

The background image is a photograph of a narrow, tenement street in Manila, Philippines. The street is lined with multi-story buildings that have been painted in various colors like red, blue, and green. These buildings are heavily cluttered with external metal staircases, fire escapes, and a dense network of electrical wires. A person is visible on one of the external stairs. In the foreground, there is a street vendor's cart with a sign that says 'XINELI NOUC VARIO'. To the right, another sign for a food stall lists 'HAMBURGER', 'ASADO', 'EMPANADA', 'SANDWICH', 'BEBIDA', and 'FRIAS'. The ground is unpaved and appears to be a mix of dirt and concrete.

TRIALOG 126/127

A Journal for Planning
and Building in a
Global Context
Vol. 3-4/2016
October 2017

**Neighbourhood
Development**

including

The ABC of Real-world Lab Methodology

Editorial



▲ **Figure 1:** Graffiti in Villa 31, Buenos Aires. (Photo: Sophie Naue)

"Neighbourhood Development in the Global South" was the topic of a conference held by TRIALOG e.V., the Arbeitskreis Stadterneuerung an deutschsprachigen Hochschulen ["Working Group on Urban Regeneration at German-speaking Institutes of Higher Learning"], and the Department of Urban Regeneration and Planning at University of Kassel, which took place in June 2016. Inspired by the Call for Papers published in TRIALOG 118/119, presenters explored the urban regeneration strategies of state actors as well as the contributions of community organisations to neighbourhood development. In seven sessions and twenty presentations, participants discussed frameworks and paradigms of neighbourhood development, the different requirements for the upgrading of informal settlements and inner-city quarters, matters of infrastructure and resilience, as well as participation methods and evaluation criteria. In this context, international development goals were recognised as important points of reference. While these goals are supposed to further the fulfilment of human rights, it was noted that they also tend to be abused for legitimising forced renewals. Thus, discussions also returned to the debate around "the right to the city", which substantiates people's claims for access to basic services and the co-production of urban environments. TRIALOG subsequently invited some of the authors who spoke at the conference to elaborate on their research findings and arguments in scientific papers, and to submit their papers to an anonymous peer review. More-extensive empirical and theoretical articles will be published in the forthcoming Jahrbuch Stadterneuerung, the urban regeneration yearbook published by our co-operation partners.

Based on a study conducted in a suburb of San José (Costa Rica), **Castillo Ulloa** calls for an alternative politics of neighbourhood development and attributes a catalytic role to public space for citizen's self-empowerment. Public space is also afforded a central role in the highly praised urban regeneration programmes of Rio de Janeiro and Medellín. **Restrepo Rico** lets it rain on their parade: While these programmes have produced remarkable innovations and significantly improved the infrastructure in poor neighbourhoods, the lack of real participation by the people casts doubt upon the sustainability of the results. Meanwhile, the focus of urban planning in Rio has shifted from incremental neighbourhood improvement to large-scale urban development driven by mega events. **Paris, Guasch Antúnez, Bertame**

and **Romero** analyse the fight of the inhabitants of Vila Autodrómo, who defended their place in the city against construction works for the Olympic Games with the help of planning from below. Villa 31 in Buenos Aires had likewise been threatened with destruction for years, but as **Naue** reports, it is now undergoing a process of preservation and gradual improvement – nevertheless, inhabitants are still faced with unresolved questions of tenure security. The cover of this issue is of Villa 31. The slogans on the facades call for the "immediate authorisation of roads and sewerage" and celebrate "People's Power". It seems as if neighbourhood development can only be attained through social organisation.

Based on case studies from Jakarta (Indonesia) and Soc Trang (Viet Nam), **Putri** makes an argument for the neighbourhood as the preferred scale of investment into water infrastructure. Water supply, wastewater treatment, and storm-water management could all benefit from more-decentralised planning. This article is followed by two contributions developing criteria for the evaluation of resettlements. Based on a livelihood approach, **Obermayr** and **Sandholz** arrive at a rather positive assessment of a resettlement in Surakarta (Indonesia), which was prepared with significant input from the affected residents. **Thonke** reviews resettlement processes in Cairo based on criteria developed by the OHCHR and IASC, and suggests concrete measures for overcoming the deficits. **ElGamal** analyses the institutional context within which these measures would have to be implemented. While it was an important decision by the Egyptian state to focus on unsafe areas, to date its institutions have been too short-lived to develop a sustainable practice of urban regeneration that is able to learn from its own mistakes. In Algeria, the government wants to eliminate and replace all forms of precarious housing. In her interim conclusion, **Chabou-Othmani** points out negative consequences of the resettlement policy while also mentioning merits of the national housing programme.

This double issue is complemented and accompanied by an article on sustainable neighbourhood development, participation and action research from Germany. It is a catalogue of key terms of real-world lab methodology developed by the research team "District Future" of the Institute for Technology Assessment and Systems Analysis (ITAS) of Karlsruhe. Whether the definitions, goals and methods described by our colleagues could also be productive on the southern half of the globe could be explored in a future issue of this journal.

Gerhard Kienast – Peter Gotsch

▼ **Figure 2:** Audience at the 2016 TRIALOG conference plenary session in Kassel (Photo: Jörg Schrader)



Neighbourhood Development

Volume editors: Gerhard Kienast, Peter Gotsch

Table of contents

- 2 / 4 Editorial / Vorwort
- 5 Public Space as a Catalyst for an Alternative Politics of Neighbourhood Development
Ignacio Castillo Ulloa
- 12 Integral Upgrading in Latin America – An Analysis of Brazil's *Favela-Bairro* and
Colombia's *Proyecto Urbano Integral* Programmes
Susana Restrepo Rico
- 21 Strategic Planning and Community-Based Planning as Tools for Urban Development –
The Struggle of the Vila Autódromo Community, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
Ricardo G. Paris, Aurelia Guasch Antúnez, Rodrigo C. Bertame, Maria Fernanda Romero
- 28 Auswirkungen staatlicher Regularisierung und marktförmiger Wohnraumaneignung
am Beispiel der Villa 31 in Buenos Aires
Sophie Naue
- 35 Integrated at the Neighbourhood Level – A Decentralised Approach to Water
Management
Prathiwi W. Putri
- 43 Participatory Resettlements in Surakarta, Indonesia – Changing Livelihoods for
the Better or the Worse?
Christian Obermayr and Simone Sandholz
- 51 Rethinking Relocation in the Context of Informal Areas – Critical Analysis of the
Relocation Process and the Quality of Life thereafter: The Case of Istabl Antar (Cairo)
Friederike Thonke
- 58 Potentials of New Governmental Entities of Managing Slums in Egypt –The Informal
Settlements Development Facility, ISDF
Mohamed ElGamal
- 66 Das Programm Ersatz „prekären Wohnraums“ in Algerien – Hintergründe und
Herausforderungen der Umsiedlungspolitik
Meriem Chabou-Othmani
- 74 The ABC of Real-world Lab Methodology – From "Action Research" to "Participation"
and Beyond
Oliver Parodi, Richard Beecroft, Marius Albiez, Alexandra Quint, Andreas Seebacher, Kaidi Tamm,
Colette Waitz
- 83 Disillusionment about Habitat III – A Retrospective One Year after Quito
Klaus Teschner
- 85 Forthcoming Events / Veranstaltungen
- 86 Book Reviews / Neue Bücher

Vorwort

„Quartiersentwicklung im Globalen Süden“ war der Titel einer gemeinsamen Tagung von TRIALOG e.V., dem Arbeitskreis Stadterneuerung an deutschsprachigen Hochschulen und dem Fachgebiet Stadterneuerung und Stadtumbau der Universität Kassel, die Mitte Juni 2016 stattfand. Angeregt durch den in TRIALOG 118/119 veröffentlichten Aufruf ging es hier nicht nur um Stadterneuerungs-Strategien staatlicher Akteure, sondern auch um die Bedeutung von Bewohnerorganisationen für eine positive Quartiersentwicklung. In sieben Panels und insgesamt zwanzig Vorträgen diskutierten die Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer Rahmensetzungen und Paradigmen der Quartiersentwicklung, unterschiedliche Anforderungen bei der Erneuerung von Selbstbausiedlungen und innerstädtischen Quartieren, Fragen der Infrastrukturausstattung und Resilienz, sowie Methoden und Kriterien für die Bewertung der Beteiligung auf Quartiersebene. Wichtige Bezugspunkte waren dabei die internationalen Entwicklungsziele, die zwar die Erfüllung grundlegender Menschenrechte fördern sollen, aber auch immer wieder zur Rechtfertigung von Vertreibungen herangezogen werden, und die Debatte um das Recht auf Stadt, die den Anspruch der Menschen auf Zugang zu grundlegenden Dienstleistungen und Mitgestaltung ihrer städtischen Umwelt begründet. Auf unsere Einladung hat ein Teil der AutorInnen, die auf der Tagung vorgetragen haben, ihre Forschungsergebnisse und Argumente für dieses Heft in wissenschaftlichen Aufsätzen aufbereitet und sich einer anonymen Peer-Review unterzogen. Umfangreichere empirische und theoretische Arbeiten werden im nächsten Jahrbuch Stadterneuerung erscheinen, das von unseren Kooperationspartnern herausgegeben wird.

Ausgehend von einer Studie in einer Vorstadt von San José (Costa Rica) plädiert **Castillo Ulloa** für eine alternative Politik der Quartiersentwicklung und spricht dem öffentlichen Raum eine katalytische Rolle bei der Erlangung der Selbstbestimmung der BürgerInnen zu. Auch in den vielgelobten Stadterneuerungsprogrammen von Rio de Janeiro und Medellín spielt der öffentliche Raum eine zentrale Rolle. **Restrepo Rico** gießt Wasser in den Wein der Lobeshymnen: Zwar haben die Programme beachtliche Innovationen hervorgebracht und die Infrastruktur enorm verbessert, die Betroffenen dabei aber kaum beteiligt. Daher sei die Nachhaltigkeit der Ergebnisse keineswegs gesichert. Längst hat sich der Fokus der Stadtplanung in Rio von der kleinteiligen Quartiersentwicklung auf sportliche Großereignisse verschoben. **Paris, Guasch Antúnez, Bertame und Romero** analysieren den Kampf der BewohnerInnen der Vila Autodrómo, die ihren Platz in der Stadt mit einer Planung von unten gegen olympische Bauvorhaben verteidigt haben. Auch Buenos Aires' Villa 31, von der **Naue** berichtet, war jahrelang von Zerstörung bedroht, ist inzwischen aber gesichert und erfährt eine schrittweise Verbesserung der Infrastruktur. Aus der Konsolidierung ergeben sich allerdings bisher ungelöste eigentumsrechtliche Fragen. Aus Villa 31 stammt auch das Titelbild dieser Ausgabe. Die Slogans auf den Häuserwänden der Siedlung verlangen nach „sofortiger Genehmigung von Straßen und Abwasserleitungen“ und beschwören die „Macht des Volkes“. Ohne Selbstorganisation erscheint Quartiersentwicklung unmöglich.

Putri plädiert basierend auf Fallstudien aus Jakarta und Soc Trang (Vietnam) dafür, die Quartiersebene zum Bezugspunkt für Investitionen in die Wasserinfrastruktur zu machen. Sowohl die Abwasserentsorgung als auch die Entwässerung nach Niederschlägen würden von dezentraler Planung profitieren. Darauf folgen gleich zwei Beiträge, die Kriterien für die Evaluierung von Umsiedlungsmaßnahmen entwickeln. Auf Grundlage des Livelihood-Ansatzes bewerten **Obermayr und Sandholz** eine Umsiedlung in Surakarta (Indonesien), die mit starker Beteiligung der Betroffenen vorbereitet wurden, überwiegend positiv. **Thonke** misst Umsiedlungsprozesse in Kairo an Kriterien des UN-Menschenrechtsbeauftragten und des IASC und schlägt konkrete Maßnahmen zur Überwindung der Defizite vor. Das institutionelle Umfeld, in dem diese Maßnahmen umgesetzt werden müssten, untersucht **ElGamal**. Eine wichtige Entscheidung des ägyptischen Staates war die Fokussierung auf akut gefährdete Gebiete, doch für eine nachhaltige Stadterneuerung, die auch aus Fehlern lernt, sind seine Institutionen zu



▲ **Abb. 1:** 1. Panel bei der TRIALOG-Jahrestagung 2016 (von links nach rechts): Daphne Frank, Wolfgang Scholz, Elisa Bertuzzo, Günter Nest (Foto: Jörg Schrader)

kurzlebig. In Algerien will die Regierung alle prekären Wohnformen beseitigen. **Chabou-Othmani** zieht eine Zwischenbilanz, die negative Folgen der Umsiedlungspolitik benennt, dem nationalen Wohnungsbauprogramm aber auch Verdienste zuspricht.

Ein Beitrag zur nachhaltigen Quartiersentwicklung, Partizipation und Aktionsforschung aus Deutschland ergänzt und begleitet das Doppelheft. Dabei entwickelt das Forschungsteam „Quartier Zukunft“ des Instituts für Technikfolgenabschätzung und Systemanalyse (ITAS) aus Karlsruhe einen Katalog mit „Schlüsselbegriffen der Reallaborforschung“. Ob die hier beschriebenen Begriffe, Ziele und Methoden auch auf der Südhalbkugel produktiv werden, könnte in einer zukünftigen Ausgabe von TRIALOG untersucht werden.

Gerhard Kienast – Peter Gotsch

▼ **Abb. 2:** 2. Panel bei der TRIALOG-Jahrestagung (von links nach rechts): Susana Restrepo Rico, Ignacio Castillo Ulloa, Ricardo G. Paris, Aurelia Guasch Antúnez, Maria Fernanda Romero (Foto: Jörg Schrader)



Public Space as a Catalyst for an Alternative Politics of Neighbourhood Development

Ignacio Castillo Ulloa

Formal procedures of neighbourhood development usually fall short in substantially incorporating residents' input. In this regard, these policies may be superseded by collective political activities that are neither institutionalised nor provided by government agencies. Public space, moreover, has a pivotal function in the process whereby citizens recognise themselves as political subjects able to intervene and perform beyond given political identities, roles and arenas. Using case-study analysis – based on interviews, participant observation, and secondary sources – interspersed with theoretical arguments, this article deconstructs the story of Paso Ancho, a cluster of barrios in southern San José (Costa Rica), whose residents triggered an autonomous process of decision-making and took matters into their own hands. Through re-appropriation and redefinition of public space, Paso Ancho inhabitants first entered a liminal stage of political subjectivation and, then, crafted their political identities in "non-adversarial" terms. They thus de-routinised abiding traditions of neighbourhood development and, from there, improved their barrios – not only from outside, but despite the official and institutional state apparatus.

Öffentlicher Raum als Katalysator für eine alternative Politik der Quartiersentwicklung

Formalen Verfahren der Quartiersentwicklung mangelt es in der Regel an der Einbindung der Bewohner. An die Stelle solcher offiziellen Prozesse treten mitunter kollektive politische Aktivitäten, die weder von staatlichen Stellen ausgehen noch institutionalisiert sind. Der öffentliche Raum spielt in solchen Vorgängen eine wesentliche Rolle, da sich die Bürger hier als politische Subjekte erkennen, die in der Lage sind, jenseits der gegebenen politischen Identitäten, Rollen und Arenen zu handeln. Mit Hilfe einer Fallstudienanalyse – basierend auf Interviews, Teilnehmerbeobachtung und sekundären Quellen – und durchsetzt mit theoretischen Argumenten, dekonstruiert der Artikel die Geschichte von Paso Ancho, einer Gruppe von Barrios im südlichen San José (Costa Rica), deren Bewohner einen autonomen Prozess der Entscheidungsfindung auslösten und ihre Angelegenheiten in die eigenen Hände nahmen. Durch die Wiederaneignung und Neudefinition des öffentlichen Raumes traten die Einwohner von Paso Ancho in eine neue Phase der politischen Subjektivierung ein, die ihre politischen Identitäten in einer Weise formte, die nicht auf Gegnerschaft gegen äußere Feinde beruht. So haben die Bewohner die vorherrschenden Methoden der Quartiersentwicklung „ent-routiniert“ und ihre Barrios verbessert – nicht nur außerhalb, sondern trotz der Institutionen des Staates.

Introduction: Telling neighbourhood creation and neighbourhood development apart

The rationality of "traditional" politics of neighbourhood creation frequently dismisses the influential role of people that are going to (or already) live in and, in the end, enliven envisioned neighbourhoods. By means of collective, autonomous and extra-institutional actions, conventional, top-down, state-led, technocratic politics of neighbourhood creation are defied head-on. Such defiance allows people to recognise themselves as political subjects capable enough to invent their own forms and means of participation to not only make decisions, but also to take action. Public space, within this realisation, plays an essential part, given the relationship between public space and the possibility to be part of "the public" (Mitchell 2003). More specifically, public space is decisive to cultivate a political subjectivity that resists "institutional formalisation" and advances an alternative politics of actual neighbourhood development because public space is "an unconstrained space within which political movements can organise and expand into wider arenas" (Mitchell 1995: 115).

These propositions are elaborated on in the context of the *globalised* South that is fairly understudied concerning autonomous political participation in the frame of neighbourhood development: the city of San José, Costa Rica. Building on my PhD research and drawing on case-study analysis (in-the-field interviews, participant observation and secondary sources) intermingled with theoretical

formulations, I examine the story of Paso Ancho, a group of barrios located in southern San José, where residents first mobilised and demanded that neighbourhoods be improved and, eventually, came up with a development agenda and implemented it themselves. To that end, the article begins with an overview of the relationship between citizen mobilisations¹ and the urbanisation of the *Gran Área Metropolitana* (GAM) (see Figures 1 and 2). Likewise, the movement against the United States-Central America-Dominican Republic Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA-DR) is introduced to highlight the *Comités Patrióticos* (patriotic committees) as the immediate forerunner that enabled mobilisation and organisation in Paso Ancho. This article closes with an open-ended call to revisit the relationship between the growth of the city and the development of its neighbourhoods.

Mobilisations seeking alternative change in the city

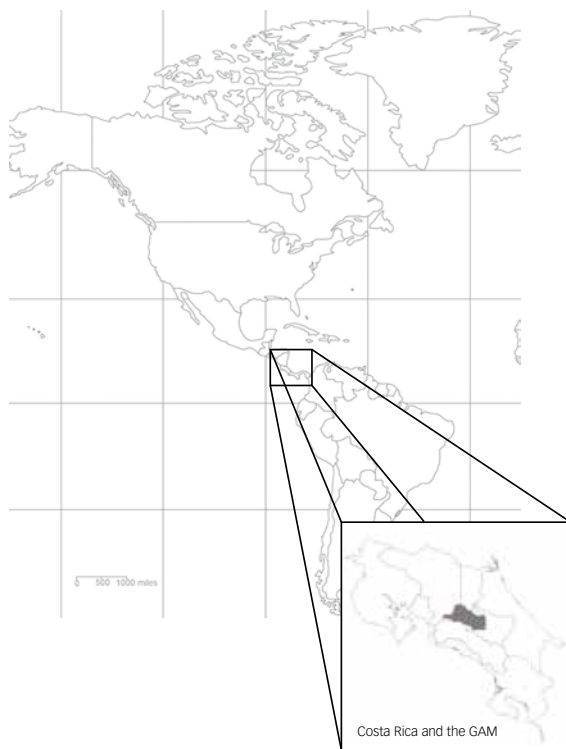
In Costa Rica, between 1950 and 1980, a political system was configured whose policies were directed at meeting the basic needs of marginalised sectors of the population; above all, those settled in the country's largest urban agglomeration, the GAM.² Such achievement was considerably possible because of the resistance given by urban social movements to a purely-technocratic form of urbanisation (Valverde and Trejos 1993). Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, there were several clashes between the state and civil society in which urban social movements had a multidimensional political posture while, for instance,

This article has been peer reviewed by two independent reviewers. A group of about 30 distinguished experts is engaged in TRIALOG's peer review process.

1 Mobilisations will be interchangeably referred to as "citizen", "social", or "mass", for they are here considered synonymous.

2 Costa Rica's four main cities (and their respective metropolitan areas) are situated within the GAM: San José (the capital), Alajuela, Heredia and Cartago. The GAM has an area of 2,044 km²; a population, according to the 2011 census, of 2,268,248 residents; and it concentrates the majority of the economically-active population, services, infrastructural projects and governmental institutions.

Figure 1: Localisation of Costa Rica and its Gran Área Metropolitana. Source: The author



calling for the nationalisation of the water provision system and opposing a foreign monopoly on electricity.

3 There are four main types of social movements: alternative (specific population is targeted and limited change sought), redemptive (selective parts of population are reached out to and radical change advanced), reformative (aimed at society as whole and advance a certain change), and revolutionary (everyone is called upon to transform society anew) (Aberle 1966: 317ff).

Traditionally, citizen mobilisation in the urban areas of Costa Rica originated in middle-class neighbourhoods, to which the majority of left-leaning activists and participants of movements belonged. However, a severe economic crisis in the late 1970s dramatically rearranged the relationships between civil society, state and market and directly impacted the stability and cohesion of the middle class (Valverde and Trejos 1993). Consequently, major setbacks were experienced in socioeconomic indicators that during the previous years of growth and social welfare kept the country above average in Latin America (Barahona 1999). In 1982, with the implementation of the

first so-called "structural adjustment programme" (SAP), neoliberal policies explicitly began and, as a result, the middle class and their living conditions declined (Cordero 2005: 161).

In consequence, a disenfranchised middle class mobilised and tackled issues like public services and housing in an effort to improve eroded living circumstances within the GAM. In neighbourhoods where electricity bills were being arbitrarily augmented, people demonstrated and even reconnected the service where it had been cut off (Alvarenga 2005: 196-197). The housing shortage was confronted through the formation of housing committees that "emerged as an innovative tool of grassroots organisation and community-based struggle" (Lara and Molina 1997: 27). Collective actions taken to secure housing provision – from protests and rallies to self-construction – became a means to an end. Given that "victory" had been achieved, mobilisation lost significant momentum. These popular mobilisations constituted, in that regard, *alternative movements*³ and despite their limitations they were "successful in meeting objectives, new communities were created, and there was a tangible experience in the value of collective struggle" (Kaufman 1997: 14).

In broad synthesis, after the crisis of the late 1970s, there was a relatively stable period that was interrupted by social mobilisations whose claims exposed the growing disparity between the way the GAM was being planned and how life in neighbourhoods was affected by the top-down vision on their development.

The imagined versus the lived city

Cities throughout the globalised South often exhibit a knotty condition: on the one hand, they emanated from a "well-ordered" physical arrangement of space. On the other hand, unexpected social, economic, political and spatial effects contradict the logic of, and thus wear away, their allegedly flawless spatial configuration. In Latin America, while the ideal of a clear-cut spatial form for



Figure 2: General view of the Gran Área Metropolitana (from SW to NW). Source: Consejo Nacional de Planificación Urbana (2013: 8)

cities could be traced back to the *ciudad hispanoamericana* (the Hispanic American city) (see de Terán 1989), it was the era of modernist master plans, which epitomised the drive to capture and fix the multiplicity of societies. In reality, however, there could never be a "one-to-one translation" of what is imagined (by urban planners, designers, architects) into what is to be actually *lived* (by city dwellers) (Lefebvre 1991 [1974]).

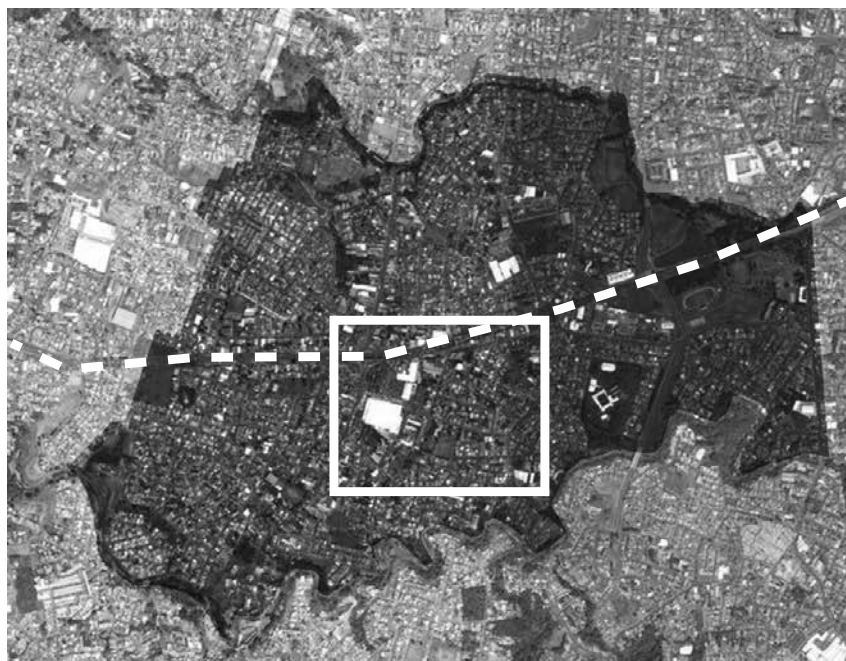
Despite this polarity, urban "development" (i.e., top-down, technocratic growth) in Costa Rica continues to be promoted via master plans that combine blueprint planning instruments with synoptic planning methods. There's a number of reasons for that: strong political influence, real-estate speculation, surreptitious processes of de- and re-regulation, inter alia. Yet, the core issue is that planning discourses and practices are innately ideological and political; in consequence, "visions and ideals shaping the fantasies of the future city are often reflective of hegemonic desires of conflicting, but dominant, privileged minorities" (Gunder 2005: 174). Furthermore, the specificity to control cities goes up- and downwards in diverse geographical scales, given that compulsory master plans are nationwide (National Urban Development Plan), regional (*Plan GAM 83* and *Plan GAM 2013-2030*), and local (*planes reguladores*, normative master plans that municipalities are to produce and enact). While their conception is thorough and both accuracy and amount of technical data are regarded as vital, their implementation is barely perceptible, for these type of master plans are "planning as post hoc fallacy" which resists the possibility of being altered through experience (Castillo 2016: 25-26).

The plans (containing regulations, maps, diagrams) have a common denominator: the aspiration to create an environment of control, security and functionality. The experts involved, therefore, must resort to a replacement of *concrete* with *abstract* space; that is, they shift "from lived experience to the abstract, projecting this abstraction back onto lived experience" (Lefebvre 2003 [1970]: 183). Not surprisingly, ever since *Plan GAM 83* was launched, the GAM has had no clear, harmonious or secure expansion. It may even be said that while it has economically and physically grown, it has not, at all, evenly socially developed. Thus, socio-economic disparities have crystallised into gated communities next to divested informal settlements; a road system that favours the automobile; and the lack of, restricted access to, or low quality of public services, goods and infrastructure. Nevertheless, the illusion of obtaining a "dreamy GAM" persists and anticipated solutions are, time and again, imposed as though they had an intrinsic universal acceptance.

Notwithstanding the ostensible success of prevailing and resourceful elites in spelling out the future of the GAM, citizens have been pushing for substantial, bottom-up, socially-responsive development through a re-appropriation of public space and by sticking to a counter-hegemonic logic of action.

Public space as the domain of a counter-hegemonic political subjectivity

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, some residents of neighbourhoods located south of the GAM, pejoratively called *Barrios del Sur*, fought back at the economic, social



▲ **Figure 3:** Localisation of the Paso Ancho centre within the district of San Sebastián. The dash line symbolises freeway 39. Source: The author (based on Google Maps)

and spatial asymmetries propelled by *Plan GAM 83*. They pressed, reviving old claims, for better access to public services (electricity, water, social housing) as well as common goods (parks, roads, sidewalks) (Valverde and Trejos 1993). The social discontent reflected, broadly, that the master plans' visions were veritably at odds with citizens' needs and wants. Further, mobilisations, as spontaneous social relations, unfolded in a concrete realm: public spaces. Streets and squares were then disputed and competed for so that "the politics of the street" (Butler 2011) could be performed. Through decisive political actions and interventions (mass demonstrations, petitions and even getting things done) a "counter hegemony" emerged shaped against a hegemonic counterpart: the state apparatus.

While some demands became social gains, there was not, as before, a general sentiment of victory. Also, neighbourhoods gradually yielded to clientelistic tactics of both the central state and traditional political parties (Mora 1991). By ensuring electoral support, local governments and *Asociaciones de Desarrollo* (local development associations whose members are popularly elected) thenceforth gained control over the politics of neighbourhood development and, by extension, reassured the capacity of powerful minorities to promote growth – instead of development – within the GAM. Eventually, this led again to a certain social and political stability due, chiefly, to co-optation and further dislodgment of popular organisations (Valverde and Trejos 1993). All the same, an organisational "sediment" persisted and, in time, it evolved among residents of some of the *Barrios del Sur* known as Paso Ancho into something different and out of something fairly unanticipated.

The *comités patrióticos* as an "odd" precursor of an alternative politics of neighbourhood development

The "NO Movement": The comités patrióticos' backdrop

Although the containment of citizen mobilisations during the 1980s and 1990s diminished the counter-hegemonic



▲
Figure 4a&b: Freeway 39 and the pedestrian bridge that was built after the residents' campaign. Source: The author

political subjectivity of marginalised groups, they progressively rekindled during anti-neoliberal mass mobilisations. Following the two most prominent of these movements, the national teachers' strike⁴ and the resistance to the privatisation of the electricity and communication utilities, from 2003 to 2007, an intense social polarisation occurred due to negotiations about a free-trade agreement between several Central American countries, the Dominican Republic, and the United States (the CAFTA-DR).

4
At the core of the struggle was the demand not to alter the teachers' retirement system as well as defending institutionalism and working conditions throughout the public sector.

5
The then president, Óscar Arias Sánchez, used the CAFTA-DR approval as his electoral campaign's linchpin.

6
Official declarations proclaimed demonstrations improper, for they, among other reasons, would affect traffic.

Debate about the CAFTA-DR had only taken place institutionally and information about the process wasn't publicly circulated. When a referendum (the first one in Costa Rica's democratic history) was announced, the discussion on the treaty became socially dividing – you were either for or against it. Of the two confronted blocs, the NO Movement was an unprecedented phenomenon, given that it comprised a wide array of actors with divergent political stances and without previous political militancy. Furthermore, its organisation was multi-layered, without hierarchical articulation or interdependence. The most thought-provoking facet of the NO Movement were the patriotic committees (*comités patrióticos*) that came into existence via a "network of networks" (Salas 2010: 21). About 150 committees spread through different regions and agglutinated local concerns, in both a pedagogical and critical manner, with the global issues the CAFTA-DR entailed.

Just like in previous social mobilisations, political subjectivation was largely based on a hegemonic-counter-hegemonic dynamic. Participants of the NO Movement were determined to defeat their opponent, the "Yes Movement", which was directly associated with both the business sector and the government.⁵ Their political subjectivity found first expression in demonstrations that disputed the use of public space to put forward their discontent.⁶ In parallel, little by little, the committees managed to utilise the neighbourhood (and even the household) scale to further their claims, which made political subjectivation more time- and space-specific (i.e., not exclusively based on "adversarial terms"). After losing the referendum and the failure of two general assemblies on the future of the committees, most of them dissolved. However, some committees changed their scope and scale of their political actions, for they saw more manoeuvring room at the canton, district and also the barrio level. This line of reasoning was, incidentally, more recurrent in committees of urban areas within the GAM.

Paso Ancho: Forging a singular political agency, subjectivity and identity by remaking public apace

In Paso Ancho, progressively after the referendum, the *Comité Patriótico* joined forces with other community-based organisations to give talks and workshops, produce and distribute leaflets and newsletters, and invite people to engage in the upgrading of their barrios. Focusing on "more-concrete" issues affecting the neighbourhoods, a core of activists elicited engagement of residents to, first, launch a campaign called "Black Hearts" to raise awareness of how people were risking their lives when crossing from one side to the other of freeway 39 (known as the *Circunvalación*) (see Figures 3 and 4). Painting black hearts where people had died and organising a demonstration at the point where it was believed a pedestrian bridge had to be built, a set of visible actions started to convey a message to both local authorities and other residents who hadn't known about the new mobilisation.

The pedestrian bridge was neither constructed immediately nor where it was intended. Nonetheless, the activists channelled their effort to a more ambitious "project": a development agenda. This was not an easy endeavour. The whole process was instilled with tensions, for it was framed by activities of various actors endowed with differing visions and resources. Both activists and participants pointed out in interviews that equally important to craft social capital and overcome internal conflicts was the principle of giving voice to anyone who wanted to express their views, worries and suggestions. The nub of the strategy to engage others was to spark interest, hoping that that would, in turn, spur on to "finding the time" to participate. Several interviewees noted that they heard about the intentions to improve barrios in every-day circumstances: while waiting for the bus, mingling after having shopped at a local store, or simply hanging around at a barrio's corner (see Figures 5a&b). Here opinions on certain issues (bad condition of sidewalks, scarcity of recreational and cultural activities, mismanagement of solid waste) were casually expressed.

