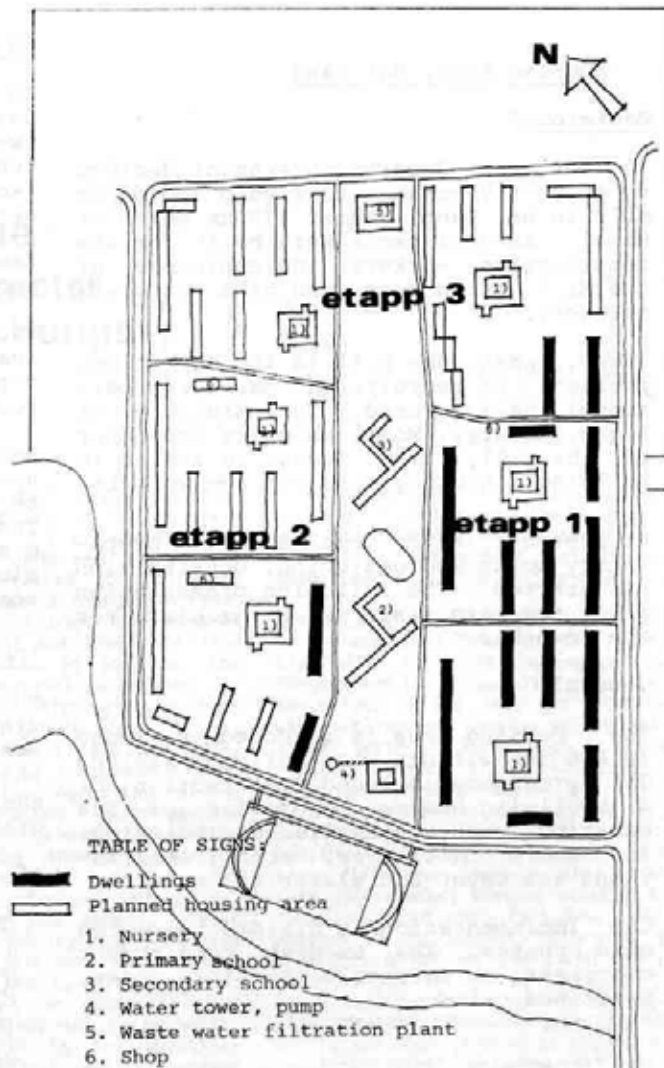
There is a primary and a secondary school. Furthermore there is a day care centre.

Shops:

There are four shops total two private, and the other are two governmental.

Technical supply:

A water tower for the water supply and a waste water filtration plant.



HOUSING AREA, Bai Bang

Background

In 1974, the Swedish government decided to support Vietnam with a pulp and paper mill in Bai Bang, about 100 km North of Hanoi. Several camps were built for the construction workers and employees of the Mill. The houses were of a temporary category.

Today, when the Mill is in operation, problems to recruit and maintain personnel have occurred. The Ministry of Light Industry, MoLI, which is the owner of the Mill, asked Sweden to assist in building a housing area for the workers.

At present, after some years of preparatory works and designing, construction has started. The following presentation gives the main features of the plans for the township.

General

The housing area is intended to lodge 10 000 inhabitants when fully completed. The programme included construction of 1 100 living houses, upgrading of 344 existing temporary dwellings, buildings for public facilities, roads, plantations and water and electrical networks.

The implementation is divided into two main phases. The Swedish commitment comprises, so far, only the first phase, described below.

Housing

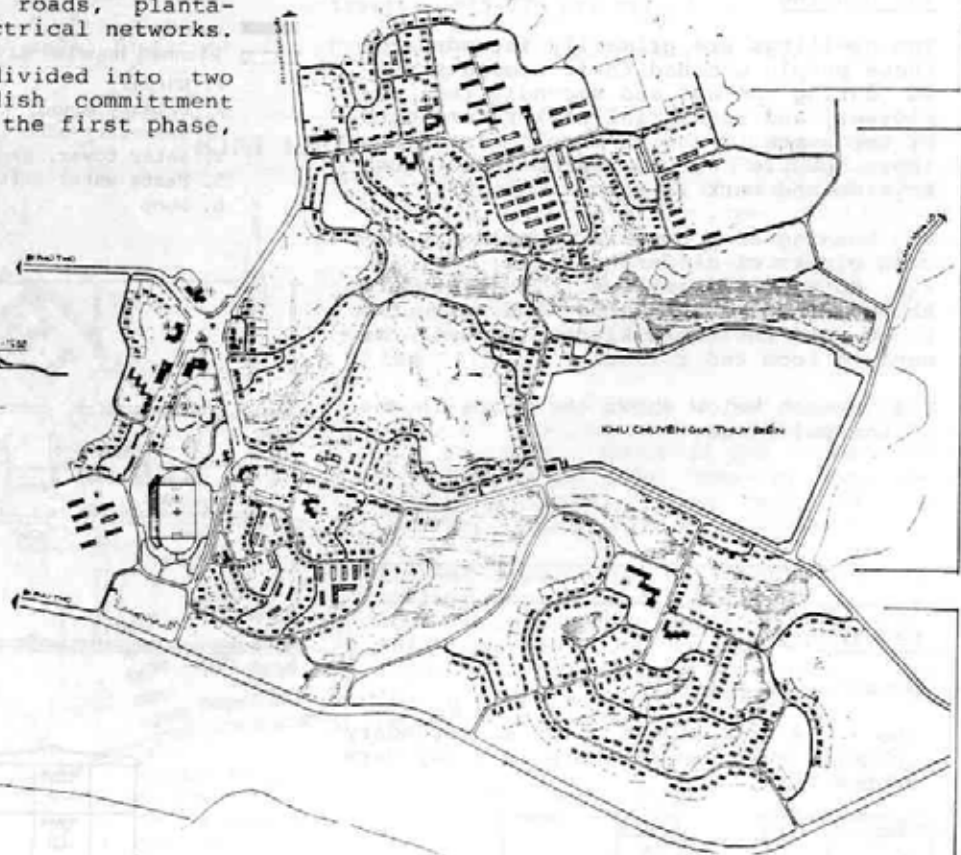
In the first phase, 500 new dwelling units will be built. They are of one or two storey type, detached or semi-detached. The accommodation is divided into two classes; living area and service area (kitchen, toilet, washroom, pigsty, circulation). The living area for a family of 4-6 persons is 15-36 sq m - about half of the construction area.

Each unit is provided with a plot of at least 300 sq m in order to allow for a certain degree of self-sufficiency in food production.

Among the existing temporary apartments some are of a good quality. These will be upgraded for permanent accommodation. The units have a living area of 15-18 sq m and a service area of 77,5 sq m. The plots are small but should be sufficient for bachelors and small families.

Implementation

The construction work is carried out by Vietnamese companies, with only a few Swedish instructors present. The first phase is to be finalized by 1988. Future administration as well as maintenance will be an entirely Vietnamese matter.



Managing the Housing Queue

The current Debate on the Character of Socialist Housing Policies in Hungary

Paul Baross

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1. INTRODUCTION

"In spite of our achievements the housing question remains our most significant socio-political problem"

(Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, 1978)

Housing has been a perennial problem for the people of Hungary and the resulting popular discontent for the party which promised 'an individual dwelling for every family' when it launched the first 15 years Housing Programme in 1960. The 'objective' basis for the popular discontent is the estimated 470,000 families who have failed to find a house of their own by the end of the Plan period. In fact, the unsatisfied housing need has increased rather than diminished between 1960-1975, and the cost of buying a two room apartment in the cities has inflated from six to seven times the annual income of an average working family. (1) (Table 1)

Quantitative assessment of the housing queue in Hungary 1949-1990
source: Hoffman, J. Table 4, 14, 16.

Year	Number of dwellings(1)	Number of families(1)	Housing shortage thousands
1949	2,480	2,746	266
1960	2,720	3,067	347
1975	3,410	3,880	470
1981*	3,650	4,022	372
1991*	4,000-4,100	4,070	* estimated

However the targets of housing production for the 1960-75 plan were met, over one million new dwellings were constructed, significantly improving the 'objective' indices of housing provision in the country. In fifteen years, the number of families per dwelling unit has decreased from 1.3 to 1.12 and the number of persons per room, from 2.36 to 1.57. Compared with other European countries, Hungary has moved from the position of 15 in 1966 to 6 in 1976, by increasing the production of new dwellings per 1,000 inhabitants from 6.4 to 8.8. Between 1960 and 1975, about one third of the country's population moved to a new or better house. (2)

The 'objective' basis for the paradox of a growing housing shortage and im-

pressive housing output is a miscalculation. "The demographic variables moved differently than planned" one housing analyst, observed wryly. (3) The plan makers failed to anticipate the drastic demographic changes in family due to fewer children, high divorce rates, the rise of the single or 'incomplete' households as well as the strength and regional direction of migration streams. Although the total population growth was less than projected between 1960 and 1975, there were 3,879,000 independent families looking for housing instead of the 'planned' 3,542,000. Thirty percent of the demographic growth concentrated in Budapest and the other sixty percent in other urban areas.

Before presenting the second 15-year Housing Plan, the policy makers revised the basic demographic variables and set new targets for the country's housing industry. By 1990, an additional 1.2 million new dwellings are to be built, declaring once again that the 'quantitative' housing deficit will disappear when all the planned houses are constructed. In the first two years of implementation, 187,000 units were completed, some 20,000 more than targeted. Thus the statistics of production would support an optimistic assessment of improving housing conditions in Hungary and the soundness of the basic policy decisions which placed the housing sector of the socialist economy in the welfare category of a state - provided necessity.

However, in the last few years an increasingly vocal group of housing professionals have begun to articulate strong dissent about the socialist character of the housing delivery system in Hungary. The core of their argument, supported by empirical documentation, is that the hegemonial position of the State in regulating access to shelter, has produced strong inequalities among various sectors of the population (urban/rural, managerial / worker, housed/homeless), inequalities which could not be traced to the way incomes are earned, but to the way new housing is delivered. In the last twenty years, housing professionals were preoccupied with sterile arguments about dwelling sizes, neighbourhood densities, building heights, the economics of housing factories and the aesthetics of their products, leaving the social implications of the principle of State produced and distributed housing unchallenged. The current dissent seeks to re-examine the nature of

'housing policies' in a socialist economy, and in particular, the balance between the contribution of the State and that of the individual families should make towards solving this problem.

The purpose of this paper is to report on the arguments favouring the redefinition of a socialist housing policy in Hungary and the proposals for its implementation. In the next two sections we will outline the housing policy and delivery system in Hungary as it operated until the mid 1970's, bringing into focus the tension between the relative equality between incomes earned by the families and the sharp differentials in housing inequality due to the qualitative difference between the existing (and overcrowded) housing stock and the newly produced one. Part four will be devoted to the various "reformist" propositions which emerged after the provocative and influential study of Konrad / Szelenyi about the strong regressive features of housing allocation within the dualistic access mechanism of "administrative" and "market" distribution that characterizes the actual housing delivery system in Hungary. The concluding section will take up some broader issues of socialist housing policies, focusing on three conceptual directions, socialized production, socialized allocation and socialized access to housing resources.

2. THE HOUSING POLICY FRAMEWORK

"In Hungary, as well as in other East European socialist countries, the general policy of housing was conceived on the basis that housing is not a commodity, that there should be a weak correlation between the quality of dwellings and their rent, that rents should remain a negligible proportion of family expenditure, that in principle each family should benefit in housing improvement from the overall growth of the national economy and ultimately acquire its own dwelling through the mechanism of socialist allocation rather than the ability to pay." (4)

The first overall assessment of the country's housing stock after the Second World War was carried out in 1949. On average there were 3.87 persons per dwelling in Budapest, 3.69 in other urban centres and 4.09 in the rural areas. In addition to the severe over-

crowding, the quality of dwellings was also much poorer than contemporary European averages, 87.5 percent lacked the basic comfort of individual water connections and toilet, 95 percent had only one or two rooms, and one third of all houses were built before the turn of the century. (5) In Budapest, the conditions magnified the capitalist contradictions of past housing development, massive workers tenements, squatter areas and luxurious villas in the elegant districts of the city.

The task of socialist reconstruction of the housing sector appeared to be clear: the immediate redistribution of the housing stock to make maximum use of surplus accommodation, the repression of the market mechanism to avoid sharp price competition for what existed and the development of an efficient (socialist) construction industry, which could rapidly increase the production of new units. THE STATE WAS TO ACQUIRE A HEGEMONIAL POSITION IN DIRECTING RESOURCES TO RESIDENTIAL CONSTRUCTION AND REGULATING ACCESS TO HOUSING.

The principle of 'IMMEDIATE REDISTRIBUTION' was implemented by nationalizing all privately owned properties in cities which contained six or more dwellings for rent and giving to municipal housing agencies executive power to allocate "surplus rooms" within their jurisdiction, independent of whether the dwelling was privately or publicly owned. These measures institutionalized the new tenure concepts of "co-renters" and "sub-renters" as more and more unrelated families were moved to a single dwelling. Given the fact that in 1949 merely 4.9 percent of all dwellings in Hungary had three or more rooms, and those were in the private ownership of the previous bourgeoisie, the redistributive policy had a strong class appropriation content. (6) However, the subsequent years of overcrowded living, the sharing of kitchens, bathrooms and toilets among unrelated and often hostile families soon diluted the ideological significance of the egalitarian principle. By the mid-1960's many 'social problems' in Hungary were linked to the housing problem of co-renters and sub-renters, such as the high divorce and suicide rates and the lowest level of birth rate in Europe. (7)

The housing shortage that existed in Hungary in 1945-50 would have led to sharp rises in rents had the capitalist market mechanism been allowed to prevail. The socialist housing policy in Hungary undercut the market mechanism with the administrative allocative power of the State. The other instrument for mitigating the market pressure on the housing sector was the rent control. In 1950 institutionalized uniform rent levels were established for both public and private dwellings, with minor variations taking into account floor space, number of rooms, and level of services. Rents were low both in terms of income spent on housing and in relation to the cost of maintenance/depreciation. By 1970 rents consumed only 2-3 percent of the average family budget and the cost of upkeep in a dwelling in the public sector was estimated to be three times higher than the income the municipal agency receives from rents. (8) (Table 2)

Administrative allocation and rent control mitigated against the market mechanism but did not abolish it completely. There were two important loopholes which created a "black market" for housing - and for some families very expensive solutions to the housing problem. One was the possibility of exchanging dwellings among those who already occupied one. Although the exchanges had to be approved by the municipal housing agencies, families were free to search for partners as they moved from one district (or city) to another, exchange a larger apartment for two smaller ones, moved from private sector to public sector housing, and so on. The agreement among the families often involved (undeclared) cash payment which reflected the real qualitative differences between the dwellings, due to location, level of comfort and the scarcity of larger apartments in the housing stock. The 'key money' fluctuated between 3-5 times the yearly rent payment.

The other expensive housing solution for families who could not wait in the housing queue was sub-renting. Rooms in both publicly and privately owned houses could be sub-let as long as the chief tenant (or owner) also lived in the apartment. In this sub-market rent control was not enforced, for the state encouraged "voluntary" reduction of space consumption.

However, the low official rents which were institutionalized in the 1950's and remained practically fixed until 1971, seriously retarded the maintenance and rehabilitation of the existing housing stock. The earlier quoted figures describing the poor comfort quality of older dwellings indicates that modernizing the existing housing stock would have a significant impact on improving the "qualitative" dimension of the housing problem in Hungary. This task was largely neglected. (9) As rents did not cover maintenance and demolition costs, and state subsidy was targeted on new construction, it was more convenient to replace old units than to improve them. Between 1950 - 1975 some 335,000 dwellings were destroyed, which is the equivalent of about 20 percent of all new housing built in the same period. (10) Budapest, where the housing shortage has been the most severe in the last thirty years, was worst affected by housing demolition. In the period 1976

- 1980, 33 percent of all new construction was used to rehouse families from bulldozed dwellings. (11)

The emphasis on building new apartments was also consistent with the third element of the socialist housing policy: THE PROMOTION OF NATIONALIZED BUILDING COMPANIES to increase the number of dwellings in state ownership. State construction enterprises had monopolistic access to finance, building materials and serviced land, to produce the planned number of units in cities where new investment for industrial development was targeted. Private construction, on the other hand, received no financial support from the government. The promotion of industrialized housing construction was seen as the main leverage to establish the hegemonial role of the state within the housing sector. "As in the process of building a socialist society, large scale production will supercede small scale enterprises and public ownership will become dominant over private ownership, it was reasonable to expect similar changes in the field of housing; the privately produced and owned dwellings will constitute a diminishing proportion of the housing stock". (12)

The experience of the last thirty years only partially fulfilled this expectation. Between 1950 - 1978, the public sector sponsorship of new construction remained only 30-35 percent and in the country as a whole private ownership remained the dominant form of tenure (71.6 percent). This overall figure hides important variations between Budapest, other cities and the villages. In cities the state sector sponsored 57 percent of the new construction, in the rural area only 7 percent of the houses are built by the government. (Table 3)

Table 3 Public and private sponsorship of new housing production 1951-1978

Year	Number of Dwellings produced by		% of Public Sponsorship
	Public	Private	
1951 - 1955	48,000	110,000	30
1956 - 1960	77,000	207,000	27
1961 - 1965	98,000	184,000	35
1966 - 1970	106,000	221,000	32
1971 - 1975	150,000	288,000	37
1976 - 1978	98,000	177,000	37
Total	577,000	1,187,000	36
In Budget	183,000	138,000	57
In all cities	336,000	269,000	56
In rural districts	58,000	780,000	7

3. THE URBAN HOUSING DELIVERY SYSTEM

"I seek in exchange for my three rooms, full comforts, centrally located, municipal apartment - a onetwo room dwelling with garden. Cash payment."

"Room for rent, for quiet, single woman, Shared facilities. Ft 800 / month"

"Looking for two families to participate in a cooperative apartment construction. Cash payment Ft 80,000"

(Samples from advertisements in daily newspapers, 1983)

Table 2 Income and cost structure of rented public housing in municipal ownership 1950-1975

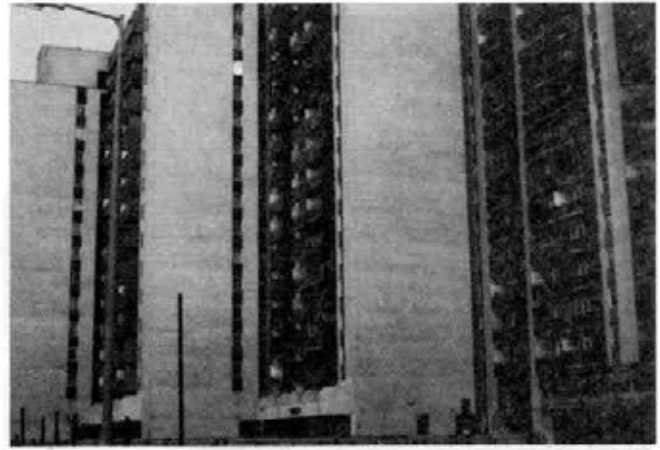
Year	Number of dwelling units(1)	Rents and related payments(2)	Maintenance and service cost(2)	Average year rent/unit Ft
1954	501	649	---	1,295
1955	508	648	---	1,281
1956	509	636	554	1,230
1957	511	672	635	1,315
1958	509	660	674	1,297
1959	510	666	1,122	1,306
1960	510	677	1,231	1,315
1961	523	693	1,244	1,325
1962	531	708	1,360	1,333
1963	542	719	1,507	1,327
1964	549	733	1,551	1,335
1965	561	753	1,573	1,342
1966	570	775	1,414	1,360
1967	582	797	1,436	1,369
1968	593	851	1,374	1,435
1969	604	879	1,492	1,467
1970	619	908	2,262	1,487
1971*	636	1,198	2,488	1,887
1972	699	2,159	2,559	2,285
1973	655	2,196	2,719	2,209
1974	644	2,483	3,415	2,324
1975	675	2,965	3,608	2,393

1 in thousands

2 in million Ft

* rent readjustment

source: Hoffman, J. Table 17, p.53



LEFT: OLD WORKING CLASS CLASS RENTAL HOUSING
RIGHT: PUBLIC HOUSING ESTATE IN PEST
(Photos: P.Baross)

In any city there are important qualitative variations in the existing housing stock. Some dwellings are old, small and need repair, others are new with modern plumbing and central heating, some are crowded together in highrise buildings, others are situated in spacious gardens, some are in good, well serviced neighbourhoods, others are located in distant town extension projects in the suburbs. In describing THE QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCE in the urban housing stock, hungarian sociologists usually employ TWO CONCEPTUAL TYPOLOGICAL DEVICES, "HOUSING CLASS" and "QUALITATIVE HOUSING INDEX". (13) Housing classes refer to the housing types which have different names in the popular language (and are often referred to as such in the advertising columns of newspapers). Thus the housing class has a symbolic connotation which integrates many attributes of the residential environment, architectural type, pricing, location, neighbourhood, quality, tenure, and significantly whether it is part of the public or the private housing system. (14)

In the public sector there are three housing classes: "apartments" (nationalized, old upper-class 3-5 storey buildings in central locations), "flats" (newly built high-rise blocks on the outskirts of the city) and "tenements" (old working class housing estates comprising of one room and a kitchen and often with communal service provision, in inner city locations). There are also three housing classes in the private sector, "villas" (single family houses with gardens in prestigious locations), "condominiums" (modern multi-storey dwellings built in the 'villa zone' or in central loca-

tions as in-fill projects replacing war-damaged buildings) and "family houses" which approach the character of the rural housing stock, built on the outer fringes of the city where urban infrastructure (and public services) are either non-existent or sporadic. Figure 1 organizes the "housing classes" into a hierarchical relationship in terms of their qualitative superiority and social ownership.

The "QUALITATIVE HOUSING INDEX" is an arithmetic construction. It expresses the qualitative differences among dwellings of similar sizes by multiplying room numbers with an "index of comfort" (toilets, bathroom, heating, etc.). Taking the index of 1 for the poorest dwelling, the best (but not extravagantly unique) houses would register around 15 on the scale. There is obviously a strong correlation between the "housing classes" and "qualitative housing index" although no attempt has been made so far to calibrate the hierarchy. "Villas" would command the highest index, "condominiums" and "apartments" would probably be indistinguishable, second cluster, with scores of 6-10, "flats" would have an index of 4-6, "family houses" of 3-4, and most of the "tenements" make up the 1-2 category.

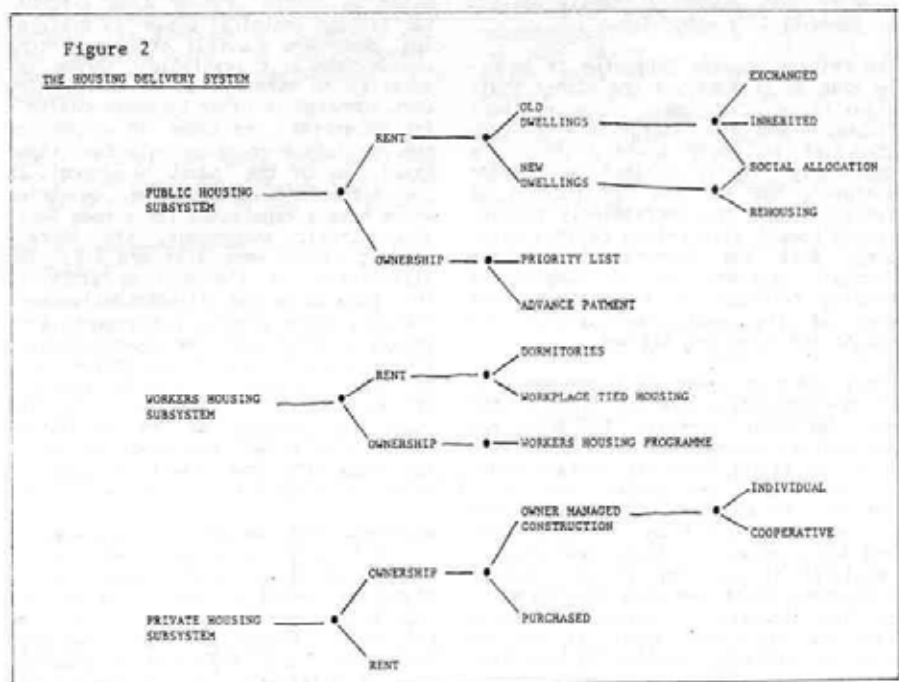
Who gets access to which housing class, at what cost, is the central social issue of the housing question. We call the mechanisms of the (RE)PRODUCTION OF HOUSING CLASSES and the various access channels for their appropriation by the families the "HOUSING DELIVERY SYSTEM". (15) In Hungary, like in most countries this delivery system is very complex. It is made up of a matrix of developers who articulate an even more complex supply of housing resources (land, finance, material, and labour organizations), and the various administrative and market mechanisms which reconstitute the housing queue substreams of applicants.

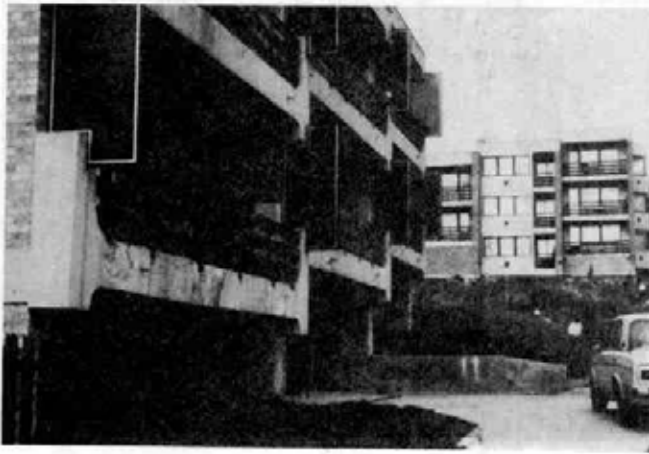
In Figure 2, a rather generalized attempt is made to describe the urban housing delivery system in Hungary. It consists of three major subsystems; the first is dominated by government purchased and distributed houses (Public Housing Subsystem), the second is tied to the enterprises where people work (Worker's Housing Subsystem), and the third is the private housing market (Private Housing Subsystem). All three have a rental and ownership component.

Figure 1
Qualitative stratification of the urban housing stock

Public Delivery	Market Delivery
apartments: nationalized old upper class rental units	villas: single family dwellings in prestigious locations
flats: new public housing in high-rise flats, concentrated in large housing estates	condominiums: newly constructed private apartments.
tenements: nationalized former working class rental units, usually with common service provision	low-rise in-fill projects
	family-house: newly constructed single family dwellings in the outer suburbs

Source: Konrad/Selings





The "old dwellings" in the rental sector of the public housing subsystem are predominantly "apartment" and "tenement" housing types, as it was the capitalist rental housing stock which was first acquired in 1949-1950 through the nationalization programme. The new dwellings produced by the public sector (both for rent and private ownership) are "flats" in the new (suburban) residential districts.

The rental segment of the Workers Housing Subsystem, is a remnant of the 1950's when during the forced industrialization, factories had to house their workforce (single men and women in dormitories) whose main residence remained in the villages. This 'commuting' workforce is now gradually disappearing either because the workers managed to find more permanent accommodation in the cities or they moved back to the countryside where wages (and private farm earnings) became higher than what was offered in the urban areas for unskilled labourers. More significant today in the Workers Housing Subsystem, is the ownership segment which is either a housing construction programme financed by the social budget and profits of enterprises or factory guaranteed loans to individual workers. There are "flats", "condominiums" and in the case of loan guarantee "family houses" produced by this subsystem.

The Private Housing Subsystem is largely made up of families who either individually or in small co-operatives, finance - and often labour on - the construction of their houses. These are dominantly "family houses" or "condominiums", but the new construction of "villas" (and the increasingly popular second homes) also belong to this category. Both the "purchased" and the "rental" segments are as complicated housing transactions as in any other part of the world where houses are bought and rooms are let out.

There are some areas where the segments of the subsystems overlap. Some of the new dwellings produced by municipal authorities are sold to individual families and filter into the private housing subsystem. Enterprises and institutions can also claim a share of the new buildings built by the government and hence access to these dwellings is regulated through the Workers Housing Subsystem. There are also many forms of private (market) transactions among families occupying municipal housing such as exchange, co-renting and sub-renting.

Housing statistics in Hungary are not collected on the typological basis of either the "housing class" or the "housing delivery system", hence it is not possible to provide accurate figures to illustrate the share of the various subsystems and segments in the total delivery system. However, as an approximation the reported housing transactions in Budapest are adapted in Figure 3 to the corresponding delivery system categories. (16)

In terms of housing classes our estimate is even more conjectural. Probably 30 percent of the new constructions were "condominium" types, 10 percent "family houses", and 60 percent new "flats". Transactions in the existing housing stock dominantly involved "apartments" and "family houses" and the systematic elimination of the "tenements".