At the beginning (e.g., during the demonstration to demand a pedestrian bridge), public space was, as before, competed for to further claims. Afterwards, a tactical and



◀ **Figure 5a&b:** Throughout Paso Ancho, streets are narrow and do not conform to a regular quadrant layout. Public infrastructure is of a regular-good quality, and local businesses create dynamism in everyday life. Source: The author

strategic move occurred: information was disseminated in and through "unorthodox" public spaces and within the "ordinariness" of everyday life. By means of informal instances of political participation, people of Paso Ancho converted public space (streets, sidewalks, corners) into "spaces of insurgent citizenship" (Holston 1999).⁷ Within time, people could make decisions and take actions regarding the development of their living places. Possibilities and reasons for acting were thus paired together and endogenous values and local knowledge advanced (creating an epistemological and methodical break in the politics of neighbourhood development). Actions, moreover, were underpinned by bodily experiences and material practices fashioned – in clear contrast to the technocratic logic of the master plans – by the numerous and coinciding life-trajectories of people, who were able to produce their own political subjectivity, agency and identity. More specifically, the relationship between the distinct dimensions of the publicness of space was altered: publicness as a *context for action* (a novel use of public space), a *type of action* (addressing others, either in the form of demonstrations, approaching people directly or spontaneous haunts), and a *collective actor* (people mobilising making up "the public") (Iveson 2007: 8).

From mingling at the barrio's corner to taking over its fate

After a series of meetings held at the Paso Ancho's public library *Emma Gamboa* (see Figure 8a) and having realised that civil disobedience has its limits (the experience of the pedestrian bridge, a couple of activists stated, had a

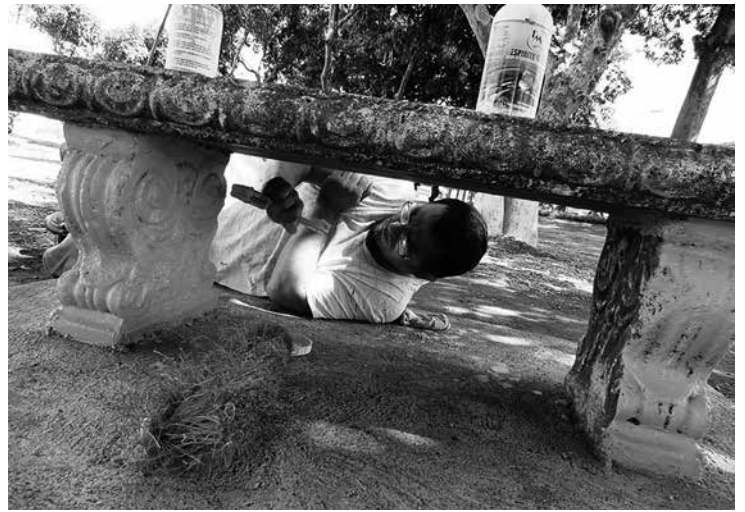
"bittersweet taste"), the agenda was "officially inaugurated". Thereafter, a series of actions and projects began: among others, the *Parque de los Héroes* ("Park of the Heroes"), a derelict public park, was cleaned; sidewalks restored; a small solid waste collection centre set up; and murals and facades of houses painted (see Figure 6a). Complementary to these activities were the revitalisation and recovery of both the history and traditions of Paso Ancho: cultural activities were organised (e.g., theatre plays, screening of films, festivals); a newsletter named *El Caminante del Sur* ("The Southern Walker") reissued; and a project called *Identidad Pasoancheña* ("Identity of Paso Ancho"), to choose ten representative symbols, carried out (see Figure 6b). As a result, social cohesion and stronger ties of trust and solidarity were nurtured, making it easier for people to be involved and to transform intentions into actions.

People of Paso Ancho produced a "radical disjuncture" in the traditional and institutional politics of neighbourhood development that had been determining the "fate" of their barrios. An alternative politics of neighbourhood development was, as a reaction, set off to extensively alter the "distribution of the sensible", that is, "the system of self-evident facts of sense perception that simultaneously discloses the existence of something in common and the delimitations that define the respective parts and positions within it" (Rancière 2004 [2000]: 12). Instead of overlaying an abstract ordering of forms and modes "desired" (by the few), the alternative politics of neighbourhood development in Paso Ancho configured a sensible

⁷ Such spaces "are found both in organised mobilisations and in everyday practices that, in different ways, empower, parody, derail, or subvert state agendas" (Holston 1999: 167).



◀ **Figure 6a&b:** Some of the actions collectively undertaken in Paso Ancho. Facades of houses painted, which were used to promote the project *Identidad Pasoancheña*. Source: Facebook Page of Paso Ancho



▲
Figure 7a&b: The *Parque de los Héroes* cleaned up and made again accessible. People themselves restore furniture in the park. Source: Facebook Page of Paso Ancho

8
Earlier on, after theatre plays or other cultural performances, symbolic donations were collected.

9
While I've concluded field-work, actions have steadily continued. I've kept track of new actions through email communication with activists and by checking posts in the Facebook page of Paso Ancho (last retrieved on June 2017).

▼
Figure 8a&b: Workshop "Rescue of the Barrios del Sur" (a) and the Emma Gamboa public library, no longer available for such assemblies. Source: Facebook Page of Paso Ancho



order (for the many), which is exercised by "common" people. By defying a top-down neighbourhood development (hinged on *planes reguladores* and implemented by municipalities), Paso Ancho dwellers realised that their barrios are not materially and symbolically given and can be rearranged through "sense-making practices" that determine "what is understood as voice or noise, what is seen and heard, what is possible or impossible, thinkable or unthinkable" (Dikeç 2013: 82).

Daring to bite the hand that feeds you is not without costs

In disrupting the traditional politics of neighbourhood development, the people of Paso Ancho did encounter resistance: the municipality of San José went from simply denying assistance (lending equipment, providing tools, transferring assets, etc.) to behaving bigotedly. The access to the public library (to organise assemblies or cultural events) was deliberately restricted by adducing a violation of house rules and changing opening hours. The *Parque de los Héroes*, likewise, could no longer be used for meetings called by members of the *Comité Patriótico* or activities from which any sort of profit could be generated.⁸ Further, clientelism was reactivated, in order to promote passivity among citizens. In consequence, the municipality and the *Asociaciones de Desarrollo* (with their explicit partisan interests) would, again, gain control as the entities in charge of determining what the "real" necessities of the barrios are and how to tackle them – i.e., retaking

political control by converting the autonomy achieved by people, once more, into heteronomy. Such intentions surfaced, to varying degrees, during interviews with local officials. While those in higher tiers of the municipal organisation (like the department of urban development) emphasised the necessity of experts to steer development in San José, local officials at the department of neighbourhood improvement, while conceding that residents have to be part of any upgrading project, asserted that the municipality must play a directive role.

Although mobilisation in Paso Ancho did lose momentum, it still goes on.⁹ Engaged residents, through their "sense-making practices", catalysed a different manner whereby developing their barrios in accordance to what they believed is needed and wanted by trying to match physical changes with people's sentiments. In so doing, they have learned to cope with external as well as internal difficulties. Public space, as it has been noted, was renewed both symbolically (from the "politics of the street" to the medium through which ideas were disseminated and zealously shared) and materially (by physical interventions like painting murals, retooling the *Parque de los Héroes*, fixing sidewalks, etc.). Public space opened up possibilities to collectively imagine and, eventually, gave way to a bottom-up neighbourhood development. All the while, public space has not been rendered neutral: it has maintained its contentious character as the municipality has restricted access to both the public park and library. Regaining

access to those public spaces is important, though not all that determinantal, for other "unorthodox" public spaces (the corner street, the local shops' entrances, etc.) are still appropriated to exercise an "insurgent citizenship".

To not conclude: The barrio as liminal political space

Cities, in all their dimensions, are heterogeneous. Heterogeneity, nonetheless, is not synonymous with inequality – as Henri Lefebvre (1970) advocates, great homogenising powers ought to be resisted, for there must be room for difference without exclusion. Paso Ancho, though technocratically labelled as middle-low income and condensed into a bunch of bundles on a map for urban planning purposes, has a rich and diverse social fabric. University professors, high-school teachers, small entrepreneurs, housewives, university students, pensioners, etc. have worked shoulder to shoulder to make their barrios better through the expression of their political identities and thereby resisting sweeping and standardising social, political and spatial structures. The "representation of space" (embodied by master plans supposed to translate the city into one single and homogenous entity) is at odds with "the spaces of representation" (socially produced at the neighbourhood level) (Lefebvre 1991 [1974]).

Such mismatch also signals that, by means of the nuances between the city as a whole and the neighbourhoods therein, disalienation may well occur, for it "involves the practical reconquest of a sense of place and [...] reconstruction of an articulated ensemble which can be retained in memory and which the individual can [cognitively] map" (Jameson 1990: 51). To that end, the politics of neighbourhood development, like the case of Paso Ancho shows, may well produce liminal political spaces that are, as Sennett (2013 [2006]: 53) has put it, "at the limits of control, limits that permit the appearance of things, acts and persons unforeseen, yet focused and sited". Residents of Paso Ancho could therefore "unexpectedly" stir an enthusiastic and localised mobilisation focused on improving living conditions (that actually go beyond basic needs) and sited in their barrios' public spaces. It was hence through re-appropriating and redefining public space that Paso Ancho residents' political subjectivity, identity and agency went from being driven by a "counter-hegemonic" force to entering a stage characterised by a force of impulsion rooted in everyday life. Rather than pursuing confrontation to rearrange the politics of neighbourhood development, mobilisation in Paso Ancho catalysed an alternative to it. In so doing, people have "demarked" their barrios within the urban growth wherefrom they sprang and reinforced links of belonging and identity.

References

- Aberle, D. (1966) *The Peyote Religion among the Navaho*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Alvarenga, P. (2005) *De Vecinos a Ciudadanos*. San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica and Universidad Nacional.
- Barahona, M.A. (1999) "El desarrollo económico." In: Quesada, J.R.; Masís, D.; Barahona, M.A.; Meza, T.; Cuevas, R. and Rhenán, J. (eds.) *Costa Rica Contemporánea*, p. 97-152. San José: Proyecto Estado de la Nación.
- Butler, J. (2011) "Bodies in Alliance and the Politics of the Street." In: EIPCP (available at: <http://www.eipcp.net/transversal/1011/butler/en>; retrieved on 9 January 2015).
- Castillo, I. (2016) "From apophenia to epiphany: Making planning theory-research-practice co-constitutive." In: *plaNNext – next generation planning* 3: 16-35.
- Consejo Nacional de Planificación Urbana (CNPU) (2013) *Plan GAM 2013 Resumen* (available at: <http://www.mivah.go.cr/PlanGAM.shtml>; retrieved on 12 May 2014).
- Cordero, A. (2005) "Clases medias y movimientos sociales en Costa Rica." In: *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 109-110/3-4, p. 157-166.
- Dikeç, M. (2013) *Beginners and Equals*. In: *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 38, p. 78-90.
- Gunder, M. (2005) "The Production of Desirous Space." In: *Planning Theory* 4/2, p. 173-199.
- Holston, J. (1999) "Spaces of Insurgent Citizenship." In: Holston, J. (ed.), *Cities and Citizenship*, p. 155-173. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Iveson, K. (2007) *Publics and the City*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Kaufman, M. (1997) "Community power, grassroots democracy, and the transformation of social life." In: Kaufman, M. and Dilla Alfonso, H. (eds.) *Community Power and Grassroots Democracy*, p. 1-26. London and New Jersey: Zed Books.
- Lefebvre, H. (1970) *Le Manifeste Différentialiste*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991 [1974]) *The Production of Space*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Lefebvre, H. (2003 [1970]) *The Urban Revolution*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Jameson, F. (1990) *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Lara, S. and Molina, E. (1997) "Participation and popular democracy in the committees for the struggle for housing in Costa Rica." In: Kaufman, M. and Dilla Alfonso, H. (eds.) *Community Power and Grassroots Democracy*, p. 27-54. London: Zed Books.
- Mitchell, D. (1995) "The end of public space?" In: *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 85/1, p. 108-133.
- Mitchell, D. (2003) *The Right to the City*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Mora, J. (1991) *Juntas Progresistas*. San José: Fundación Friedrich Ebert.
- Municipalidad de San José (MSJ) (2010) *Información Básica del Cantón de San José*. San José: Publicaciones MSJ.
- Rancière, J. (2004 [2000]) *The Politics of Aesthetics*. London and New York: Continuum.
- Salas, M. (2010) *Movimiento Social contra el TLC en Costa Rica*. San José: Perro Azul.
- Sennett, R. (2013 [2006]) "The Open City." In: Wang, W. (ed.) *Culture: City*, p. 50-54. Berlin: Akademie der Künste.
- de Terán, F. (ed.) (1989) *La Ciudad Hispanoamericana*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos de Obras Públicas y Urbanismo.
- Valverde, J.M. and Trejos, M.A. (1993) "Diez Años de Luchas Urbanas en Costa Rica (1982–1992)." In: *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 61, p. 7–16.



Ignacio Castillo Ulloa

Arch. M.Sc. Ph.D. Researcher at the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Berlin University of Technology (ISRTU-Berlin). His research interests entail, inter alia, uneven socio-spatial development and disruptive-counteractive (local) practices; critical urban research; and Lacanian theory to explore interrelations among planning theory, research and practice. His dissertation problematises, within the scope of radical planning and through Lefebvrian/Foucaultian spatial analysis, how protest actions may inform local community self-development. Contact: <ignacio.castilloulloa@campus.tu-berlin.de>

Integral Upgrading in Latin America

An Analysis of Brazil's *Favela-Bairro* and Colombia's *Proyecto Urbano Integral* Programmes

Susana Restrepo Rico

The proliferation of informality in Latin America has deeply affected the formulation of urban policy, forcing the governments of major cities to devise respective policies and programmes. From eviction to sites and services, urban upgrading programmes have been implemented for decades. Recent changes in legal frameworks and decentralisation initiatives fostered the formulation of more holistic urban upgrading programmes, i.e., the integral urban upgrading approach, which also considers social development and citizen rights as important factors. Indeed, the path to integral upgrading has been a learning process for both governments and communities, building capacities among municipal institutions for rapid design and implementation of spatial upgrading projects, while communities learned about informal land occupation and citizen rights. The perceived success of integral urban upgrading programmes in Brazil resulted in a spread of the approach throughout Latin America; however, the initiatives have shown difficulties in programme continuity, project completion, maintenance of results, and transferability. This paper examines two integral upgrading programmes considered best practices in Latin America: the Favela-Bairro programme in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and the Proyecto Urbano Integral (PUI) in Medellín, Colombia. The paper analyses in particular the role and use of the concept of participation in the selected cases through the three programme components: institutional transformation, spatial improvement, and social development. This gaze has led to the identification of a lack of participatory practices in the formulation and implementation as the main obstacle for project completion and the reason for the deterioration of project results.

Ganzheitliche Aufwertung in Lateinamerika. Eine Analyse der Programme Favela-Bairro (Brasilien) und Proyecto Urbano Integral (Kolumbien)

Die starke Zunahme informeller Verhältnisse in Lateinamerika hatte einen tiefgreifenden Einfluss auf die Formulierung der Stadtpolitik und zwang die Regierungen großer Städte immer neue Strategien zu entwerfen und Programme aufzulegen. Seit Jahrzehnten wurden städtische Aufwertungsprogramme durchgeführt – von der Räumung bis zur Bereitstellung erschlossener Grundstücke für den Selbstbau. Durch Veränderungen des rechtlichen Rahmens und Dezentralisierungsmaßnahmen wurden in jüngeren Jahren ganzheitlichere Aufwertungsansätze gefördert, die auch soziale Entwicklung und Bürgerrechte berücksichtigten. Der Weg zur ganzheitlichen Aufwertung war sowohl für die Regierungen als auch für die lokalen Gemeinschaften ein Lernprozess, bei dem die Stadtverwaltungen Fähigkeiten für den schnellen Entwurf und die zügige Durchführung räumlicher Aufwertungsprojekte entwickeln mussten, während die Betroffenen lernten mit informeller Landbesetzung und Bürgerrechten umzugehen. Die Wahrnehmung des Erfolgs ganzheitlicher Aufwertungsprogramme in Brasilien führte dazu, dass sich der Ansatz in Lateinamerika ausbreitete. Allerdings gab es bei den Programmen Schwierigkeiten hinsichtlich ihrer Kontinuität, beim Projektabschluss, bei der Sicherung ihrer Ergebnisse und ihrer Übertragbarkeit. Dieser Artikel untersucht zwei ganzheitliche Aufwertungsprogramme, die in Lateinamerika als beste Beispiele gelten: das Programm Favela-Bairro in Rio de Janeiro (Brasilien) und das Proyecto Urbano Integral (PUI) in Medellín (Kolumbien). Er analysiert anhand von ausgewählten Fällen die Rolle und Anwendung des Beteiligungskonzepts innerhalb von drei Programmkomponenten: Umbau der Institutionen, räumliche Verbesserungen und soziale Entwicklung. Diese Untersuchung zeigt, dass mangelnde Beteiligung bei der Formulierung und Umsetzung der Programme das Haupthindernis für einen erfolgreichen Projektabschluss und die Hauptursache für den Verschleiß der Projektergebnisse darstellen.

Informality spread throughout Latin America in the 1980s, providing shelter for the urban poor in the shadow of economic crisis and market liberalisation (Zanetta 2001, Abbott 2002, Moser 1995). Urban upgrading programmes such as *Favela-Bairro* in Rio de Janeiro are the result of decades of learning by doing. Governments learned from previous experiences, producing upgrading programmes aimed at a holistic transformation of informal settlements. In this way, the '*integral approach*' emerged (Brakarz & Engel 2004, UN-Habitat 2016:9), including legalisation of tenure, spatial improvement, and social development. The *Proyecto Urbano Integral (PUI)* in Medellín is one of the descendants of *Favela-Bairro* (Rojas 2011, Clichevsky 2006).

It presents an innovation in defining an internal methodology for management. Both programmes are considered best practises; the municipalities, mayors, and officials who were involved in the implementation have gained

international recognition spreading the programmes' benefits and results.

Fifteen years after the termination of *Favela-Bairro*, and five years after the interruption of the *PUI*, the programmes reduced vulnerabilities of informal populations and acknowledged the right to housing of the urban poor, while the spatial improvement enhanced the conditions of the built environment. However, new mayor elections resulted in the disengagement of the government from the responsibilities for project completion and maintenance. A visit to the areas benefited by the programmes provides evidence of the problems in maintenance, ineffectiveness of measures to promote social development, and dependence on political will for programme continuity.

The emphasis of the study was the analysis of the participatory practises within the planning and

This article has been peer reviewed by two independent reviewers. A group of about 30 distinguished experts is engaged in TRIALOG's peer review process.

implementation processes of the programmes in order to understand the obstacles for participatory urban upgrading. Thus, the concept of participation in this research was based on the influential participation of public, private, civil, and external actors in upgrading projects, empowering them to influence decision-making.

Methodology

This paper is a part of the dissertation '*Participatory Urban Upgrading in Latin America*' by the author. The analysis of the two case studies addressed in this paper is the means to understand the main objectives, components, and results of the integral upgrading approach, along with identifying the factors for project deterioration, discontinuity, and failure of social development projects.

Previous research on urban upgrading (Restrepo Rico 2012) and a literature review suggest the importance of community participation in project maintenance and accountability (Abbott 1995, Paul 1987, Nientied et al. 1990, Moser 1983, Gilbert & Ward 1984, Watt & Higgins 2000, Turner et al. 2012). However, the analysis of the two cases has shown that although the inclusion of communities is essential for addressing context-specific issues, the involvement of other actors (e.g., public, private, and financing agencies) is crucial for financial sustainability, successful project completion, and programme continuity and sustainability.

The analysis was carried out in two stages: an in-depth literature review of the two programmes accompanied by a review of other urban upgrading programmes implemented in Latin America from the 1990's until today (see Table 1). Likewise, the literature review explored the concept of participation to identify the general procedures, actors, and outcomes; and an empirical

Country	Programme	Year
Argentina	Programa de Mejoramiento de Barrios – PROMEBA	1997
	Habitat - Rosario	2002
Brazil	Favela-Bairro - Rio de Janeiro	1994
	Habitar Brasil BID-HBB	1999
	Villa Barrio – Teresina	1997
	Projeto Terra – Vitoria	1998
Chile	Chile-Barrio	1997
Colombia	PRIMED – Medellín	1992
	Mejoramiento Integral de Barrios – Bogotá	2000
	Proyecto Urbano Integral - Medellín	2004
Costa Rica	Reducción de la Pobreza	2003
Guatemala	Reducción de la Pobreza Urbana - Guatemala	2004
Mexico	Habitat – Mexico city	2004
Nicaragua	Renovación Urbana - Managua	2002
Peru	Mi Barrio	2004
Venezuela	CAMEBA - Caracas	1998

research with field trips to Rio de Janeiro and Medellín, expert interviews, and direct and participant observation. This analysis established the status quo for integral programmes and identified the common characteristics and differences among them as basis for the assessment of participatory practises in urban upgrading.

The study includes the description of the main programme objectives as well as an assessment of the processes and results, with a focus on the impact on the quality of life and the improvements that participation could bring to the planning and implementation process. The results were categorised into three components: the institutional transformation component describes the administrations' reorganisation

▲
Table 1: Programmes analysed with implementation dates. Elaborated by the author



◀
Figure 1: Community reclaiming open spaces built by the *Favela-Bairro* after a community-driven cleaning project, Favela Andaraí. Source: Restrepo Rico 2013



▲
Figure 2: Results of the PUI Nororiental, Medellín.
Source: Restrepo Rico 2014

processes, as response to the challenge of implementing simultaneous multi-sectoral upgrading projects; the spatial improvement component includes the planning and implementation of urban infrastructure and mobility; the social development component is focused on promoting participation and reducing vulnerabilities.

Evolution of poverty reduction strategies – "From shelter to in-situ upgrading"

Integral upgrading programmes were unlikely to appear before the 1990s, considering the legal structure, political, and economic situation in Latin America. Up to the 1970s, the approaches to urban informality were characterised by eviction strategies as part of top-down processes (Rondinelli 1990, UNDP 1997, Davis 2006). As a result of the economic crises in the 1970s, indebted countries adopted the *Structural Adjustment Plans*, a set

of market liberalisation trends and extreme institutional changes leading to the disengagement of the state from the provision of urban and social services (UN-Habitat 2003b: 45).

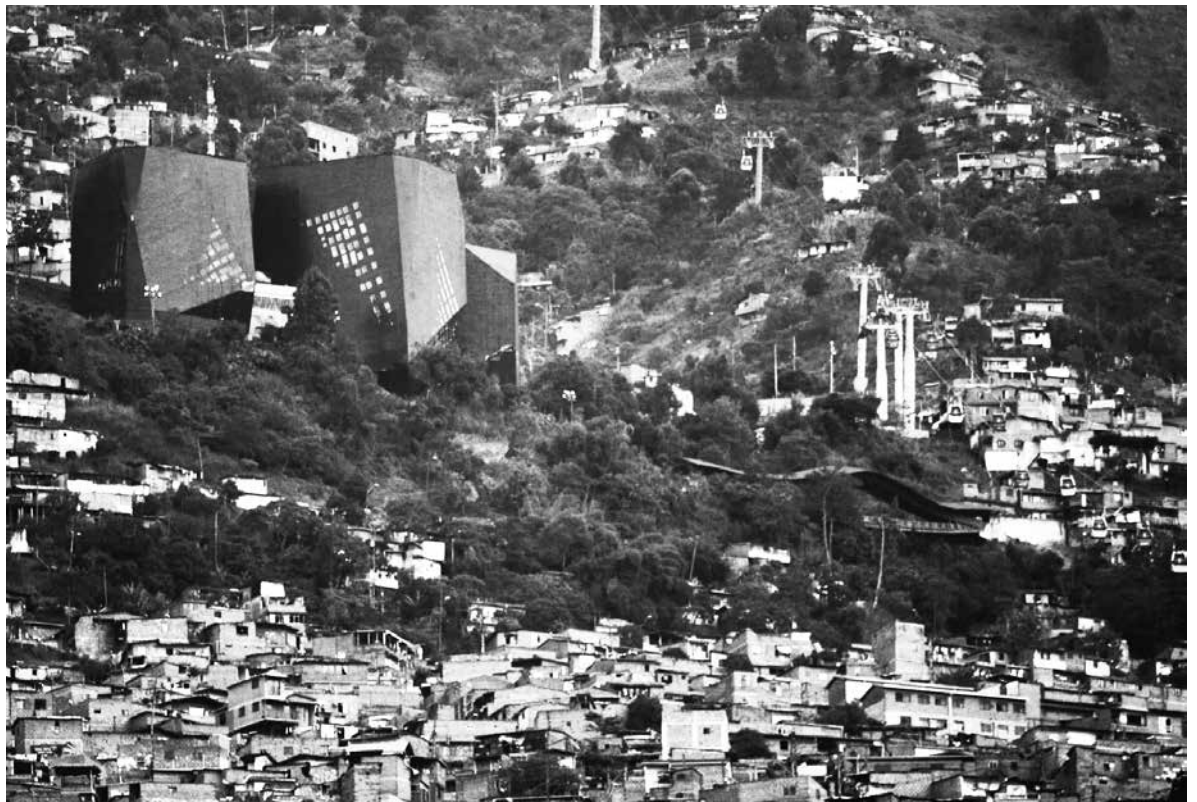
Conversely, the result of the liberalisation was the positioning of informality in the city. Thus, the decade of 1980s is known as "The Lost Decade" in Latin America, due to the inability of governments to cope with the increase of poverty and unemployment and the expansion of informality (Cohen 2006, Moser 1989, Pugh 1995, UN-Habitat 2003a).

As informal settlements grew, eviction was coupled with the "shelter" approach, a permanent relocation to un-equipped social housing on the periphery (UN-Habitat 2003: 137). Though the shelter approach granted legal tenure, the relocation process disrupted social structures, increasing the vulnerabilities of the urban poor while hindering mobility and accessibility to employment, services, and urban infrastructure (Macedo 2004). Changes in legislation at the end of the 1980s facilitated the emergence of in-situ upgrading. Governments increasingly recognised the importance of self-help and incremental construction as replacement for the services that the government fails to provide (Pugh 2000, Portes 1989).

For governments, in-situ improvement and incremental construction reduced the pressures for the production of affordable housing and the overall cost of upgrading projects (Ferguson & Navarrete 2003). The role of the government was transformed from provider to enabler (Giles 2003).

The emergence of the integral approach

Decentralisation and the new constitutions in 1988 in Brazil and in 1991 in Colombia granted occupation rights



▶
Figure 3: España Library and Metro-Cable, Northeast Commune, Medellín. Source: Carolina Velasquez 2014

to informal communities (Imparato & Ruster 2003: 251), creating a more participative culture and demanding the formulation of holistic urban upgrading programmes (Cavedon 2008: 24). After decades of implementing spatial programmes, governments understood the need to include social development projects, paving the way for the emergence of the integral upgrading approach. Thus, programmes such as the *Favela-Bairro* programme in Rio de Janeiro emerged.

Objectives of the *Favela-Bairro* programme in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

- Basic package of infrastructure
- Provision of social services
- Community participation in projects
- Coordinated implementation
- Integral planning
- Environmental improvement
- Social integration
- Spatial improvement
- Preservation of local identity
- Inclusion of preventive strategies

(Brakarz & Engel Aduan 2004)

The *Favela-Bairro* was formulated as a holistic in-situ upgrading approach addressing, above all, the basic needs in medium-size *favelas* while implementing short-term (2-year) improvement projects (Conde & Magalhães 2004, Cardoso 1996, Instituto Pereira Passos 2005, Brakarz & Engel 2004, Reis Mendes 2006). The programme highlighted the importance of a long-term plan, as well as a vision, to guide urban actions. The general objective was to promote spatial integration between formal and informal areas of the city through physical transformation and social development (Andreatta 2002). Similar to *Favela-Bairro*, the PUI also proposed a general objective of improving the quality of life of informal and low-income dwellers, and both programmes proposed specific

Objectives of the *Proyecto Urbano Integral (PUI)* in Medellin, Colombia

- Provide basic social services and facilities
- Legalisation of tenure
- Connection to public services infrastructure
- Extension of public services networks
- Extension of mobility networks and improvement of public transport system
- Land-use management, environmental protection, neighbourhood consolidation
- Satisfy the needs of individuals or collectives in culture and religion
- Promote social organisation and community participation
- Prevent and decrease social risks of disability, destitution, or displacement
- Guarantee order and control crime and violence
- Security, justice administration, cohabitation, and peace

(Empresa de Desarrollo Urbano (EDU) 2011: 53-55)

objectives tailored to the needs of each neighbourhood. The programmes aimed at context-specific solutions, however many similarities were found among the projects designed for each neighbourhood or favela, which are described in the boxes on this page. The new legal framework allowed a tenure legalisation process and the acknowledgement of informal settlements as part of the city (Irazábal 2009)

Analysis of the two programmes

The most particular characteristic of the programmes is the introduction of a social component, along with the concept of community participation (Clichevsky 2006, Rojas 2010, Cardoso 1996, Echeverri & Orsini 2006). This section presents a descriptive analysis of the programmes, along with an assessment of the participatory practises identified in each case. The analysis follows the three main components: institutional transformation, spatial improvement, and social development. each comprising the common elements found in the analysis and categorised in spatial, social or governance component (see Table 2).

The institutional transformation component

Integral upgrading is an approach that started as a municipal initiative in both cases studied. Decentralisation gave municipalities autonomy to decide over development goals and budgets, while mayors could produce local development plans for the administrative period (Acioly 2001, Gómez et al. 2012); in this sense, the *Favela-Bairro* and the *PUI* were initiatives led by political will. Upgrading has been a part of urban policy since the 1980s, but in the 1990s and 2000s integral upgrading became one of the focuses of administrations, engaging diverse municipal

Programme Components	Spatial	Urban Morphology Infrastructure and Public Services Mobility Infrastructure Tenure Housing Provision Environment Public Space Public Facilities
	Social	Participation Community-Based Initiatives Capacity Building for Communities Poverty Reduction Social Inclusion Social Services
	Governance	Institutional Restructuring Institutional Capacity Building Partnerships Participatory Practices

◀
Table 2: Synthesis of the programmes' components. Elaborated by the author

Figure 4: Community centre Moravia, Moravia neighbourhood, Medellín.
Source: Restrepo Rico 2013



departments and municipal budgets. The importance of integral upgrading in policy meant that the programmes needed to produce significant visible results within the government cycle.

The *Favela-Bairro* was formulated after a diagnostic of Rio's *favelas* by a small group of municipal officials with experience in the *favela* context (Riley et al. 2001: 526). The programme created a precedent for institutional transformation and the need for a special coordination office. The institutional reorganisation developed capacities for multi-sectoral collaboration among municipal agencies, architects, and construction companies (Brakarz & Engel 2004). The first stage, 1994-1997, had a strong focus in spatial improvement; for the second stage, 1998-2001, communities demanded more social development. A municipal official explained that the housing secretary delegated control of planning, design, and execution to architecture offices, while the municipality remained as a control mechanism for budgets and schedules. The programme is an example of collaboration between the municipality and the private sector.

In Medellín, the *PUI* was a political decision of the incoming mayor¹ and was used as the implementation instrument of an existent city-wide urban improvement strategy (Unidad de Asentamientos en Desarrollo y Vivienda 2007). The *PUI* was implemented throughout two consecutive government cycles, 2004-2008 and 2008-2012, where general management was a responsibility of high government officials (Puerta Osorio 2011). As an implementation instrument, it required contracts with the private sector, an activity that is outside the legal capabilities of the municipal planning department.

Thus, the *PUI* was delegated to an external operator, the *Empresa de Desarrollo Urbano*² (*EDU*), a public agency outside the municipal management structure with the faculties for contracting with the private sector. Entrusting the *PUI* to an external institution created communication

difficulties, forcing the *EDU* to develop an internal planning, design, and execution methodology for the *PUI*, which expedited planning and implementation procedures, and became an important lesson learned for the municipality (EDU 2013, Gómez Hernández 2007).

The delegation of planning, design, and implementation responsibilities to a specialised body avoids the bureaucratic procedures within municipal agencies. Another advantage of the specialised operator is the exclusive attention to the projects and the possible higher quality of designs. This system also allows the involvement of civil or private actors, due to the possibilities for contracting implementation outside municipality institutions. However, one of the shortcomings is the hindered communication with municipal agencies created by power struggles within the municipality and with the programme operator (i.e., in Medellín); for the planning department, the *PUI* was an implementation instrument, but for the mayor's office and the *EDU*, the *PUI* was an independent upgrading programme.

This unclear character created difficulties of communication between the planning department and the programme operator, which prevented institutionalisation and legitimisation within the institutional framework.

The spatial improvement component

The spatial improvement component focuses on urban infrastructure construction and provision of public services, as well as on reduction of environmental risks. Although informal settlements are characterised by illegal housing, most programmes consider housing construction exclusively in cases of essential relocation. Special procedures for tenure legalisation grant *de facto* tenure, promoting self-financed incremental construction (Perlman 2003, Irazábal 2009, Macedo 2008). Thus, the legalised housing becomes part of the affordable housing stock without high investment from the government (Ferguson & Navarrete 2003).

¹ Interview with the former mayor's private secretary, who performed the function of general manager for the *PUI* from 2004 to 2008.

² Urban Development Company

The programmes were formulated to have an impact on a neighbourhood scale, with a cumulative effect on a city-wide scale. The spatial designs included construction of urban infrastructure, roads, walkways, stairs, open spaces, and facilities for social services as well as connection to public services and transport systems (Escobar Arango 2014, Hernández 2013, Reis Mendes 2006). The results of the spatial improvement component improved the mobility and the environmental condition of all neighbourhoods, reducing the health risks and improving the quality of life in the areas.

The construction of communal facilities for social services sparked a sense of hope among residents. The planning and implementation processes executed for the spatial component built capacities among municipal officers and designers for the efficient implementation of spatial upgrading projects. Designers learned about the demands and procedures for fast construction, while municipal officers learned about the procedures for legalisation and the particular legal exemptions required for upgrading areas that would not comply with pre-defined land uses.

However, communications with the residents in Rio evidence that after the spatial component was completed, architecture offices, government officials, and construction workers left the area without a clear maintenance plan, and after a few months, the social services were discontinued.

In Medellín, the most famous project is the *PUI Nororiental*³, which was developed following the path of the public transport system Metro-Cable (Hernández 2006). The perceived success of the *PUI Nororiental* is linked with the macro-projects developed in the area, i.e., *Metro-Cable* and the large library *España*, which were not part of the *PUI*, or the community centre Moravia, designed by the most famous Colombian architect, Rogelio Salmona. These macro-projects worked as catalysts for the introduction of the integral approach. Nevertheless, the outputs of the *PUI* are very similar to the *Favela-Bairro*.

The international and local notoriety transformed the area in a touristic focus, which resulted in a constant presence of the police and a stronger presence of the government.

The programmes influenced positively the life of the residents; although outputs have decayed, the feeling of legitimacy and the benefits of connection to infrastructure remain. The improved environmental condition encouraged grassroots community-initiated projects, which address small-localised problems. However, the citywide objective of the inclusion of the *favelas* in the urban fabric was not successful.

The social divide in Rio de Janeiro is clearly visible for locals and foreigners, as the *favela* and the asphalt – the informal and the formal city – are defined by spatial and social borders (Janeiro 2001, Perlman 2005, Picolo & Velho 2006). The limits of many *favelas* are not only visible by the difference in construction materials, but also by the presence of the police at the entrance. In Medellín, the visual impact of informality has been lessened, but the socio-economic condition of the residents remains unchanged. The *Favela-Bairro* programme benefited around 630,000 inhabitants (Clichevsky 2006, p. 87). The *PUI* was formulated to be implemented in different areas with populations between 150,000 to 300,000 inhabitants (Puerta Osorio 2014, p. 82).

Interviews with community leaders and experts exposed the top-down planning process experienced in the implementation of the programmes. Municipal officials selected the area, then architects designed a social improvement plan and, in a later stage, the participation strategy of the programmes was implemented. Communities had no direct influence in decision-making for project design since the designs were already approved or even under construction when the participation process began.

Direct observations and interviews speak for the fact that a lack of participation is related to the deterioration of the outputs and the shortcomings of the programmes. On the one hand, the late and restricted participation of the communities led to a low degree of appropriation of the results by residents. On the other hand, the programmes failed in delegating maintenance responsibilities within municipal agencies. Lack of influential participation and lack of maintenance resulted in an undefined ownership of projects, as neither the municipality nor the communities claimed responsibilities over projects.

3
PUI located in the Northeast of the city in areas with high incidence of poverty and informality

Figure 5: Entrance to the Favela Andaraí, Rio de Janeiro.
Source: Restrepo Rico 2013



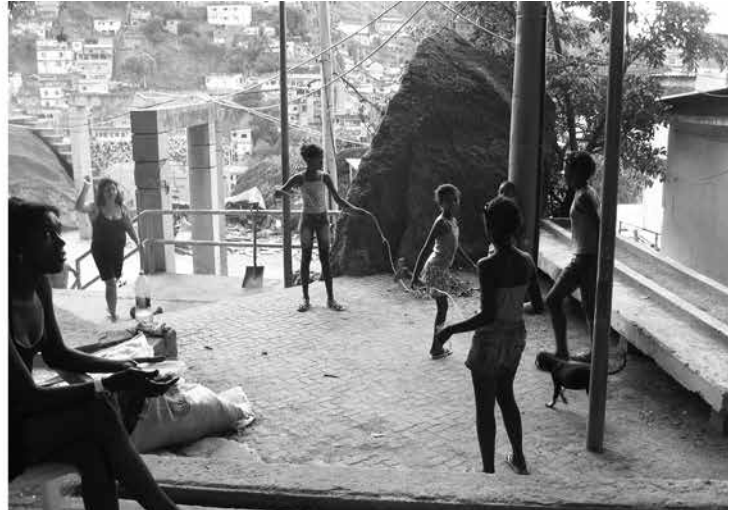


Figure 6: Community-initiated cleaning project in public spaces built by the Favela-Bairro, Favela Andaraí. Source: Rosângela Tertuliano and Restrepo Rico 2013

The social component

In Rio, in 1997 the second stage of the *Favela-Bairro* programme was adjusted to include social assistance for children and the elderly as well as employment projects (IDB 1997). However, the programme lacked a specific definition of the participation strategy for communities and other actors in the decision-making process. The measures and steps to achieve influential participation of communities in the planning process were not specified. Experts' interviews revealed that each architecture office formulated a communication strategy with the residents, but the strategy remained an information approach, while planning and design were the exclusive responsibility of the architects.

In Medellín, the social projects were not defined, they depended directly on the municipal development plan. As expressed by municipal officials, although the *PUI* built facilities for social services, the municipality failed in securing the commitment of institutions and service providers for the maintenance of services. The only reason the *PUI Nororiental* showed more social development than other *PUI* areas is tourism. The promotion has secured the presence of public institutions and the police, encouraging economic development and creating new business opportunities. However, the general socio-economic condition of the area has remained unchanged.

The *PUI* established a social component focused on community participation in project design and implementation. The social component was delegated to a team of social workers, who organised workshops with local leaders and residents. The description of the *PUI* emphasises the "imaginary workshops" (*talleres de imaginarios*) realised with the community for socialisation and project design (Echeverri & Orsini 2006, Bahl 2011, Blanco & Kobayashi 2009). Architects involved in the *PUI* agree that, in general, the social component served for project legitimacy and facilitated implementation.

Community participation in urban projects is a time-consuming process that demands commitment from all actors and a clear definition of interests and benefits (Mitlin & Thompson 1995, Mohammadi 2010, Turner et al. 2012, Imparato & Ruster 2003). However,

the interviews in Rio and Medellín revealed that when urban upgrading depends on political will, it demands fast implementation and visible results, resulting in asynchrony between spatial projects and the participation process, with designers circumventing the social process.

The research showed that while social workers were in the process of mobilising and negotiating with communities, the planning process was already in advanced design stages. The social component was limited to meetings and temporal employment in construction sites; the agreements reached at the meeting and workshops were rarely utilised as real input for project design. Thus, both programmes relied strictly on the designers' perception and their understanding of neighbourhood dynamics.

Lessons learned for participatory urban upgrading

The *Favela-Bairro* and the *PUI* were selected to illustrate the shift from paternalistic upgrading to an integral approach; the programmes represent the elimination of eviction policies, acknowledgement of decades of incremental construction, and the acceptance of informal settlements as parts of the city. Though these programmes exhibit a limited form of participation, the spatial focus has improved the condition of the urban environment, while the legal framework protected communities from forced relocation.

These two factors have improved the quality of life and promoted self-help and community initiatives. At the same time, the programmes made low-income neighbourhoods visible for municipal agencies, formal residents, as well as architecture offices. In both cases, the programmes generated learning processes for communities and municipalities. Communities became more receptive to implementation of urban projects, and the legalisation of tenure encouraged the consolidation of community associations and self-organisation. Likewise, the communities started to learn about their rights and the means to establish a communication channel with the municipality. These outcomes can be observed nowadays in the strength of most resident associations in the *favelas* and low-income neighbourhoods of both cities.

Participation takes a very distinct form in the studied programmes. The most significant similarity was the top-down planning process, as well as a lack of real participation of communities and other actors in the decision-making. For municipalities, participation meant a socialisation process with communities as an approach to legitimise interventions, facilitate negotiation, and appease opposition. Participation, in fact, was exercised as an information process where communities were shown the expected outcomes of projects by social workers or architects.

Both community leaders and architects recognise the effort of the programmes in communicating with residents once implementation had started; however, the time restrictions and the pressure to produce visible results meant that the speed and timetable was always ahead of the participation process.

Although investments in the public realm improve the quality of life, the research shows that urban upgrading projects, which fail to develop a social development component and lack meaningful participation, have a high probability of a limited short-term impact and later deterioration.

The obstacles for participation are associated with lack of experience and capabilities of the municipality to implement participatory practises and the need for administrations to make visible the investments in the urban realm. The influential participation of actors is time-consuming and opens the possibilities for higher accountability of budgets and actions, making the municipality more vulnerable to criticism and citizen control (Imparato & Ruster 2003). A participation process in which communities are informed, consulted, and included at the end of the process to facilitate implementation would correspond to Sherry R. Arnstein's definition of tokenism, with its degrees of consultation, information, and placation. In tokenism, residents might have a space to voice their concerns, but no real power to influence design or decision making (Arnstein 1969: 217).

Sarah C. White (1996: 8) defines this form of participation as "nominal participation", where the government uses a limited form of community participation to legitimise projects and avoid strong opposition. Moreover, misused participation distorts the perception of participatory practises among residents, obstructing the establishment of long-term participation processes (Fraser 2005, White 1996).

On paper, both programmes seem to have found the way to address the needs of the urban poor, relying on participation of communities as the key for project effectiveness as well as maintenance. However, the reality shows a different outcome in the implementation of the programmes. Despite the intentions of promoting social development, it is clear that the success of holistic programmes relies not only in the physical outcomes, but also in the influential participation of diverse actors for project continuity and institutionalisation of procedures within the municipal framework. These three factors would prevent politicisation of the programme, increase accountability, and delegate responsibilities of maintenance to the appropriate stakeholder.



▲
Figure 7: PUI Nororiental, Medellín. Source: Carolina Velasquez 2013

References

- Abbott, J. (1995) 'Community Participation and Its Relationship to Community Development.' In: *Community Development Journal*, 30(2), pp. 158–168.
- Abbott, J. (2002) 'A method-based planning framework for informal settlement upgrading.' In: *Habitat International*, 26(3), pp. 317–333.
- Acioy, C. (2001) 'Reviewing urban revitalisation strategies in Rio de Janeiro: From urban project to urban management approaches.' In: *Geoforum*, 32(4), pp. 509–520.
- Andreatta, V. (2002). 'Ciudades hechas a mano.' In: *Boletín Ciudades para un Futuro más Sostenible* 23, De Sur a Norte. Ciudades y medio ambiente en América Latina, España y Portugal. ISSN: 1578-097X.
- Arnstein, S.R. (1969) 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation.' In: *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, pp. 37–41.
- Bahl, V. (2011) *Murder capital to modern miracle? The progression of governance in Medellín, Colombia*, Medellín.
- Blanco, C. & Kobayashi, H. (2009) 'Urban transformation in slum districts through public space generation and cable transformation at Northeastern area: Medellín, Colombia.' In: *The Journal of International Social Research*, 2, pp. 75–90.
- Brakarz, J. & Engel, W. (2004) *Favela-Bairro. Scaled-up Urban Development in Brazil*, Rio de Janeiro.
- Cardoso, A.L. (1996) 'O Programa Favela-Bairro – Uma Avaliação.' In: *Seminário de Avaliação de Projetos IPT*, pp. 37–50.
- Cavedon, S. (2008) 'El Estado es un Contrato Social.' In: P. Santana Rodríguez, ed. *Planeación Local y Presupuesto Participativo en Colombia 12 años de experiencias*. Bogotá, D.C.: Corporación Viva la Ciudadanía, pp. 97–106.
- Clichevsky, N. (2006) *Regularizando la Informalidad del Suelo en América Latina y el Caribe. Una Evaluación sobre la Base de 13 países y 71 programas*, Santiago de Chile.
- Cohen, B. (2006) 'Urbanization in developing countries: Current trends, future projections, and key challenges for sustainability.' In: *Technology in Society*, 28(1–2), pp. 63–80.
- Conde, L.P. & Magalhães, S. (2004) *Favela-Bairro: Rewriting the History of Rio*.pdf, Rio de Janeiro: Viver Cidades.
- Davis, M. (2006) *Planet of Slums*, London: Verso.
- Echeverri, A. & Orsini, F.M. (2006) 'Informalidad y Urbanismo Social en Medellín.' In: *Medio Ambiente, Urbanismo y Sociedad*, pp. 130–152.



Susana Restrepo Rico

Architect and urban planner. Her master education in Germany, combined with two years of practical experience developing social housing projects in her hometown, Medellín, stimulated her interest in urban research. She is in the last stage of her doctoral degree at the TU Darmstadt on the topic of "Participatory Urban Upgrading in Latin America". Susana is part of the research team of the Frankfurt University of Applied Sciences, involved in the project "Rapid Planning: Sustainable Infrastructure, Environmental and Resource Management for Highly Dynamic Metropolises". Contact: <s_restrepo_rico@yahoo.com>

Empresa de Desarrollo Urbano – EDU (2011) Proyecto Urbano Integral Centroriental PUI: Comunas 8 y 9 Convenio Interadministrativo 4600011192 de 2008, Medellín.

Empresa de Desarrollo Urbano –EDU (2013) 'Proyecto Urbano Integral – PUI – Zona Noroccidental: Comunas 5 y 6.' In: Curso: Urbanismo Social y Gestión Pública en Medellín. Medellín: URBAM - OEA.

Escobar Arango, D. (2014) 'Proyecto Urbano Integral – PUI.' In: Curso: Urbanismo Social y Gestión Pública en Medellín. Medellín: URBAM - OEA.

Ferguson, B. & Navarrete, J. (2003) 'A Financial Framework for Reducing Slums: Lessons from Experience in Latin America.' In: *Environment and Urbanization*, 15(2), pp. 201–216.

Fraser, H. (2005) 'Four Different Approaches to Community Participation.' In: *Community Development Journal*, 40(3), pp. 286–300.

Gilbert, A. & Ward, P. (1984) 'Community Participation in Upgrading Irregular Settlements: The Community Response.' In: *World Development*, 12(9), pp. 913–922.

Giles, C. (2003) 'The Autonomy of Thai Housing Policy, 1945–1996.' In: *Habitat International*, 27(2), pp. 227–244.

Gómez, E. et al. (2012) 'Planeación Participativa, Realidades y Retos.' In: Alcaldía de Medellín. Medellín.

Gómez Hernández, E., (2007) 'El Presupuesto Participativo Entre Democracia, Pobreza Y Desarrollo.' In: *Investigación y Desarrollo*, 15(1), pp. 56–77.

Hernández, C. (2006) 'Proyecto Urbano Integral en la Zona Nororiental de Medellín: Un modelo de transformación de ciudad.' In: I Congreso Internacional sobre Desarrollo Humano Madrid 2006, pp. 1–7.

Hernández, C. (2013) 'Proyecto Urbano Integral PUI.' In: Curso: Urbanismo Social y Gestión Pública en Medellín. Medellín: URBAM - OEA.

IDB (1997) Rio de Janeiro Urban Upgrading Program. "Favela-Bairro" – Stage II. Executive Summary.

Imparato, I. & Ruster, J. (2003) *Slum Upgrading and Participation: Lessons from Latin America*, Washington, DC: World Bank Publications.

Instituto Pereira Passos (2005) 'Favela-Bairro: Avaliação da Primeira Fase.' In: *Coleção Estudos da Cidade*, 165.

Irazábal, C. (2009) *Revisiting Urban Planning in Latin America and the Caribbean*, New York.

Janeiro, P. do R. de (2001) 'Percepções sobre a qualidade de vida no Rio de Janeiro.' In: *Rio Estudos*, (17).

Macedo, J.P. (2004) 'Da Favela à Comunidade: Formas de Classificação e Identificação de Populações no Rio de Janeiro.' In: *Antropológicas*, 15(2), pp. 171–198.

Macedo, J. (2008) 'Urban Land Policy and New Land Tenure Paradigms: Legitimacy vs. Legality in Brazilian Cities.' In: *Land Use Policy*, 25(2), pp. 259–270.

Mitlin, D. & Thompson, J. (1995) 'Participatory Approaches in Urban Areas: Strengthening Civil Society or Reinforcing the Status quo?' In: *Environment and Urbanization*, 7(1), pp. 231–250.

Mohammadi, H. (2010) *Citizen Participation in Urban Planning and Management: The Case of Iran, Shiraz City*, Saadi Community. University of Kassel.

Moser, C. (1983) 'Evaluating Community Participation in Urban Development Projects.' In: C. O. N. Moser, ed. *Workshop at DPU. DPU Working Papers*. London: Development Planning Unit, University College London.

Moser, C. (1989) 'Community Participation in Urban Projects in the Third World.' In: *Progress in Planning*, 32, pp. 71–133.

Moser, C. (1995) 'Urban Social Policy and Poverty Reduction.' In: *Environment and Urbanization*, 7(1), pp. 159–172.

Nientied, P., Mhenni, S. Ben & De Wit, J. (1990) 'Community participation in low-income housing policies: Potential or paradox.' In: *Community Development Journal*. New Delhi, pp. 42–55.

Paul, S. (1987) *Community Participation in Development Projects*, Washington, DC.

Perlman, J.E. (2003) 'Marginality: From Myth to Reality in the Favelas of Rio de Janeiro. 1969-2002.' In: *Staying Poor: Chronic Poverty and Development Policy*. Manchester.

Perlman, J.E. (2005) *The Myth of Marginality Revisited. The Case of Favelas in Rio de Janeiro, 1969 - 2003*.

Picolo, F.D. & Velho, G. (2006) *Sociabilidade e conflito no morro e na rua: etnografia de um Centro Comunitário em Vila Isabel/ RJ*. Programa de pós-graduação em antropologia, Doutorado, p. 485.

Portes, A., Castells, M. & Benton, Lauren A. (1989) *The Informal Economy: Studies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries*. London: Johns Hopkins University.

Puerta Osorio, D. (2011) 'Proyectos Urbanos Integrales – PUI.' In: Laboratorio Medellín. Catálogo de diez Prácticas Vivas. Medellín: Alcaldía de Medellín, pp. 79–95.

Pugh, C. (1995) 'Urbanization in Developing Countries – an Overview of the Economic and Policy Issues in the 1990s.' In: *Cities*, 12(6), pp. 381–398.

Pugh, C. (2000) 'Squatter Settlements. Their Sustainability, Architectural Contributions, and Socio-economic Roles.' In: *Cities*, 17(5), pp. 325–337.

Reis Mendes, I.C. (2006) *Programa Favela-Bairro: uma Inovação Estratégica? Estudo do Programa Favela-Bairro no Contexto do Plano Estratégico da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro*. Universidade de São Paulo.

Restrepo Rico, S. (2012) *Mejoramiento Sostenible de Asentamientos Informales en Países en Desarrollo: Brasil, Indonesia, Tailandia, Mexico D.F.* Infonavit - Redalyc.

Riley, E., Fiori, J. & Ramirez, R. (2001) 'Favela Bairro and a new generation of housing programmes for the urban poor.' In: *Geoforum*, 32(4), pp. 521–531.

Rojas, E. (2010) 'Building Citizenship through Neighbourhood Upgrading Programmes.' In: E. Rojas, ed. *Building Cities: Neighbourhood Improvement and Urban Quality of Life*. Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank, pp. 33–38.

Rojas, E. (2011) 'Construir ciudades. Mejoramiento de barrios y calidad de vida urbana.' In: *EURE (Santiago)*, 37, pp. 169–172.

Rondinelli, D.A. (1990) 'Housing the Urban Poor in Developing Countries: The Magnitude of Housing Deficiencies and the Failure of Conventional Strategies are Worldwide Problems.' In: *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 49(2), pp. 153–156.

Turner, J.F.C., Bank, W. & Wates, N. (2012) *Community Participation*, pp. 11–23.

UN-Habitat (2003a) *Slums of the World*, Nairobi: Earthscan Publications Ltd.

UN-Habitat (2003b) *The Challenge of Slums – Global Report on Human Settlements*, Nairobi: Earthscan Publications Ltd.

UN-Habitat (2016) *Urbanization and Development: Emerging Futures*, Nairobi: Earthscan Publications Ltd.

UNDP (1997) *Governance for Sustainable Human Development – Human Development Report 1997 United Nations Development Programme*, ed., New York: Oxford University Press.

Unidad de Asentamientos en Desarrollo y Vivienda (2007) *Programa Mejoramiento Integral de Barrios PMIB*, Medellín.

Watt, S. & Higgins, C. (2000) 'Community Participation in the Development of Services: A Move towards Community Empowerment.' In: *Community Development Journal*, 35(2), pp. 120–132.

White, S.C. (1996) *Depoliticising Development: The Uses and Abuses of Participation*. *Development in Practice*, 6(1), pp. 6–15.

Zanetta, C. (2001) 'The Evolution of the World Bank's Urban Lending in Latin America: From Sites and Services to Municipal Reform and Beyond.' In: *Habitat International*, 25(4), pp. 513–533.

Strategic Planning and Community-Based Planning as Tools for Urban Development

The Struggle of the Vila Autódromo Community, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Ricardo G. Paris, Aurelia Guasch Antúnez, Rodrigo C. Bertame, Maria Fernanda Romero

The city of Rio de Janeiro, like many other South American cities, presents a growing tendency of strategic plans with entrepreneurial and goal-oriented approaches as part of its urban and governance agendas. Mega-events have served as a relevant driver for urban planning, with promises of bringing investments for infrastructural projects and incentives for tourism; at the same time, poor neighbourhoods often find themselves excluded from any plan and vision for the future of the city. This paper focuses on understanding one of the most emblematic urban struggles in Rio de Janeiro: forced evictions for the construction of the 2016 Olympic Games structures, and the resistance of the Vila Autódromo community through social organisation and a community-based plan. Hence, the paper will discuss two approaches to planning. One is the city's strategic plan that was elaborated with a market-oriented perspective to prepare the city to receive international events like the World Cup 2014 and the Olympic Games 2016. On the other hand, the Vila Autódromo community-based plan, which was a response to the emerging conflict situation, was made to resist evictions and propose alternatives for local development. Strategic plans and community-based plans are tools for urban development established to face the current economic restructuring in developing countries. At the same time, they represent different visions and power relations within the city. As planners, we need to understand the role of these approaches to contribute to a democratic and just urban development against social exclusion and urban segregation.

Strategische und gemeindebasierte Planung als Werkzeuge der Stadtentwicklung – Der Kampf der Vila Autódromo in Rio de Janeiro (Brasilien)

Wie viele südamerikanischen Städte nutzt auch Rio de Janeiro strategische Pläne um zielorientiert unternehmerische Formen der Regierung und Stadtentwicklung voranzutreiben. Als Motor der Planung dienten hier zuletzt sportliche Großereignisse – verbunden mit Versprechen Investitionen für Infrastrukturprojekte und Touristen in die Stadt zu bringen. Arme Quartiere wurden dabei außen vorgelassen, als würden sie für die Zukunft der Stadt keine Rolle spielen. Dieser Artikel diskutiert die Auseinandersetzung um Zwangsräumungen im Vorfeld der Olympischen Spiele von 2016 und den Widerstand der lokalen Bevölkerung von Vila Autódromo durch soziale Organisation und die Entwicklung eines gemeindebasierten Plans. Es geht also um zwei unterschiedliche Planungsansätze: Der strategische Plan der Stadt wurde mit einer marktorientierten Perspektive entwickelt. Der gemeindebasierte Plan von Vila Autódromo war dagegen eine Antwort auf einen wachsenden Konflikt, die Räumungen verhindern und Alternativen für die lokale Entwicklung aufzeigen sollte. Beides sind Werkzeuge zur Stadtentwicklung im Rahmen einer globalisierten Ökonomie. Sie repräsentieren unterschiedliche Leitbilder und Machtbeziehungen innerhalb der Stadt. Als Planer müssen wir die Rolle dieser Instrumente verstehen, um zu einer demokratischen und gerechten Stadtentwicklung beizutragen, die Segregation und sozialen Ausschluss verhindert.

The history of the main Latin American cities is built on layers of struggles about land possession and market forces, amidst authoritarian or populist governments and poor-neighbourhood dwellers. In Rio de Janeiro, from the massive displacements of the 1960s to the world-famous *Programa Favela-Bairro*¹, stakeholders have used different strategies to remain in their original places or evict the poor urban dwellers. More recently, the new phenomenon of mega-events has led to the rise of new approaches to struggle for land and housing tenure.

This paper focuses on understanding the current and most emblematic urban struggle in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: forced evictions for the construction of the 2016 Olympic Games infrastructure and the resistance of the Vila Autódromo community. It presents numerous stakeholders – from municipal authorities to international real estate corporations, local dwellers, and local politicians – and the conflict of interests among them. Also, the different strategies used by local residents and activists to resist evictions and fight for urbanisation and spatial integration for the community are looked at. In this context, we observe institutional collaboration, civil society activism, and planning as a tool of resistance; but also state violence, the

city as a space of competition for attracting investment, commoditisation of public assets, as well as corruption and the disrespect of official agreements (Brooks 2016).

Groups supporting evictions and the ones fighting to stay use different strategies to pursue their causes. In this regard, social media, internet, traditional media, and local actions such as social mobilisation and cultural activities were strongly used as tools in the struggle. Through 3D images showing future sports facilities – where the community is currently placed – or national personalities sharing videos questioning the Mayor's action, not only a legal and institutional struggle took place, but also a dispute concerning the overall concept of urbanity and the right to the city. In this sense, planners need to respond to conflict situations, intertwining forces to support the autonomy of the local population (Vainer et al. 2013).

The paper contrasts two planning approaches related to the decision-making processes on urban transformations for the most-recent mega-events, e.g., the World Cup and the Olympic Games. These are the strategic plan (SP) developed by the local government and backed by a public-private consortium, and the community-based plan (CBP)

This article has been peer reviewed by two independent reviewers. A group of about 30 distinguished experts is engaged in TRIALOG's peer review process.

1
A slum-renewal and urbanisation programme applied on several slums in Rio de Janeiro in the late 1990s. See: Prefeitura da Cidade de Rio de Janeiro (ed.) (1996); Programa Favela-Bairro: Integração de Favelas no Rio de Janeiro. For an assessment of the programme, see: Cardoso, Adauto (2002), O programa Favela-Bairro, uma avaliação; and Restrepo Rico in this volume.

Figure 1: Partially demolished house in the community. Source: Fernando Frazao, Agencia Brasil 2015



elaborated by the affected community. Both approaches are analysed through the perspective of the iconic example of Vila Autódromo, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. On the one hand, Vila Autódromo was targeted by the overall strategy of the SP of reducing informal settlements and attracting investments. On the other hand, the dwellers elaborated a CBP to resist evictions and create a local alternative for urban development. The CBP was used as a primary instrument to disseminate a counter-position to the local population and to deal with the public authorities. It was elaborated by the community association, with the support of planners from the university and local media. The Vila Autódromo community has an emblematic role, since it has been resisting forced evictions for decades. Since the 1990s, various arguments emerged to argue for displacement: among others, environmental harm, preventing transportation network improvements, aesthetic effects in the landscape. At present, the arrangements made by the municipal government and international investors – namely, the International Olympic Committee, its sponsors, and real-estate corporations – and expressed in the SP are in direct conflict with the local community's needs and desires.

Background

In Brazilian legislation, since the democratic constitution of 1988, urban development policy is made at the municipal level. The regulation of urban policies, the "city's statute" (*Estatuto da Cidade*), states that every property must serve "social functions" in the city (*função social da propriedade*) and ensure the social welfare of the inhabitants. This urban act also stipulates "citizen participation and democratic process" as mandatory in every urban project (*Estatuto da Cidade* 2001).

At the same time, the current state of global capitalism seeks to transform every material or immaterial good or

service into an exploitable asset, opening the market to absorb capital surpluses and spatially expand its domains (Harvey 2003). Therefore, to maximise economic growth, many underdeveloped countries soften their land regulations. In many instances, the responsibility to attract investments is left to the municipal level, thus shifting the risk to the public sector and supporting a much more flexible and geographically detached form of capital accumulation (Harvey 1989). Besides low local taxation and affordable local labour, many cities of the Global South offer their territory as an asset to be exploited. Local resources are understood as a potential for profitable public-private partnerships; urban-renewal projects, open spaces, essential public services, infrastructure, security and environmental issues, and culture and heritage spots are often managed by foreign enterprises (Mendes 2014).

Facing this scenario, Rio de Janeiro has also been deeply involved in a competitive race with other cities in the last decades. Since 2007, when the city was the host of the Pan-American Games, a flow of investments through mega-events (or using them as a justification) has transformed the urban fabric and affected the social relations in the city severely. Pressures from the local government, the finance and construction industries, as well as from international organisations (International Olympic Committee, FIFA) on poor communities have led to several urban conflicts².

Vila Autódromo, for more than thirty years, grew as a typical small poor community – *favela* – in Rio de Janeiro, its simple self-made residences with poor access to infrastructure the home to approximately 700 families. During the 1980s, a small fisherman community officially formed the *Associação dos Moradores e Pescadores da Vila Autódromo* – AMPAVA (Association of Dwellers and Fishermen). After the establishment of the association in 1987, the community underwent a partial regularisation process

² One emblematic case is the Aldeia Maracanã, where it was planned to convert a historical heritage area into a parking lot as part of the modernisation of the football stadium (<<http://aldeiamaracanarj.wixsite.com>>, r2.4.17).

and some services and environmental licenses for the fishermen were provided, although other essential services like water and sanitation remained rare. Afterwards, in 2005, the city declared the area as an *AEIS* (*Área de Especial Interesse Social*), or "area of special social interest", a legal status that facilitates the implementation of social housing programmes through flexible urban regulations with the goal of integrating vulnerable communities into the city. This legal planning instrument includes procedures for solving land-tenure issues as well as formal access to public services.

Parallel to the attempts for the favela's formalisation, in 1993 Vila Autódromo became a target of eviction for the reason of its "aesthetic and environmental impact" (Mendes 2014). Later, in 2007, during the city's preparation for the Pan-American Games, intense pressure from real-estate companies for development projects affected the community. Moreover, in 2009, when the city was chosen to host the Olympic Games in 2016, the threat of eviction rose again. After numerous mobilisations, the city's mayor Eduardo Paes said that the evictions were a requirement of the International Olympic Committee, but the city's authorities were considering negotiating alternatives (AMP-VA 2012). In those years, a legal battle to prove the legality of the occupation was fought between public defenders³ and the municipal attorney.

According to national law, the urban legislation of all major cities in the country, including the zoning plan and urban development strategies, shall be guided by a decennial municipal master plan (*plano diretor municipal*). The city of Rio de Janeiro approved its latest version in 2011. In the city's master plan, it is said that the priority is to provide infrastructure and services to poor informal neighbourhoods, aiming at their integration into the formal city, except in areas under risk or environmental protection. The area where Vila Autódromo is located is considered a zone of "urban expansion under control" (*macrozona de ocupação controlada*); this means that urban expansion shall only be authorised if the necessary infrastructure is in place. However, since the end of the 1990s, urban development has been regulated less by the approved legislation than by more flexible models, resulting in the adoption of the goal-oriented model of SP as

the leading urban strategy. Nevertheless, the current legal instrument of urban development of the city is the latest approved master plan and its macro-zoning regulation, while the SP endorses public or private investments in the city for specific purposes (such as for urban renewal, education, health, and transportation, among others).

When the public authorities affirmed that the urbanisation of the Vila Autódromo was impossible, they neglected the principles and tools of the master plan (such as the AEIS zoning, which was supposed to facilitate the integration of the area). In this scenario, the dwellers association, in partnership with research institutes from two different public universities⁴, elaborated their CBP as another tool to support further negotiations.

Strategic plan (SP)

In general, the concept of the SP is a response to the comprehensive-rational plan, where the government has control over the implementation of investments to conduct territorial development. SPs do not officially replace master plans; indeed, some cities have pointed to the "importance of synergy and synchronisation" between statutory spatial development plans and strategic plans (Steinberg, 2002). However, the adoption of an SP is most commonly associated with the integration of investment strategies and urban market to facilitate public-private partnerships (Vainer, 2000).

This logic was highly used in many main cities of Latin America in the last two decades; Rosario (Argentina), La Paz (Bolivia) and Bogota (Colombia) are some examples; however, with very different outputs and processes (Steinberg, 2002). In the case of the city of Rio de Janeiro, the municipality has elaborated and implemented two SPs embedded in the mega-events context: the first one for the period 2009-2012, and the last one, for 2013-2016. These plans are built upon a social consensus achieved through an aggressive marketing strategy for rebuilding the city image, with ideas of beautification and revitalisation (Cortes de Lira 2012), to persuade stakeholders to the concept of an idealistic and affluent future. As the city has become an asset to be sold, major projects must be implemented to attract investments, and whatever

3

The public defender (*defensoria pública*) is a public institution that offers assistance and legal services to people or groups that cannot afford to pay. The institution is empowered by the constitutional principle of universal access to legal assistance. It also has an important role in acting in the public sector for human, social, and individual rights advocacy.