This somewhat detailed explanation of the housing delivery system and the housing classes it produces, is necessary to understand the first set of questions that Hungarian sociologists asked about the socialist character of the housing situation: WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP between the WAGES, reproduced through the LABOUR MARKET and HOUSING PROVISION which was supposed to be based on 'NEEDS' rather than AFFORDABILITY. The empirical answer is disturbing. According to 1977 official income census (the last available), income inequality in Hungary was relatively low when compared to other European capitalist countries. The upper 10 percent of the population received only four times the income of the lowest 10 percent. In the Netherlands and Sweden, countries which have a reputation for strong Social-Democratic government, the corresponding ratios were 1:14 and 1:23. The distribution of the housing stock in the population is significantly more unequal. While there is a general tendency for higher income groups to control a greater share of the better houses, the difference in equality approaches the ratio of 1:12.5 (Table 4). The lower ten percent of the population controls only two percent of the housing stock, the lower twenty percent has to be satisfied with five percent. (17)

However, the incomes above explain (statistically) only seventeen percent of the variation. A more important explanatory variable appears to be the "HORIZONTAL STRATIFICATION" OF THE POPULATION, people who earn the same income but have different occupations live in different parts of the country

LEFT: CONDOMINIUMS; RECENTLY CONSTRUCTED MULTI FAMILY UNITS IN BUDAPEST

RIGHT: SELF-HELP, THE NEW POLICY OF ENCOURAGING FAMILY INVESTMENT

(Fotos: Paul Baross)

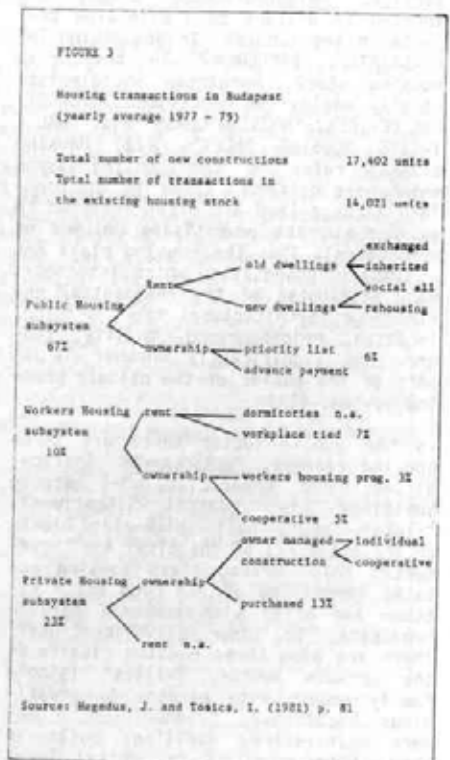


TABLE 4
Income and Housing

	Income per capita (Ft)	Room per capita	Qualitative Housing Index per capita
1	11279	0.38	0.61
2	16945	0.49	0.92
3	20388	0.54	1.08
4	22746	0.58	1.24
5	25177	0.62	1.35
6	25177	0.67	1.46
7	29949	0.72	1.58
8	32333	0.75	1.70
9	36561	0.81	1.86
10	50589	0.94	2.29

Source: Daniel 25, op cit. Table 2. p.79

Table 5

Relationship between job status, income and housing provision

job categories	income(1)	housing provision(2)	magnitude of differentiation within the job category(3)	
			income	housing provision
unskilled workers	100	101	8	9
farmers	113	117	9	8
skilled workers	118	140	5-6	6
workers with two jobs	123	100	4	7
farmers with two jobs	128	104	5-6	5
technicians	136	178	2	4
white collar workers	148	217	3	2
agricultural managers	149	166	1	3
industrial managers	168	250	7	1

(1) Incomes are expressed as the percentage of income earned by the lowest job category (unskilled workers)

(2) Housing provision is expressed as the percentage of qualitative room number/person in the lowest job category (workers with two jobs)

(3) Ranks showing the inequality within the job categories (lowest differentiation of incomes is in 'agricultural managers', lowest differentiation in housing provision is in category 'industrial managers'.

Source: Daniel, Zs. Table 5 p. 83

(rural/urban, unmarried/with families). As Table 5 illustrates, the occupational stratification plays a dominant role in explaining housing inequalities. While "industrial managers" have largest range of incomes in that occupational category (vertical stratification), the range in the quality of housing provision is the lowest. It is also the category where the difference between income and housing provision is the highest. "White collar workers" and "technicians" exhibit similar, although somewhat less accentuated, tendencies. On the other end of the scale, the various "workers" categories show a high spread of incomes and a high spread of housing solutions. It appears that the urban managerial/intellectual strata could mobilize a housing allocation channel that provides access to a better housing situation irrespective of the income spread within their occupations, whereas the "workers" housing situation reflects more closely what they can afford from their income.

An earlier study by Konrad / Szelenyi identifies clearly the source of this inequality. (18) Managers, professionals and white collar workers had better access to dwellings produced by the public sector delivery system (45%-60% in these three categories), the workers (20%-25%). At the time that the public sector produced superior housing classes (flats) to those which dominated the urban housing stock (tenements) at not significantly higher rental cost, a strong inequality was introduced into the socialist housing provision. Workers either stayed in tenements or, if they wanted to move, they built family houses on the outskirts of the city.

These constructions, because of the private sector character, received no subsidy or financial support from the government. Those workers who moved out of the tenements on their own, ended up paying Ft. 2.347/month for their housing solution, their white collar colleagues, moving to the public housing options, paid an average Ft. 617 for rent and Ft. 879 for ownership (Table 6).

4. THE REFORMIST PROPOSITIONS

"The Cabinet acknowledged that currently access to housing is characterized by inequalities, the construction and maintenance cost of dwellings are disproportionately distributed between the State and the population"

(The Central Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, 1982)(19)

The sociological research of the late 1970's focussed on the inequalities produced by the housing delivery system and questioned the ideological reality of the socialist housing policy. However, in their view, administrative adjustment in allocation, emphasizing some objective "social need" (family size, current housing situation) could correct the shortcomings together with the expanding role that public housing would play in the overall delivery system.

The reformist arguments, advanced from an economic perspective, contend that it is the OPERATION OF THE PUBLIC HOUS-

ING SUBSYSTEM ITSELF which is at the root of the problem itself, and needs largely to be dismantled, not only in the sphere of allocation but in the SPHERE OF PRODUCTION as well.

"The strongly subsidized public housing programme blocks private initiative and fails to incorporate a significant share of private savings into the housing sector" (20)

In the 1970's, the public sector housing programme absorbed 90%-95% of government grants (non-recoverable investment) and 32% of loans provided for housing. However, in this period it produced only 32% of all new dwellings. In contrast, the private sector which accounted for 48% of the new houses, received 1% grant and 32% of loans. Someone who could get access to public housing needed a downpayment of Ft. 20.000 to acquire ownership, in the private sector one had to accumulate about seven times as much money to pay for the required Ft. 150.000 initial capital. (21) Tables 7 and 8 illustrate that throughout the 1970's the resource absorption of the public sector has increased and so has its share of the total construction. People who were outside the public housing delivery system (still 54% of all new construction) paid 552% or 1,113% more from their resources to acquire housing than those who gained access to government dwellings. Over the decade, their required contribution increased by 123% and 95% as compared to the 29% increase in downpayments for public housing.

Table 6

Cost and tenure relationship for similar quality of housing

Average	Ft. 2,195
Public housing/rental	Ft. 617
Public housing/owner	Ft. 879
Private owner	Ft. 2,347
According to location (averages)	
Budapest	Ft. 1,394
Other cities	Ft. 1,865
Rural districts	Ft. 2,867

Source: David, Zs. op-cit Table 8

Table 7

Level of Financial support (22)

Distribution of financial support for various types of housing delivery systems

Source: Hegedus, I. and Tosics,

J. footnote 13,14, p.89

Level of Financial Support	Grant		Loan		Down Payment		Total Number of Dwellings	
	1973	1979	1973	1979	1973	1979	1973	1979
"deep"	5.802	10.456	1.953	4.556	588	976	28.998	37.271
"medium"	663	548	2.254	2.916	839	1.305	12.962	9.021
"light"	80	113	1.951	5.473	6.022	10.480	38.163	35.165
Total	6.545	11.126	6.158	12.909	7.449	12.721	80.123	81.457

The conclusion is sharp and unequivocal, the financial resource consumption of the public housing strategy strangles the overall efficiency of housing production, and is responsible for the social inequality in housing in two ways. One, it retards housing production and hence increases the (potential) number of families in the housing queue. Second, it creates a competition for the subsidized dwellings, a competition which has historically been won by those (urban, white collar) workers who have privileged access to bureaucratic distribution channels, rather than those who need it.

Thus, it is not surprising that the "reformist school" argues for the expansion of the role of the housing market in the housing delivery system. (22) Their programme is to "dismantle current limitations which obstruct the realization of the housing good as a marketable commodity". (23)

At one level the debate is merely over the degree of how far privatization should penetrate the system, raising rents in the public sector to reflect actual costs (construction and maintenance), adjusting rents in line with rents paid in the private sector, selling off (or just giving away) all public housing units to the tenants. No one favours the continued role of the government in actually building new houses as direct investment. All new construction should have a largely similar mortgage support system, with subsidies or grants directed towards families in socially disadvantaged positions (subject subsidy), rather than to the buildings (object subsidy). At this level of debate, the arguments are rationalized on the basis of national budget implications and the distribution of financial sacrifices over various strata of the population.

On yet another level, the level of ideology, there is a more substantial divergence of opinion among the reformists. The issue is that of how far the concept of "reprivatization" should re-interpret the housing question in a socialist economy at the SPHERE OF PERSONAL CONSUMPTION or, alternatively, as another concrete INSTITUTIONAL FORM OF SOCIALIST PROPERTY.

Delegation of housing to the "consumption sphere" is justified on the ideological grounds that the socialist society rewards the labour contribution of the workers at the sphere of production (workplace). Hence "we should de-

velop a housing policy which provides a greater possibility that families' housing situations reflect the usefulness of their labour contribution to the society". (23)

The other reformist group interprets "privatization" as an instrument through which individual (family) preferences about the type, quality and location of housing could exert greater influence on the housing production system. In their view, the current monopoly of the state is directing these decisions in the institutional form of central planning and housing (construction) budget that needs to be dismantled. Agents who finance, construct and maintain houses should be separated and organized into co-operative types of institutions. Sponsors of housing, factories, institutions, and family associations could appear from outside the previously monopolized housing sector. Where rent levels would continue to be centrally determined (based on greater variations of site, comfort and location of dwellings), their utilization for repair, maintenance or improvement would be decided by tenant associations living in the buildings.

In 1982, these reformist propositions were partially adopted in the new housing policy. Rents were increased by 130% on the average and so were downpayments for the initial occupation of public housing units. (25) From 1983 the maintenance cost of all newly constructed or renovated buildings will be passed on to the renters, who may form "residents co-operatives" to manage the renovation/maintenance work. However, the financial resources for this task will not come from the government (who collects the rent) but from the additional savings of the families. The government (through municipalities) will retain the power of allocating public housing units, but by 1985 will withdraw from the role of direct sponsorship of new construction.

Financial support for housebuilding or buying are practically equalized between the various housing classes and producers; grants and subsidy assistance are directed towards families in need, rather than the housing objects. The new policy assigns greater decision making responsibilities to municipalities and enterprises to deal with the housing problem in their own locality or for their own workforce. Local authorities will be free to decide how to allocate financial resources in the housing sector: to direct construction,

infrastructure provision, building loans or urban renovation. Factories and institutions can also utilize their profit to support their employees with housing loans or collective building projects.

Thus, the housing reform of 1982 substantially altered the role of the socialist state in housing - without serious ideological justification. Housing has been removed from the category of social provision, distributed equally according to need, and become a consumption good whose distribution is largely determined by affordability. That is to say that housing reappears in the socialist ideology as an incentive for good work.

5. CONCLUSIONS

"The basic issue is whether it is possible to improve the performance of our housing sector without radically dismantling the present institutional framework." (26)

In the context of building a socialist economy in Hungary, two dominant institutions emerged in the housing sector: public construction companies financed by direct budgetary provisions and allocative bodies which administered the distribution of public housing units. The former embodied the ideology of socialist production of new houses, the latter the socialist management of access to housing. Over the thirty years, both of these institutions acquired an entrenched position in the housing delivery system. The public construction companies, especially those which specialized in residential construction concentrated on high-rise, panel and other industrialized building methods. In this process they acquired "house factories" and introduced a biased building material support system which served the public housing sector. Their claim for efficiency for on-site operation required large land blocks, either through the indiscriminate demolition of old neighbourhoods or heavy infrastructure investment in town expansion. Thus the public construction companies adversely AFFECTED TWO IMPORTANT RESOURCE COMPONENTS for housing, materials and land for housing agents who operated OUTSIDE THE PUBLIC SECTOR.

The collective bodies have been riddled by two administrative inconsistencies; finding well articulated criteria of "social needs" and the overlapping au-

Table 8
Increase of down payment

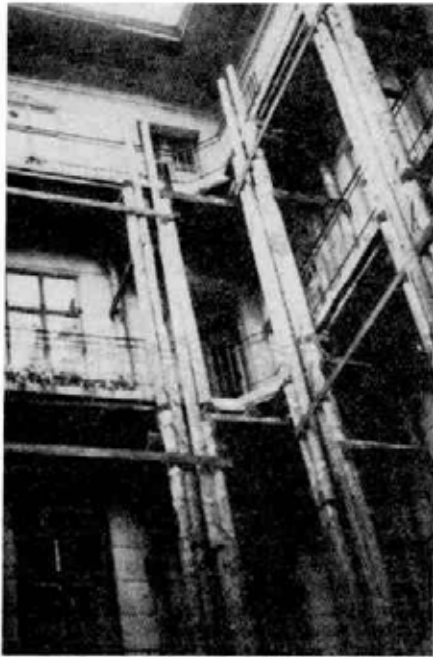
Level of financial support	1973	1979	% increase
"deep"	100	100	29,1%
"medium"	319	552	123,6%
"light"	777	1,113	95%

Source: Hegedus, I. and Tócsics, J. p. 80

TABLE 9
Rent Adjustment in 1982*

Type of dwelling	previous rent (Ft/m ²)	new rent (Ft/m ²)	% of increase	relative differentiation before	relative differentiation now
no comfort	2.40	4.50	187	100	100
half comfort	3.60	7.50	208	150	166
full comfort	5.40	12.00	222	225	266
extreme comfort	6.00	15.00	250	250	333

* The rent administrators are free to reduce by 50% or increase by 25% these rents according to the location of the dwellings and the amount of private (use) open space on the lot.