4

NEPLAC/ETERN/IPPUR/UFRJ – Núcleo Experimental de Planejamento Conflitual do Laboratório Estado, Trabalho, Território e Natureza do Instituto de Pesquisa e Planejamento Urbano e Regional da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. Coordination: Carlos Vainer; and NEPHU/UFF – Núcleo de Estudos e Projetos Habitacionais e Urbanos da Universidade Federal Fluminense. Coordination: Regina Bienenstein



Figure 2: "Not everyone has a price tag!" – "It's so difficult what we want to live in our neighbourhood Vila Autódromo." – "We are no fools! We know who is part of the struggle and who is in it for the money!" – Graffiti against the demolitions and new high-rise buildings in the background. Source: Fernando Frazao, Agencia Brasil 2015

Figure 3: Slum dwellers thank the media for their support in the urbanisation campaign. Source: Akemi Nishihara, Agência Brasil 2015



constrains the thriving of future projects needs to be removed.

Contemporary urban projects and the city's preparation to receive major international events are usually funded by strategic partnerships established by the municipalities (Silva, 2012). Therefore, cities are competing for these partnerships, and once they are engaged in one, the given city is unlikely to revoke the commitments made. The reasons are several, but in our case we can highlight the common perception of competitiveness and productivity of the city "management" supported by influential local elites, i.e., the media and political power. Together with the idea of "entrepreneurial city" and a strong notion of "city patriotism", which seeks to develop a non-political and charismatic programme that is focused on results and build a consensus of "common benefit" (Vainer 2000). Thus, the democratic process is hindered by a set of conceptions, and the space for alternative viewpoints and public information is severely curtailed. In addition, the logic behind these kinds of processes makes it almost impossible to ensure any broader democratic process since the strategic sectors and stakeholders settle the terms before turning to inform the public.

Although the city of Rio de Janeiro had a legally binding master plan in 2011, in which all local urban policies are linked to a formal participatory process, the implementation still depends on political will. On the other hand, the increasing influence of private interests in the development of urban policies has led the public power to adopt prescription of the "Catalan model of planning" since 1993 (Vainer et al. 2013). Unlike the master plan – which is based on zoning, social function of the city, and elaborated through a long political process – the SP is directed by guidelines and goals, and conceived by a selected group of personalities and businesspersons. In addition, the SP is not a binding planning tool, but a set of programmes that justifies the public investment in a goal-oriented format; nonetheless, it is an official and public document. The Rio de Janeiro SP was created to stimulate an "integrated and competitive future" for the city, promote Rio de Janeiro as the "best place in the southern hemisphere

to work, live and visit", and to "act in the short term and think in the long term" (PMRJ 2012). In short, the SP is a tool to integrate several actions that are happening in the city without proper democratic consultation.

In our context, the SP's long-term visions are used to justify every action, even if these may violate citizen rights. For example, the SP has a goal to reduce areas occupied by favelas by five percent. It also links the decrease of green areas in the city to the expansion of informal settlements. All those figures start to reintroduce a concept of urban development through socio-spatial disintegration, which understands favelas as barriers for development since an urban asset loses its attractiveness if it is located next to poor communities. Novel in this scenario is the use of an intensive "propaganda" fostered by mega-events and the attempt to generate a sense of pride in the population to gain support for the authorities' actions.

Community-based plan (CBP)

To confront the constant pressure for evictions, which became stronger after 2009 because of the Pan-American Games, the local community, with the support of professionals and students from two public universities, elaborated an alternative development plan. The basic concept was to overcome the idea of mere public consultation and empower the local community to develop and implement a consistent plan (AMPVA 2012). Therefore, activities were designed to bring together residents and a team of students, professors, and researchers to diagnose the area and to identify strategies to maintain the houses in the Vila Autódromo. Secondly, the community elaborated alternatives with socially accepted technical solutions to each problem that they identified. Finally, public assemblies, meetings with experts, and discussions among dwellers defined the priorities and the programmes to be implemented. The priorities were

- i) housing; sanitation, infrastructure and environment;
- ii) public services and;
- iii) culture and community development.

As a result of a technical urban and environmental assessment, the CBP acknowledged the necessity to re-settle 80 of the 700 households since they were located in a flood-risk zone. However, the community agreed to relocate these households within the Vila Autódromo, allowing for the continuity of social networks as well as promoting a balanced interaction with the natural environment.

The Vila Autódromo's CBP received international recognition. It won the first prize of the Deutsche Bank Urban Age Award Rio 2013⁵, getting US\$80,000 for the Vila Autódromo Association to strengthen the fight against the planned evictions led by the municipality. Several strategies were used by the dwellers and social organisations to stop the eviction processes. Social media, popular mobilisation, and direct actions of resistance were ways to expose the issues that were happening and the impacts that the mega-event would mean for the local population.

Although community-based planning is not a new approach for urban development, in the context of the city of Rio de Janeiro this was a pioneering process. The city's master plan (*plano diretor*) guarantees the active participation of the population in public hearings, moreover, popular plans can be presented to the executive power, which can also approve the plan, turning it into a law. Also, the "city statute" (*Estatuto da Cidade*), a federal law approved in 2001, induces the participatory process in urban planning. Therefore, public participation through associations and hearings is not new in the Brazilian context of urban development; however, the Autódromo's independent bottom-up democratic approach and its continuous use as a tool for political struggle in the case of Vila Autódromo was something unique. Vainer et al. defined this process as "conflictual planning" (*planejamento conflitu- al*), as the plan was updated as new actions were taking place. In this regard, the first principle of the plan states that:

*"The community-based plan of Vila Autódromo is a result and expression of the struggle of the Vila Autódromo's residents. The residents are the ones who will decide about the objectives, programmes, projects, alternatives and priorities."*⁶

It is possible to observe the empowerment of the community since, as citizens, they want to be actively involved in the decision-making process of their future.

In addition, it can be seen that the local community, while preparing the plan, had in mind the importance of the process with which they were dealing, for the plan intends to support other communities that could experience similar problems. This is expressed in its 10th principle:

"The Plan is part of the fight of all communities of the city, the state and the country against the violation of the right of having a house; it also stands for the respect of human rights in projects for the World Cup 2014 and the Olympic Games 2016 (AMPVA 2012)."

The CBP was one of the most important tools of organisation and resistance used by the Vila Autódromo community. One of its strengths is the fact of that the plan is produced and reshaped in a continuous and very dynamic process (Vainer et al. 2013). From 2011 to 2016, for every step taken by the city, the community association and the planners involved reorganised the plan in order to adjust to new parameters (AMPVA, 2016) and to maintain most of the population, integrating it within the changes that would happen in the surroundings.

In 2016, the violence became stronger; several families had been evicted and the residents who wanted to stay were facing hardships such as cuts in the water supply and leftover debris from demolitions on the streets. Therefore, a strong alliance with other organisations, a few politicians, and activists was built as part of the strategy. At the same time, international attention was drawn by organisations such as Amnesty International. As a consequence, Vila Autódromo made international headlines in news outlets such as *Al Jazeera*, *NY Times*, and *BBC*.

Alternative media and social networks played a particular role in the process, showing multiple sides of the story. Clearly engaged in the ideology of urban marketing, the national mainstream media hardly gave any attention to this kind of process. However, the violent actions in the city triggered significant social mobilisation and raised criticism of many local and international actors against the Olympic Games. Therefore, there was no way to suppress the topic, even though it was obvious that the media provided biased information. A social media network was created by independent activists with the intention of sharing information easily via blogs, video broadcasts, twitters, and other alternative media⁷.

Vain endeavour? – Evictions in the run-up to the Olympic Games

While this paper is being written (August 2016), the process was still on-going. The last incident occurred a few days before the start of the Olympic Games (August 5th), when the city presented a plan and started to construct a

5 Every year the institution offers prizes to urban initiatives within specific cities. (See: <https://www.alfred-herrhausen-gesellschaft.de/de/docs/DBUAA_2013_Rio.pdf>, accessed 17.04.2017.)

6 All quotes from the popular plan were translated by the authors.

7 One of the most active social platforms is rioonwatch.org, a watchdog news website and social platform created on the eve of these events. It still continues today to inform about local policy and social debates in Rio.

Figure 4: Aerial view of the community in 2013. Source: IPP, SABREN, 2016



Figure 5: Aerial view of the community in 2016 with areas proposed for resettlement and areas already evicted. Source: The authors, based on AMPVA, 2016



"new" neighbourhood for the few households that were left⁸. The question that remains is how effective it is to give houses whereas people are fighting for the right to build their own history. As is stated in the first lines of the CBP: "The plan affirms the existence of the community, and the right of continuing to exist, with appropriated conditions of urbanisation and public services: the right of urban, economic, social and cultural development (AMVPA 2012)."

Objectively, because of the association's resistance to agree with the terms offered to the community, the municipality ignored the CBP and any type of collective organisation and did the negotiations with individuals. From the 700 original households, only 20 were able to withstand the various forms of pressure that the municipality applied and were promised new houses built by the government. All other households were either evicted or accepted monetary compensation for their relocation to social housing projects. Even during the evictions, the community updated the plan trying to reconcile the situation through some minimal demands, such as inclusion of social facilities and an increase of the floor area of the houses to be provided by the government.

Nonetheless, demolitions were carried out without legal procedures; the public defender, the institution responsible for the legal support of the families, faced a direct intervention from the governor discharging personnel and weakening their capability to intervene. People suffered the uncertainty of going to work without knowing if their house would still be there at the end of the day. In this regard, even after the elaboration and promotion of the CBP, forced evictions were still an on-going process in Vila Autódromo and in several other communities. Between 2009 and 2014 alone, more than 19,000 families were displaced from their homes in the city of Rio de Janeiro in the name of the Olympic Games (Mendes 2014).

⁸ A comparative assessment of both the final version of the CBP and the city's proposal can be viewed in <www.rioonwatch.org/?p=27526>.

Conclusions

What are then the results of the CBP of Vila Autódromo? There is no easy answer to this question.

This case study shows not only the various interests at stake within urban renewal projects, but also the weakness of national legislations and political processes to take into consideration community-based plans and citizen's needs and initiatives for urban development. However, on the other hand, there are some interesting features worth highlighting.

Firstly, this process led to the empowerment of the community and raised their awareness about their claims and rights. In this regard, although almost the entire population of the Vila Autódromo was evicted, the people involved in the popular planning process have become more conscious about their rights. It is likely that they will continue to fight for their rights and a democratic city, in Vila Autódromo and/or elsewhere.

Secondly, the visibility and international attention of this case and other communities in the same situation were strategically used to support their struggles. The international recognition of the CBP through prizes for its alternative approach to urbanisation had an important role in promoting support and creating public awareness.

In addition, the process brought centrality to the role of citizens in decision-making processes that concern their lives. Institutions and people can have a fruitful relation if the role of the latter is respected, especially by ensuring that they own the final decisions. Dwellers associations, residents, and researchers can be part of the development of the city as a whole, and informational networks can be created to generate the basis for new kinds of relations among stakeholders. Also, the activist networks that were involved present a positive side of globalisation, where information and solidarity can reach their objectives faster. Finally, as presented by Vainer et al., the new dimension of this process is that the conflict determines the pace of the planning process; in other words, the emergence of the (conflict) situation conditions the planning responses.

Democratically led CBPs can provide a sustainable approach to urban development at the local level, as they promote a balance between action and control over public space, and they help organising social relations with the territory. Fair and open relations among institutions, public power, and civil society can generate different uses of urban space, and promote conflict resolution, and resistance. As Vainer et al. point out, the process of "conflict planning" understands conflict as capable of forming autonomous actors for a counter-hegemonic project. When facing the various conflicts, counter-hegemonic movements may find gaps to destabilise the neoliberal hegemony and to pursue alternative models of urban and/or neighbourhood development.

Strategic plans, in turn, correspond to more dynamic flows of capital and labour in cities. If these focus on the short-term results and attraction of international capital, as in the case presented, we can identify harmful

effects on the local territory and governance. On the other hand, the Vila Autódromo's community-based plan was a reaction to an inefficient regulatory enforcement of urban land rights. Its experience shows the myriad of elements that are at stake in urban development and pro-poor advocacy, but mainly the importance of the community as the protagonist of the process. Downscaling the planning process, a close relation among planners and civil society, and active political response during the process are some of the elements that made the Vila Autódromo's CBP so remarkable. In this regard, strategic and community-based plans can be tools for urban development, both being established to face the current globalised economy in developing countries. Both serve specific functions and reach defined targets to support development models and ideologies. As planners, we need to understand which forces are behind each of these approaches and be coherent with the processes of construction of a democratic and just society.

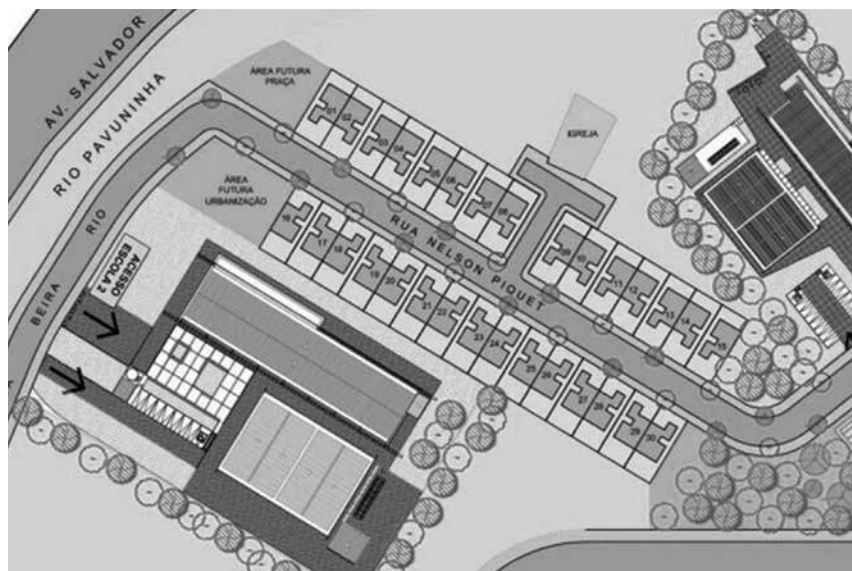


Figure 6: Plan of the houses to be constructed for families which did not accept to be resettled. Source: Prefeitura do Rio de Janeiro, extract from <http://www.rioonwatch.org/?p=27526>, accessed on April 03, 2017

References

AMPVA, Associação de Moradores e Pescadores da Vila Autódromo (2012) "Plano Popular Vila Autódromo." Rio de Janeiro.

AMPVA, Associação de Moradores e Pescadores da Vila Autódromo (2016) "Plano Popular Vila Autódromo 2016." Rio de Janeiro.

Brooks, Brad (May 25th, 2016) "Exclusive: Brazil investigating possible corruption at Olympic venues" Reuters. <www.reuters.com/article/us-olympics-rio-corruption-exclusive-idUSKCN0YG2WT>*

Cortes de Lira, Ana Carla (2012) "Los mega eventos y sus consecuencias urbanas posibles perspectivas hacia las futuras experiencias brasileñas." Arxiu d'Etnografia de Catalunya, n.º 12.

Cardoso, Aduino Lucio (2002) O Programa Favela-Bairro: uma avaliação. Anais do seminário de Avaliação de projetos IPT em habitação e meioambiente: assentamentos urbanos precários. São Paulo: Coleção Habitar. <www.habitar.org.br/pdf/publicacoes/arquivos/44.pdf>*

Estatuto da Cidade (2001) "Presidência da República, Casa Civil." Law nº 10.257, from 10 July 2001. <www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/LEIS_2001/L10257.htm>*

Harvey, David (1989) "From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: The transformation in urban governance in late capitalism". Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography, Vol. 71. p. 3–17.

Harvey, David (2003) *New Imperialism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Mendes, Alexandre F. (2014) "A nova luta da Vila Autódromo e dos moradores que resistem à remoção: reconstruir a Defensoria Pública e sua autonomia." Lugar Comum 42, p. 77–84.

PMRJ, Prefeitura Municipal do Rio de Janeiro (2012) "Plano Estratégico da Prefeitura do Rio de Janeiro 2013-2016." Rio de Janeiro.

Steinberg, Florian (2002) *Strategic Urban Planning in Latin America: experiences of managing and building the future*. Rotterdam: Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS).

Vainer, Carlos B. (2000) "Pátria, empresa e mercadoria. Notas sobre a estratégia discursiva do Planejamento Estratégico Urbano." <<http://labcs.ufsc.br/files/2011/12/16.-VAINER-C.B.-P%C3%A1tria-empresa-e-mercadoria.pdf>>*

Vainer, Carlos B.; Bienenstein, Regina; Tanaka, Gisele M.; De Oliveira Fabricio; and Lobino, Camila (2013) "O plano popular da Vila Autódromo, uma experiência de planejamento conflitual." <<http://unuhoopedagem.com.br/revista/rbeur/index.php/anais/article/view/4316>>*

* All internet sources last accessed on 13.12.2016.



Ricardo G. Paris

M.Sc. in spatial planning for regions in growing economies, TU-Dortmund, Germany; Specialist in public policies (2012), IPPUR-UFRJ; architect and urbanist (2011), UFRJ, Brazil. Contact: <rparis.arq@gmail.com>



Aurelia Guasch Antúnez

M.Sc. in spatial planning for regions in growing economies, TU-Dortmund, Germany; sociologist (2008), Universidad Alberto Hurtado, Santiago, Chile. Contact: <aurelia.guasch@gmail.com>



Rodrigo C. Bertame

M.Sc. in urbanism (2015), PROURB-FAU-UFRJ; architect and urbanist (2012), UFRJ; media activist for the Linhas de Fuga network and cultural activist for the Coletivo Cultural Suburbagem, Brazil. Contact: <bertameh@gmail.com>



Maria Fernanda Romero

M.Sc. in spatial planning for regions in growing economies, TU-Dortmund, Germany; environmental engineer (2009), Universidad Libre; economist (2012), Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá Colombia. Contact: <mafe.romero86@gmail.com>

Auswirkungen staatlicher Regularisierung und marktförmiger Wohnraumanneignung am Beispiel der Villa 31 in Buenos Aires

Sophie Naue¹

Der vorliegende Artikel beschäftigt sich mit der Villa 31, einer der ältesten informell gewachsenen Siedlungen im Stadtzentrum von Buenos Aires. Die besondere Lage der Siedlung haben diese seit Jahrzehnten in das Blickfeld einer breiten Öffentlichkeit und machen die Villa 31 zu einem politisch divers diskutierten Ort. Heute ist die Siedlung Lebensraum von mehr als 27.000 Menschen, die zum Teil noch immer unter prekären Wohnbedingungen und in ungeklärten Besitzverhältnissen leben. Nach kontroversen Diskussionen wurde im Dezember 2009 Gesetz N° 3.343 erlassen, das den Erhalt und die Aufwertung (urbanización) der Villa 31 rechtlich verankert. Neben dem durch die Stadtverwaltung eingeleiteten Aufwertungsprozess hat sich aufgrund der anhaltenden Nachfrage nach kostengünstigem und zentralem Wohnraum innerhalb der letzten Jahre ein Wohnungsmarkt in der Siedlung entwickelt. Angesichts von Konflikten zwischen der Funktionsweise des Wohnungsmarktes und der Formalisierung der Besitzverhältnisse wird im Folgenden der Fragestellung nachgegangen, welche Auswirkungen der öffentlich gelenkte Aufwertungsprozess und die Entstehung des informellen Wohnungsmarktes auf den Siedlungsraum und die Menschen in der Villa 31 haben. Die Triangulation verschiedener Methoden: Raumbegehungen, teilnehmenden Beobachtungen, Kartierungen, Fotodokumentationen sowie leitfadengestützte Interviews (ausgewertet in Anlehnung an die grounded theory) ermöglicht ein Verständnis für die spezifische Siedlungsdynamik der Villa 31 zu entwickeln. Auf der Grundlage von Bewohner- und Experteninterviews beschreibt der Artikel die institutionell gelenkte Regularisierung (regularización), die Wohnraumanneignung durch die Bewohner sowie die Veränderung durch die Prinzipien des lokalen Wohnungsmarktes; darauf aufbauend werden Konflikte sowie Herausforderungen aufgezeigt.

Effects of formal upgrading and housing appropriation under market conditions – the example of Villa 31 in Buenos Aires

This article deals with Villa 31, one of the oldest informal settlements in Buenos Aires. For decades, its location in the city centre has generated very diverse public and political discourse. Today, Villa 31 is the home of more than 27,000 people, many of whom continue to live under precarious living conditions without legalised forms of possession and tenure security. In December 2009, the city government initiated a process of preservation and improvement of infrastructure, the so-called urbanisation (urbanización) of Villa 31. Aside from the formal upgrading process, an informal housing market has developed within the settlement as a consequence of an increasing housing demand in recent years. This article takes into account the conflicts between the function of the local housing market and the publicly-controlled upgrading process, and examines their impact on the settlement as well as its inhabitants. In particular, the focus lies on the knowledge of the local conditions and personal experiences from everyday practice. Data was gathered via on-site inspections, participatory observation, mapping, photo documentation and guided interviews, and then interpreted with the help of grounded theory, allowing for a deeper understanding of the specific dynamics of the settlement. Based on resident and expert interviews, this article assesses the public upgrading process and the appropriation of housing (habitat), and their transformation under the rules of the informal housing market; it also looks at the conflicts and challenges in relation to these processes.

Dieser Artikel wurde einem anonymen Peer-Review-Verfahren durch zwei unabhängige GutachterInnen unterzogen. An TRIALOGS Peer-Review-Prozess sind ca. 30 angesehene WissenschaftlerInnen beteiligt.

1

Der Artikel basiert auf Forschungsergebnissen aus der Doktorarbeit: „Alltagspraxis zwischen Regularisierung und Wohnungsmarkt“ am Beispiel der Villa 31 in Buenos Aires, Leuphana Universität Lüneburg und Bauhaus-Universität Weimar.

2

Der Begriff *Villa Miseria* oder *Villa* wird in Argentinien zur Bezeichnung informeller Siedlungen verwendet, die durch irreguläre Landbesetzung brachliegender Flächen entstanden sind.

Die Villa 31 gehört zu den ältesten informell gewachsenen Siedlungen in Buenos Aires. Entstanden durch irreguläre Landbesetzung und die anschließende Besiedlung brachliegender Flächen im Hafenviertel Retiro (Thimmel 2004: 184), geht die Siedlungsgeschichte bis in die 1930er Jahre zurück und ist eng mit der Stadt verwoben (Cravino 2006: 36). Während eine Vielzahl der *Villas Miserias*² im Zuge der Militärdiktatur (1976 - 1983) abgerissen oder an den südlichen Stadtrand sowie in die Provinz von Buenos Aires umgesiedelt wurde, befindet sich die Siedlung noch immer mitten im wohlhabenden Zentrum der Stadt (Cravino 2006: 48).³

Die zentrale Lage der Villa 31 stellt einen Schlüsselfaktor dar, um die Entwicklung der Siedlung in ihrer Geschichte und Gegenwart einordnen zu können. Einerseits waren die Bewohner durch immobilienwirtschaftliche und politische Interessen an den Siedlungsflächen der ständigen Bedrohung einer möglichen Umsiedlung an den Stadtrand ausgesetzt. Andererseits bietet die zentrale Lage ihren Bewohnern die räumliche Nähe zum Stadtzentrum und somit zu Arbeitsplätzen, sozialen Einrichtungen und Transportmitteln.

Die Siedlung steht sowohl im Kontrast zu ihrem direkten Umfeld als auch zum Blockraster der „formellen“ Stadt. Bestimmt durch die Summe individueller Baupraktiken über einen unbestimmten Zeitraum, weist die Siedlung ihre eigene Morphologie und Charakteristik auf. Die Siedlungsstruktur ist dabei durch eine vergleichsweise kleinteilige, jedoch äußerst dichte Bebauung geprägt. Obwohl einiger der Häuser bis zu fünf Geschosse haben, sind die Grundstücke in der Regel zwischen 20 und 40 qm und überschreiten nur in Ausnahmefällen die 70 qm. Trotz der Verdichtung erinnert ein zum Teil noch immer vorhandener dörflicher Charakter, geprägt durch *patios* (Innenhöfe), in denen Lebensmittel angebaut und Kleinvieh gehalten wird, an das Leben auf dem Land.

Aufgrund der besonderen Lage und der daraus resultierenden Interessenkonflikte kam der Siedlung lange Zeit eine Sonderstellung zu.⁴ Denn obwohl sich die Villa 31 mit der Zeit sowohl in baulicher als auch sozialer Hinsicht an ihrem gegenwärtigen Standort konsolidiert hat, war sie im Gegensatz zu anderen *Villas Miserias* über Jahrzehnte in kein städtisches Aufwertungsprogramm integriert und ihr Erhalt umstritten.

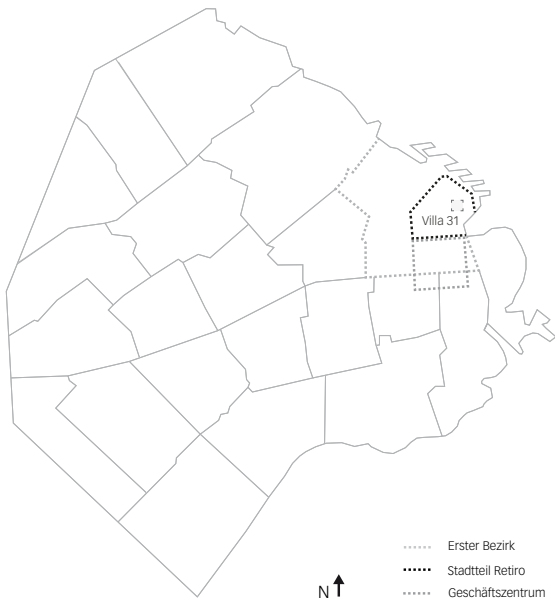


Abb. 1a: Lage der Villa 31 im Stadtgebiet von Buenos Aires. Eigene Darstellung nach www.mapa.buenosaires.gov.ar



Abb. 1b: Lage der Villas Miserias in Buenos Aires. Eigene Darstellung nach Mapa N. 23 Diagnostico de la Emergencia Habitacional en la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires 2008

Praktiken der Regularisierung - Umsetzung des Aufwertungsprogramms Villa 31

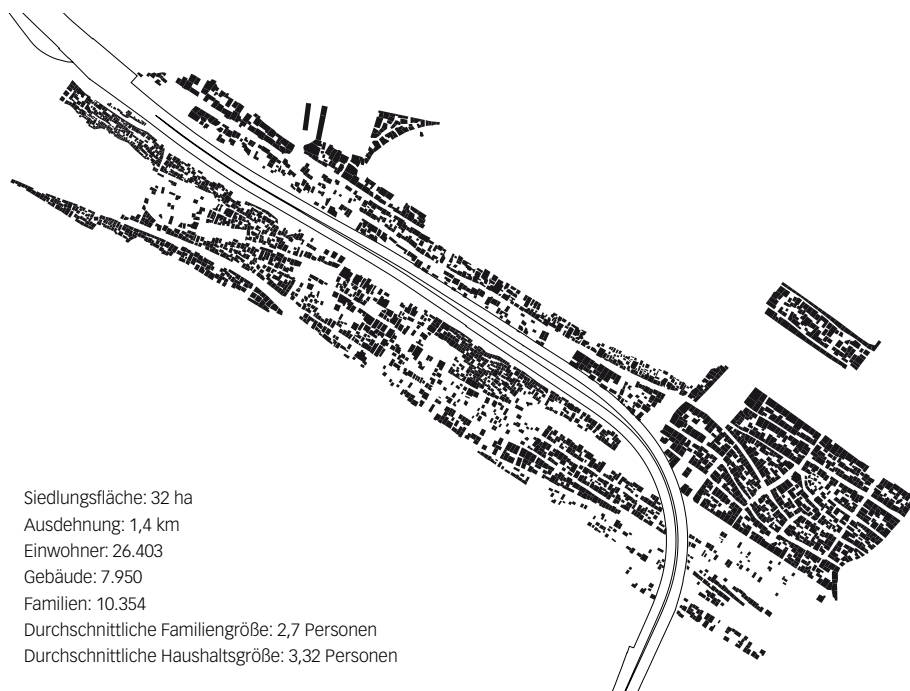
Mit der Rückkehr Argentiniens zur Demokratie (1983) zeichnete sich ein Paradigmenwechsel im Umgang mit informellen Siedlungen in Buenos Aires ab, denn der Abriss der historischen *Villas Miserias* war politisch nicht mehr tragbar (Blaustein 2006: 10). Mit diversen Programmen und Gesetzen versucht die lokale Stadtplanung seitdem der zunehmenden räumlichen Fragmentierung und sozialen Segregation entgegenzuwirken. Ein wesentliches Handlungsfeld stellt die Integration und Aufwertung, die so genannte Urbanisierung⁵ der *Villas Miserias* dar.

Die Geschichte der Villa 31 ist jedoch durch diverse Interessenkonflikte und das Ausbleiben politischer Entscheidungen sowie deren Umsetzung bestimmt. In diesem Zusammenhang stellt der Gesetzeserlass N° 3.343 zur Urbanisierung der Siedlung im Dezember 2009 einen Paradigmenwechsel im Umgang mit der Villa 31 dar,

dieser besiegelt die Abkehr von einer Politik des Abrisses hin zu einer Politik der Integration und Aufwertung. Der Architekt Fernández Castro, der maßgeblich an der Ausarbeitung eines alternativen Urbanisierungskonzeptes für die Siedlung beteiligt war, sagt in diesem Zusammenhang:

„Ein Abriss der Villa 31 ist nicht mehr denkbar. [...] Die Villa hat eine historische Bedeutung, an diesem Ort leben mehr als 30.000 Menschen. Der Abriss der Villa 31 ist politisch nicht vertretbar, denn Argentinien befindet sich nicht mehr in einer Diktatur. Die jahrelangen Diskussionen um den Verbleib der Villa 31 und den eventuellen Abriss der Siedlung sind gewonnen. Selbst die macristas⁶ stimmen für die Urbanisierung, auch wenn sie im Endeffekt nicht wirklich viel für die Umsetzung tun.“ (Interview: Fernández Castro, 2014).

Im Zuge des Aufwertungsprogramms (*programa de mejoras*) wurden Anfang 2010 bereits diverse Aufwertungsmaßnahmen innerhalb der Villa 31 durchgeführt.



3

Während der Militärdiktatur wurden in Buenos Aires insgesamt 17 *Villas Miserias* abgerissen. Die in den Siedlungen lebende Bevölkerung verringerte sich um 84 % (Censo Nacional de Población, Hogares y Viviendas 2010 en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires). Zwar wurde auch die Villa 31 durch unzählige Razzien und Räumungen zum Opfer staatlicher Gewalt, allerdings wurde die Siedlung von ihren Bewohnern nie aufgegeben (Cravino 2006: 85).

4

In Buenos Aires war der Erhalt und die Integration der *Villas Tradicionales*, der Siedlungen, die bereits vor der Militärdiktatur gebaut wurden und den Umsiedlungsplan von 1978 (Plan de Erradicación de Villas de Emergencia PEVE) überdauert haben, grundsätzlich in dem Gesetz N°148 verankert. Die Villa 31 wurde jedoch im Rahmen dieser Gesetzgebung nicht berücksichtigt.

5

Das Wort *urbanización* wird in Argentinien und anderen lateinamerikanischen Ländern auch im Zusammenhang mit staatlich oder städtisch initiierten Aufwertungsprozessen verwendet.

6

Die Bezeichnung *macrista* lässt sich auf die Anhänger der zu diesem Zeitpunkt in Buenos Aires regierenden Partei *Propuesta Republicana (PRO)* und ihren Bürgermeister Mauricio Macri zurückführen.