ABOVE: DISINVESTMENT, TEMPORARY REHABILITATION OF OLD TENEMENT HOUSING

(Photo: Paul Baross)

thority (municipal, central government, factories and ministerial institutions) over actual allocation. (27) Yet the relative advantage that access to housing through the public distribution system could yield is equivalent to 5-6 years wage payments.

The thirty years of experience in Hungary demonstrate that interpreting the socialist concept of housing as direct public construction and direct public management of access leads to strong a-social results.

We propose that the "socialist" direction of the housing sector should be sought in socializing access to HOUSING RESOURCES (land, finance, materials, labour), rather than HOUSING PRODUCTS. Such a strategy would require a focus on the concrete articulation of these resources in different stages of socialist development and removing obstacles which tend to monopolize these resources either because of their private character (land) or administrative character (finance). In the early stages of socialist development the dominant part of the housing stock (maybe 70-80 percent) is made up by poor dwellings (either because of space, material, comfort, or neighbourhood provisions). Rapid improvement in housing provision must focus on the upgrading of this stock rather than the production of superior housing classes. Because of the character of improvements this is best initiated and implemented by family units and community organizations. If we are to avoid reproducing inequalities in the new housing stock (especially in contrast with what exists), the provision of new housing must also be structured within the perspective of long term improvement, both with respect to space and comfort.

NOTES

- (1) In Budapest in 1970 there were 168,536 families registered with the municipal housing agency, asking for a new (first) dwelling. This is about 25 percent of all families living in the city. (Hoffmann, 1981, p. 44-45, Table 12-13).
- (2) Ibid (p. 60, Table 18)
- (3) Ibid (p.37). All translation from the Hungarian are by the author.
- (4) Konrád, G. and Széleányi, I. (1969), p.29
- (5) Hoffmann, J. op.cit., p.28, Table 2.
- (6) This was an "administered class appropriation" and not the squatting process which appeared in some West European cities in the past few years. Between 1949 - 1952 the state produced some 1,000 - 1,500 vacancies each year, turning the dwellings over the institutions to be distributed among members of the administrative staff. In 1951 a deportation act was introduced in the cities, predominantly in Budapest, to produce more vacancies. "Starting with the deportation of pensioners to rural areas, the act was soon extended to class aliens and declassed elements. In 1951, in three months, 5,292 dwellings were vacated in this way and a further 1,200 - 1,400 families left the capital voluntarily to escape actual deportation". Hegedüs, J. and Tosics, I. (1983) p.477. Between 1950 - 1954 the government nationalized some 500,000 dwelling units, about half of the total housing stock in urban areas. Hoffmann, J. op.cit., p.33.
- (7) When in the mid 1970's, it was recognized that drastic reductions in the birth rate would have serious implications for the future demographic structure of the country, the government initiated a number of socio-political measures to encourage child bearing. Among other measures, young families with children had high priority access to public housing, and when a couple was prepared to buy an apartment, the government contributed Ft. 40,000, grant for the purchase price for each planned child. (1 US\$ = 50 Ft.).
- (8) Average rent/unit/month Ft. 98, average maintenance / service/depreciation/month Ft. 430. Rutich, F. (1975), p.14.
- (9) "In the first five years plan (1950-1954) Ft. 8,924 million was spent on housing. The state corporation consumed Ft. 8,009 million and the private/co-operative sector Ft. 870 million. Only Ft. 46 million was used for maintenance / rehabilitation". Rutich, F. op.cit., p.13. According to the 1961 and the 1971 housing statistics, almost half of the publicly managed housing stock was NOT renovated or improved in the last 25-30 years. The shortfall between planned and executed maintenance work was Ft. 2,000 million in 1971. Although the fourth five year plan (1971-1975) specifically emphasized the importance of maintenance / rehabilitation of existing units, only 25,000 dwellings were restored against the planned 40,000-45,000. By 1975 the deficit between planned and executed work has grown to the Ft. 3,000 million. Rutich, F. op.cit., p.23, and Hoffmann, J. op.cit., p.54.
- (10) Hoffmann, J. op.cit., Table 41, p.9
- (11) Sándor, P. (1981), p.91
- (12) Konrád, G. and Széleányi, I. op.cit., p.29
- (13) The concept of "housing class" and the terminology employed in this paper appears in Konrád, G. and Széleányi, I. op.cit. The "qualitative housing index" was developed by Dániel, Zs. (1981a).
- (14) In the Hungarian context "public housing" refers to units whose disposal is the responsibility of government institutions. Some of it is also produced by the government. The "private housing" refers to individually owned dwellings. It, however, may also have been produced by the public sector.
- (15) We adopt here the methodological framework of Angel, S. (1980)
- (16) Adapted from Hegedüs, F. and Tosics, I. (1981), p.81
- (17) This part of the paper draws heavily, both conceptually and empirically, on the analysis of "housing micro census in 1976" by Dániel, Zs. op.cit.
- (18) The study is based on statistics gathered in two regional cities, Szeged and Pécs. Konrád, Széleányi, op.cit.
- (19) Reported in Népszabadság, 1982, Oct.1

- (20) Hegedüs, F. and Tosics, I. (1981), p.78. The following analysis is the summary of this article.
- (21) These figures reflect the differential in government contribution for the construction of new houses. In addition there is also a heavy subsidy component, for the maintenance costs of the public housing units.
- (22) The category of "deep" refers to constructions where the grant portion is greater than the loan and downpayment is negligible. "Medium" level support denotes constructions where the grant portion is lower than the loan portion but the loan is higher than the downpayment. "Light" refers to situations where the downpayment is higher than the loan and the grant portion is negligible.
- (23) In summarizing the propositions we draw upon the following sources: David, G.J. (1981), Fellegi, E. (1980), Peter, M. (1981), Lukács, O. (1981), Molnarne, U.S. (1980), Bokros, L. and Surányi, G. (1981), David, Zs. (1981c)
- (24) Bokros, L. and Surányi, G. (1981) p.47
- (25) Molnarne, U.S. (1980) p.73
- (26) The rent increases emphasized a further differentiation among dwelling of different comfort level and ecological location. See Table 9, Népszabadság

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Spendenaufwurf Ein Bau- und Gewerbehof für Ciudad Sandino, Nicaragua



Ciudad Sandino, eine Siedlung ca. 15 km vor der Hauptstadt Managua entfernt, entstand als Folge von Umsiedlungsaktionen nach den verheerenden Überschwemmungen des Jahres 1961 und der Erdbebenkatastrophe von 1972. Da es sich bei der umgesiedelten Bevölkerung hauptsächlich um Slumbewohner und um Fischer von der Uferzone des Managuasees handelte, finden wir auch in Ciudad Sandino fast ausschließlich ärmste Bevölkerungsschichten vor, mit ihren typischen Problemen: extrem hohe Arbeitslosigkeit (über 30% - die höchste Ziffer für das ganze Land) oder Unterbeschäftigung, schlechter Ausbildungsstand, ungesunde Wohn- und Arbeitsbedingungen und daraus resultierend ungenügendes Einkommen.

Im Frühjahr 1983 wurde eine Darmstädter Gruppe von Planern und Architekten (darunter auch TRIALOG Mitglieder) von der Junta de Reconstrucción de Managua eingeladen, die Probleme der Siedlung CIUDAD SANDINO zu studieren, und in Zusammenarbeit mit der Behörde Vorschläge zu deren Abhilfe zu erarbeiten. Das Resultat der nun schon zweijährigen Zusammenarbeit war ein integriertes Entwicklungskonzept, das u.a. auch die Einrichtung eines Bau- und Gewerbehofs vorsieht. Insbesondere aufgrund der akuten Baumaterialknappheit in der Region soll dieser zuletztgenannte 'Projektbaustein' von denjenigen Vorhaben, die ausländische Unterstützung erfordern, zuerst begonnen werden. Andere vorgeschlagene Maßnahmen, die ganz in Selbsthilfe durchgeführt werden können, - wie etwa eine Baumpflanzaktion zur Verbesserung des Mikroklimas und zur Reduzierung der Staubbelastung, oder die Bewirtschaftung gemeinsamer Gemüsegärten, sind in diesem Jahr bereits aus eigener Initiative der Bewohner in Angriff genommen worden.

PROJEKTPROFIL:

Angehts des provisorischen Charakters der gegenwärtigen Bausubstanz in CIUDAD SANDINO muß davon ausgegangen werden, daß fast alle Wohngebäude innerhalb der nächsten 10 Jahre ersetzt oder grundlegend renoviert werden müssen. Darüber hinaus ist abzusehen, daß sich wegen der flachen Bevölkerungspyramide (über die Hälfte der Bewohner sind unter 18 Jahre alt) die Einwohnerzahl drastisch erhöhen wird, weswegen es selbst bei Wegzug eines Teils der Jugendlichen zusätzlichen Wohnraums bedarf. Auch zum Abbau der gravierenden Überbelegung des bestehenden Wohnraums wird man gezwungen sein, zusätzliche Grundstücke zu bebauen.

Als besondere Schwierigkeit beim Bau von Wohnhäusern macht sich in letzter Zeit zunehmend ein akuter Mangel an Baumaterialien bemerkbar, gefolgt von Finanzknappheit (hohe Arbeitslosigkeit in Ciudad Sandino) und unzureichenden Fachkenntnissen.

Die Einrichtung eines BAUHOFS soll primär quartiersbezogen konzipiert sein und der lokalen Bevölkerung dienen. Mit dem Ziel einer Kosteneinsparung beim Bau sollte der BAUHOF die folgenden Einrichtungen vorsehen:

BAUMATERIAL-HERSTELLUNG: Der Hauptzweck des Bauhofs liegt in der Produktion von preisgünstigen Baumaterialien, die aus lokal verfügbaren Rohmaterialien und Abfällen herstellbar sind. Im Fall von CIUDAD SANDINO kommen hierbei vorgefertigte Steine und Elemente aus den Baustoffen Lehm, Sand, Lava, Laterit, Kalk, Pozzolana, Reisschalen, Zuckerrohrfasern, Sisal u.a. infrage. Eine Kostenersparnis wird durch Wegfall von Transportaufwand und technologischer Innovation erzielt. Sobald der erste Bauabschnitt fertiggestellt ist, soll mit der Produktion von Bims-Betonstein, Sisalzementplatten, und Holzschindeln begonnen werden.

BAULAGER: Direkte Belieferung und Lagerhaltung von im Lande reichlich vorhandenem Bauholz inclusive Bambus kann die Abhängigkeit von solchen Baumaterialien abbauen, die entweder direkt importiert werden müssen und Devisen erfordern (Wellblech, Stahl Aluminium, Keramik, Glas, Asbest) oder indirekt von Ölimporten abhängig sind (z.B. Kunststoffe).

TECHNISCHE BERATUNG: Ein Beratungsdienst mit Ausstellung soll Bauherren, Handwerker und Auszubildenden kostenlos vor Ort zur Verfügung stehen, und

über billigere und sichere Konstruktionsalternativen informieren. Diese Dienstleistung ist insofern besonders wichtig, da Nicaragua ein stark erdbebengefährdetes Gebiet ist, und die Bevölkerung, wenn sie es sich überhaupt leisten kann, in Unkenntnis statischer Berechnungsprinzipien viele Bauteile überdimensioniert und somit Baustoff verschwendet. Auch eine Beratung in Fragen der Gestaltung, der Haustechnik (Wasser, Abwasser, Toiletten, Strom) und der Bepflanzung der Hausgärten sollte angeboten werden, um die Umwelt zu entlasten und das Mikroklima zu verbessern.

Dadurch, daß möglichst viele Baumaterialien direkt auf dem lokalen Bauhof produziert werden, entstehen in CIUDAD SANDINO eine beachtliche Anzahl neuer Arbeitsplätze und somit Einkommensmöglichkeiten, was indirekt eine allgemeine Verbesserung der Lebens- und Wohnbedingungen ermöglicht.

Das Bauhofprojekt wird von der Regierungsseite durch die JUNTA DE RECONSTRUCCION DE MANAGUA (Stadtverwaltung), und von der Bevölkerung durch die Basisorganisation der Stadtteilkomitees (CDS) getragen. Die Darmstädter Sandino - Partnerschaft e.V. unterstützt das Vorhaben durch Sammeln und Übermitteln von Geldspenden, technische wie organisatorische Hilfestellung, und künftig auch durch die Organisation von Baubrigaden.

Für die Fertigstellung und Inbetriebnahme des ersten Bauabschnittes (Näherer und Produktion von Dachdeckungsmaterial) wurden bereits DM 10.000,- gesammelt. Die Lokalregierung (JRM) hatte zur Verwirklichung des Projektes zunächst zugesagt, ihrerseits den gleichen Betrag beizusteuern, doch verbietet die gegenwärtige wirtschaftliche Lage des in Krieg befindlichen Landes, auf diese Vereinbarung zu bestehen. Deshalb müssen durch Spenden im Ausland noch weitere DM 10.000,- aufgebracht werden, um den Abschluss der Bauarbeiten in den kommenden 12 Monaten sicherzustellen. Auch qualifizierte Teilnehmer für die Baubrigaden werden noch gesucht.

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Buchrezensionen



Planning and Development in China and Hongkong, hrsg. von J.S. Grant, R.Y.-W. Kwok. Schwerpunktheft von Third World Planning Review, Vol. 6, No. 1, Liverpool 1984 (Liverpool University Press, P.O. Box 147, Liverpool L 69 3BX, UK. Für Studenten ermäßigt.)

Das Schwerpunktheft zu China und Hongkong präsentiert sieben Beiträge zur chinesischen Planungspolitik, die trotz eines gemeinsamen Hintergrundes ganz unterschiedliche Größenordnung und Komplexität in der VR China und in der britischen Kolonie Hong Kong annehmen.