Abb. 2: Siedlungsstruktur der Villa 31. Eigene Darstellung basierend auf Kartengrundlage und Luftbild: Gobierno de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires – Ministerio de Desarrollo Urbano 2014

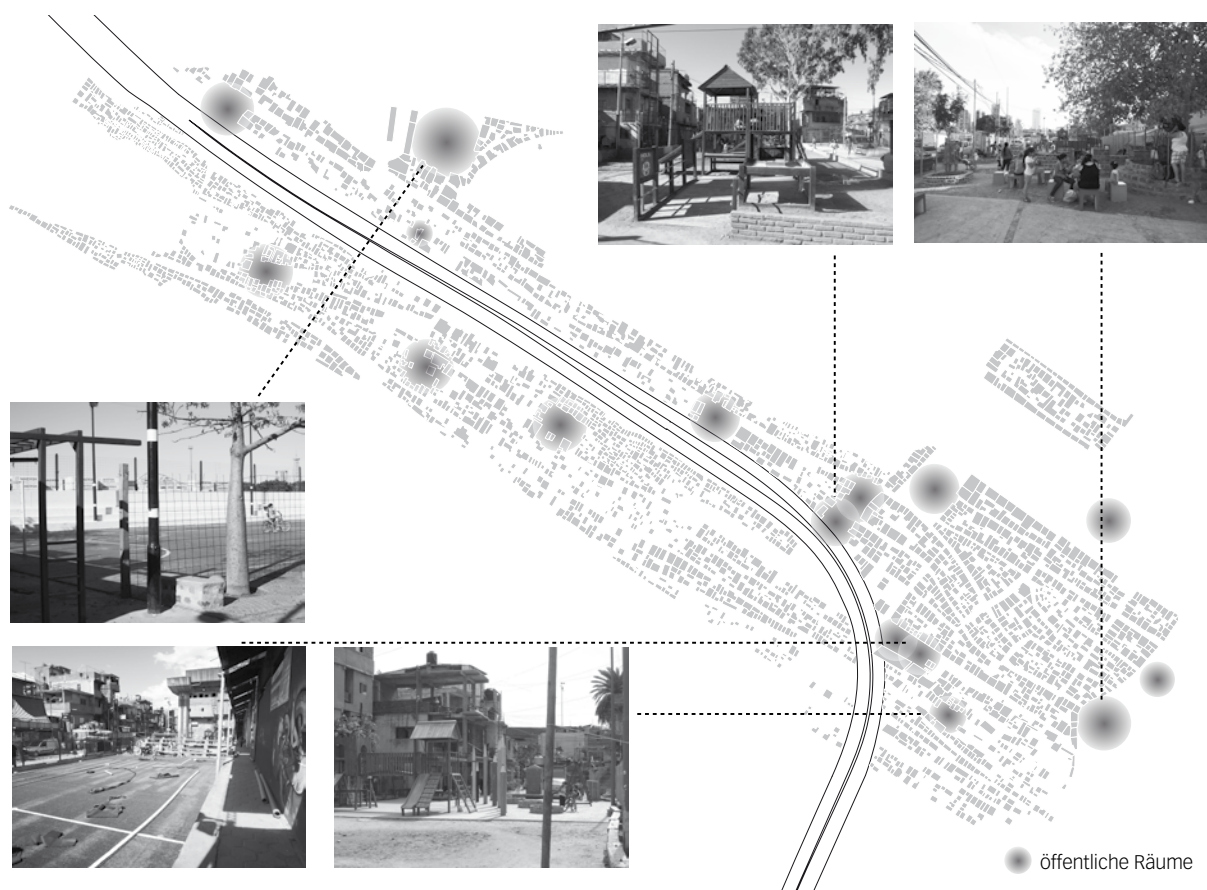


Abb. 3: Aufwertungen im öffentlichen Raum: Eigene Darstellung basierend auf eigener Bestandsaufnahme und Luftbild: Gobierno de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires – Ministerio de Desarrollo Urbano (2014) / Öffentliche Räume: Eigene Aufnahmen 2014

Ziel des *programa de mejoras* war die Vorbereitung der Urbanisierung (bis hin zur Verabschiedung eines definitiven Konzepts) durch die sofortige Umsetzung von Maßnahmen zur Verbesserung der allgemeinen Lebensumstände (Hidalgo; Janoschka 2014: 144). Vornehmlich handelte es sich dabei um Wohnumfeldverbesserungen durch die Renovierung der Häuserfassaden, die Rückgewinnung und Inwertsetzung der öffentlichen Räume sowie Verbesserungen im Bereich der technischen Infrastruktur.⁷

Eine der ersten Maßnahmen, die realisiert wurde, war das Anstreichen der Häuserfassaden. Eine Intervention, die zeitnah, kostengünstig und vor allem einfach umgesetzt werden konnte und eine starke Wirkung auf die Außenwahrnehmung der Siedlung haben sollte. Zwischen 2010 und 2011 wurden ca. 100.000 qm Fassade angestrichen (Salerno 2014: 145). Es ist jedoch kritisch zu betrachten, dass die Maßnahme einen eher pittoresken Charakter hat und für sich genommen keine Verbesserung der Wohnverhältnisse bringt.

„In den letzten Jahren haben sie hier mit bestimmten Bauarbeiten begonnen, haben ein paar Straßen neu gemacht, die Häuser angemalt und das Abwassersystem verbessert, dadurch ist die Lebensqualität im Viertel schon etwas erhöht worden. Aber wir bleiben immer die Villa 31, da können sie so viele Häuser anmalen, wie sie wollen.“ (Interview: Alejandra Garcia, 65, Besitzerin der Volksküche Arca de Noé, wohnhaft im Viertel seit 1975; 2013).

Den größten Einfluss auf das alltägliche Leben innerhalb der Siedlung hatten die Maßnahmen zur Rückgewinnung

und Aufwertung der öffentlichen Räume. In diesem Zusammenhang wurden innerhalb von drei Jahren insgesamt 16 Freiflächen, Spielplätze und Fußballfelder umgestaltet oder neu geschaffen. Im Rahmen des *programa de mejoras* wurden somit die besondere Bedeutung und wichtige Ausgleichsfunktion der öffentlichen Räume innerhalb der Siedlung mit ihren oftmals beengten Wohnverhältnisse erkannt und berücksichtigt.

„Was hier getan wird, ist wundervoll. Das ist eine Art Vorstufe zur Urbanisierung. [...] Das Vorhaben der weiteren Urbanisierung der Villa steht. Sie sind auf einem guten Weg und werden das ganze Erscheinungsbild der Villa verbessern. Die Villa ist schön, aber jetzt machen wir sie noch schöner. Wir dürfen die Hoffnung nicht aufgeben. Das Vorhaben lässt sich nicht einfach über Nacht realisieren.“ (Interview: Luis Baza, 69, Elektriker, wohnhaft im Viertel seit 1967; 2013).

Im Bereich der technischen Infrastruktur wurde der Ausbau der Trinkwasserversorgung⁸, der Bau von 3.100 m Regen- und Schmutzwasserkanälen sowie die anschließende Asphaltierung der Straßenoberflächen durchgeführt (Salerno 2014: 145). Diese Maßnahmen nehmen Einfluss auf die strukturellen Gegebenheiten innerhalb der Siedlung, auch wenn die Kritik besteht, dass diese nicht zielgerichtet umgesetzt werden.

Neben der Anbindung der Siedlung an das öffentliche Versorgungsnetz wird unter Urbanisierung (*urbanización*) auch die Sicherstellung des Bleiberechts durch die Vergabe von Besitztiteln (*titulación*) für Häuser und Grundstücke verstanden. In diesem Zusammenhang sind bislang noch keine Maßnahmen erfolgt.

7 Die Analyse des *programa de mejoras* basiert auf Experteninterviews, Raumbegehungen, teilnehmenden Beobachtungen, Kartierungen und Fotodokumentationen, die im Rahmen von zwei empirischen Phasen der Feldforschung die 2013 und 2014 durchgeführt wurden.

8 Bei der Volks- und Wohnstättenzählung des Jahres 2009 waren von insgesamt 6.000 Haushalten 600 ohne fließendes Wasser (Censo de Hogares y Población. Villas 31 y 31 bis. Ciudad de Buenos Aires 2009).

„Ich habe die Befürchtung, dass die Menschen mit den Urbanisierungsplänen erst mal ruhiggestellt werden sollen. Die Urbanisierungsabsichten der Regierung wirken gut, aber das Ganze ist sehr oberflächlich angelegt [...]. Alle sollen der Regierung dankbar sein, sich über den neuen Spielplatz freuen und nichts weiter sagen und vor allem vergessen, dass es hier doch eigentlich um die Vergabe von Besitztiteln geht.“ (Interview: Reed, 29, Dokumentarfilmer, wohnhaft im Viertel seit 2013; 2013).

Von Seiten der Bewohner ist der Aufwertungsprozess nicht nur mit diversen Hoffnungen und Erwartungen, sondern auch mit Forderungen verbunden. Um den ortsspezifischen Charakter der Siedlung zu bewahren, sollen die für den Lebensraum der Villa 31 charakteristischen Eigenarten anerkannt und gestärkt werden. In diesem Zusammenhang stellen die vorhandenen sozialen Netzwerke und Strategien der Selbstorganisation eine Besonderheit dar. Denn diese funktionieren flexibel und bedarfsorientiert und kompensieren das Fehlen staatlicher Strukturen. Zum anderen gilt es, die über Jahrzehnte gewachsene Siedlungs- und Bebauungsstruktur zu erhalten und in ihren Grundzügen zu konsolidieren. Mit den städtebaulichen Strukturen wird nicht nur ein baulich-räumlicher, sondern auch ein sozialer Wert verbunden, der sich in der Identifikation der Bewohner mit der von ihnen gebauten Umwelt ausdrückt.

„Wir fordern, dass im Urbanisierungsprozess das erhalten und respektiert wird, was die Menschen sich hier über Jahre, wenn nicht Jahrzehnte, aufgebaut haben. Die Urbanisierung muss die Art und Weise, wie die Menschen vor Ort leben und leben wollen, respektieren. [...] In dem Urbanisie-

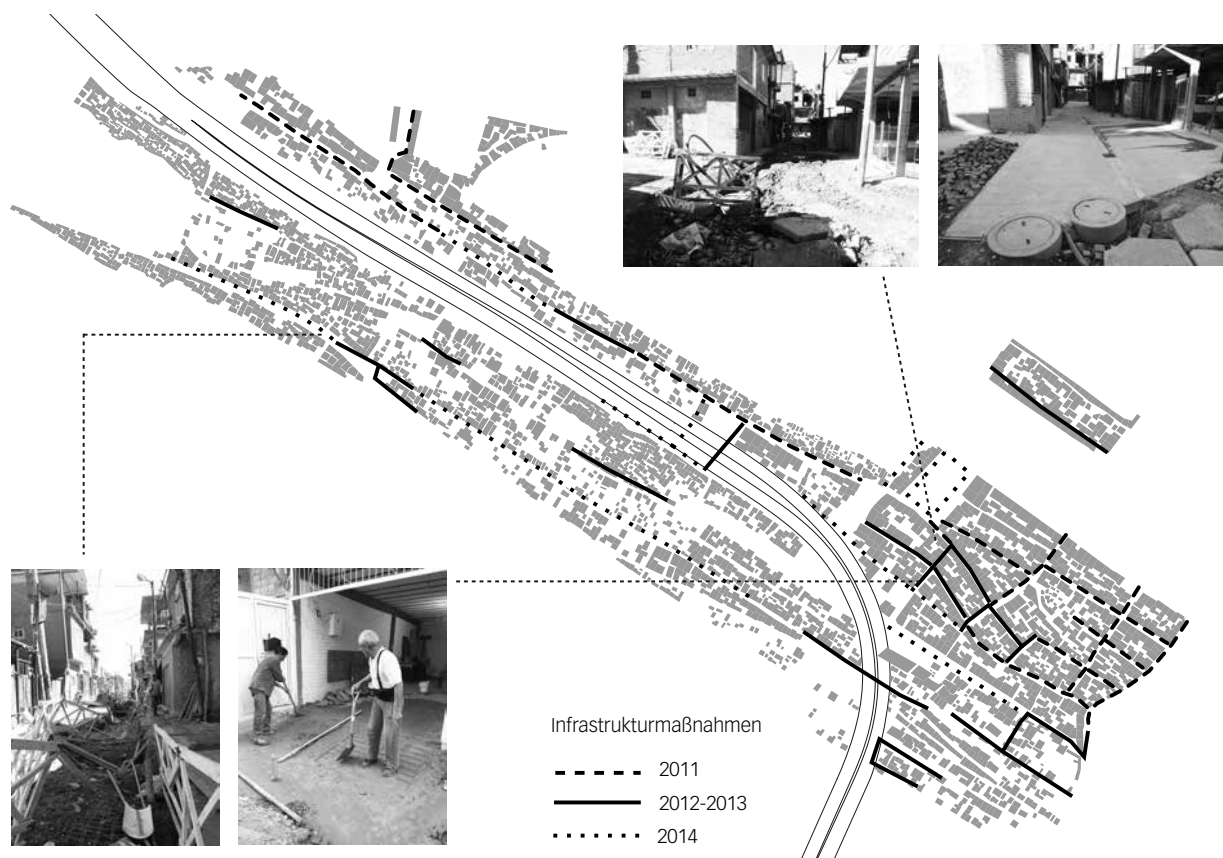
rungsprojekt, das wir hier in der Villa gemeinsam mit dem Architekten Javier Fernández Castro und seinem Team erarbeitet haben, bleiben ca. 70 % der Villa erhalten, so wie sie sind. Wir verteidigen dieses Konzept und das, wofür es steht, also die kulturelle Identität und die räumliche Anordnung, die hier über Jahre gewachsen ist und von den Menschen, die hier leben, geschaffen wurde.“ (Interview: Julián Wald, 42, Leiter des Gemeinschaftszentrums Campito und Abgeordneter der Villa 31, wohnhaft im Viertel seit 2001; 2013).

Kritik – Aufwertung und Transformation

Mit dem Gesetzeserlass und dem *programa de mejoras* wurde ein Prozess initiiert, in dem erste dringend notwendige Aufwertungen zur Verbesserung des Wohnumfeldes realisiert wurden. Die umgesetzten Maßnahmen erfahren in der Regel Anerkennung und Wertschätzung durch die Bewohner. Im Rahmen der Analyse wird jedoch deutlich, dass es sich bei den Projekten vornehmlich um punktuelle Maßnahmen handelt. Eine langfristige und ganzheitliche Planungs- bzw. Urbanisierungsstrategie, in der die Verantwortlichkeiten sowie der finanzielle und zeitliche Rahmen klar geregelt sind, ist nach Aussagen von Alicia Gerscovich (Abgeordnete der Wohnungsbaukommission im Stadtparlament von Buenos Aires) und dem bereits erwähnten Architekten Fernández Castro nicht erkennbar.

„Mit den derzeitigen Interventionen werden nicht die Kernprobleme der Villa 31 angegangen. Bei den Projekten handelt es sich um längst schon überfällige Aufwertungsmaßnahmen, eine umfassende Urbanisierung ist das nicht.“ (Interview: Gerscovich, 2015)

Abb. 4: Maßnahmen im Bereich der technischen Infrastruktur: Eigene Darstellung basierend auf eigener Bestandsaufnahme und Luftbild: Gobierno de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires – Ministerio de Desarrollo Urbano (2014) / Straßenarbeiten: Eigene Aufnahmen: 2014 / 2015



„Es fehlt eine wirkliche Urbanisierungsstrategie, in der definiert wird, welche Projekte wie, wann und mit welchen finanziellen Mitteln realisiert werden sollen. Aber es fehlt der politische Wille, die Urbanisierung der Villa 31 wirklich voranzutreiben und vor allem die Formalisierung der Flächen [Legalisierung der Besitzverhältnisse] umzusetzen.“ (Interview: Fernández Castro, 2014)⁹

Die argentinische Anthropologin María Cristina Cravino spricht in Bezug auf die gegenwärtige Urbanisierungspolitik der Stadtregierung von einem Paradigma des *maquillaje urbano* (*urban makeup*). Als solches bezeichnet sie Interventionen im öffentlichen Raum oder an den Häuserfassaden, ohne dass die strukturellen Bedingungen der Viertel verändert werden. Cravino zufolge liegt die Konzentration bei diesem Vorgehen vornehmlich auf zeitnah zu realisierenden Maßnahmen mit geringem Investitionsvolumen und hoher Außenwahrnehmung (Cravino 2014).

Das *programa de mejoras* wirkt sich somit zwar positiv auf die Aufwertung des Wohnumfeldes der Siedlung aus, nimmt jedoch keinen Einfluss auf die konkreten Wohnverhältnisse, denn keines der Projekte sieht bauliche Maßnahmen am Bestand vor. Auch der rechtliche Status in Bezug auf die Umwidmung der Flächennutzung (*ambio de zonificación*), die Schaffung von Baurecht und die Formalisierung der Besitzverhältnisse findet innerhalb dieses Prozesses bislang keine Berücksichtigung und bleibt weiter ungeklärt.

Ausgehend von diesen Kritikpunkten wird im Folgenden die Entwicklung des siedlungsinternen Wohnungsmarktes betrachtet, da dieses „neue Phänomen“ Einfluss auf die Prozesse nimmt und diese zusätzlich erschwert.

Wohnungsmarkt der Villa 31

Ende der 1990er Jahre führte die zunehmende Siedlungsverdichtung aufgrund der anhaltenden Nachfrage an zentralem Wohnraum und der damit einhergehenden Verknappung noch freier Grundstücke zur Entstehung eines parallel funktionierenden Wohnungsmarktes innerhalb der Villa 31. In diesem Zusammenhang zeichnen sich erste Konflikte im Rahmen der Formalisierung der Besitzverhältnisse (Vergabe von Besitztiteln) und der Funktionsweise des Wohnungsmarktes ab. Eine zentrale Herausforderung in Bezug auf die zukünftige Entwicklung der Siedlung liegt somit im Umgang mit dem siedlungsinternen Wohnungsmarkt. Denn dessen Funktionsweise entzieht sich nicht nur zum Großteil der Kenntnis der Planung und Wissenschaft, sondern auch der staatlichen Kontrollen.

Im Folgenden werden die Praktiken der Wohnraumaaneignung und deren Veränderung durch die Prinzipien des Wohnungsmarktes in den Mittelpunkt gestellt. Ausgehend von den verschiedenen lokalen Akteuren auf dem Wohnungsmarkt werden die internen Aushandlungsprozesse, die vorherrschenden ökonomischen Rahmenbedingungen und Sicherheiten sowie die Transformation von Typologien und Wohnformen dargestellt.

Praktiken der Raumaneignung (ursprünglicher Zugang zu Boden und Wohnraum)

Die Villa wächst nach ihren eigenen Regeln, die sich außerhalb der staatlichen Regulierung und Baunormen konsolidieren. Über Jahrzehnte stellte die Besetzung einer noch freien Fläche und deren anschließende Bebauung die vorherrschende Praxis der Raumaneignung dar. Die Besetzung manifestiert somit den faktischen Besitzanspruch, auch wenn aus rechtlicher Sicht keine Besitztitel vorliegen.

Die Wohnraumaneignung und Aufteilung der Flächen wurde dabei vornehmlich durch den Raumbedarf des Einzelnen (oder der Familie), die Flächenverfügbarkeit und die zur Verfügung stehenden ökonomischen Ressourcen für den Hausbau bestimmt. Mit dem Zuzug weiterer Familienangehöriger und dem damit einhergehenden veränderten Raumbedarf kam es zum Anbau an den Bestand und zur nachträglichen Unterteilung von Grundstücken. Die Aufteilung und Neuordnung war in diesem Zusammenhang immer auch Teil von Aushandlungsprozessen innerhalb der Nachbarschaft.

Innerhalb von acht Jahren (2001-2009) verzeichnete die Villa 31 ein Bevölkerungswachstum von über 110 % und somit einen durchschnittlichen Zuzug von 1.932 Personen pro Jahr (Censo Nacional de Población, Hogares y Viviendas 2010 en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires). Neben dem flächenhaften Siedlungswachstum vollzog sich zudem eine vertikale Verdichtung der Siedlungsstruktur durch An- und Vorbauten sowie die Aufstockung über bestehende Raumgrenzen hinweg.

Zugang zu Wohnraum über den Wohnungsmarkt

Die Wohnraumnachfrage, die durch das bestehende Flächenangebot innerhalb der Siedlung nicht mehr

9

Unterschiedliche Experten, darunter auch Javier Fernández Castro, gehen davon aus, dass sich die Landes- und Stadtregierung durch Unterlassung der Formalisierung bzw. Privatisierung der Flächen weiterhin die Möglichkeit offenhält, die Siedlung schlussendlich trotz gegenteiligen Gesetzbeschlusses abzureißen.

Abb. 5: Zugang zu Wohnraum durch Besetzung:
Eigene Darstellung



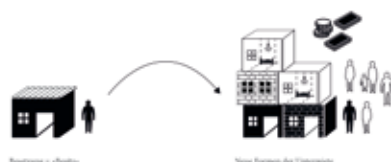
Abb. 6 Anbau an Bestand:
Eigene Darstellung

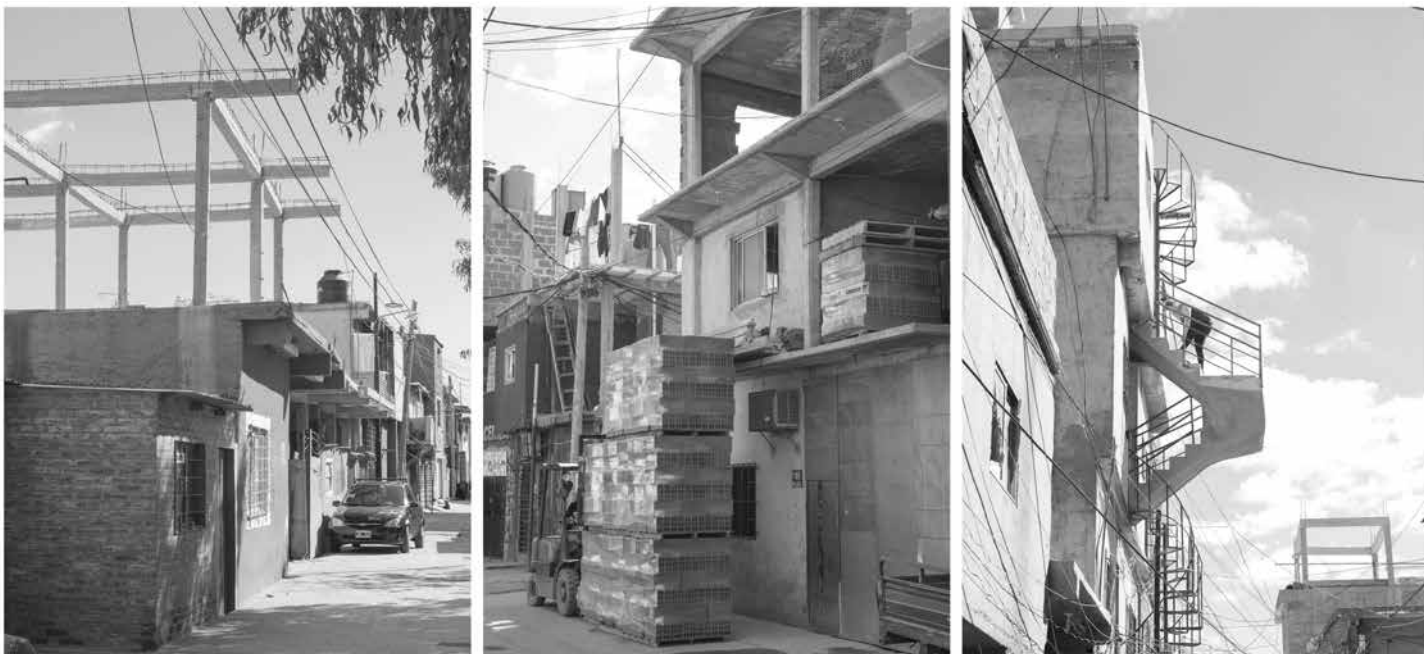


Abb. 7: Nachverdichtung im Zuge der Einwohnerentwicklung (gemäß Zensus 2009):
1991: 5.688
2001: 12.204
2003: 14.429
2009: 26.403
(Eigene Darstellung)



Abb. 8: Wohnraum wird Ware:
Eigene Darstellung





ausreichend bedient werden kann, führt zur gezielten Generierung von Wohnraum durch zweckgerichteten Anbau und die anschließende Vermietung. Es kommt somit zur Kommerzialisierung von Wohnraum, obgleich den Bewohnern offiziell keine Eigentumsrechte vorliegen (Abb. 8).

Die Konsolidierung des Wohnungsmarktes verändert den selbstorganisierten Zugang zu Wohnraum und stellt die bis dahin eindeutigen Besitzansprüche infrage. Denn war zuvor jeder Nutzer faktisch auch Besitzer seines Hauses, obgleich ihm der Boden nicht rechtmäßig gehörte, so gibt es heute Besitzer und Besitzlose. Der Wohnungsmarkt führt somit zur Ausdifferenzierung der Besitzverhältnisse und Etablierung neuer Akteure.

Funktionsweise des Wohnungsmarktes

Der Wohnungsmarkt ist ein lokales System, das auf Aushandlungen basiert. Die Teilhabe funktioniert über den direkten Kontakt. Die Informationen zirkulieren vornehmlich über Mund-zu-Mund-Propaganda oder Aushänge in der Nachbarschaft. Auf dem Wohnungsmarkt der Villa 31 spielen soziale Beziehungen und Netzwerke eine wesentliche Rolle, denn innerhalb der Siedlung ist in der Regel bekannt, wer zu welchen Konditionen vermietet oder verkauft. Die Einbindung in die Gemeinschaft stellt eine Voraussetzung für die Marktteilnahme dar.

Die auf dem Wohnungsmarkt agierenden Akteure handeln ausgehend von unterschiedlichen Motivationen. Es gibt private Vermieter, die sich durch die Vermietung einzelner Zimmer in ihren privaten Wohnhäusern in der Regel nur einen Zuverdienst zu ihrem eigentlichen Einkommen sichern wollen. Vermietet wird dabei vornehmlich an Familienangehörige oder Bekannte. Professionelle Vermieter hingegen bauen an, um durch die Vermietung mehrerer Zimmer ihren Hauptverdienst zu generieren.

Vor allem Zugezogene sind auf die Angebote des Wohnungsmarktes angewiesen, denn mit fortschreitender Entwicklung des Marktes gilt das Wohnen bei

Familienangehörigen meist nur noch als Übergangslösung. Es kommt somit verstärkt zur Loslösung des Wohnens aus dem Familienkontext. Die Miete eines Zimmers wird grundsätzlich als Übergangslösung angesehen, in der Regel wird die Eigentumsbildung angestrebt. Wer über die finanziellen Mittel verfügt, kauft sich ein Haus oder Grundstück und macht sich von Vermietern unabhängig. Ohne ausreichende ökonomische Ressourcen verlängert sich dagegen zwangsläufig die Phase der Untermiete. Den Mietern wird ein hoher Grad an Flexibilität abverlangt, denn es kommt aufgrund von unstabilen Mietkonditionen und der Vermietung von prekärer Wohnraum zu häufigen Wohnraumwechseln.

Da sich der Wohnungsmarkt außerhalb der staatlichen Regulierung konsolidiert hat, gibt es keine rechtskräftigen Miet- und Kaufverträge. Die Absicherung des Vermieters erfolgt in der Regel durch die Vorauszahlung der Monatsmiete. Obgleich Konditionen wie Miethöhe und -dauer grundsätzlich verhandelbar sind, werden diese vor allem im Fall der „professionellen“ Vermietung maßgeblich durch die Vermieter vorgegeben. Die Mieter befinden sich somit in einem extremen Abhängigkeitsverhältnis. Für eine bessere Absicherung finden Verhandlungen über Miet- und Kaufkonditionen häufig vor Zeugen statt. Der Wohnungsmarkt der Villa 31 unterliegt somit der sozialen Kontrolle durch die Gemeinschaft, denn diese wird in den Prozess involviert und kann im Konfliktfall Position ergreifen.

Transformation der Typologien

Die Entwicklung des Wohnungsmarktes nimmt außerdem Einfluss auf die Villa-typischen Bautypologien, denn neben dem familiär bedingten Raumbedarf bestimmen zunehmend wirtschaftliche Interessen den Hausbau. Eine Konsequenz aus der Siedlungsverdichtung und Kommerzialisierung von Wohnraum ist die Optimierung der Bauformen durch die Aufstockung der traditionellen Wohnbebauung.

Die Komplexität der Typologien bedingt dabei eine Professionalisierung der Bauweise. Zum einen werden für den

▲
Abb. 9: Transformation von Typologien und Bauweise: Santiago. Quelle: Salazar 2015

Bau beständigere und hochwertigere Materialien verwendet. Zum anderen werden Bauleistungen vermehrt durch Facharbeiter aus der Siedlung erbracht. Dies führt wiederum zur Abkehr vom traditionellen Prinzip der Selbstbauweise durch den Nutzer.

Das Wohnraumangebot differenziert sich durch den Wohnungsmarkt weiter aus. Es entstehen immer komplexere Typologien, die sich flexibel an die Raumgegebenheiten und den Raumbedarf anpassen. Mit dem Wohnungsmarkt haben sich jedoch nicht nur die Bauformen und Bauweisen, sondern auch die Miet- und Besitzverhältnisse ausdifferenziert. Es werden nicht mehr nur vereinzelt Zimmer untervermietet, sondern auch Häuser aufgrund der Gewinnoptimierung stockwerksweise verkauft. Trotz der zunehmenden Gebäudehöhe ist die Wohnfläche, die dem Einzelnen und vor allem den Mietern zur Verfügung steht, tendenziell geringer geworden.

Professionalisierung und zukünftige Herausforderungen

Die gegenwärtigen Strukturen und Akteurskonstellationen in der Villa 31 sind durch die Entwicklung des informellen Wohnungsmarktes deutlich komplexer geworden. In diesem Zusammenhang ist in der Siedlung eine zunehmende Professionalisierung der Akteure (Vermieter und

Verkäufer) zu beobachten. Denn der Wohnungsmarkt funktioniert gegenwärtig nicht mehr vorwiegend nach dem Prinzip der Reziprozität, sondern ist auch auf die Generierung von Gewinn ausgerichtet. Vor allem die Problematik der Mieter, die nicht mehr nur zum Übergang, sondern langfristig in der Siedlung zur Miete wohnen, hat eine neue Dimension angenommen. Es gibt somit neue Akteure, die bei der Klärung der Eigentumsfrage innerhalb der Villa 31 berücksichtigt werden müssen.

Kam vormals aufgrund der Identität von Nutzern und Besitzern im Rahmen von Urbanisierungs- und Formalisierungsprozessen erst gar nicht die Frage auf, an wen die Besitztitel für Haus und Grundstück zu vergeben sind (oder wem diese zustehen), so erschwert heute die Funktionsweise des Wohnungsmarktes, die direkte Umwandlung des faktischen Eigentums in legale Besitztitel. Dabei stellt sich die Frage, wie die faktischen Besitzverhältnisse zukünftig definiert werden können und eine gerechte Umwandlung in legale Besitztitel erfolgen kann. Darüber hinaus muss geklärt werden, wie die Mieter im Rahmen dieses Prozesses berücksichtigt werden können. In diesem Zusammenhang verlangt die institutionelle Planung nach ortsbezogenen, situativ entwickelten und verankerten Verfahren, bzw. Instrumenten, die den Herausforderungen der sozioökonomischen Transformationen durch den Wohnungsmarkt gerecht werden.



Sophie Naue

Dr. des., Dipl.-Ing. Stadtplanung. Seit 2016 wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin und Dozentin in der Coordinación de Proyección Social der Architektur-Fakultät der Universidad Piloto de Colombia in Bogotá. Forschungsschwerpunkt: informelle Stadtentwicklung und urbane Transformationsprozesse in Lateinamerika.
Contact: <naue.sophie1@gmail.com>

Quellenverzeichnis:

Blaustein, Eduardo (2006) Prohibido Vivir Aquí. Buenos Aires: E-Punto de Encuentro.

Cravino, María Cristina (2006) Las Villas de La Ciudad. Mercado e Informalidad Urbana. Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento.

Janoschka, Michael / Hidalgo Rodrigo (Hg.) (2014) La Ciudad Neoliberal. Gentrificación y exclusiones Santiago de Chile, Buenos Aires, Ciudad de México y Madrid. Madrid, Contested Cities.

Salerno, Bruno (2014) Neoliberalismo, Políticas Urbanas y Disputa por el Área central de Buenos Aires. El Caso de la Villa de Retiro. In: Janoschka, Michael / Hidalgo Rodrigo (Hg.) La Ciudad Neoliberal. Gentrificación y exclusiones Santiago de Chile, Buenos Aires, Ciudad de México y Madrid S. 129 - 149. Madrid, Contested Cities.

Thimmel, Stefan (2004) Villas Miserias in Buenos Aires. Eine Notstandssituation als Dauerzustand – Armutsinseln in der Mega City. In: Becker Jochen / Lanz, Stephan (Hg.) City of COOP. Ersatzökonomien und städtische Bewegungen in Rio de Janeiro und Buenos Aires, S. 177 - 193. Berlin: B-Books.

Internetquellen

Dirección General de Estadística y Censos (Hg.) (2009) Censo de Hogares y Población. Villas 31 y 31 bis. Ciudad de Buenos Aires 2009, Buenos Aires. <www.estadisticaciudad.gob.ar/eyc/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/villa_31_y_31_bis_2009_abril.pdf>Zugriff: 26.02.2017.

Dirección General de Estadística y Censos (Hg.) (2010) Resultados provisionales del Censo Nacional de Población, Hogares y Viviendas 2010 en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires. <www.estadisticaciudad.gob.ar/eyc/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/resultados_provisionales_censo_2010.pdf>Zugriff: 26.02.2017.

Experteninterviews:

Cravino, María Cristina: Professorin für Anthropologie, Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento. Durchgeführt am: 04.03. 2013 und 21.04. 2014, in Buenos Aires

Fernández Castro, Javier: Professor für Architektur und Städtebau, Facultad de Arquitectura, Diseño y Urbanismo (UBA), Leiter der Vorstudie Ante proyecto de urbanización – barrio 31 Carlos Mugica. Durchgeführt am: 16.05. 2014, in Buenos Aires

Gerscovich, Alicia: Abgeordnete der Wohnungsbaukommission im Stadtparlament von Buenos Aires. Durchgeführt am: 05.05.2015, in Buenos Aires

Bewohnerinterviews:

Durchgeführt während der ersten Feldforschung im Zeitraum von September 2012 bis April 2013

Integrated at the Neighbourhood Level

A Decentralised Approach to Water Management

Prathiwi W. Putri

Cities in the Global South are generally vast due to urban sprawl. They are characterised by a varying level of density, and enclaves of informal settlements. Within this context, this article addresses the limits of large-scale and centralised water systems. It seeks to understand, qualitatively, to what extent the decentralised approach to water management has been adopted within the current development practises in the Southeast Asia region. The case studies in Jakarta, Indonesia, and Soc Trang, Viet Nam, show that by "scaling down" the development interventions, the socio-spatial characteristics of local communities can be accommodated. Smaller-scale development intervention also means stimulating creativity in planning and policy-making processes to address water-infrastructure needs at local levels and opens possibilities for integrating water-infrastructures with public space. Such a decentralised approach matters to improve the overall socio-spatial quality of a neighbourhood, however it requires, in parallel, new institutional mechanisms to provide a coherent water and environmental management system at the urban level. This article argues for a synergy of two axes: the water sector as a crucial development sector, and the neighbourhood as a vital scalar dimension. This synergy is a strategic step to improve the overall quality of urban life.