Chinas sozialistischer Entwicklungsweg und Hong Kongs exponierte Position im kapitalistischen Weltsystem machen Vergleiche besonders schwer: In Hong Kong haben die profitable Verwertung des Bodens und das gewaltige, öffentliche Wohnungsbauprogramm die private wie staatlich geleitete Stadtentwicklung bestimmt. Im Gegensatz dazu war das Hauptanliegen der chinesischen Planer, die Beschränkung metropolitanen Wachstums zugunsten der mittleren und kleinen Städte, um für einen großen Teil der Bevölkerung Arbeitsmöglichkeiten und öffentliche Dienstleistungen zu ermöglichen. Gemeinsam ist beiden so unterschiedlichen Beispielen die erst kürzlich zuerkannte Rolle, die städtische Entwicklung in der gesamten Entwicklung zu spielen hat.

Der erste Beitrag zu China gibt einen Überblick über Prinzipien und Ziele der städtischen Planung seit 1949 bis heute. In ausführlicher Darstellung der Arbeitsfelder Wohnungsbau, städtische Verschönerung (!), Flächennutzungsplanung, Transport und Stadterneuerung werden die gegenwärtigen Maßnahmen unter der Strategie der "Vier Modernisierungen", ihre Erfolgs- und Realisierungschancen eingeschätzt.

Im zweiten Beitrag werden die Auswüchse der Kulturrevolution kritisiert, doch auch die Erfolge bei der Verhinderung massiver Land-Stadt-Wanderung betont. Die Zukunft industriellen Wachstums liegt auch weiterhin im Agrarsektor. Praxisbeispiele aus der Shanghai-Nanjing-Region illustrieren im dritten Artikel in diesem Zusammenhang die aktuellen Strategien: Städtische Einnahmen aus ländlicher und städtischer Arbeit werden genutzt als Unterstützung für öffentliche Investitionen in die Infrastruktur ländlicher Siedlungen, die zu kleinen Städten ausgebaut werden sollen. Der Abschnitt über China wird abgeschlossen mit Zahlenprojektionen zum städtischen Wachstum bis zu Jahre 2000 - unter der Voraussetzung gleichbleibender Entwicklungsstrategien.

Der einleitende Artikel zu Hong Kong beginnt ebenfalls mit einem Abriss der Geschichte städtischer Planung des Stadtstaates. Es wurden in den letzten Jahrzehnten nicht nur die Zuständigkeiten der Planungsinstitutionen vergrößert und verstärkt, sondern auch die institutionelle Zusammenarbeit verbessert. Diese Zusammenarbeit sollte sich v.a. bei Computer-gesteuerter Verkehrsplanung entwickeln. Für die regionale Entwicklungsplanung der Kolonien wird auch die planerische Zusammenarbeit mit China und mit der an Hong Kong angrenzenden Shenzu-Wirtschaftszone von besonderer Bedeutung sein.

In dem Artikel über Wohnungsbau in Hongkong wird aufgezeigt, daß im Gegensatz zu China, wo die Entwicklung der Produktionskapazitäten wichtigstes Vehikel für städtische Entwicklung war, in Hongkong der Wohnungsbau höchste Priorität genoß und die städtische Entwicklung von Kowloon und den Neuen Territorien wesentlich beeinflußt hat. Eine räumliche Verbindung von Wohn- und Arbeitsstätten war in Hongkong jedoch nicht möglich. Von daher wird die Entwicklung öffentlicher Massentransportsysteme entscheidend für eine erfolgreiche Weiterführung des umfangreichen Programms der Neuen Städte sein.

Im abschließenden Beitrag über Stadtkonservierung wird ein erheblich kritischerer Ton als in den beiden vorangegangenen Analysen zu Hongkong Planungspraxis angeschlagen. Hongkong, das als kapitalistische Erfolgsgeschichte Weltruhm erlangt hat, verfolgt eine rüde Praxis städtischer Erneuerung nach dem Diktat der Bodenspekulation. Für die Erhaltung alter Gebäude und Stadtteile, für gebauten Ausdruck von Stadtgeschichte bleibt kein Raum und wenig Verständnis, die planerischen Instrumente sind völlig inadäquat, um einen positiven Beitrag zur Stadtkonservierung zu leisten.

Mit der Herausgabe dieses Schwerpunktheftes werden jüngste Entwicklungstrends in China und Hongkong umfassend und materialreich dargestellt. Die Lektüre dieses Heftes ist auch besonders als Fortsetzung und Vertiefung zu TRIALOG 4 "Die Häuser der Revolution" zu empfehlen!
F. Steinberg

McAuslan, P., URBAN LAND AND SHELTER FOR THE POOR, London (Earthscan, 3 Endleigh Str., London WC2H 9DC) 1985, 143 pp.

In Vorbereitung des UN-Jahres der Menschen in Wohnungsnot (1987: International Year of Shelter for the Homeless) wird hier - mit Unterstützung des Londoner International Institute for Environment and Development und von HABITAT, Nairobi - in knapper, prägnanter und parteilicher Form die Wohnungsproblematik der Armen als Ausdruck nicht funktionierender städtischer Ökonomie und eines "verzerrten" Bodenmarktes umrissen. Hauptfrage ist, wie die Wohnsituation der Slums und der unauthorisierten Siedlungen der Dritten Welt verbessert werden kann. Der Autor untersucht die verschiedenen Faktoren des Bodenmarktes, seiner Mechanismen, ökonomische und kulturelle Determinanten, Besteuerung, Finanzierung, Verwaltung, staatliche Kontroll- und Flächennutzung - dies im Hinblick darauf, wem es nützt bzw. wen es an der Befriedigung von Wohnbedürfnissen hindert. Als Angelpunkt zur Bewältigung der Wohnprobleme der Armen sieht der Autor die Schaffung sicherer Nutzungsformen und -rechte an städtischem Boden. Regierungen und Stadtverwalter haben in Zukunft besonders in diesem Bereich ihre Aufgaben zu erfüllen. Die politische Akzeptierung einer "Grundbedürfnisstrategie" würde nicht mehr die Frage stellen: "Was soll mit den Squatters geschehen"? sondern "Wie können wir mehr Menschen unterstützen, ihre Lebensbedingungen (selbst) zu verbessern".
Florian Steinberg

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Alan Gilbert and Peter M. Ward: HOUSING, THE STATE AND THE POOR. Policy and practice in three Latin American cities. 319 p., ISBN 0 521 26299 2, Cambridge University Press, 1985, £ --

R.J. Skinner and M.J. Rodell (Ed): PEOPLE POVERTY AND SHELTER: Problems of Self-Help Housing in the Third World, 195 p., ISBN 0-416-30960-7, Methuen & Co, London, 1983, £ --

Beide Bücher behandeln das gleiche Thema, nämlich Selbsthilfe der Armen in der Dritten Welt im Siedlungsprozess. Dennoch hätten die zwei Werke nicht unterschiedlicher ausfallen können: Gilbert und Ward legen einen Forschungsbericht ihrer mehrjährigen Untersuchungen in den Städten Bogota (Kolumbien), Mexico City und Valencia (Venezuela) vor, der sich besonders durch eine Fülle gut recherchierter Daten auszeichnet, auf die sich sicher noch viele künftige Arbeiten beziehen werden. Die Autoren sind, neben Turner, Burgess und Harns, bekannte Kontrahenten einer gerade in London seit Jahren intensiv geführten Debatte um die Rolle und Möglichkeiten der Bewohner in der Durchsetzung ihrer Wohnungsinteressen gegenüber der Staatsbürokratie und den Politikern. Fast alle in dieser permanenten Diskussion wiederkehrenden Fragen wurden auch in der Forschung aufgegriffen, und -soweit quantifizierbar - durch Erhebungen zu beantworten gesucht. Leider war es offensichtlich nicht das Anliegen der Autoren, die Ergebnisse der Erhebungen, - deren Auswahl übrigens genau wie die Gründe zur Selektion der Untersuchungsorte dem Leser weitgehend zufällig erscheinen müssen - durch ein übergreifendes theoretisches Konzept zu verknüpfen. Dabei wäre das bei der gesammelten Datenfülle in vielen Fällen ohne langes Nachdenken bestimmt leistbar gewesen. Stattdessen liest man z.B.: "the poor inevitably occupy the poorest land.... There is no space in which to develop this argument in detail..(!) (s. 71). Positiv ließe sich noch anmerken, daß in dem Bericht wertvolle methodologische Informationen für die Wohnbau- und Siedlungsforschung in der Dritten Welt zu finden sind.

Skinner und Rodell unterrichten beide am Institute for Housing Studies (das frühere BIE) in Rotterdam, und haben hier - im Gegensatz zu der oben vorgestellten Publikation - ein auch für Studenten bezahlbares Textbuch als Einführung in verschiedene Varianten von Selbsthilfe-Wohnungsbauprogrammen zusammengestellt. Der Reihe nach werden, teils von Mitgliedern des Lehrkörpers des IHS, teils von erfahrenen Experten vor Ort, das Für und Wider von 'Sites-and-Services', 'Upgrading', 'Housing Co-operatives', 'Community Participation' abgehandelt, und abschließend an Hand des Fallbeispiels des Kampung Improvement Programme (Indonesien) reflektiert. Besonders für Planer und Regierungsangestellte, die sich für Aufgaben in einem Entwicklungsland vorbereiten, ist dieser Band eine gute, Budget- und transportfreundliche, Investition. Kosta Mathëy

Helen I. Safa (Ed.): TOWARDS A POLITICAL ECONOMY OF URBANIZATION IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES. 315 S., ISBN 19-561307-4, Oxford University Press, 1982 und 1983.

Wer hinter dem vielversprechenden Titel eine volkswirtschaftliche Erklärung über die Notwendigkeit der Verstärkungsprozesse in der Dritten Welt erwar-

ten sollte, wird enttäuscht sein: es handelt sich bei diesem Sammelband um eine Auswahl von Tagungsbeiträgen des "Xth Congress of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences" in New Delhi 1978. Wie das der Arbeitsweise bei Anthropologen häufig entspricht, wurde auch hier kein fester Fragenkomplex vorgegeben, sondern man war für alle Vorschläge und Ergebnisse offen. Problematisch wird dieser Ansatz allerdings dann, wenn wie bei dieser Publikation nachträglich versucht wird, so zufällig zusammengekommene Papers in ein gemeinsames Partout zu zwingen, und wenn dabei auch noch der Anspruch erhoben wird, "Urbanisierung für die Dritte Welt polit-ökonomisch zu analysieren, wie es Harvey für die USA und Castells für Europa geleistet haben". Die Herausgeberin schlägt als für alle Beiträge passenden Schlüsselbegriff "Überlebensstrategien" vor, und verbindet ihn mit den Phänomenen "Migration", "Sippenbildung", "Informeller Sektor", und "Bürgerinitiativen", worunter sich dann voneinander ganz unabhängige Fallstudien unterordnen lassen. Sicher ist eine sinnvolle Gruppierung der Beiträge eine wichtige Aufgabe bei der Zusammenstellung eines jeden Sammelbandes. Die eingangs in Aussicht gestellte wissenschaftliche Analyse, wozu eine vergleichende Bewertung der einzelnen Beiträge der Schritt sein könnte, ist eine andere Sache und wird bedauerlicherweise nicht einmal versucht. Nichtsdestotrotz enthält der Band eine Reihe interessanter Aufsätze aus ganz unterschiedlichen Fachgebieten. Für Planer und Architekten relevant sind besonders die letzten zwei Beiträge, und zwar von Manuel Castells über politisches Verhalten von Squattern in Lateinamerika, und von Paul Singer über das "New Bairro Movement" in Brasilien. Doch vielleicht verleiht gerade diese unkonventionelle Mischung von Texten aus so verschiedenen Disziplinen, wie sie in einem zielstrebig organisierten Buch sicher nicht zusammengefunden hätten, den Leser dazu, einmal nicht nur die für sein eigenes Fach relevante Texte zu lesen. -km-

Wolfgang C. Goede: LATEINAMERIKA IN GRIFF DER DEUTSCHEN WIRTSCHAFT. Eine entwicklungspolitische Bilanz der 70er Jahre. 330 Seiten, ISBN 3-88278-115-7, Verlag Holler, München 1984.

Nea Naegele und Balduin Bollin. SOZIAL-ARBEITER ALS ENTWICKLUNGSHELFER IN LATEINAMERIKA, AG SPARK Materialmappe Nr. XII/84, 120 Doppelseiten, München 1984. Erhältlich über: Arbeitsgemeinschaft sozialpolitischer Arbeitskreise, Kistlerstraße 1, 8 MÜNCHEN 90.

Daß staatliche Entwicklungshilfe aus Deutschland die Unterentwicklung in Lateinamerika wie auch in anderen Regionen der Dritten Welt eher fördern als beseitigen, weiß heute schon der 'kleine Mann auf der Straße'. Diese Erkenntnis mit wissenschaftlich fundierten Daten zu belegen ist schon schwieriger, jedenfalls bis zum Erscheinen der vorliegenden Publikation: Wolfgang Goede hat die bundesdeutsche Entwicklungspolitik gegenüber Lateinamerika in den vergangenen 10 Jahre gründlichst recherchiert, analysiert, und in seinem Buch evaluiert. Er kommt zu dem Schluss, daß wenn es wirklich darum ginge, eine bedürfnisorientierte Wirtschaft in den 'Partnerländern' Latein-

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amerikas aufzubauen, das BMZ mit seiner bisherigen Praxis eine obsoleete Einrichtung ist. Stattdessen entwickelt er die These, daß die Politik unserer Regierung deshalb die wirtschaftliche Ausbeutung des 'Südens' fortschreiben muß, um unseren unverdient hohen Lebensstandard in der Bundesrepublik auf seinem Level zu halten, und somit einer radikalen Veränderung der politischen Landschaft bei uns gegenzuarbeiten. Allerdings lautet sein Fazit dann nicht, die staatliche Entwicklungshilfe gleich belieben zu lassen, sondern er plädiert für eine verstärkte, wenn nicht ausschließliche Übertragung dieser Aufgabe auf Kirschen und freie Träger. Ein zu bewältigendes Problem würde es allerdings bleiben, die unvermeidbaren Opfer für den 'Norden' als notwendigen Bestandteil einer ernst gemeinten Entwicklungshilfe allen Mitbürgern abzurufen.

Die jüngst veröffentlichte Diplomarbeit von Naegele und Bollin knüpft gewissermaßen an dieser Aussage an. Die große Politik ist für sie nur der vorgegebene, und zweifelloso vorwiegend entmutigende Rahmen. Die beiden Autoren gehen der Frage nach, ob denn trotz dieser Vorbedingungen in den noch unterdrückten Ländern Lateinamerikas für ei-

nen Entwicklungshelfer moralisch und politisch vertretbare Arbeit überhaupt möglich sein kann, bzw welche konkreten Freiräume trotz allem noch bestehen. Eine eindeutige Antwort fand sich offensichtlich auch nach den 13 Feldstudien von Entwicklungshilfeprojekten in Kolumbien, Peru und Ecuador nicht, zu denen sich die Verfasser 7 Monate auf Reise begaben. Stattdessen brachten sie eine Vielzahl von Informationen und Ratschlägen mit für alle anderen, die sich wie sie selbst mit dem Gedanken tragen, einmal als Entwicklungshelfer in Lateinamerika zu arbeiten.

Zu der Frage, warum es für einen politisch engagierten Entwicklungshelfer nicht ratsam wäre, wie so viele andere Kollegen einen Einsatz in einem 'befreiten' Land wie etwa Nicaragua anzustreben, wird leider keinerlei Aussage gemacht, wobei die von den beiden Autoren implizit vertretenen Gegenposition sicher mehr Publizität und Diskussion verdiente.
Kosta Mathëy

Martin Wynn (Hrsg.): PLANNING AND URBAN GROWTH IN SOUTHERN EUROPE, mit Beiträgen von L. Wassenhoven, D. Calabi, A. Williams, M. Wynn, und G. Payne / R. Keles. 108 Seiten, ISBN 0-7201-1608-2, Mansell (Alexandrine Press) London, 1984.

Über die Geschichte der Stadtplanung in Europa gibt es sicherlich genug Bücher, doch ist ihnen allen gemein, daß sie sich auf die Zentren des Geschehens, vornehmlich England, Frankreich und Deutschland konzentrieren. Die Beschreibung der Mittelmeerländer erstreckt sich auf das historische Erbe zwischen Antike und Barock. Diese Publikation nun versucht, die Lücke zu schließen, und untersucht die städtebauliche Entwicklung in Griechenland, Italien, Portugal, Spanien und der Türkei über die letzten 200 Jahre nachzuvollziehen. Wer sich als Planer oder Tourist mit einem dieser Länder beschäftigt, findet hier Informationen aus erster Hand. Die Zusammenfassung der Aufsätze in einem Band begründet sich wohl in der Hauptsache in der geografischen Gemeinsamkeit; ein Vergleich der unterschiedlichen Entwicklungen in den genannten Ländern wird nicht ernsthaft versucht, - und wäre sicher auch fragwürdig: jedes Land hatte seine ganz spezifischen historischen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Bedingungen, und abgesehen von längeren Phasen diktatorischer Regierungen, finden sich sowohl in den stadtplanerischen Voraussetzungen, wie in der tatsächlichen Planung wenig Gemeinsames.
K. Mathëy

Boleat, M., NATIONAL HOUSING FINANCE SYSTEMS, A Comparative Study, Croom Helm, London 1985, ISBN 0-7099-3249-9, Preis: L 30.00 in the UK.

Dieses Buch bietet einen breiten Überblick über Wohnungsbauysteme der entwickelten und unterentwickelten Länder. Es werden vor dem Hintergrund der jeweiligen ökonomischen Ausgangslage die spezifischen Formen und Mechanismen der Wohnungsbaufinanzierung vorgestellt. Zur Einleitung des Buches wird allgemeines, theoretisches Verständnis geboten, dann folgen in 24 Kapiteln Beispiele ausgewählter Länder (englischsprachige Länder, West-Europa, Zentral- und Südamerika, Asien, Mittlerer Osten und Afrika, Internationale Organisationen) und abschließend ein kurzer Vergleich und Hinweise für zukünftige Forschung.

Mit diesem gewaltigen thematischen Umfang ist diese Veröffentlichung ein bisher einmaliges Nachschlagewerk - und so wird es auch von der International Union of Building Societies and Savings Association gesehen, welche das Handbuch durch jährlich neue Statistiken ergänzen will. Unvollständig bleibt das Buch bezüglich der afrikanischen Beispiele, welche äußerst knapp abgehandelt werden; und der Block der Comecon Staaten und der sozialistischen Entwicklungsländer fehlt völlig. Typisch für die Weltansicht der englischsprachigen Hemisphäre ist auch, daß fremdsprachige, d.h., z.B. französische, deutsche, spanische, japanische u.a. Quellen so gut wie nicht benutzt wurden, und viele Landesinformationen dieses Handbuches damit aus zweiter, dritter Hand stammen.
Florian Steinberg

P.J. Richards and A.M. Thomson (Eds.): BASIC NEEDS AND THE URBAN POOR: THE PROVISION OF COMMUNAL SERVICES. 276 Seiten, ISBN 0-7099-2281-7, Croom Helm, Beckenham, 1984. E 14,95.

Als Veröffentlichung der ILO orientiert sich das Buch an den Empfehlungen der 'World Employment Conference' 1976, die die Grundbedürfnis - Befriedigung der Armen in ihr 'Programme of Action' mit einschloss. Mit Ausnahme des wichtigsten Schlüsselbedürfnisses, nämlich der Einkommenssicherung (die sicher in anderen Publikationen der ILO exklusiv berücksichtigt wird), werden hier die Versorgung mit Wohnraum, Gesundheitseinrichtungen, Trinkwasser, sanitärer Entsorgung, Schulbildung und Transport untersucht. Auch über Bauvorschriften und die Rolle der öffentlichen Hand sind zwei Kapitel eingefügt.

Die Aufsätze enthalten eine Menge interessanter statistischer Daten und Projektbeschreibungen bis hin zu Systemskizzen für Septische Tanks, doch bleiben der Zweck und die Zielgruppe des Buches ein Geheimnis. Auch ist es gleichermaßen bedauerlich und unverständlich, warum fast nur auf Südostasien im Allgemeinen, und auf Metropolen im Besonderen, Bezug genommen wird. Zwar ist in der Einleitung zu lesen, daß die Probleme der Großstädte die größten sind (stimmt!), und daß sich, wenn diese erst einmal im Griff sind, die Probleme der Mittelstädte und des Landes erst recht lösen ließen (?). Man sollte jedoch annehmen können, daß es sich auch bei der ILO bereits herumgesprochen hat, wieviele der städtischen Probleme in den Metropolen nur ein Symptom der relativen Unterversorgung in den übrigen Landesteilen sind. K. Mathëy

Bromley, R. (ed.), PLANNING FOR SMALL ENTERPRISES IN THIRD WORLD CITIES, Pergamon Press, Oxford etc. 1985, ISBN 0-08-031333-7 (flexicoer).

Im Unterschied zu vielen anderen Publikationen der letzten Jahre, welche die unterschiedlichsten Klassifikationen des "Informellen" Sektors als Ausgangspunkt nehmen für Fallbeispiele von Arbeit und Einkommen in der Dritten Welt, umgeht Bromley's Publikation dieses theoretische Problem, welches er schon in früheren Veröffentlichungen zur Genüge behandelt hat. Da sämtliche dem "peripheren" oder "abhängigen" Kapitalismus zugerechneten Länder noch durch rückständige, unterentwickelte Formen von Produktion und Reproduktion gekennzeichnet sind, ist der Fokus hier auf diese nicht-kapitalistischen, oder klein-kapitalistischen Betriebe des Pro-

duktions- und Dienstleistungsbereiches gerichtet - mit allen ihren Abhängigkeiten gegenüber den stärker entwickelten kapitalistischen Sektoren.

Das Buch enthält neben den Rahmenkapiteln des Herausgebers fünf kommentierte Abschnitte, in denen sich 19 z.T. neue, z.T. wiederveröffentlichte Beiträge finden: "The beauty of smallness" nimmt Bezug auf die positive bis "positivistische" Sicht des Kleinbetriebes, wobei auch E.F.Schumacher als der ideologische Vater dieser "Schule" zu Wort kommt. Mit "One system, not two" werden Kritiken des Dualismuskonzeptes vorgestellt. "The exploitative co-existence of large and small in a single system" führt die Gleichzeitigkeit verschiedener Produktionsformen vor: "Physical and legal constraints: the heritages of town planning, municipal government and policing" - mit dem exzellenten Artikel von Pradilla/Jiménez über Architektur, Urbanismus und neokoloniale Abhängigkeiten - umreißt Schwierigkeiten und repressive Existenzbedingungen der Kleinproduzenten und Dienstleistungsarbeit. Ein positiverer Tenor findet sich in "Government support and selective uplift", worin institutionelle Förderung, administrative Regelungen, finanzielle Unterstützung bzw. der Zugang zu Kreditmitteln und öffentlichen Aufträgen thematisiert werden. Das abschließende Motto lautet: "Small may be beauty, but it takes more than beauty to ensure success", womit auf erforderlichen Voraussetzungen für eine Förderung kleiner Firmen hingewiesen wird: positive Politik der aktiven Betriebsförderung durch die öffentliche Hand, Reduzierung restriktiver Regulierungen, räumlich günstiges städtisches Environment, Organisation der Kleinbetriebe und Partizipation bei Entwicklungsplanung.
F. Steinberg

THE URBAN INFORMAL SECTOR, Schwerpunkt-Heft des Regional Development Dialogue, Vol.5, No.2, Autumn 1984 (Bezug: Publ. Sect.UNCRD, Nagoya 1-47-1, Nakamura-ku, Nagoya 450, Japan), Preis 20 US\$ für 3 Hefte im Jahresabonnement.

Dieses von O.P.Mathur und Caroline Moser editierte Heft präsentiert Papiere eines 1983 von UNCRD und der DSE in Berlin veranstalteten Seminars. Im wesentlichen geht es um drei Schwerpunkte: I. Zusammenfassung des aktuellen Wissens- und Erkenntnisstandes, auf den sich Forscher und Entwicklungspolitiker geeinigt haben.

II. Die Diskussion zweier bisher in der Forschung vernachlässigter Aspekte:

- a) Größe, Struktur und Rolle des informellen Sektors in Bezug zu Größenordnungen von Städten, speziell Mittel- und Kleinstädten gegenüber Großstädten.
- b) Die Rolle des informellen Sektors in den Ländern mit zentral geplanten, sozialistischen Ökonomien. Bisherige Untersuchungen pflegten immer nur die Verhältnisse unterentwickelter, kapitalistischer Länder zu betrachten.

III. Die Überprüfung verschiedener Forschungsmethoden der "Informeller Sektor"-Forschung auf ihre Anwendbarkeit beim Studium von mittel- und kleinstädtischen Ökonomien.

Die in dieser vorzüglich kommentierten Sammlung von Aufsätzen vorgelegten Forschungs- Zwischenergebnisse sind für Alle, die eine intensivere Beschäftigung mit diesen Themen suchen, eine große Bereicherung, zumal da nicht nur

das Thema der "sozialistischen Entwicklungsländer" nun auch bei uns häufiger diskutiert wird (s. TRIALOG 4 und 6), sondern auch die Möglichkeiten der Mittelstadtförderung gerade frische Popularität genießt. Da im Februar 1985 des Folgeseminars zu der oben genannten Veranstaltung (erneut in Berlin) abgehalten wurde, wird es interessant sein, bald den neuen Stand dieser auch von den Vereinten Nationen unterstützten Forschungen zum informellen Sektor zu erfahren. Florian Steinberg

Carr, M., BLACKSMITH, BAKER, ROOFING SHEET MAKER...: Employment for rural women in developing countries, London (IT Publ., 9 King Street, London WC2E 0HN) 1984, L 5.95.

Die hier von einer Mitarbeiterin der Intermediate Technology Group vorgestellten 55 Einkommens-schaffenden Frauenprojekte offerieren eine überraschende Vielfalt an Arbeitsbereichen und Produkten:

- 1) Lebensmittel, Getränke, Tabak,
- 2) Stoffe, Kleidung und Fasern,
- 3) Baumaterialien, Wohnungen und Haushaltsgüter u.a.

Die Bilanz lautet, daß die erfolgreichen, beschäftigungswirksamen und Einkommen schaffenden Projekte für Frauen noch zu verstreut und zu selten seien. Es werden zahlreiche relevante Faktoren wie Rohmaterialbeschaffung, Marktzugänglichkeiten, Kredite, Organisationsformen, Technologie, Ausbildung, Soziokultureller Rahmen und die Rolle der Regierungspolitik erörtert.

Meiner Meinung nach gilt dies nicht nur für den ländlichen Sektor, sondern auch für die Städte, wo immer mehr Frauen einen wesentlichen Beitrag zum Lebensunterhalt ihrer Familien liefern müssen und Projekte dieser Art eine viel größere Bedeutung in der Stadtentwicklung haben sollten. Florian Steinberg

Rainer W. Ernst (Hrsg.): STADT IN AFRIKA, ASIEN UND LATEINAMERIKA, 190 Seiten ISBN 3-7678-0641-, Colloquium Verlag Berlin, 1984, DM 29,80

Zum Berichtsjahr 1984 der IBA Berlin entstand diese Publikation anlässlich der Ausstellung "Anderorts - Aspekte städtischen Wohnens in Afrika, Asien und Lateinamerika". Es überrascht daher nicht, daß alle Beiträge hervorragend illustriert sind und Fotos und Grafiken allein rund 80 Seiten füllen. Das Anliegen dieser Aufsatzsammlung (8 Beiträge) ist den Begriff Stadt aus dem europäischen Denkschema von Stadtentwicklung herauszuführen und für die heterogenen, schillernden Erscheinungsformen "fremder" Städte zu öffnen. Daß dies ansatzweise gelungen ist, ist wohl der interdisziplinär besetzten Autorengruppe von Soziologen, Ethnologen, Archäologen und Architekten zu verdanken. An Hand von vier Fallbeispielen werden Wohnquartiere in Aleppo (Syrien), Banjul (Gambia), Salvador (Brasilien) und Surabaya (Indonesien) in ihrem stadtgeschichtlichen und kulturspezifischen Zusammenhang dargestellt. Obwohl jeder Beitrag erst seinen historischen Rahmen und sein Fallbeispiel vorstellen muß, so entgehen sie dennoch knapp der drohenden Längatmigkeit. Historie und Kultur sind eben nicht "Hintergrundinformation" sondern es werden gleich-



zeitig Strukturen aufgespürt, die durch ihre kulturhistorische Eigenständigkeit auffallen und diese gegenüber übergreifenden Modernisierungskonzepten bewahrt haben.