Integration auf Quartiersebene: Dezentrales Wassermanagement

Durch unkontrolliertes Stadtwachstum sind viele Städte im Globalen Süden unüberschaubar geworden. Sie sind geprägt durch Gebiete unterschiedlichster baulicher Dichte und ungeplante Enklaven. In diesem Kontext befasst sich dieser Artikel mit den Grenzen großmaßstäblicher und zentralisierter Systeme der Wasserversorgung. Er sucht nach einem qualitativen Verständnis der Rolle dezentraler Ansätze des Wassermanagements in Südostasien. Fallstudien aus Jakarta in Indonesien und Soc Trang in Viet Nam zeigen, dass durch die Verkleinerung des Maßstabs von Entwicklungsmaßnahmen die sozialen und räumlichen Merkmale von Gemeinschaften berücksichtigt werden können. Der "kleinmaßstäbliche" Ansatz bedeutet auch eine Stimulierung der Kreativität in Planung und Politik im Umgang mit der lokalen Wasserinfrastruktur und eröffnet Möglichkeiten zur Integration dieser in öffentlichen Räumen. Ein derartiger dezentraler Ansatz ist wichtig um die allgemeine sozialräumliche Qualität eines Quartiers zu verbessern, gleichzeitig erfordert er aber neue institutionelle Mechanismen um ein kohärentes Wasser- und Umweltmanagement auf städtischer Ebene sicher zu stellen. Der Artikel argumentiert für eine Synergie zwischen zwei Achsen: dem Wassersektor als entscheidenden Bereich sozial-räumlicher Entwicklung und dem Quartier als einer zentralen räumlichen Dimension. Diese Synergie wäre ein strategischer Schritt, um die Lebensqualität in der Stadt insgesamt zu verbessern.

State-led and market-oriented approaches to water and sanitation development in many cities of the Global South have favoured the construction of large-scale, piped water drainage and centralised sewerage systems. Many water managers, city planners, and scholars have long realised, however, that this approach is not always suitable for several reasons. First, the centralised approach to water management is difficult to implement due to the need of big, concentrated, and intensive capital investments within the whole infrastructure development cycle (Bakker 2003, Gerlach & Franceys 2010, Parkinson & Tayler 2003). Second, the slow expansion of the centralised water infrastructure networks have put many communities at risk due to poor environmental sanitary conditions, especially rural communities, communities with the lowest income, and inhabitants of peri-urban areas (Aguilar & De Fuentes 2007, Allen et al. 2006, Dagdeviren 2008, Har-doy et al. 2005). Third, there are also concerns from the spatial planning perspective. The modern infrastructure approach, with large-scale management and centrally-organised technological systems, is not applicable within the informal settlements scattered over the cities (Putri 2014).

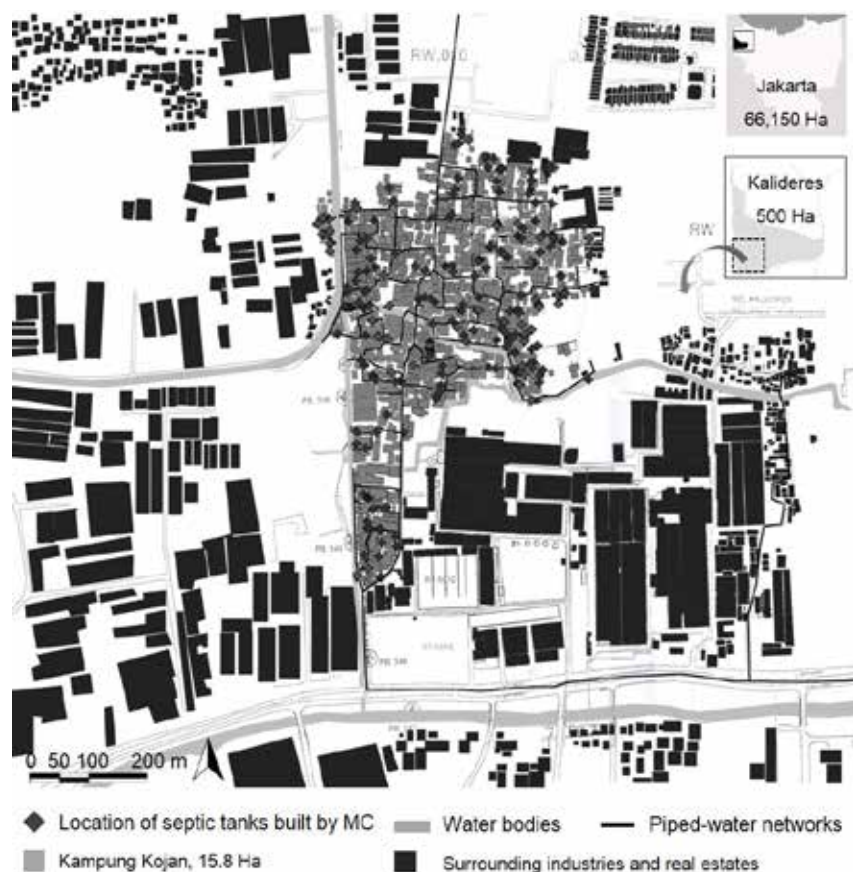
Localised solutions to water and sanitation needs are the concern of this article and spearhead this article's twofold ambition. First, this article conceptually discusses how a decentralised water management can be applied in an integrated way to address the problems of flooding and

water sanitation at neighbourhood level and to also bring other benefits to communities (such as more vibrant open space). Second, it seeks to understand to what extent the decentralised approach to water management has already been put into practise within the Southeast Asia region, and to provide opportunities to improve neighbourhood and urban environment.

This article is fuelled by the author's fieldwork for her doctoral research in Jakarta (August 2010 to October 2012) as well as by her experiences in a development project in Viet Nam. This article reflects on opportunities and benefits that are (possibly) gained through the respective projects to also understand ways to improve the water sector within the region.

This introduction is followed by two sections adhering to the twofold aim. The article ends by reflecting on the meaning of decentralising the water infrastructure system beyond its technical functions. A decentralised approach to water management, in a sense that it accommodates local socio-spatial characteristics and specific urban settings in meeting basic infrastructural needs, also means providing alternative political room within the spatial planning arena and broader urban governance. This localised planning process offers opportunities for different local actors to actively contribute in channelling aspirations and needs for the improvement of the neighbourhood quality.

This article has been peer reviewed by two independent reviewers. A group of about 30 distinguished experts is engaged in TRIALOG's peer review process.



▲
Figure 1: The kampung Kojan, its surroundings, and the spatial distribution of the beneficiaries of the Program of Urban Sanitation and Hygiene Promotion (PUSH).
Source: The author

Water management: some problematic issues and conceptual promises

There are at least two problematic issues within the existing approach to water management: i) large geographical scales in managing "resources to supply" at one end and "needs to consume" at the other, and the interaction of both ends; and ii) the sub-sectoral divides within the water sector. With large-scale and centralised water systems (piped water, sewerage and drainage) operating within the highly disintegrated development sectors, it is impossible to balance the needs to consume and capabilities to produce at the local level, or to balance the pollutants that are generated and efforts to improve the environment. In facing these issues, experts have offered concepts and two of them are presented below.

Decentralised wastewater management (DWWM) has a principle to handle and treat wastewater "as close as practical to where it is generated and to where its potential beneficial reuse is located" (Suriyachan et al. 2012). In other words, it allows a complete cycle of wastewater treatment processes at the local level in which all volumes of influent are treated into a safe and/or useful product. The approach is adopted, as it is realised that to serve the entire city with an off-site system is not efficient, because wastewater has to be transported and pumped over a long distance to a treatment plant even as clean water reclaimed from the treatment process has to be redistributed to users (Libralato et al. 2012). Moreover, the large-scale sewerage model also requires a lot of water to flush (Medilanski et al. 2007). The application of alternative technologies for wastewater treatment and sanitation development has also been seen as an entry towards the reform of state-market-centred institutional arrangements. Decentralised wastewater management

with the application of small-scale treatment facilities can open possibilities for actors outside central government – i.e., local governments, local NGOs, and community organisations – to play greater roles (Hardoy & Schusterman 2000).

DWWM promotes an efficient provision system in the sense that practises of other development sectors – e.g., clean water supply, agriculture, water transport, waterfront public space, and flood management – can be taken into account while solving the problems of wastewater management at the neighbourhood level. This echoes some principles that are introduced within the concept of integrated water management (IWM).

The concept of IWM has emerged over the last two decades, following the failure of modern infrastructures to meet today's needs and anticipate future complexities (Novotny & Brown 2007). Increasing problems in the water sector threatening human settlements have encouraged water managers to incorporate multidimensional approaches (Voogd 2006). IWM is seen as an alternative to conventional water management – which overlooks local living traditions and social capital when formulating the needs and provisions of water-related infrastructure – and supports the sustainable green city movement by promoting an infrastructure that preserves or mimics nature (Novotny 2009). As a basic principle, IWM promotes the implementation of a closed hydrological loop at the local level to minimise long-distance water and wastewater conveyance.

Combining the above concepts, the *decentralised-but-integrated* approach to water management emphasises the necessity to accept water on land, instead of blocking it out. As a consequence, local governments must allot more land for flood retention and other water projects, which means integrating water management within spatial planning (see Priemus 2004).

Practitioners in water management and urban design have addressed this challenge by proposing multi-purpose wastewater infrastructures to marry several land-use functions within a single terrain (see Shannon & Legrand 2007, Stokman 2008, Suriyachan et al. 2012). Besides, as high-tech solutions alone cannot meet the complexities of the urban water sector, waterworks should be designed as ecological "soft" infrastructures instead of as highly engineered "hard" infrastructures (Hooimeijer 2009, Novotny 2009, Voogd 2006). Creating multifunctional space for the social, hydrological and ecological needs may forge the neighbourhood social relations that are needed to drive long-term collective actions.

The following section explores two case studies from Southeast Asia. The case studies look at whether: i) there are significant efforts for "scaling down" the development interventions to meet specific needs of local communities; ii) there is room for integrating different water infrastructure needs at the neighbourhood level – with a contextual definition of "neighbourhood".

Many local governments in Southeast Asian countries are not ready to explore the concept of integrated water management in a fast-changing urban environment, notably because of the inefficient bureaucracy and a lack

of long-term holistic visions (social, ecological, economic, and cultural) for spatial development. Existing planning processes focus on land-use zoning and engineering master plans that rely on exclusive decision-making processes and the role of physical infrastructures for responding to socio-ecological problems. Unfortunately, in many cases communities are not able to initiate changes and/or push the government to include them in the planning process, nor are they ready to play a greater role in the development processes because they are trapped in short-term survival strategies (see Hickey & Mohan 2005) while facing structural and cultural barriers (Van den Broeck et al. 2004). In this kind of situation, the case studies presented here become valuable in shaping our imaginations towards new institutional mechanisms to implement better approaches to water and environmental management, as offered by the two promising concepts of DWWM and IWM.

Views from the field

West Jakarta, Indonesia

The Special Capital Region of Jakarta is populated by 10 million registered inhabitants. It is part of a larger urban agglomeration called the Jakarta Metropolitan Area, in which approximately 27 million people live. It has a "centralised" sewerage system that covers less than 5% of its area and serves only around 2% of its population (Yachiko Engineering 2012). Outside the sewer network, there are some state-provided on-site systems, but mainly in public markets and governmental offices.

The latest wastewater master plan of Jakarta (hereafter the 2012 Master Plan) observes that Jakarta cannot be served with a single centralised system, as was conceptualised in earlier planning documents. Fifteen zones of sewerage networks with individual treatment plants have



Figures 2a & b: Typical features of the kampung Kojan: rental rooms, low-rise buildings, narrow alleys, lack of open space, and incrementally-built drainage.

Source: The author, 2011

been proposed, and these zones are to be implemented in three stages of development up to 2050. It is estimated that, in total, the off-site systems will cover 80% of the Jakarta area, while it is assumed that on-site systems will cover the remaining 20%, which consists of slums and informal settlements (Yachiko Engineering 2012).

Proposing 80% coverage through off-site systems is rather ambitious, considering 65% of the city surface is residential and has been developed in irregular patterns due to the informal mode of housing provision and incremental private development practises. Within each planned



zone, there are enclaves of slums, and strategies to incorporate these enclaves have not been made.

Up to 2006, there were 1.6 million septic tanks in Jakarta. Most of them were leaking, hence they kept "functioning" without emptying the sludge regularly. It was reported that less than one-third of the sludge volume tapped by the domestic tanks reached the two existing sludge treatment plants (STPs) (Miller 2006). This situation has not improved to date, as could be learnt by comparing the designed capacity and the actual utilisation of the two STPs. The provincial government operates 121 sludge hauler trucks and regulates 67 others licensed by private operators. However, these trucks often discharge the sludge not in the dedicated STPs, but illegally in rivers and canals.

A septic tank is actually a pre-treatment technology that requires further collection and transport for final sludge treatment, whether at neighbourhood or municipality levels. Although the quality of collection and treatment are not always guaranteed, the use of septic tanks constitutes the sanitation realm of Jakarta and any improvement strategy should depart from this reality. Improving on-site sanitation systems has been seen as the fastest and easiest method of decentralised wastewater management in order to improve neighbourhood-wide environmental conditions (see Libralato et al. 2012, Massoud et al. 2009). This is the spirit of the following project.

Mercy Corps, a humanitarian aid agency based in the US, worked in the *kampung* Kojan¹ in the Kalideres sub-district², a 15-hectare *kampung* with around 6,000 people. From May 2009 to December 2010, through its Program of Urban Sanitation and Hygiene Promotion (PUSH), Mercy Corps delivered 219 technologically innovative septic tanks for treating black water (see Figure 1). The main aim was to test and promote an alternative technology of low-cost, modular, watertight septic tanks that meet the government's quality standard. The programme included 35 shared latrine and septic tank units that were built for

tenants; many landlords in the *kampung* have built rental rooms to meet the high demand for cheap housing from the workers of the surrounding industrial activities (see Figure 2a and b).

The experience in Kojan shows that communal septic tanks are better than individual ones, because the former are more economical and practical for upgrading. Shared septic tanks also mean opportunities to increase the quality of shared open space among houses (see Figure 3).

Mercy Corps also initiated a community enterprise to collect sludge from septic tanks using small vehicles equipped with low-capacity pumping systems. This follow-up project added an important element to the social infrastructure for a neighbourhood wastewater management system. However, the sludge hauling business unit in Kojan still lacks key facilities, e.g., temporary storage for sludge before it is fetched by truck haulers and transported to one of the city treatment plants. Providing a temporary storage could serve as a point of departure for an improvement before any end-treatment facility could be built at the local level.

There are many ways to link septic tanks, as a primary treatment device, to secondary and final treatment facilities with different technological options, from membranes to aerated lagoons (Shannon & Legrand 2007, Tilley et al. 2008). State-led local wastewater treatment systems in Bangkok, Thailand, demonstrate that residential areas with similar population densities like those in Kojan can be serviced in an economically and technically efficient manner by decentralised wastewater treatment plants, requiring less than 5% of the service area for their operation (Suriyachan et al. 2012). Aerated lagoons or wetlands for wastewater treatment can be built as temporary infrastructures, making use of nearby vacant land from pending industrial developments. Such a spatial development approach would also maintain the characteristics of the neighbourhood landscape in Kojan, being vibrant with some water bodies in a lowland area (see Figure 4a and b).



Figure 3: Three two-compartment septic tanks delivered by Mercy Corps in Kojan. Combining them into a single shared septic tank would bring an opportunity to improve the communal space. Source: The author, 2011



◀
Figures 4a & b: Waterfront houses in the kampung Kojan. Source: The author, 2011

Soc Trang, Viet Nam

Coastal urban areas in Viet Nam are highly exposed to events related to global warming, such as extreme climate variability and natural hazards. It is estimated that in the coming years rainfall will significantly increase, while the wet season will become more irregular and the sea level will rise. Impacts from flooding, consequently, will become more severe. Rapid urbanisation also will add pressures on the existing infrastructure systems. The government has been addressing these development challenges, especially in the field of disaster risk management. However, a holistic approach is lacking: planning is being done in silos and different government agencies lack coordination.

Addressing this context, the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit* (GIZ) has implemented *Flood-proofing and Drainage for Medium-sized Coastal Cities in Vietnam for Adaptation to Climate Change* in Viet Nam since 2012. Five provincial cities are involved (Nha Trang, Tuy Hoa, Quy Nhon, Quang Ngai, and Soc Trang). The key programme area aimed at the improvement of public institution capacities in guiding development processes and helping the society to adapt to the more frequent and severe urban flooding. Storm-water infrastructure planning processes (hereafter the master planning project) have been one significant component.

The project aimed not only to bring a new approach to drainage master planning by considering the hydrological impacts of climate change, but also engaged to link the engineering planning to an improved local early-warning system, which includes raised awareness and increased participation of households. One output was an urban drainage master plan that addresses increased rainfall intensity while also considering more active roles for the different stakeholders.

The planning assumptions were made with the horizon year 2050. With a computer-based modelling, the volume

of storm water that could not be channelled by the capacity of the existing drainage system was estimated. The project sought to improve the conventional system ("the basic system") consisting of underground pipes, reservoirs, and pumping stations. While the capacity of the existing basic system would be increased, the project also introduced an additional above-ground system with soft infrastructures for storing the rainfall on-site, treating and discharging it or delaying its entry into the basic system. In this way, the runoff coefficient of each sub-catchment area can be reduced, so that the volume of water draining into the basic system does not exceed its design capacity

Allocating overland space for water was planned to be done using many different forms and sizes of green and blue urban elements – for example parks, permeable pavements, (detention and retention) ponds, bio-swales, and other technological and ecological solutions. Working on such overland systems required integrating the roles of spatial planners and water engineers, further institutionalising this approach within the policy-making processes. The concept of "sub-catchment areas" used by water engineers needed to be translated into the existing land-use regulations and adjusted to the existing built environments. There were different design options for grouping settlement clusters into an above-ground drainage system due to the technical flexibility of green water infrastructures. Overland systems were planned to be aligned to the basic system and existing land contours to avoid too much landscape engineering. To begin with, existing green spaces and public facilities were supposed to be re-engineered from simple beautification to become green infrastructures.

As the GIZ project has re-scaled issues of climate change into urban matters at the local level, it has also raised the awareness of different government entities (including ministries) about the complexities of the issues, which cannot be tackled by standardised planning processes with uniform spatial and infrastructural development tools. Soc Trang seems to benefit from this approach.

► ►
Figures 5a & b: Soc Trang:
 the city centre with a land-
 scape of asphalt and the ur-
 ban edge with informal living
 alongside the water. Source:
 The author, 2015

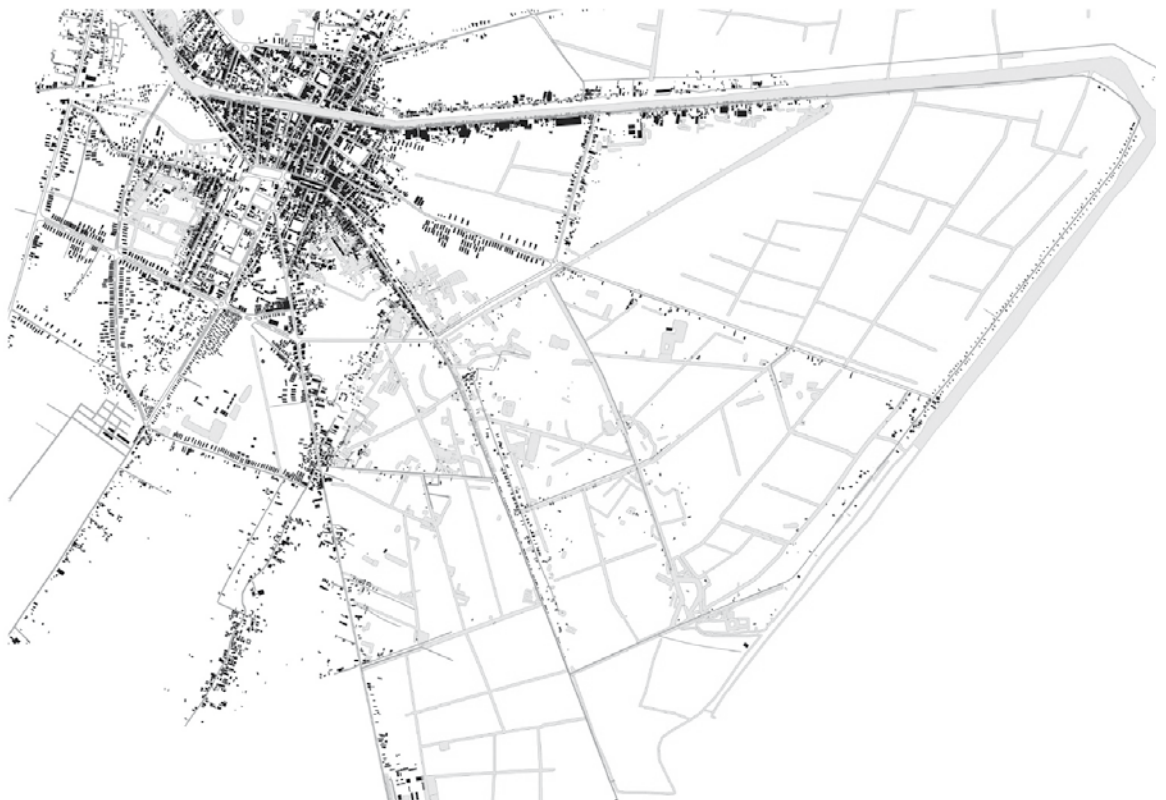


Situated in the Mekong Delta, Soc Trang, with its 180,000 residents, has socio-ecological landscapes that differ from cities in central and northern Viet Nam (see Figure 5A and B). The lowland is characterised by a high water table, and the communities historically have a stronger tradition in living with water. There are different ethnic minorities in Soc Trang. Many of their members live in poverty and cannot incorporate their preferences and traditions within the modern urban development processes.

Figure 6 shows an interpretative map of existing water bodies in and around the city centre. It seems that their spatial patterns were inherited from agricultural activities. The new city master plan, however, ignores the existing waterways. Although it also introduces new small lakes in the newly planned areas, it is not a good practise to fill and close the existing water bodies in a lowland zone,

and further flatten the areas for giving ways to real-estate development (see also Figure 7A and B). While the social patterns around the existing water bodies would be disrupted, the new water bodies would likely be enjoyed merely by middle-class households.

As one step to address discrepancies in access to urban development processes, an actor-based approach was introduced in the master planning project to define the main actors – i.e., relevant government institutions, private developers, individual property owners, households, and ward community groups — which can manage run-off within their built environments or areas under their authority. These actors are the providers of overland measures, and the facilities they provide can be used for either private, communal (semi-private), and/or public purposes. Different technologies can be suggested in accordance to



►
Figure 6: The existing urban
 agglomeration and water
 bodies in Soc Trang. Source:
 redrawn by the author, 2015
 for GIZ Vietnam

the local characteristics of land-use functions and land-tenure systems. Such an approach is expected to bring a bottom-up spatial development guideline for an overall system (both basic and overland systems) of storm-water management. This is aimed to become a skeleton to institutionalise green water infrastructures within current spatial planning practises. Fundamentally, the future development of water-sensitive settlements can be guided based on the resilient capacity of each development actor.

Conclusion

One strategic sub-sector to start, but one alone is not enough

On the basis of the case studies, it could be argued that there is no single formula for how to implement the decentralised-but-integrated approach to water management. Depending on a common interest of different stakeholders, the approach could begin from an intervention in one water sub-sector. However, a development programme should not remain within a particular sub-sector, but should tackle the multidimensionality of water-related needs and different aspects of environmental management.

The discussion on Jakarta emanates from the wastewater sub-sector. It is often difficult to convince policy makers and community leaders of the importance of decentralised wastewater management and its integration within the formal management system to also ensure a viable urban environment. One possible reason is that wastewater remains an unprofitable sub-sector compared to clean-water supply and thus attracts less attention. Indeed, narrating the integration of different elements within the water sector (water supply, wastewater treatment, and storm-water management) is necessary in gaining stakeholders' attention to the most marginalised water sub-sector, which is wastewater management. It is increasingly difficult to ignore the relationship between wastewater management and clean-water provision at the local level. All community members require clean water, but as in the kampung Kojan, availability is often a problem due to low water pressure in the piped networks and saline intrusion into the aquifers.

Integrating the needs for water supply and wastewater treatment has been recognised as a strategic development approach, for example in Decentralised Wastewater Treatment Solutions projects (DEWATS) by the Bremen Overseas Research and Development Association (BORDA, 2014) or Community-Led Urban Environmental Sanitation (CLUES) by the Swiss Federal Institute of Aquatic Science and Technology (Eawag) (Lüthi et al. 2011). While their combined community-based and technological approaches offer varying technical solutions to community needs for sanitation and water supply, integrating such development approaches within spatial planning would improve the overall urban waterscape.

The discussion on Soc Trang stems from the drainage sub-sector. When overland space for water is proposed, it is safe and clean water that is expected to flow among the settlements instead of faecal and polluted water. While in most Vietnamese cities the concept of centralised



sewerage is still prominent, the hot topic of storm-water management and climate-change impacts would be a strategic departure to provide the most urgent health infrastructures such as sanitation facilities and wastewater infrastructures that would improve the quality of livelihoods and day-to-day urban life. In other words, this is an opportunity to gain more attention to the most forgotten sector in development: sanitation.

Scalar and sector integrations begin at the neighbourhood level

Basically, communities need more than quality water and sanitation facilities. Other needs include reliable livelihoods, cultural and leisure facilities, and public space for socialising and building a community life. The case studies might provoke us to think that water management has a significant synergetic potential and that different entry points of development interventions in the water sector could lead to integrated neighbourhood development.

Indeed, there is also an issue of scale. One could ask on the meaning of a neighbourhood intervention for the city as a whole. A decentralised water-management system potentially brings both inter-sector and inter-scalar synergies, benefitting both local communities and the wider city. For sure, neighbourhood development cannot

▲
Figures 7a & b: Some new housing compounds at the city's peripheries. Source: the author, 2015

function alone. It has to be pursued within a clear vision and strategy of the wider urban development process.

Jakarta and other metropolitan cities in Southeast Asia will need to find a way to complement their centralised planning system with a more localised approach, maintaining centrally-coordinated planning processes in which provincial authorities keep an overview of the system while enabling and supporting different decentralised options. In this kind of framework, government agencies are expected to set aims and goals not only for the technical engineering parameters, but also for interactive development scenarios relying on the resilient capacity of different development actors. In

addition to technical infrastructural issues that must be managed, social development issues such as community participation and the existing characteristics of state bureaucracy also need to be carefully attuned into the development strategies. A process of institutional strengthening is a prerequisite in order to engage and link relevant levels and sectors of government, and a wide variety of stakeholders (including private property owners, households, and vulnerable groups amongst them). As there are different socio-ecological uncertainties related to climate behaviour, planners and policy makers need to work with flexible approaches, yet be ready to keep reviewing and adapting their strategies.

References

- Aguilar, M. D., & De Fuentes, A. G. (2007). Barriers to Achieving the Water and Sanitation-related Millennium Development Goals in Cancun, Mexico, at the Beginning of the Twenty-first Century. *Environment and Urbanization*, 19(1), pp. 243-260.
- Allen, A., Davila, J., & Hofmann, P. (2006). The peri-urban water poor: citizens or consumers? *Environment and Urbanization*, 18(2), pp. 333-351.
- Bakker, K. (2003). Archipelagos and Networks: Urbanization and Water Privatization in the South. *The Geographical Journal*, 169(4), pp. 328-341.
- BORDA. (2014). Decentralised Wastewater Treatment Solutions – DEWATS. Bremen: BORDA e.V. Bremen Overseas Research & Development Association.
- Dagdeviren, H. (2008). Waiting for Miracles: The Commercialization of Urban Water Services in Zambia. *Development and Change*, 39(1), pp. 101-121.
- Gerlach, E., & Franceys, R. (2010). Regulating Water Services for All in Developing Economies. *World Development*, 38(9), pp. 1229-1240.
- Hardoy, A., Hardoy, J., Pandiella, G., & Urquiza, G. (2005). Governance for water and sanitation services in low-income settlements: experiences with partnership-based management in Moreno, Buenos Aires. *Environment and Urbanization*, 17(1), pp. 183-199.
- Hardoy, A., & Schusterman, R. (2000). New models for the privatization of water and sanitation for the urban poor. *Environment and Urbanization*, 12(2), pp. 63-75.
- Hickey, S., & Mohan, G. (2005). Relocating Participation within a Radical Politics of Development. *Development and Change*, 36(2), pp. 237-262.
- Hooimeijer, F. L. (2009). Exploring the relationship between water management technology and urban design in the Dutch polder cities. In J. Feyen, K. Shannon, & M. Neville (eds.), *Water and Urban Development Paradigms: Toward an Integration of Engineering, Design, and Management Approaches* (pp. 137-142). London: Taylor and Francis Group.
- Libralato, G., Ghirardini, A. V., & Avezzi, F. (2012). To centralise or to decentralise: An overview of the most recent trends in wastewater treatment management. *Journal of Environmental Management*, 94, pp. 61-68.
- Lüthi, C., Morel, A., Tilley, E., & Ulrich, L. (2011). Community-Led Urban Environmental Sanitation Planning: CLUES Complete Guidelines for Decision-Makers with 30 Tools. Zürich: Eawag-Sandec, WSSCC, UN-Habitat.
- Massoud, M. A., Tarhini, A., & Nasr, J. A. (2009). Decentralized approaches to wastewater treatment and management: applicability in developing countries. *Journal of Environmental Management*, 90, pp. 652-659.
- Medilanski, E., Chuan, L., Mosler, H.-J., Schertenleib, R., & Larsen, T. A. (2007). Identifying the Institutional Decision Process to Introduce Decentralized Sanitation in the City of Kunming (China). *Environmental Management*, 39, pp. 648-662.
- Miller, J. M. (2006). Support to DKI Jakarta for Wastewater Management. Unpublished Draft Final Report. Jakarta: The Worldbank – WSP EAP.
- Novotny, V. (2009). Sustainable Urban Water Management. In: V. Novotny, J. Feyen, K. Shannon, & M. Neville (Eds.), *Water and Urban Development Paradigms* (pp. 19-31). London: Taylor and Francis Group.
- Novotny, V., & Brown, P. (2007). *Cities of the Future: Towards Integrated Sustainable Water and Landscape Management*. London: IWA Publishing.
- Parkinson, J., & Tayler, K. (2003). Decentralized wastewater management in peri-urban areas in low-income countries. *Environment and Urbanization*, 15(1), pp. 75-89.
- Priemus, H. (2004). Spatial Memorandum 2004: A Turning Point in the Netherlands' Spatial Development Policy. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 95(5), pp. 578-583.
- Putri, P. (2014). Black Water – Grey Settlements. Domestic Wastewater Management and the Socio-ecological Dynamics of Jakarta's Kampung. Doctoral thesis, Faculty of Engineering Science, Department of Architecture. Leuven: KU Leuven, Science Engineering and Technology.
- Shannon, K., & Legrand, B. (2007). Aerated lagoon park in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam. *Topos. International Review of Landscape Architecture and Urban Design* (59), pp. 31-37.
- Stokman, A. (2008). Water Purificative Landscapes. Constructed Ecologies and Contemporary Urbanism. In: W. Kuitert (Ed.), *Transforming with Water. Proceedings of the 45th World Congress of the International Federation of Landscape Architects IFLA 2008*, Blauwdruk (pp. 51-61). Wageningen: Techne Press.
- Suriyachan, C., Nitivattananon, V., & Amin, A. N. (2012). Potential of decentralized wastewater management for urban development: Case of Bangkok. *Habitat International*, 36, pp. 85-92.
- Tilley, E., Lüthi, C., Morel, A., Zurbrugg, C., & Schertenleib, R. (2008). Compendium of Sanitation Systems and Technologies. Dübendorf, Switzerland: Swiss Federal Institute of Aquatic Science and Technology (Eawag).
- Van den Broeck, J., Verschure, H., & Esho, L. (2004). Urban Development by Co-production. In: A. Loeckx, K. Shannon, R. Tuts, & H. Verschure (eds.), *Urban Dialogues: Visions, Projects, Co-Productions. Localising Agenda 21*. Nairobi: UN Habitat.
- Voogd, H. (2006). Combating flooding by planning: some Dutch experiences. *disP – the Planning Review*, 164(1), pp. 50-58.
- Yachiko Engineering. (2012). The Project for Capacity Development of Wastewater Sector through Reviewing the Wastewater Management Master Plan in DKI Jakarta in the Republic of Indonesia Draft Final Report, Summary. Jakarta: JICA, Ministry of Public Work, DKI Jakarta, PD PAL Jaya.