Der Beitrag über Aleppo arbeitet den Zusammenhang von religiösen Belangen und der materiellen Kultur am Beispiel der "Frommen Stiftungen" heraus, die entscheidenden Einfluß auch heute noch auf die Stadtentwicklung haben. Das Beispiel "Greater Banjul Area" skizziert an Hand der afrikanischen Compounds die sozial-räumliche Organisation der Stadt und beschreibt die Schwierigkeiten neuerer mit ausländischer Hilfe geplanter Siedlungen. Das Fallbeispiel Salvador ist vielleicht in seinem kulturhistorischen Zusammenhang für den Leser am wenigsten "fremd". Hier geht es um die Umwandlung und Verslumung zweier Wohngebiete im historischen Zentrum dieser ältesten Stadt Brasiliens. Surabaya ist gerade in seiner Verschiedenheit von europäischen Stadtstrukturen ein sehr überzeugendes Beispiel. Im Sinne einer geomantischen Harmonie ist die Stadt hier Abbild des Kosmos, das traditionelle Wohnhaus Modell der "Totalität des Lebens". Der Beitrag "Zur Schaulust an der exotischen Architektur" (vom Hrsg. nicht zu den Fallbeispielen gerechnet) untersucht kein Wohnquartier sondern den Zusammenhang von religiösem Ritus und Stadtarchitektur. Besondere Beachtung finden die indischen Tempelwagen-feste.

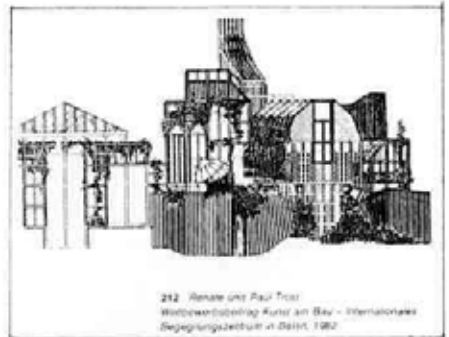
Diese 5 Beiträge werden flankiert von 3 Aufsätzen, die sich mit der europäischen Perspektive beschäftigen, aus der heraus "exotische" Städte betrachtet wurden (und werden). Insgesamt ein abwechslungsreiches Lesebuch zum Thema Stadt, daß dem Planer keine Anweisungen geben kann, sondern lediglich funktionales Denken in der Stadtplanung in Frage stellen möchte. Clemens Deilmann

Gretchen, M., et al, PASTEL PORTRAITS: Singapore's Architectural Heritage. Singapore 1984 (Select Books, 19 Tanglin Road 03-15, Tanglin Shopping Centre, Singapore 1024). Sing. S 60,-.

"Pastel Portraits" ist ein exellenter Überblick über das geradezu in Vergessenheit geratene und auch überwiegend ausradierte architektonische Erbe Singapore's. Für alle Freunde des Stadtstaates und für Liebhaber "tropisch-eklektischer" Baukulturen ist dieser ausschließlich mit Farbfotos illustrierte Band ein bibliophiler Hochgenuß.

Üblicherweise ist unser Bild von Singapore durch die Hochhauskulissen von Geschäftsbauten und Sozialem Wohnungsbau geprägt. Zu Vieles, ob Chinatown oder koloniale Bauten, hatte dem sogenannten Fortschritt schon Platz machen müssen. Dieses Buch nun ist Ergebnis einer Stadtkonservatorischen Initiative einiger bekannter Architekten, welche eine Umnutzung und Rehabilitierung v.a. der Chinatown fordern.

Der spezifische eklektische Stil Singapore's vereint Chinesisches mit Victorianischem, Klassizistischem, Venetianischem (z.B. in der Chinatown), malayische Kompong Häuser mit der Villenarchitektur aus Tudor England; zahlreiche andere Monumente wie Hindu-Tempel in südindischer Bauweise, Moscheen in Sarazenischem Stil, chinesisches Art Deco, Neogothik und Klassizismus u.a. stehen für sich. Die heutige, moderne "Baukultur" Singapore's mag sicherlich für Viele zum Vorbild und Symbol von erstrebenswerter Lebenskultur geworden sein, doch ihre internationalistische Uniformität läßt diese relativ wenigen Bauten wie kostbare Perlen glänzen. Florian Steinberg



Rudi Baumann: BEGRÜNT ARCHITEKTUR, ISBN 3 7667 0766 3, 244 S., Callwey Verlag München 1983 (2. Auflage 1985), DM 58,-

Das Buch, mit vielen Farbfotos und auf kartonstarkem Papier gedruckt, richtet sich in der Hauptsache an finanzstarke Architekturbüros, und sicher weniger an Studenten oder Experimental-Architekten. Auch inhaltlich wird der Zielgruppe gehuldigt: Im ersten Teil des Buches werden viele allgemein bekannte, aber auch einige neue Weisheiten über die Vorteile von Pflanzen an und ums Wohnhaus dargestellt, wobei der sprichwörtlichen Lesefaulheit von Architekten durch eine sparsame Verwendung von (ohnehin in großen Typen gedrucktem) Text, und eine dafür umso großzügigere Bebilderung Rechnung getragen wird. Ärgerlich ist allerdings die auffällige Überrepräsentanz von Ungers-Entwürfen, die Fassadenbegrünung als dekorative Masche mißzuverstehen scheinen, oder anderen aus der einschlägigen Literatur bereits mehrfach publizierten und unverändert übernommenen Zeichnungen.

Einen erfreulichen Ausgleich dazu beschert der zweite Teil des Buches, der einen gut recherchierten Katalog von 27 zur Hausbegrünung geeigneten Kletterpflanzen enthält, unterteilt nach ein- und mehrjährigen Sorten. Jede Pflanzenart ist nach einem einheitlichen Schema beschrieben und hinsichtlich ihrem bevorzugtem Standort, Wuchs, Verwendung, Entwicklungsstadien und Erscheinungsbild klassifiziert. Leider fehlt eine vergleichende Übersicht in Form einer Tabelle, wie sie etwa in Gernot Minkes "Häuser im Grünen Pelz" (Frankfurt 1983) als Vorbild zu finden wäre. -km-

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PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT ATLAS OF LIBERIA. Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, P.O.Box 9016, Monrovia, Liberia (Price: Nominal fee)

In Zusammenarbeit mit der GTZ hat das Planungsministerium von Liberia einen Atlas herausgebracht, der auch für andere Länder beispielhaft wäre und als Referenz für Vergleichsdaten herangezogen werden kann. Im Atlas sind alle für die Regionalplanung wichtigen Informationen, die im Lande verfügbar wären, zusammengefaßt. Er kann aufgrund der Kombination von Bestandsdaten und Entwicklungsannahmen unmittelbare Grundlagen für allgemeine und sektorale Planungsentscheidungen liefern. Die Herausgeber haben uns zu dem Werk folgende ergänzende Informationen zugesandt:

In Liberia, as in many other countries which have reached a comparable level of development, the number of development projects is very large. However, it is only possible to a very limited extent for the Plannin Authorities to fulfil this task, as the basic information necessary for planning is largely lacking. There is a danger of large and costly individual projects being only insufficiently tuned to one another and of their effects being misjudged. The efficacy and productivity of the sparse funds invested do not achieve the expected and attainable level.

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Janis Kursis et al:
CONSTRUCTION DE LOGEMENTS EN CLIMAT CHAUD ET SEC. Une etude methodologique faisant appel à l'énergie passive
81 p., 1983, 50 SEK, published by LCHS, P.O.Box 118, S-221 LUND.

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A. D. Austen and R. H. Neale, MANAGING CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS: A GUIDE TO PROCESSES AND PROCEDURES, Edited by Austen/Neale, ICO, 1984 xii + 158 pp.- ISBN 92 2 103553 0 (hard cover)

DARMSTÄDTER NICARAGUA NACHRICHTEN Nr. 2, 44 Seiten, 1985, DM 3,-, Herausgeber und Bezug: Sandino-Partnerschaft, Elisabethenstr. 51, D-61 DARMSTADT

J. Berninghausen, B. Kerstan (Hrsg.)
DIE UNSICHTBARE STÄRKE:
Frauenarbeit in der Dritten Welt, Entwicklungsprojekte und Selbsthilfe
ASA Studien Band 3, 310 Seiten,
ISBN 3-88156-289-3, Breitenbach Verlag Saarbrücken, 1984, DM 24,-

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Lê Yên Nga et al
ECONOMICAL STOVE, part 2, ca 100 p, 1985
both volumes published by LCHS, P.O.Box 118, S-221 LUND.

H. Meyer, C. Menke, W. Siemers
ENERGIE FÜR DIE ARMEN?
Traditionelle Brennstoffe in Indien
ASA Studien Band 2, 195 Seiten,
ISBN 3-88156-288-5, Breitenbach Verlag Saarbrücken 1984, DM 17,-

Stephen Drewer:
THE TRANSFER OF CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUES TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
The rôle of expatriate architects, consultants, and contractors, 120 p., 44 SKR, LCHS, PO.Box 118, S-221 LUND, 1982.

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BEISPIELE, MODELLE, EXPERIMENTE ZUR
WOHNRAUMERHALTUNG

Es sind zwei Gründe, die auch in der Bundesrepublik das Entstehen gemeinwirtschaftlich orientierter bzw. nachbarschaftlich orientierter Wohnprojekte fördern: die Notwendigkeit, guten und vergleichsweise billigen Wohnraum dauerhaft zu sichern, d.h. ihn der privaten Verfügung zu entziehen, und zweitens ist es der Wunsch nach einer "anderen" Qualität des Wohnens, wie sie der private Markt ebenso wenig wie der soziale Wohnungsbau bietet. Die Probleme und die Möglichkeiten einer Lösung auszubreiten und dabei Erfahrungen aus dem Ausland einzubeziehen, ist das Anliegen des Kongresses.

Der Kongress wird in Form von mehreren parallel tagenden Foren durchgeführt. Die Referenten werden dabei zusammen mit anderen eingeladenen Forumsteilnehmern sowie den Zuhörern diskutieren. Grundlage dazu sind die Referate.

Forum 1: Die FINANZIERUNG von gemeinwirtschaftlich orientierten Wohnprojekten

Forum 2: WOHNQUALITÄT ist eine Frage der Selbstbestimmung über die Wohnung und die Wohnumgebung

Forum 3: "NEUBEGINN". Ist die Reaktivierung alter kleiner Genossenschaften möglich? Die Schwierigkeiten neue Genossenschaften zu gründen.

Forum 4: AUFFANGVERSUCHE: Was geschieht mit den Sozialwohnungen?

Forum 5: SOZIALE GRUPPEN, dezentrale Wohnprojekte

Forum 6: KOMMUNALE WOHNUNGSPOLITIK

Forum 7: BERATUNGSBEDARF

Forum 8: PROJEKTGRUPPEN

Weiter Informationen beim Veranstalter:
WOHNBUND Darmstadt, Joachim Brech, Plönniesstr. 18, 61 DARMSTADT, tel 06151 - 79945.

Jerusalem 2-6. 3. 1986:
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON URBAN REVITALIZATION

"Project Renewal is one of the largest and arguably most successful rehabilitation programs ever undertaken. Several hundred urban planners elected officials, community and neighbourhood activists, social scientists health personnel and representatives of international agencies from all over the world will meet in Jerusalem to share experiences and to develop and refine ways of reversing socio-economic and physical blight in towns, neighbourhoods and cities. ... Interested per-

sons are invited to submit abstracts of recent work, as well as projects related to the conference subject, for publication."

Conference fee: US \$ 350.--. Further information: Conference Secretariat, c/o Aceteret Ltd., P.O.Box 3888, 91037 JERUSALEM, Israel.

Baghdad 7.-9. 10. 1986:
USE OF VEGETABLE PLANTS AND THEIR FIBRES AS BUILDING MATERIALS. Joint symposium sponsored by RILEM (Paris) and NCCL (Baghdad). Information: Dr. Mufid A. Samarai, National Centre for Construction Labs., Tell Mohammad / Mousa Bin Nesser Sq., Baghdad / Iraq.



Habitat Forum Berlin 1987

During the first two weeks of June, 1987, the Habitat Forum Berlin 87 (HFB 87) will take place in the 'Reichstag' Building in West Berlin. This international congress will be a contribution to the North-South dialogue. It will centre around two conferences dealing with (1) the attendant housing availability problem, (2) the future of global urbanisation and a political closing discussion.

"PROJECTS" - Conference 1

An exchange of experience, information and opinion of the practical aspects of selected housing projects in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

"SCIENCE" - Conference 2

A discussion of urban differences and their roots, and the consequences for development policy resulting there from.

"POLITICS" - Resolution

To complete the congress, the conclusions drawn as a result of the two conferences will be discussed with politicians and decision-makers on an international level.

Individuals and institutions interested in information of the HFB 87 should write to: HFB 87 - office, c/o Prof. R.W.Ernst, Mommsenstr. 59, 1000 Berlin 12, West-Germany.

PLANERINNEN UND PLANER FÜR DEN FRIEDEN.
Kongress am 13. und 14.10.1984 fand in Dortmund.

Mit dieser Tagung hat die Berufsgruppe der Planer (Raum-, Stadt-, Regional-, Landschafts-, Verkehrs- und UmweltpLANERINNEN und -PLANER) nach den Naturwissenschaftlern, Informatikern, psychosozialen Berufen, Medizinern und anderen Berufsgruppen ebenfalls eine berufsbezogene Friedensarbeit aufgenommen. Anlaß für diese Tagung war die Tatsache, daß Planerinnen und Planer immer häufiger mit der Tatsache konfrontiert werden, daß zivile Entwicklungsprojekte durch das Primat der militärischen Nutzung des Territoriums der Bundesrepublik Deutschland verhindert, behindert oder verteuert werden. Wälder werden abgeholzt, Naherholungsgebiete zerstört, Trinkwassergewinnungsgebiete gefährdet, Erholungsgebiete durch den Lärm tieffliegender Düsenjäger und von Panzerfahrzeuge entwertet. Neue Flugplätze, Depots und Übungsplätze werden angelegt....

Zu der Tagung hatten ca. 170 Personen, Planerinnen und Planern aus der Praxis, den Planungs- und Architekturbüros, Studenten und Professoren der Planerabteilungen der Hochschulen aufgerufen. Die Kongressteilnehmer beschlossen, ihre Arbeit als berufsbezogene Friedensinitiative fortzusetzen und weitere Unterschriften unter den Aufruf "Planerinnen und Planer für Frieden und Abrüstung" zu sammeln (Resolution III). Zugleich riefen sie ihre Kollegen zur Teilnahme an den weiteren Herbstaktionen der Friedensbewegung auf (Resolution I) und unterstützen den Aufruf der Krefelder Initiative "Hiroshima mahnt - Für Europa und die Welt: Stoppt den Rüstungswahnsinn!" (Resolution II).

Sie erläutern: "Wir werden die Bevölkerung und die Fachöffentlichkeit umfassend über die Planung und Realisierung militärischer Projekte informieren. Als Lehrende werden wir das Problem 'Militär und Planung' thematisieren, als Lernende auf diese Ausbildungsinhalte achten. Wir werden Alternativen der Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung mit ziviler Orientierung zur Verbesserung der Arbeits- und Lebensbedingungen der Bevölkerung in den Rüstungszentren und Garnisonsstädten der Bundesrepublik erarbeiten (Konversion von Rüstungsprodukten und Militärstandorten), Schadenskataster erstellen und örtliche Friedensinitiativen mit Gutachten unterstützen. Viele von uns werden darüberhinaus in der Praxis ihre Mitarbeit bei der planerischen Umsetzung und Absicherung der militärischen Projekte verweigern" (aus Resolution III).

Der Kongress beschloß die Einrichtung eines Arbeitsausschusses, der die Arbeit fortsetzen soll. Kontaktadresse ist die Gruppe Planer für Frieden und Abrüstung, O.Achilles, H.Bömer, B.Kötter, Universität Dortmund, Abt. Raumplanung, Postfach 500 500, 4600 Dortmund 50.

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Schwerpunktthema:

SÜDLICHES AFRIKA



Nr. 126 · Juni 1985

Südlisches Afrika:

Der Apartheidsstaat 1985

Freiheitscharta contra
black consciousness?

Zwangsumsiedlungen

Das grüne Band der Sympathie

Angola: Krieg ohne Ende?

Leben und Widerstand schwarzer Frauen

Nachrichten und Berichte zu:

Paraguay

Puerto-Rico

El Salvador

Nr. 125 · Mai 1985

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Informationszentrum Dritte Welt,
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**DIE METROPOLN IN LATEINAMERIKA - HOF-
FNUNG UND BEDROHUNG FÜR DEN MENSCHEN.**
 Internationale Fachtagung vom 16. bis
 20. November an der Katholischen Univer-
 sität Eichstätt

Der Komplexität der Problematik ent-
 sprach die Vielzahl von Disziplinen und
 Berufen, die vertreten waren: 24 Stadt-
 geographen, Städteplaner, Architekten,
 Soziologen, Religionswissenschaftler
 und Journalisten, die von Universitä-
 ten, Planungsbehörden, Industriebetrie-
 ben und den kirchlichen Hilfsdiensten
 "Adveniat" und "Misereor" kamen.

Es ging um den Menschen und seine Le-
 bensbedingungen in den Metropolen, um
 das Individuum ebenso wie die Sozial-
 strukturen, in die es eingebettet ist,
 vom Familienverband über das Stadtvier-
 tel bis hin zur sozialen Schicht. Das
 Besondere der Tagung lag darin, daß sie
 auf Konfrontation im konstruktivem Sinn
 abgelegt war: Konfrontation der Erfah-
 rungen in verschiedenen Ländern, Kon-
 frontation von wissenschaftlicher Ana-
 lyse und konkreter Sozial- und Pastoral-
 arbeit, von industrieller Entwicklung
 und staatlicher oder kirchlicher Hilfe.
 Dieses strukturelle Konzept führte zu
 außerordentlich lebhafter Diskussion,
 die wesentlich zum Gelingen der Tagung
 beitrugen.

Natürlich fragt man am Ende einer sol-
 chen Veranstaltung nach den Ergebnis-
 sen. Es wäre utopisch gewesen, Patent-
 lösungen irgendwelcher Art zu erwarten.
 Die Ergebnisse lagen vielmehr darin,
 daß bestimmte Probleme bewußt gemacht
 wurden. Dabei stellten sich im Verlauf
 der Diskussion zwei Problemkreise he-
 raus, von denen der eine stärker die
 Hilfe für die unteren Schichten bedarf,
 der andere die Städteplanung ganz allge-
 mein. Städteplanern wie auch staat-
 lichen und kirchlichen Hilfsorganisati-
 onen wurde vorgeworfen, sie würden viel
 zu oft der Versuchung erliegen, über
 die Menschen zu verfügen, ohne ihre
 Bedürfnisse miteinzubeziehen. Warum muß
 es als negativ angesehen werden, fragte
 pointiert ein Referent aus Mexiko City,
 wenn Bewohner eines sogenannten Elends-
 viertels ihr Geld in einen Fernseher
 und Kühlschrank investieren, anstatt in
 die Miete einer Hochhauswohnung? Eine
 Städteplanung wie auch jede Hilfe von
 außen müsse wirkungslos bleiben, wenn
 sie auf die Mentalität der Bewohner
 keine Rücksicht nimmt. Die Lösung könne
 nur in einer behutsamen Motivierung der
 Bewohner liegen, sich selbst zu helfen,
 ihre Lebensumstände selbst zu verän-
 dern. Aber das sei ein langwieriger Pro-
 zeß, der von allen Beteiligten sehr
 viel Geduld erfordere. Die Städteplä-
 ner schließlich traf der Vorwurf, sie
 hätten bisher fast immer nur reagiert,
 statt vorausschauend die Probleme zu
 entschärfen, bevor sie unlösbar gewor-
 den sind. In der Diskussion dieses Vor-
 wurfs kam man sehr schnell auf politi-
 sches Terrain. Wie können die Städte-
 planer agieren, wenn von der Politik
 Daten gesetzt werden, die einer vernünf-
 tigen Städteplanung entgegenstehen? Zu
 sehr ist in manchen Ländern die Stadt
 gegenüber dem Land bevorzugt worden.
 Solange aber das Elend auf dem Land
 größer ist als in den Elendvierteln der
 Städte, werden die Menschen weiter in
 die Städte ziehen und deren Probleme
 verschärfen.

Die Vorträge der Tagung werden 1985 ge-
 sammelt in einem Band der "Eichstätter
 Beiträge, Lateinamerika" erscheinen.

K. Kohut

Forschung

G.L.Zander, Doktorarbeit an der Uni
 Lausanne:

DIE SQUATTER IN DER STADT.

Kurzfassung und wichtigste Ergebnisse-

Das Squatterphänomen wird den uns am
 triftigsten erscheinenden Theorien
 gegenübergestellt. Der Vergleich
 zeigt, daß solche, die den Wandel als
 von unten nach oben schreitend ange-
 ben, der Wirklichkeit näher kommen
 als die Diffusionstheorie von oben
 herab. Andererseits werden Theorien,
 welche die Squatter als desintegrieren-
 den Faktor im Stadtsystem betrach-
 ten, von jenen widerlegt, die ihr
 Verhalten als konstruktiv bezeichnen.
 Was die allgemeinen Theorien bet-
 rifft, nimmt le Corbusier's Hygienis-
 mus eine besondere Stellung ein, inso-
 fern als dessen kontraproduktiver
 Einfluss auf das Verhalten von Stadt-
 planern in Entwicklungsländern aufge-
 zeigt wird. Das selbe gilt für die
 Ideologie der sozialen Mischung, übri-
 gens abendländischen Ursprungs wie
 fast alle Theorien, welche Gefahr
 läuft, sich ebenfalls nachteilig aus-
 zuwirken, sollte sie - infolge der
 leider noch üblichen verspäteten Nach-
 ahmung - unüberlegt auf Drittwelt-
 situationen angewandt werden.

Den unterschiedlichen Ansatzpunkten-
 punkte einer Stadtentwicklungspolitik
 gegenüber den Squattern werden zwei
 grundsätzlichen Problemen gegenüber-
 gestellt: Der verborgene Gegensatz
 zwischen westlichen Problemlösungsver-
 fahren und östlicher Problemeinsicht
 bewirkt eine Fehleinschätzung der
 urbanen Lage; am andern Ende der Poli-
 tik, d.h. bei der Projektrealisie-
 rung, erfolgt die räumliche Verdrän-
 gung der Zielbevölkerung aus ihrem
 Habitat, die von wohlhabenderen
 Schichten ersetzt wird.

Die in Vorbereitung befindliche Publi-
 kation schließt mit vier Grundthesen
 zur Bekämpfung des Städteverfalls in
 der Dritten Welt: den Wohnbesitz
 sichern, den informellen Sektor för-
 dern, das Subsidiaritätsprinzip anwen-
 den, das Stadt-Peripherien-System ins
 Gleichgewicht bringen.

Weitere Informationen: ZANDER, City
 Planning & Regional Organization,
 Social Anthropology, zum kleinen
 Schwan, CH-5401 Switzerland.

NACHRICHTEN AUS DER LEHRE

Auch an der FH Aachen wird jetzt das
 Fach BAUEN IN ENTWICKLUNGSLÄNDERN im
 Rahmen eines Seminars mit Prof. Bernd
 Baier angeboten. Das Thema wird als
 "Randgebiet" des Architekturstudiums
 verstanden. Wie die jetzt vorliegende
 Dokumentation der Arbeiten aus dem
 ersten Kurs (WS 83/84) zeigt, ging
 es zunächst um einen Überblick über
 die Vielzahl der unter diesem Sammel-
 begriff einzuordnenden Definitionen
 und Arbeitsfelder, wie: 'Wirtschafts-
 strategien und Bauwirtschaft in
 Peru', 'Elendsviertel', 'Sites-and-
 Services' Projekte, 'Lehmbau' und
 'Nutzung von Solarenergie'. kmf

DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN LOW INCOME NEIGHBOURHOODS IN THE THIRD WORLD

EUGEN BRUNO, ARNOLD KÖRTE & KOSTA MATHEY (Eds.)
418 pages, with Graphs, Maps, Tables, Photographs.
ARCHIMED VERLAG DARMSTADT 1984,
DM 35.-- / US \$ 15.--
ISBN 3-923578-05-9

For a number of years Third World cities witness an explosive growth of the housing stress, which not only affects the very bottom of the income strata among their population, but increasingly also the middle income group of the working class. Although we are used to read about the 'marginal' population living in slums and squatter settlements we have realized that this marginality has surpassed the 50% mark many years ago. The growth of the problem does not come as a surprise, and a variety of approaches have been suggested and tried to resolve the housing problem. Not one of the programs tested could stop the worsening of the situation, and many of them didn't even house one single person belonging to the target group chosen in the first place. New programs are being implemented in almost every capital in the developing world, before the failure of the old ones has been understood sufficiently. Policies developed in one place are being transplanted into different social systems elsewhere without taking into account the particularities of the local habits, history, environment of both places.

In order to facilitate the exchange of experiences made in different parts of the developing world by experts and scholars seriously trying to assist in the provision of housing for the people in greatest need, an international symposium was held at the Technical University in Darmstadt in November 1983, with the title

DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN LOW INCOME NEIGHBOURHOODS IN THE THIRD WORLD.

The papers presented on this occasion, plus three articles of authors who had to cancel their participation at the last moment, have been completed, partially updated and edited to be included in this volume. Since it was the intention of the organizers to bring together experts representing different streams of theory, belonging to several generations, and drawing on a different working background, it was not easy to compare the individual papers among each other, or to draw a common conclusion. The variety of approaches and aspects covered by the authors has been attempted to be visualized in the chart at the end of the (German) introduction, which will hopefully help the reader to select those titles for reading closest to his own field of interest.

The individual papers have been printed in the language in which they were given (English or German), but a summary in the other language has always been added, too, with concluding observations by the editors.

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Arnold Körte

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- * ein Journal zum Austausch beruflicher Erfahrungen im Bereich städtischer Entwicklungen der Dritten Welt.
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"TRIALOG" soll eine lang bestehende Lücke in der deutschsprachigen Planer - Diskussion schließen. Immer mehr Architekten, Stadt- und Raumplaner sowie andere Disziplinen beschäftigen sich in Praxis und Forschung mit den Problemen in der Dritten Welt, mit den Auswüchsen einer heftigen und unkontrollierten Verstädterung, der damit zusammenhängenden Entwicklung auf dem Land, und einer rapiden Verelendung großer Teile der Bevölkerung.

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Das Wohnungsproblem in den Ländern der Dritten Welt ist hinreichend bekannt, ebenso wie die in den westlich orientierten Entwicklungsländern praktizierten Versuche, diesem zu begegnen: die allgemein favorisierten Maßnahmen reichen von Marktstimulation über sozialen Wohnungsbau zu 'sites-and-services', 'core-housing' und 'upgrading' Projekten. Ebenso bekannt ist inzwischen, daß für die ärmste Bevölkerungsschicht, die unter der Wohnungsnot am meisten zu leiden hat, keine der angebotenen Lösungen finanziell tragbar ist.

Auch in den blockfreien und sozialistisch orientierten Staaten der Peripherie ist der Wohnraum im allgemeinen knapp. Einige dieser Länder kommen in den Genuß internationaler Entwicklungshilfe, die im Bereich der 'Human Settlements' meist an Maßnahmen der oben genannten Form gekoppelt sind und somit die aus kapitalistischen Ländern bekannten Sachzwänge reproduzieren.

Doch besonders in Ländern, die eine Revolution oder einen Befreiungskampf durchgemacht haben, bewirkten sowohl die größere Erwartung der Bevölkerung hinsichtlich einer raschen Verbesserung ihrer Reproduktionsbedingungen, wie die höhere Bereitschaft der Regierung, auch unkonventionelle Wege in der Siedlungspolitik einzuschlagen, z.T. den Entwurf phantasievoller Alternativprogramme und den Versuch durchgreifender Reformen. Gerade in den für westliche Experten weniger geläufigen Ländern, wie z.B. Cuba oder Nord-Korea, scheint zumindest die Wohnungsversorgung effektiver organisiert zu sein als in den Nachbarstaaten.

Leider gelangen nur wenige Informationen über interessante Modelle, Programme, Praktiken und auch über die Schwierigkeiten von unkonventionellen Ansätzen in der Wohnungsbaupolitik über die Grenzen dieser Länder. Einige ausländische Wissenschaftler hatten jedoch die Gelegenheit, im Rahmen von Forschungsprojekten, ausgedehnten Studienreisen oder Expertentätigkeit, in dieser Hinsicht relevante Informationen zu sammeln, und in einigen Fällen auch auszuwerten. Ein Austausch und Vergleich der gewonnen Erkenntnisse auf breiter Basis wurde nun erstmals auf einem internationalen Symposium ermöglicht, an dem 39 Wissenschaftler aus 12 Ländern teilnahmen. Eine Auswahl der bei der Veranstaltung diskutierten Papers sind in diesem Sonderband der Zeitschrift TRIALOG zusammengefaßt.

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