Prathiwi Widyatmi Putri

PhD (engineering science, KU Leuven with funding from the Vlaamse Interuniversitaire Raad/ University Development Cooperation). Ms. Putri has worked as researcher and consultant in Indonesia and Viet Nam. Her scholarly works seek to understand the territorial dynamics involving diversity of agencies and institutional layering within the intermingling economic-production and social-reproduction spheres. She is a Post Doc researcher at the Rule and Rupture programme led by Prof. Christian Lund at Department of Food and Resource Economics, the University of Copenhagen. Contact: <pwp@ifro.ku.dk>

Participatory Resettlements in Surakarta, Indonesia

Changing Livelihoods for the Better or the Worse?

Christian Obermayr and Simone Sandholz¹

Informal settlements are a key challenge for the growing cities of Southeast Asia. In an effort to find efficient instruments of formalisation, local governments frequently implement resettlement policies. This was also the case in the Indonesian city Surakarta (Solo), where a programme targeting to resettle 1,571 families was realised. Due to its participatory approach, this programme has gained international attention and is considered as a role model (Taylor 2015, Bunnell et al. 2013). In this paper, we analyse the effects of this policy on the livelihoods of the affected residents by developing and applying an ex-post evaluation approach based on the sustainable livelihood framework. The approach was implemented by triangulating qualitative (interviews) and quantitative (mappings and a household survey) methods during field stays in 2011 and 2014, allowing for a systematic interpretation. The results show predominantly positive impacts for the affected households, namely improvements in housing quality, access to public services, and land tenure. Furthermore, the involved residents were largely satisfied with the implementation of the programme and the possibilities to participate.

Umsiedlung mit Teilhabe in Surakarta, Indonesien. Verbesserung oder Verschlechterung der Lebensgrundlagen?

Informelle Siedlungen stellen für Stadtregierungen Südostasiens eine große Herausforderung dar. Auf der Suche nach geeigneten Instrumenten zur Formalisierung werden häufig Umsiedlungsmaßnahmen durchgeführt, so auch in der indonesischen Stadt Surakarta, die ein Programm zur Umsiedlung von 1.571 Familien aufgelegt hat. Das Programm hat internationale Aufmerksamkeit erregt und gilt aufgrund der partizipativen Herangehensweise inzwischen als Vorbild für ähnliche Maßnahmen (Taylor 2015, Bunnell et al. 2013). Um die Effekte dieser Umsiedlungspolitik auf die Lebensgrundlagen der betroffenen Bewohner zu analysieren, entwickelten wir basierend auf dem Sustainable Livelihood Framework einen Ansatz zur Ex-Post-Evaluierung, der es erlaubt, die während der Feldaufenthalte 2011 und 2014 durch qualitative (Interviews) und quantitative Methoden (Kartierungen, Haushaltsbefragungen) gewonnen empirischen Daten systematisch zu interpretieren. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die Umsiedlung größtenteils positive Auswirkungen auf die Lebensgrundlagen der betroffenen Haushalte hatte, vor allem hinsichtlich der Wohnraumqualität und des Zugangs zu städtischen Dienstleistungen und Besitztümern. Die Einwohner zeigten sich darüber hinaus weitgehend zufrieden mit der Umsetzung des Programms und den Möglichkeiten der Teilhabe.

Due to a lack of affordable accommodation in the course of often rapid urbanisation, informal housing remains the only option for many urban poor in the Global South. People in need of shelter occupy vacant urban spaces, while most municipalities lack the capacities to prevent or mitigate these developments. As a result, informal settlements are sprawling, built on land not suitable for residential purposes and often prone to natural or man-made hazards. Considered as illegal squatters, the residents of these dwellings lack legal land tenure, are often not acknowledged by the authorities and thus not eligible for public services, and face the constant threat of eviction (UN-Habitat 2003).

To cope with these challenges, two main strategies are commonly used: improving living conditions and legalising such communities in situ, or relocation to other, often remote, places. Although international discourses favour on-site solutions, local governments still promote resettlement policies for various reasons (UN-Habitat 2014, Plessis 2005). Regularly, it is stated that the measures are necessary for retaining common goods, or as means of city beautification, urban renewal or disaster prevention. The arguments raised are that informal settlements harm the environment, disturb the flow of rivers and thus increase flood risk, cause unhealthy conditions for the neighbouring formal districts, and are an eyesore in the appearance of modern cities. Whatever the reason, the view prevails that squatter settlements must be eradicated, and the

proper means to do so is (forced) resettlement. In recent times, however, these views are increasingly challenged from a rights-based perspective, highlighting that resettlements without the consent of the residents are nothing else than forced evictions and constitute a gross violation of human rights (United Nations Commission on Human Rights 1993). Therefore, resettlements should be done only under most exceptional circumstances, requiring a full justification:

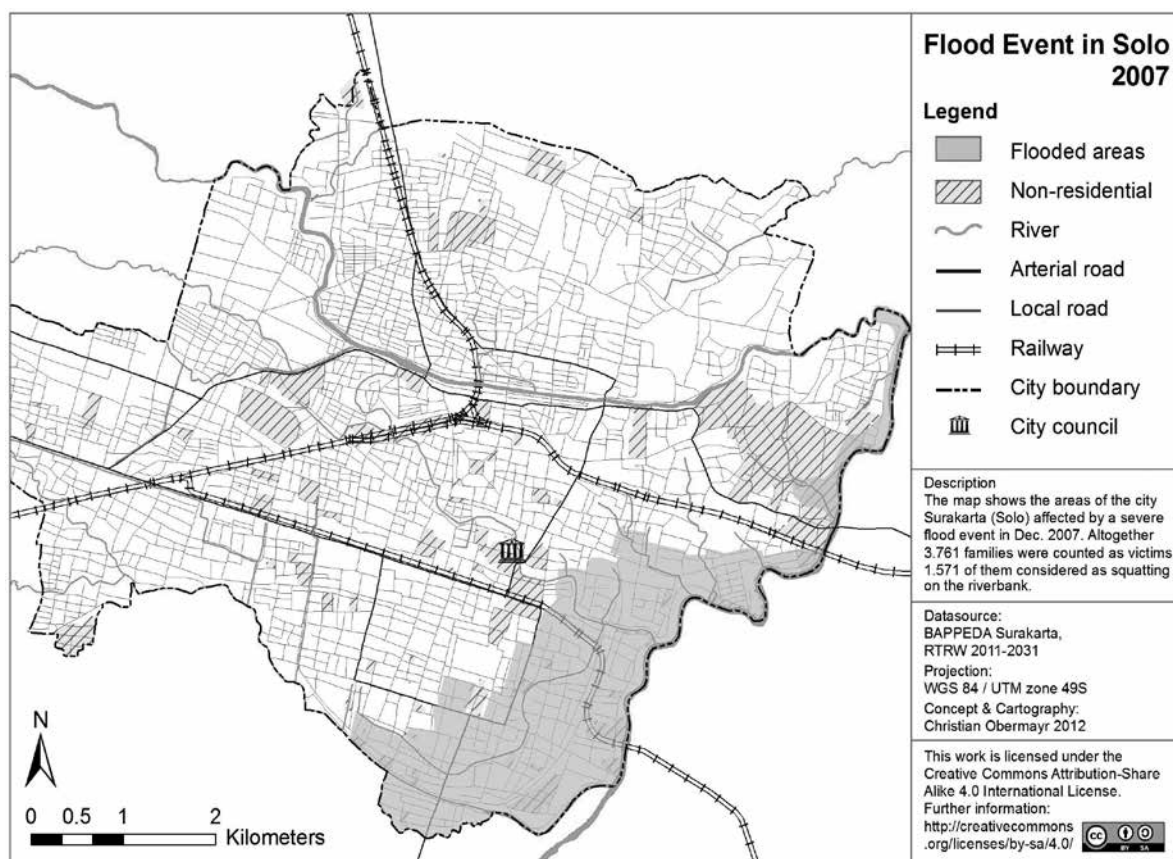
"Any eviction must be (a) authorized by law; (b) carried out in accordance with international human rights law; (c) undertaken solely for the purpose of promoting the general welfare; (d) reasonable and proportional; (e) regulated so as to ensure full and fair compensation and rehabilitation." (Kothari 2007)

In reality, resettlements are performed for a range of different goals. The most common one is the commodification of land. Private and governmental actors, for their mutual profit, often work in collusion to seize the high-value land occupied by low-income groups, as for instance reported in many case studies from India (Chaudhry 2014, Follmann and Trumpp 2013). The same goal can be assumed for the evictions during recent mega-events, such as the 2010/2014 FIFA World Cups in South Africa and Brazil or the Olympic Games in Russia 2014 (United Nations Human Rights Council 2015, Steinbrink et al. 2011).

This article has been peer reviewed by two independent reviewers. A group of about 30 distinguished experts is engaged in TRIALOG's peer review process.

¹ All photos and diagrams: the authors

Figure 1: Flood event in Solo 2007, illustrating the areas flooded.



However, despite the bad reputation of resettlement, the negative reputation may disguise the fact that there are cases in which local communities are living in conditions and locations where on-site solutions are not feasible, or where risks from natural hazards are too high. In such cases, the careful selection of a suitable relocation site is mandatory to ensure that disadvantages from the resettlement can be mitigated. Participatory processes are equally important to leverage the expectations of the affected communities into the process (Arnall et al. 2013, Bavinck et al. 2015).

Suitable frameworks to evaluate the outcomes of such a resettlement are necessarily complex (monitoring, process evaluation, cost-benefit evaluation, and impact evaluation), and need to be adjusted to the respective case study (Baker 2000). Scholarly concepts for impact evaluations, considering the short, middle and long-term consequences of resettlement on local livelihoods, are either missing, incomplete, or rudimentary. In this paper, we elaborate on the need and also propose such an analytical evaluation framework, and show its potential by evaluating the relocation policy of the Indonesian city Surakarta.

Background

In Indonesia, resettlement policies are widely performed by local governments as an instrument to formalise and take back control over informal settlements. Located predominantly on government-owned and undeveloped land along rivers and railroad tracks or in parks, informal settlements are a widespread phenomenon in all larger Indonesian cities. According to Indonesian law, forced evictions are generally allowed in the case of "illegal squatters" (defined as those without legal land title).

Compensations or alternatives do not have to be considered for this group of residents (Rolnik 2013). Therefore, it is not surprising that within only ten years, between 1995 and 2005, the immense number of around 650,000 persons were reported as victims of forced evictions in the country (UN-Habitat 2007).

In contrast to the nationwide practise of evictions, the city government of Surakarta – a city in central Java with approx. 500,000 inhabitants – has tried to establish a more participatory resettlement approach (Phelps et al. 2014, Taylor 2015, Obermayr 2013). The city, which is referred to as "Solo" by its citizens, was faced with the problem of squatter settlements along the banks of the *Bengawan Solo River*. The area is restricted for residential development, according to the urban master plan, as the area is flooded several times during the rainy season (Zein 2010). Among the annually recurrent flood cycles, a most-severe flood event happened in December 2007 (see Figure 1), affecting 6,368 urban households, 1,571 of them considered as squatters. The government of Solo seized this opportunity to resettle the informal dwellers from the restricted area to areas designated for residential development in the northern part of the city. According to the major regulation 2A/2012, the purpose of the initiated resettlement programme was firstly to reduce the risk of being affected by natural hazards for the relocated people, secondly to restore the ecological function of the riverbank by establishing a green belt, and thirdly to improve the living conditions of the resettled people by increasing their access to adequate residential land, shelter, and security of tenure. To achieve these goals, the city government, jointly funded by the municipal and national government, granted IDR 20,500,000 million (1 US\$ = IDR 13,500,000) for land purchase and house

construction to each of the flood-affected households squatting the riverbank.

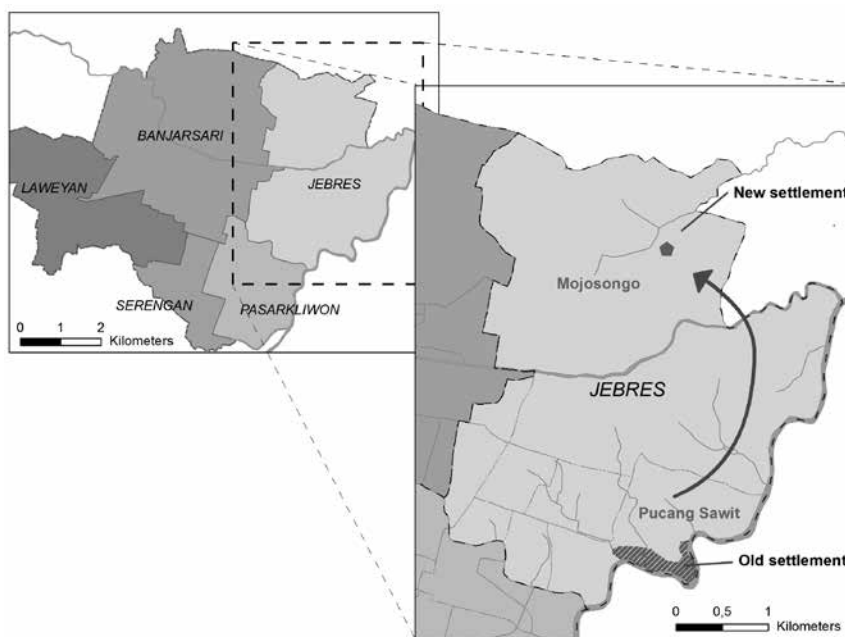
Using a people-centred approach, the resettlement programme was initiated in 2007, one year after the extreme flood event occurred (Taylor 2013). In a first step, community meetings were held to inform and discuss the relocation plan. By promising sufficient compensation, legal land certificates, and a general acknowledgement as citizens, government officials succeeded in convincing most of the riverbank dwellers (those without legal tenure) to give their consent. Only those dwellers with legal land tenure – roughly one third of all residents on the riverbank – refused to be relocated, demanding higher compensations (Taylor 2013). Community-based steering groups – so-called *Kelompok Kerjas (Pokja)*, or “working groups” – were elected to guide the planning process, organise the community, and mediate between the community and the government agencies as well as to allocate financial compensations (Astuti and Prasetyo 2014). These working groups were key to the success of the resettlement measure, as they succeeded in creating ownership among the community by allowing them to influence and manage the relocation in a substantial manner (Obermayr and Astuti 2016, Obermayr 2017).

Most of the former densely populated areas near the river had already been cleared by the latest field-work period in September 2014. Roughly three quarters of the envisaged 1,571 families had been relocated, according to expert interviews (see chapter on methodology).

Approach and research questions

The aim of this research is to evaluate the resettlement policy in Solo in a holistic way, going beyond the consideration of only physical changes. For this task we use and adapt the “sustainable livelihood framework”, which is a widely acknowledged multi-dimensional concept for poverty reduction. Operationalised in the late 1990s by a number of development agencies, such as CARE, UNDP and DFID (Department for International Development, UK), the concept allows to analyse the sustainability of livelihoods – defined as the capability of a livelihood to cope and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation (Chambers and Conway 1992).

A livelihood comprises five distinct tangible and intangible capitals, which are interrelated: physical, social, human, natural, and financial. We adopted this framework to reveal how the livelihoods of those households affected by the city’s relocation policy have changed after the process, including the comparison of impacts on different actor groups. Going beyond an assessment of tangible policy outcomes such as, e.g., improved housing or infrastructure conditions and focusing livelihood assets, this approach allows evaluating the relocation measure in a more comprehensive way also considering intangible assets such as, e.g., improved socio-economic conditions. In addition, it becomes possible to reveal the interconnectedness of different assets which are crucial for a long-term and sustainable improvement of livelihoods. The concept also allows for a comparative approach considering the policy impact on different actor groups. In this



research, the livelihoods of the relocated families as well as the livelihoods of the families left in the vicinity of the original site were assessed to draw conclusions on the changes that occurred in the course of the relocation.

Methodology

The empirical research took place during two field trips in the years 2011 and 2014. The data collection was conducted by means of semi-structured interviews, a household survey, GPS-based mappings, and photographic documentation of a relocated community and their former settlement site. In total, 24 expert interviews were conducted during the two field-research phases, nine of them with officials of the city governments, three with representatives of the community-based working groups organising the relocation process, three with academic housing experts (from the local Universitas Sebelas Maret), two with staff of non-governmental organisations, and seven with local community leaders – RTs (RT: *Rukun Tetangga*) – from the sub-districts *Pucangsawit* and *Mojosongo*.

▲
Figure 2: Location of the former site and the relocation area.

▼
Figure 3: The new settlement for 112 resettled families.





▲
Figure 4: The houses cover 40m² and are very basic (photo taken in 2011).

Two specific areas affected by Solo's resettlement policy were chosen for detailed analyses: first, the riverbank area of the sub-district *Pucang Sawit*, where many informal dwellers had lived prior to resettlement, and second, a newly established settlement in the sub-district *Mojosongo*, which is now home for approx. 112 of the families relocated from the former area (see Figure 2). At the riverbank, a GPS-based mapping was carried out examining the current formal and informal use of this area, defined as "green belt" in the city's master plan. In the new settlement, a semi-standardised household survey (n=42) was performed in 2014 to analyse the policy impact on the residents' livelihoods in the long run.

Results on the relocation impacts

In the selected areas, the resettlement had various consequences for the relocated community as well as for the citizens remaining in the vicinity of the former settlement area. The analysis on the basis of the livelihood

▼
Figure 5: Improved and enlarged houses (photo taken in 2014).



framework assets shows and compares the changes for both the new settlement area and the riverbank area (Höferl and Sandholz 2017, Obermayr 2017).

The new settlement area in Mojosongo

The new settlement area in the sub-district Mojosongo is now home for 112 relocated households (see Figure 3). Plots of land covering 50m² were dedicated for each household, and a private contractor established basic houses with approx. 40m² each. In its basic configuration, each house consisted only of one room without separations; the walls were made of brick, the roof of corrugated sheet, and the floor left in pure soil (see Figure 4).

The physical capital of the relocated families has significantly improved due to the resettlement process. Housing conditions as well as infrastructure are reported to be superior compared to the previous settlement area. The residents are satisfied with the current housing conditions, but were not when they initially moved in. During the construction phase, which was performed by a private company, it turned out that the IDR 8.5 million per house given by government was only sufficient for the most basic housing units. With not much more than four walls and a roof, the new inhabitants had no choice but to improve or enlarge it by themselves. During the 2014 field visit, nearly all houses had additional improvements (see Figure 5).

The residents positively highlighted the basic infrastructure of their settlement, which had improved since moving there. The city authorities had successively connected the new area to the city's freshwater, sewage, and electricity system. Compared to the old settlement on the riverbank, the physical assets of their new place were all seen as an improvement, except for waste disposal. As there is no formal waste collection system in place, the residents dump their waste in a place at the edge of the new settlement and burn it from time to time. This condition is acknowledged as a problem, but no other solution has come up yet.

Aside from these physical improvements, one of the most important improvements for the human capital of the relocated families was the formal acknowledgement as residents of the city (citizen status). In Indonesia, every legal citizen holds a resident card (KTP – *Kartu Tanda Penduduk*) of his home district to verify his or her belonging. This KTP is important, as it guarantees access to basic social welfare services (healthcare, education). As squatters on the riverbank prior to relocation, many of the dwellers lacked such a resident card as they had migrated to the city from other districts (sometimes decades ago). Now, in the new area, the citizen status brought the eligibility to also join other social welfare programmes of the city, such as trainings for small-scale entrepreneurs.

A rather negative impact on the residents' human capital is the increased distance to the city centre with its work opportunities and education facilities. In terms of work, people still have ties to the districts surrounding their old living area in *Pucang Sawit*. In the 2011 survey, many inhabitants mentioned that they still work in that area. Workers and school children need to commute over a longer distance than before, which is reflected in higher

New settlement Mojosongo

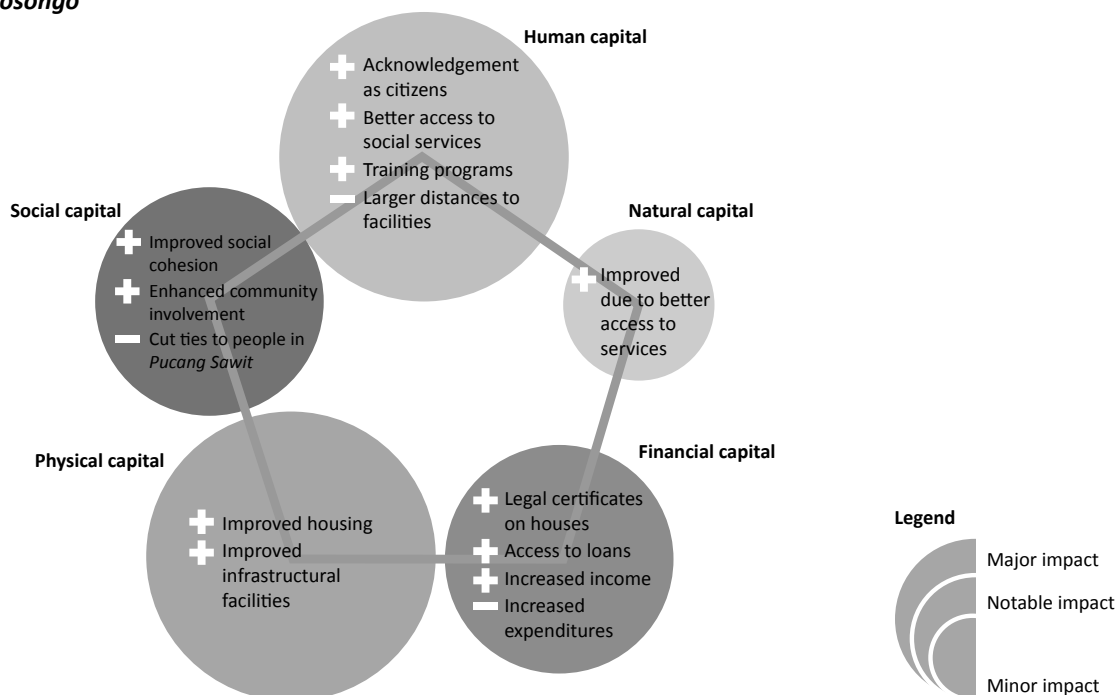


Figure 6: Changes in livelihood capitals in the new settlement area.

transportation costs. However, this problem seems to have levelled over the period analysed, as residents increasingly found new jobs in the vicinity.

Another positive aspect is the increase of social cohesion among the community members. Social ties were not only maintained, but largely improved due to the relocation programme. This surprising outcome must be attributed to the way the relocation was carried out. Several community meetings and discussions accompanied the process, where the leaders of local steering groups were elected. Entrusted with far-reaching competences – including budget allocation – the responsibility to carry out the relocation process was given to these steering groups (*Pokjas*). This approach created the perception among community members to have a say in the process. Unlike in other resettlement schemes, the community was encouraged to move together to the new site in order to keep community ties intact. However, social ties to the neighbouring families in *Pucang Sawit* were cut or diminished, due to increased spatial distances.

Evaluating financial assets proved to be ambivalent. The residents reported increased living costs in the new area due to formalisation and increased transport costs. However, also an increased income was reported due to better jobs and the new possibilities to take up a mortgage loan. Usually, in Indonesia, such loans are beyond the reach of the poor, as they are too cost- and time-intensive. In the case of the resettlement measure investigated, the Solo city government had agreed to facilitate the relocation process by guaranteeing legal land certificates for every household and covering the costs of the certification process. The obtained security of tenure encourages the former squatters to invest in their new homes, since the threat of eviction is now gone. Critics, of course, might argue that this measure is only a means to formalise the poor, to make them "bankable", and induces an accumulation of debts.

In general, it can be concluded that the livelihood assets of the relocated community changed in an overall positive way. Their exposure to riverine floods was removed by the resettlement, and many livelihood assets have improved. Most importantly, the improvement in human, financial, and physical capital can be considered as fundamental for the future development of the relocated families. In total, the community can be regarded as less vulnerable to external stresses.

The riverbank area *Pucang Sawit*

The relocation policy had direct impacts on the livelihoods of the people resettled, but also indirect – intended and unintended – impacts on the livelihoods of

Figure 7: Former squatter area on the riverbank turned into a park (photo taken in 2011).





▲
Figure 8: New early-warning system.

their former neighbours, the people still living near the riverbank (see Figure 10). After the successive relocation of the squatters occupying the riverbank area of the sub-district *Pucang Sawit*, the vacant land was slowly transformed into a green open space, an area of approx. three hectares along the river channel and separated from residential areas by a dam (see Figure 7). Several types of trees (mostly mango, palm, and oil palm) were planted, and paved walking tracks, benches, as well as a playground for children were established by the urban authorities. The aim was to restore the riverbank as a conservation area within an urban green area (urban forest), and to improve flood prevention and mitigation. Construction work was finished in 2011, and since then the area has been given to the public for recreational use.

▼
Figure 9: New tree plantings on the riverbank.



The development of the riverbank area brought positive aspects for the physical and human capital of the neighbouring communities, such as improved flood protection and better disaster mitigation. The

construction work in the area included the fortification and heightening of the dam, the implementation of an early warning system (see Figure 8), and the establishment of a water-pumping system increasing the drainage capabilities of the surrounding districts. Accompanied by disaster mitigation training programmes, the vulnerability of the community against flood events has diminished.

Another positive outcome for the human capital of the people is an increased quality of public services such as improved quality of freshwater provision as well as sewage and garbage disposal. Most of these changes cannot be directly linked to the relocation measure, and the effects of other governmental programmes must be considered. However, indirect effects can be derived and simply explained by the fact that less population density in the area also means fewer loads for public service systems, resulting in better quality of services and in turn better health conditions. Observations on the riverbank confirmed the statement of an "improved waste management" given by the interviewees. It means not the introduction of a formal waste-collection system, but the usage of the new open space for waste-burning activities instead of their own backyard. Although this practice is questionable, generally it improves the environmental condition in close proximity to the residents' homes.

The established green open area with its recreational facilities promises great potential for an enhanced social capital of the neighbouring communities. The area could be used as a venue for events and community meetings. However, except for children and teenagers using the playground and benches for their activities, the potential of the park has not yet been realised. By the relocation policy, the social capital was instead diminished, as the social ties between the former residents of the riverbank and the neighbouring communities have been cut.

Most obvious, the natural capital of the local residents has increased significantly. Due to the transformation of the area into a park with much green open space, the plantation of several types of trees (see Figure 9), the set-up of a mango plantation, and the implemented measures to decrease the waste dumped into the river, nature has begun to recover. Furthermore, the cleared riverbank has also regained its potential as retention reservoir in the case of flooding, and the greening now gives an increased protection against erosion.

Maintenance of the created facilities in the park and the prevention of a renewed occupation by squatters remains a serious issue. Due to the strained city budget, the city government tries to address this issue by encouraging the neighbouring communities to take care of the area voluntarily. This is one of the reasons behind the establishment of a mango plantation on the riverbank and the proposed plans to introduce an herbal garden. The harvested fruits are sold by community members, generating additional income and increasing their financial capital. In the future, it is envisaged to develop the area as a touristic destination by establishing recreational river navigation.

Old settlement
Pucang Sawit

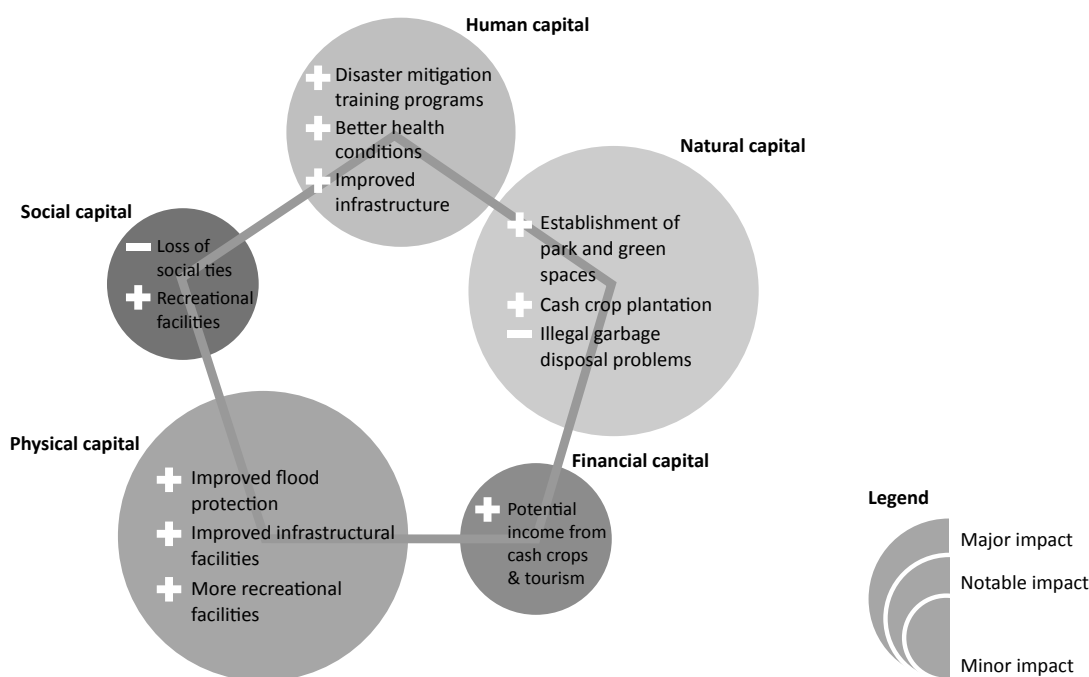


Figure 10: Changes in livelihood capitals for the dwellers remaining in the riverbank area.

Conclusion

The resettlement in Surakarta (Solo) had a range of consequences on the residents' livelihoods in both areas, differing in terms of scale, impact, and nature. Figure 6 and Figure 10 visualise these consequences, illustrating the predominantly positive impacts on livelihood capitals with respect to different thematic focal points. While in the riverbank area the physical and natural capital of communities living nearby has changed most, in the new settlement area it is the physical and human capitals of the relocated community where major changes occurred.

The outcomes go far beyond the initial intention to relocate a community from a flood-prone to a safer area. In particular, the way the resettlement was done contributes to the positive changes in livelihoods of the relocated people – a strong argument for the participatory approach that the authorities pursued. Surakarta (Solo) can be regarded an inspiration for participatory approaches, as the urban authorities succeeded in establishing a framework for community-based implementation of governmental programmes including decision-making processes that make the voice of the affected people heard. The case of Surakarta's resettlement programme shows that resettlements – when designed well and done in a

participatory way – can be a proper instrument to formalise informal settlements and simultaneously improve the residents' livelihoods.

The sustainable livelihood concept can provide a strong means of analysing the different impacts of a resettlement. It reveals the range of impacts on the different groups affected, and allows for a comparison of those who were resettled as well as those who remain, a topic less considered until now. The approach does not replace other evaluation methods and leaves space for subjective interpretation, but can be considered as an important piece of a larger evaluation framework, as it can reveal the complexity of intended and unintended consequences. It is crucial to consider this complexity when designing appropriate policy measures, and for developing adequate evaluation frameworks. In a next step, it would be interesting to use it as a base for forecasting on future potentials to improve livelihoods based on the capitals identified and their mutual influence. In this regard, an evaluation framework might be improved by analysing another aspect: the degree of participation; e.g., by considering Arnstein's ladder of participation (1969) and its modifications for urban contexts (e.g., Hurlbert and Gupta 2015).

References

Arnall, Alex; Thomas, David S.G.; Twyman, Chasca and Liverman, Diana (2013). "Flooding, resettlement, and change in livelihoods: evidence from rural Mozambique." *Disasters* 37 (3), p. 468–488.

Arnstein, Sherry R. (1969). "A Ladder of Citizen Participation." In: *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 35 (4), p. 216–224.

Astuti, Winny and Prasetyo, Daniel Adi (2014). "Model of Community-based Housing Development (CBHD) of Bedah Kampung Program in Surakarta Indonesia." In: *Procedia Environmental Sciences* 20, p. 593–601.

Baker, Judy L. (2000). "Evaluating the Impact of Development Projects on Poverty. A Handbook for Practitioners." Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Bavinck, Maarten; de Klerk, Leo; van der Plaats, Felice; Ravesteijn, Jorik; Angel, Dominique; Arendsen, Hendrik; van Dijk, Tom; de Hoog, Iris; van Koolwijk, Ant; Tuijtel, Stijn and Zuurendonk, Benjamin (2015). "Post-tsunami relocation of fisher settlements in South Asia: evidence from the Coromandel Coast, India." In: *Disasters* 39 (3), p. 592–609.

Bunnell, Tim; Miller, Michelle Ann; Phelps, Nicholas A. and Taylor, John (2013). "Urban Development in a Decentralized Indonesia: Two Success Stories?" In: *Pacific Affairs* 86 (4), p. 857–876.

Chambers, Robert and Conway, Gordon R. (1992). "Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21st Century." Brighton: Institute of Development Studies (IDS Discussion Paper 296).

Chaudhry, Shivani (2014). "Forced to the fringes. Disasters of 'Resettlement' in India." New Delhi: Housing and Land Rights Network, Habitat International Coalition – South Asia.

Follmann, Alexander and Trumpp, Tine (2013). "Armutsbekämpfung oder Bekämpfung der Armen? Weltstadtvisionen und Slum-Räumungen in Delhi." In: *Geographische Rundschau* (10), p. 4–11.

Höferl, Karl-Michael and Sandholz, Simone (eds.) (2017, in press). "Urban Resilience in Indonesia. Assessing and Evaluating Development Strategies in Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Final Report of the Elective Area 'Development Research'." Innsbruck: University of Innsbruck.

Hurlbert, Margot and Gupta, Joyeeta (2015). "The split ladder of participation: A diagnostic, strategic, and evaluation tool to assess when participation is necessary." In: *Environmental Science & Policy* 50, p. 100–113.

Kothari, Miloon (2007). "Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-based Evictions and Displacement." In: Kothari, Miloon (2007). Report of the Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing as a Component of the Right to an Adequate Standard of Living. United Nations (A/HRC/4/18).

Obermayr, Christian (2013). "Anzeichen für eine nachhaltige Stadtentwicklung in Indonesien? Der Umgang mit dem informellen Sektor und Slumsiedlungen in Surakarta." In: *Südostasien* 29 (1), p. 35–37.

Obermayr, Christian (2017). 'Sustainable City Management – Informal Settlements in Surakarta, Indonesia.' Springer: Cham.

Obermayr, Christian and Astuti, Winny (2016). 'Paradigm shifts in the international housing debate and its local implications for Surakarta's approaches on housing the poor.' In: Rachmawati, Rini; Pomeroy, George and Mookherjee, Debnath (eds.) *Rapid Urbanization and Sustainable Development in Asia. The 13th International Asian Urbanization Conference Proceedings*. Yogyakarta: Badan Penerbit Fakultas Geografi (BPFG) Universitas Gadjah Mada, p. 571–580.

Phelps, Nicholas A.; Bunnell, Tim; Miller, Michelle Ann and Taylor, John (2014). "Urban inter-referencing within and beyond a decentralized Indonesia." In: *Cities* 39, p. 37–49.

Plessis, Jean (2005). "The growing problem of forced evictions and the crucial importance of community-based, locally appropriate alternatives." In: *Environment and Urbanization* 17 (1), p. 123–134.

Rolnik, Raquel (2013). "Report of the Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing as a Component of the Right to an Adequate Standard of Living, and on the Right to Non-discrimination in this Context." Report to the UN Human Rights Council (A/HRC/25/54/Add.1).

Steinbrink, Malte; Haferburg, Christoph and Ley, Astrid (2011).

"Festivalisation and urban renewal in the Global South. Socio-spatial consequences of the 2010 FIFA World Cup." In: *South African Geographical Journal* 93 (1), p. 15–28.

Taylor, John (2013). "When non-climate urban policies contribute to building urban resilience to climate change: lessons learned from Indonesian cities." IIED (Asian Cities Climate Resilience Working Paper Series 1:2013).

Taylor, John (2015). "A tale of two cities: comparing alternative approaches to reducing the vulnerability of riverbank communities in two Indonesian cities." In: *Environment and Urbanization* 27 (2), p. 621–636.

UN-Habitat (2003). "The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements 2003." London: Earthscan.

UN-Habitat (2007). "Forced Evictions – Towards Solutions? Second Report of the Advisory Group on Forced Evictions to the Executive Director of UN-HABITAT." Nairobi: United Nations Housing Rights Programme.

UN-Habitat (2014). "Forced Evictions." (Fact Sheet, 25), New York: United Nations.

United Nations Commission on Human Rights (1993). "Resolution 1993-77a."

United Nations Human Rights Council (2015). "Written statement submitted by Human Rights Advocates Inc., a non-governmental organization in special consultative status (A/HRC/28/NGO/30)." <<https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G15/029/13/PDF/G1502913.pdf?OpenElement>> (accessed 13 May 2016).

Zein, Muhammad (2010). "A Community-based Approach to Flood Hazard and Vulnerability Assessment in Flood-prone Areas. A Case Study in Kelurahan Sewu, Surakarta City – Indonesia." Master Thesis. Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta.



Christian Obermayr

is an assistant professor at the Department of Geography, University of Innsbruck. Currently, he is also enrolled as PhD student and focuses in his research on housing policies and informal settlements in the cities of the Global South. Specifically, he is interested in policy arrangements in place (actor-constellations, power relations, discourses, and institutions) shaping governance and applied housing policies in urban Indonesia. Contact: <christian.obermayr@uibk.ac.at>



Simone Sandholz

PhD, is a senior researcher at the Institute for Environment and Human Security of United Nations University, UNU-EHS. After graduating from architecture and urban planning, Simone Sandholz completed her PhD in urban geography assessing the importance of heritage assets and related place attachment in historic urban centres of the Global South. Simone has published on regeneration, risk reduction, and resilience in urban contexts. Contact: <sandholz@ehs.unu.edu>

Acknowledgement

The authors would like to acknowledge the student group from University of Innsbruck that contributed to the data collection in Solo, namely: Jana Fürstenberg, Kilian Hinzpeter, Leonhard von Hoyos, Simon Kranebitter, Susanne Kubisch, Stefan Niederer, Fabian Sandholzer, Dominik Scheuer, Tim Salow, Nils Unthan.

The research would not have been possible without the support of our colleagues from University of Innsbruck, Dr. Karl-Michael Höferl, and Universitas Sebelas Maret (UNS), Dr. Winny Astuti, Dr. Mohammad Gamal, Dr. Nurhadi Nurhadi, and Yosafat Hermawan Trinugraha. ASEA-Uninet and the University of Innsbruck generously granted financial support to the research.

Rethinking Relocation in the Context of Informal Areas

Critical Analysis of the Relocation Process and the Quality of Life thereafter: The Case of Istabl Antar (Cairo)

Friederike Thonke

Urban relocations occur worldwide with high frequency. One reason relocations can be inevitable is due to a natural disaster, like the one that happened in eastern Cairo in 2008 when a rockslide killed more than 110 people in an informal settlement. Subsequently, thousands of people were relocated country-wide from comparable hazardous areas, and thousands are still awaiting resettlement. This study examines one of these relocations and considers adherence to, and reasons for deviating from, international guidelines prohibiting forced evictions. The results are then contextualised for an Egyptian setting. Assessments of the adequacy of living conditions in the case study area Istabl Antar (district of Old Cairo) as well as the two associated remote relocation sites are included, as these are an integral part of an internationally acknowledged, holistically conducted resettlement. The analysis of the latter follows the concept of a quality-of-life study. The data for the process analysis was collected during 15 site visits, and 46 semi-structured interviews conducted with political representatives, NGO members, and inhabitants in 2015. The findings reveal an insufficient legislative support mechanism, a hindering institutional configuration, a compensation system prone to abuse, absence of independent monitoring, and a lack of urban planning. Based on the analysed shortcomings and deviations, case-specific and nation-wide amendments are proposed.

Überdenken der Umsiedlungsprozesse Informeller Siedlungen

Eine kritische Analyse des Umsiedlungsprozesses und Studie der Lebensqualität am Fall Istabl Antar (Kairo)

Urbane Umsiedlungen finden weltweit mit großer Häufigkeit statt. Ein möglicher Grund, der eine Umsiedlung unumgänglich macht, ist eine Naturkatastrophe wie 2008 geschehen, als ein Felsrutsch mehr als 110 Menschen in einer informellen Siedlung im Osten von Kairo tötete. Daraufhin wurden tausende Menschen aus ähnlich gefährlichen Gebieten im ganzen Land umgesiedelt und Tausenden steht eine Räumung noch bevor. Die vorliegende Studie untersucht eine dieser Umsiedlungen und prüft die Einhaltung und die Gründe für Abweichungen von internationalen Richtlinien gegen Zwangsumsiedlungen. Eine detaillierte Kontextualisierung der Ergebnisse schließt sich an. Teil der Analyse ist die Evaluierung der Lebenssituation im Fallbeispiel Istabl Antar (Distrikt Alt Kairo) und den beiden dazugehörigen abgelegenen Umsiedlungsgebieten, da dies ein untrennbarer Aspekt der Bewertung der Umsiedlung nach internationalen Richtlinien ist. Die Grundlage bildet hierbei eine Untersuchung der Lebensqualität. Die Daten wurden 2015 während 15 Ortsbesichtigungen und 46 Befragungen gesammelt, die mit politischen und zivilgesellschaftlichen Vertretern sowie mit Bewohnern durchgeführt wurden. Die Ergebnisse lassen unter anderem ein unzureichendes legislatives System, ungeeignete institutionelle Strukturen, ein für Missbrauch anfälliges Kompensationssystem, ein fehlendes unabhängiges Monitoring-System und eine unzureichende städtebauliche Planung erkennen. Basierend auf den analysierten Defiziten und Norm-Abweichungen werden Verbesserungen sowohl für das vorliegende Fallbeispiel als auch für die nationale Ebene vorgeschlagen.

After a disastrous rockslide in 2008 in Manshiet Nasser, an informal settlement in Cairo, 404 areas across Egypt were classified as unsafe, with 35 further specified as Grade 1 (i.e., life-threatening). In response, the Informal Settlement Development Fund (ISDF) was established through a presidential decree, with a mandate to relocate all people from these Grade 1 areas by 2017 (2020 at the latest). One affected community is Istabl Antar, an informal settlement neighbouring the city centre and with good transport connections. Several homes are built on a slope reaching 20 metres in elevation.

A technical team classified this area as life-threatening. Around 700 families, half the total, who lived in the slope area were relocated and now live either 30 kilometres away in Haram City or 41 kilometres away in Masaken Othman, both on the fringes of the satellite city "6th of October" (Fig 1). Driven by the urgency to prevent another tragedy, in 2009 the governorate purchased existing low-rise houses in Haram City from a construction company. In Masaken Othman, six-storey houses belonging to a public housing project were completed and allocated to the relocated families.

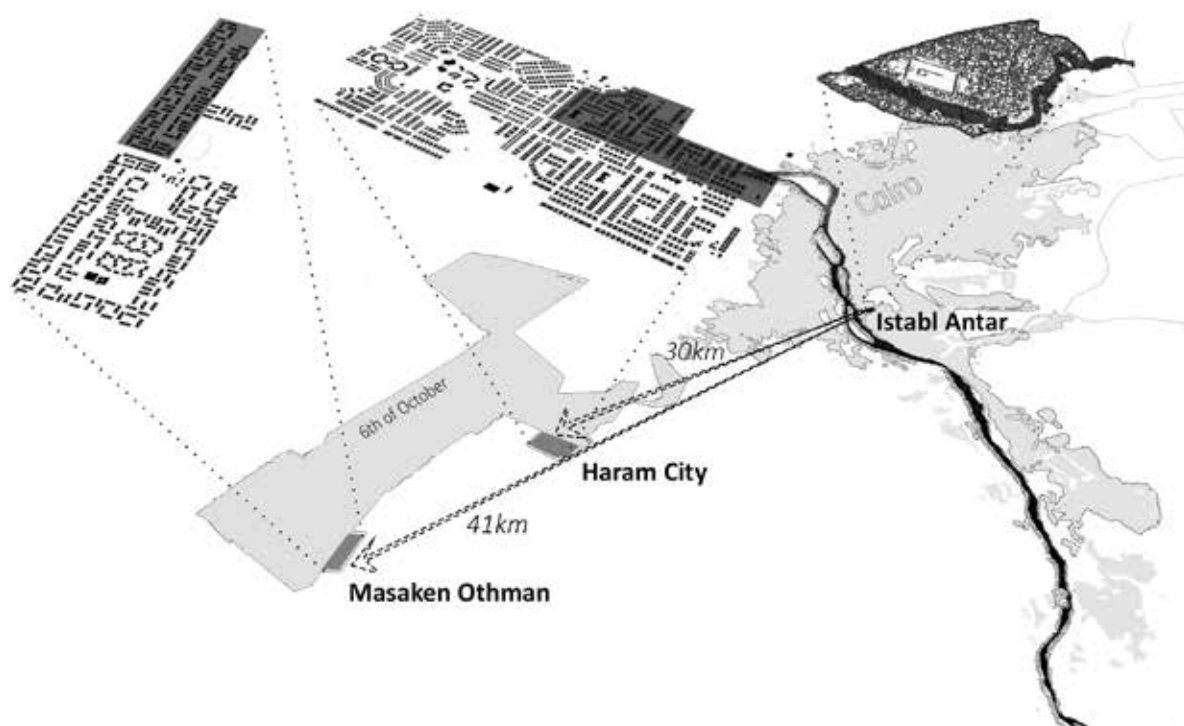
After the revolution in 2011, relocations in all areas were put on hold. Therefore, almost half of the households (13,000) still need to be relocated in the next few years. Amnesty International (AI) labelled the executed relocations "forced evictions" (AI 2011). It becomes necessary to analyse in detail the conducted relocations to understand the process and determine if international regulations were respected, and to investigate where and why deviations occurred. Additionally, the author examines if these international guidelines should be adapted more specifically to the local context.

Methodology

The research followed an empirical application-led approach. For the process analysis – before, during, and after relocation – a custom-made assessment framework was designed that comprises requested steps of selected international guidelines. A step-by-step analysis and evaluation took place under this framework. The necessary information for the analysis was gathered during 15 site visits, from February to June 2015. Forty-six semi-structured interviews were conducted with representatives from

This article has been peer reviewed by two independent reviewers. A group of about 30 distinguished experts is engaged in TRIALOG's peer review process.

Figure 1: Istabl Antar and two remote relocation sites. Source: author 2016. Based on Denis, 2011



different political entities (ministry, governorate, local), with employees of eight active Cairo-based non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and with 30 affected inhabitants. The inhabitants were purposefully selected based on their educational background, job situation, geographical distribution, tenure status, etc., in order to achieve a diverse and balanced sample. To examine the living situation after relocation, a "quality of life" study was conducted, for which the inhabitants were asked to evaluate their living situation with respect to "environmental" and "personal domain" (adapted from Westaway 2006). The individual evaluation was done using a five-step Likert scale ranging from very satisfied to very dissatisfied. Means¹ were calculated and compared, and the distribution of the individual answers was considered. Thereafter, the process analysis and the quality-of-life study were contextualised to the Egyptian situation and recommendations were given.

The global and local normative context

The development of the analytical framework for this study is based on the worldwide normative context of evictions. Despite the likely negative impact on economic, social, psychological and political factors, "not all evictions [are] prohibited under international human rights law. The prohibition does not apply to evictions carried out both in accordance with the law and in conformity with the provision of international human rights treaties" (OHCHR 2014:5). To detail this, a significant amount of publications, fact sheets, and principles were developed over the last decades by different entities such as the World Bank, UN-Habitat, Human Rights organisations, and academics. Further documents such as the UN General Comment No. 7 seek to interpret and define human rights obligations of states.

However, these comments are not legally binding unless implemented into national law (Deutsches Institut für Menschenrechte 2015, CESCR 1997 para. 8). Therefore,

the Egyptian legal situation is relevant for the present study.

The framework developed for this research systematically aggregates the steps involved before, during, and after relocation. In developing this assessment tool, special consideration was given to the general international "Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-based Eviction and Displacement" developed by UN experts in 1997. The key international document is notable for its "detailed prescription on adequate resettlement and compensation" (Langford and du Plessis 2006:16). Also incorporated was the "Operational Guidelines on the Protection of Persons in Situations of Natural Disasters" by the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC), as it addresses the specific context of natural disasters.

The Egyptian normative context only partly reflects the international requirements:

- Article 63 of the most recent constitution from 2014 asserts for the first time that all forms of forced migration are prohibited. However, the word migration (تهجير = tahgeer) and not eviction (إخلاء = ächla) is used, which considerably reduces its jurisdiction (Expert 1 2015, Expert 2 2015).
- Article 78 of the Constitution 2012 states for the first time that "the state shall ensure the citizens' right to adequate, safe, and healthy housing in a manner which preserves human dignity and achieves social justice". However, a clear definition of "adequate" is missing.
- International guidelines request the provision of adequate housing and "full and fair compensation", reimbursing tangible and intangible losses (OHCHR 2007, para. 21, 61). The Egyptian law provides some regulations in the case of the occupation of private land ("Law on Building" and "Law on Expropriation")

¹ The median was not used because single outliers would have an immense effect due to the small sample size.

(Expert 1 2015). However, the vast majority of settlements classified as unsafe are located on state-owned land. In these cases, the state normally issues an eviction order (Civil Code law No. 970) without any compensation, as the infringement of state-owned land is prohibited. Yet, in "life-threatening" situations, the state provides free units as compensation due to political sensitivity and/or to avoid social unrest (Official 2 2015, AI 2011:31).

The Egyptian institutional structure for dealing with areas declared as "life-threatening"² plays a major role in the present case. It is partly fragmented: ISDF, since 2014 under the auspices of the then newly-established Ministry of Urban Renewal and Informal Settlements, has the mandate to plan, fund, and monitor the relocation process, whereas the implementing institutions are the governorates and several other ministries. Before implementation, a technical committee examines the hazardousness of the areas. The district authorities are responsible for informing and removing residents. The governorates provide land for relocation, and finally the Ministry of Housing builds the required units (Official 2 2015, Presidential Decree No. 305, 2008).

Results of the analysis

In the following analysis, all stages – before, during, and after relocation – are analysed following the developed framework. Table 1 provides an overview of the evaluation results of each step, ranging from non-compliance (1) to full compliance with international standards (3).

Alignment of preparatory steps before the relocation in Istabl Antar

The two international guidelines cited request, inter alia, a genuine consultation of and participation by the affected inhabitants, including a comprehensive surveying process. However, the research found that no public hearing took place, no base-line data collection for a latter impact assessment was conducted, and no possible alternatives were presented. These aspects created incentives for corruption from several sides (see below: "Discussion" section). The main reasons advanced by officials were "time constraints" and "lack of alternatives" (Official 1 2015, Official 2 2015). Representatives of NGOs claim there was ample time and that the constraint instead was

administrative indifference and a missing "will" (AI 2011, Expert 3 2015, Expert 4 2015). The necessary notification concerning the relocation date took place just two days before, instead of the requested 90 days. No risk evaluation of the slope was presented, and the adequacy of the compensation is questionable (see below: "After" section).

Alignment of steps during relocation

The interviews revealed that the steps conducted were mostly compliant with the ones internationally requested, yet deviations occurred. For example, some individuals were asked to pay for the transportation of their belongings. Also, the presence of neutral observers during the eviction could not be confirmed. Non-compliance was due to a lack of resources, a lack of concern (as articulated by NGOs), and the absence of an independent, officially commissioned national monitoring body. The lack of neutral observers is further compounded by a law that requests NGOs to register (Expert 2 2015).

Alignment of steps after relocation

The absence of an independent national monitoring body is a major deviation from international standards. According to a representative, the Ministry of Urban Renewal and Informal Settlements conducts regular monitoring tasks, but it does not publish them. The fear of upheavals and the lack of institutional power of the Ministry of Urban Renewal and Informal Settlement over other ministries to resolve any detected shortcomings were the stated reasons for withholding monitoring results (Official 1 2015, Expert 3 2015). According to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ratified by Egypt) and the UN General Comment No. 4, the following seven aspects have to be monitored for the achievement of adequate housing:

- a) legal security of tenure; b) availability of services, material, facilities & infrastructure; c) affordability; d) habitability; e) accessibility; f) location; g) cultural adequacy (CESCR 1991:3-4)

Results of the quality-of-life study:

In the following section, the fulfilment of the above-mentioned aspects a) to g) for the inhabitants in the

2

i.e., under sliding geological formations, in flood areas, or under threat from railway accidents.



Figure 2: Istabl Antar (evacuated cliff); Haram City; Masaken Othman. Source: author 2015

Table 1: Evaluation of the relocation process according to international guidelines; analysed and stated reasons for deviations.
Assessment:
1: no compliance;
2: partial compliance;
3: full compliance;
?: unclear situation.
Source: author 2016, based on OHCHR 2007 and IASC 2011; aspects based on IASC marked with "*".

	Overview: required process components	Assessment	Comments	Reason for deviation
Before Relocation	1. Genuine consultation and participation			
	public hearing and discussion on proposed plan/forced evacuation	1	no public hearing, no proper information	time constraints [as per official side (O.S.)]
	possible alternatives by state and inhabitants	1	no offers	urgency; no space [O.S.]
	technical assessment of the degree of risk*	2/3	done (but partially questioned)	
	information on the expected risk*	1	no information published	avoid panic [O.S.]
	2. Notification			
	written (in local language) and to all affected	?	contradicting statements	(if not provided - to decrease suability ?)
	administrative or judicial review	3	administrative order	
	sufficiently in advance ("normal" case 90 d.)	1	only 2 days in advance	to avoid, that ineligible people move there [O.S.]
	detailed justification - proof unavoidability	1	not provided to affected persons	avoid panic (concerning expected risk)
	details of proposed plans provided	1	not provided	time constraints; lacking alternatives [O.S.]
	3. Timely access to legal counsel, without payment (simplified procedure*)	2	possible, but no stop of eviction	time constraints [O.S.]
	facilitate legal and technical advise	1	not provided by official side	no interest by government [as per NGO side]
	4. Conduction of eviction impact assessment	1	not done	time constraints, no duty [O.S.]
	5. Adequate compensation (tangible & intangible)	2	one flat per family	no legal duty to do so; financial scarcity
During Relocation	1. Provision of clear information on the action	2	not fully provided	avoid ineligible influx; time constraints [O.S.]
	2. If urgent: providing emergency shelter	-	was not considered in this case;	
	involvement in further planning*	-	houses directly bought	
	3. Salvaging and free transporting of belongings and protection of those left behind	2	partial space scarcity; some had to pay	lacking resources and interest [as per NGOs]
	4. Should not take place at night and bad weather	3		
	5. No threat of health and life should occur and the dignity has to be respected	3	nothing serious reported	
	6. Clearly identifiable authorities are present alongside neutral observers	2	authorities present; partially indicated	absence of parliament; lack of interest [as per NGOs]
After Relocation		1	no independent body commissioned	
		1	no NGO interviewees present	scarcity of resources (connected to NGO law)
	1. No one should be rendered homeless	2	experienced by some	discussion if eligible beneficiaries [O.S.]
	2. Relocation site should be fully functional before moving: (i.e. adequate housing)			
	security of tenure	?	contradicting statements	if not: avoid selling of flats & moving back
	service availability	2	mainly, but some still not	resource scarcity; MURIS's limited power
	affordability	3	water, electricity: no bills	
	habitability	3	however: water leakages	
	accessibility	2	random housing distribution	time constraints; attempt of fairness [O.S.]
	location	1	very remote	lacking alternatives [O.S.]
	cultural adequacy	3	gender separation possible	
	3. Monitoring (short, medium and long term)			
	impacts of relocation	2	insufficient: Governorate not done	no independent body commissioned: avoid upheaval; MURIS: limited instruction power
			MURIS partly, but unpublished	
	4. Offer training, skill development and employment opportunities*	1	areas not included in ISDF plan	lacking resources; difficult to set priorities [O.S.]
	5. Enable feedback possibilities	2	only local district, but unsuitable	no interest from official side [as per NGOs]
	6. Monitoring post disaster area*	1	no protection against danger, as rubble was not removed	

three sites is analysed. Through a questionnaire, different sub-categories that belong to the two overarching domains of "environment" and "personal aspects" were analysed.

Within the first, the "environmental domain", the different city planning and housing designs play an important role. Within this domain, satisfaction was examined in the following sub-domains: housing, schools, health, transport, garbage removal, police service, recreational/

outdoor facilities, and employment opportunities (adapted from Westaway 2006).

Istabl Antar, which is centrally located, offers the possibility for demand-driven, incremental self-built housing. Haram City, 30 km away, consists of houses that are only two to three storeys high; market and shop places are available, and the streets are wide. In contrast, in Masaken Othman, people inhabit uniform six-storey-high block houses with an unplanned and neglected outdoor space

(Fig. 2). Consequently, the housing and outdoor situation was evaluated highest, with neutral to satisfactory, by the inhabitants in Haram City. The people in the original place, Istabl Antar, are nearly as satisfied except for the narrowness of their outdoor space. In contrast, Masaken Othman inhabitants are dissatisfied with both the outdoor and indoor space (Fig. 3). The transportation and job opportunities are rated highest in Istabl Antar (satisfactory to neutral). But both aspects are rated as dissatisfying by the inhabitants of Haram City and Masaken Othman, since they are remotely located. Significant differences with regard to the proximity of services (health, education and shopping facilities) were noted between the three areas and were reflected in the satisfaction of the inhabitants (Fig. 4). For example, inhabitants of Masaken Othman miss retail shops and markets because the urban planning did not provide for such spaces. Another major problem was that a school was only under construction, slated for completion in 2015. Attending other schools was unaffordable due to distance or authorities rejecting admission.

Within the personal sphere, satisfaction with neighbours and income, among other, was analysed. The satisfaction with neighbours, which is essential for life-security networks, was ranked above satisfying in all areas. This aspect is interesting, as relocation studies often emphasise the problem of losing the security network comprising neighbours besides the person's own family. A possible explanation is that people originating from the same area were mostly relocated together. The income situation is dissatisfying in Haram City and Masaken Othman, but considered neutral in Istabl Antar. Interestingly, monthly expenses are lowest in Istabl Antar (around 1600 EP, or USD 200, per household) despite the fact that they have to pay for electricity and some, rent. Life in the relocation sites is more expensive because the cost of groceries, health, and transportation is high.

Additionally, the likelihood of people to move away from either the old endangered site or from the newly assigned site was explored. Over half of the interviewed inhabitants still living in the unsafe area of Istabl Antar prefer to stay. Even more illuminating are the answers provided by the relocated inhabitants. Exactly half of the interviewed inhabitants of Haram City would prefer to leave. But three out of four people who wished to stay were women; presumably due to the greater amount of time they spend with their children within the neighbourhood, thus appreciating the wide streets and acceptable housing conditions (cf. an earlier study by Shehayeb et al. 2013). In Masaken Othman, all except one interviewee would prefer to return to their old place, Istabl Antar. An interrelation can be established between likelihood of moving and neighbourhood satisfaction, which is heavily influenced by the architectural and urban planning features.

To conclude, the analysis of the living situation some four years after relocation requires distinguishing between the situation people face in the two very different relocation sites. Table 2 shows an overview of the fulfilment of the seven "adequacy" aspects in each area. According to this synopsis, none of the three

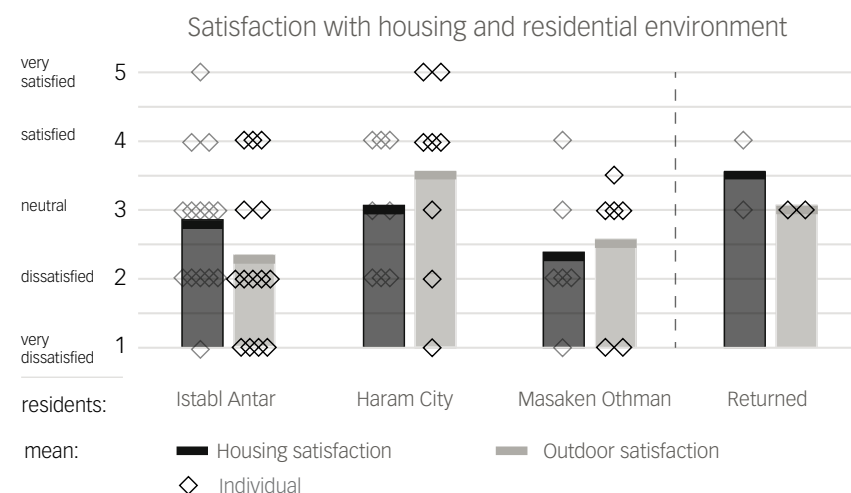


Figure 3: Quality-of-life study: Satisfaction with housing and residential environment. Source: author 2016

3 As it is not entirely defined when a process is classified as forced eviction, the research at hand classifies the whole process as forced eviction if only one step deviated from international guidelines.

Discussion and preliminary recommendations

The above analysis of major non-compliance with the requested steps shows that the relocation process overall has to be classified as forced eviction according to international law³. Nevertheless, it might be necessary to re-evaluate the deviations from the international standards (see Table 1, right column) in the specific context of Cairo. This will be done in the section below. Thereafter, initial recommendations are presented.

Contextualisation of major deviations:

First, an official justified the short notice before relocation with the possible move of a large number of ineligible people into the life-threatening areas, just to benefit from the announced replacement houses (Official 2 2015). But, as elaborated below, a comprehensive surveying system should prevent such a sudden influx. Secondly, the legal security of tenure is undefined/ disputed (see table 2). NGO representatives claim that the titles were not handed over. This was explained as the government's attempt to prevent people from selling their flat and moving back to

Figure 4: Quality-of-life study: Satisfaction with health, education, and shopping facilities. Source: author 2016

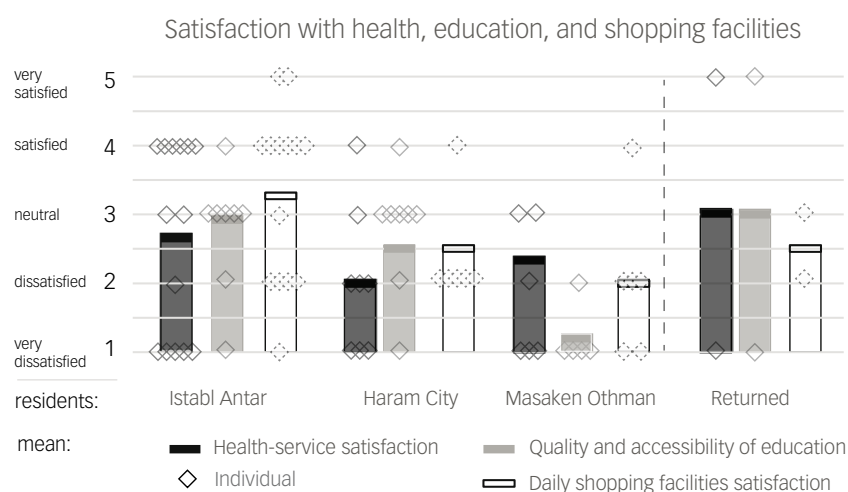


Table 2: Overview of "adequate housing" situation. Source: author 2016

	Istabl Antar	Haram City	Masaken O.
tenure	X	?	?
services	√	X / √	X
affordability	√	√	√
habitability	~	√	~
accessibility	X	~	~
location	√	X	X
cultural adequacy	~	√	√
√ fulfilled	X unfulfilled	~ for some fulfilled	? pending situation

unsafe informal areas (Expert 3 2015). This explanation may seem suitable at first glance. However, many people moved back shortly after relocation mainly due to the lack of infrastructure. Furthermore, the governorate representative blamed the absence of a parliament at this time for the absence of an independent monitoring body (2015). However, the author's investigation revealed that other parties could have been commissioned to monitor this process. One legitimate point might be to hold back on publishing detailed expected-risk information to avoid unnecessary panic. But even here, the right to information should prevail. Thus, the present case study found few plausible reasons for deviating from international standards. Most of them appear unjustified and connected to insufficient institutional competences, lack of resources, lack of trust (connected to a very limited consideration of informal areas within the last few decades), and a problematic surveying and compensation system. Therefore, instead of questioning international guidelines, one should rather strive for strict compliance and detail steps for specific contexts.

Initial recommendations:

The author's reflections on the most severe shortcomings lead to proposals for new or stricter procedures and to institutional reforms. While the first part of the proposed recommendations concentrates on two specific case-study related interventions, the second part addresses three nationwide aspects.

(1) As stated above, a "genuine consultation and participation" in the relocation process did not take place, even though international guidelines request it. In the future, this should be part of a revised surveying and compensation system. In its current form, the system is detrimental, it "wastes resources" and triggers corruption (Official 2 2015). This is a result of the government's decision that each family living in the life-threatening area is eligible to receive one flat free of charge. As a result, building owners, renters, external brokers, and some members of the surveying committee itself started to devise mechanisms to gain personal profit.

Among other strategies, owners forced their tenants to occupy only one room to make space for another family. Both tenant parties were then forced to pay the owner because he/she considered it as unfair that tenants are going to receive the same type of flat as owners.

In other cases, members of the surveying committee added imaginary rooms and then put friends or relatives on the list of eligible persons (inhabitants, Expert 2 2015, Expert 3 2015).

The author proposes, in a revised surveying system, the formation of two teams: one formed by adequately paid district and governorate officials, and another by inhabitant representatives. These could independently conduct an enumeration and collection of detailed socio-economic data (see loss matrix, provided by Habitat International Coalition). The collected data would then need to be verified by affected inhabitants (see community mapping processes, promoted by SDI 2016).

(2) To remove the incentives for illegal behaviour triggered by the above-mentioned compensation system, two principles are proposed to reform the system: 1. Connect the size of the replacement flat to the size of the original flat (complying with minimum standards). 2. Owners remain owners, and renters remain renters – for a reasonable amount of time. Concerning the latter, financial aspects would have to be regulated in a way that owners still maintain their rental income for the first two to five years (details need to be calculated on a case-by-case basis), and tenants essentially keep their rental price. This would, on the one hand, compensate for the owners' earlier investments in rooms for renting, and on the other hand guarantee affordability for the renters. After the first years of payment (according to the agreement) to the former landlord, the renters should then pay the rent to a local community office. After a period of approximately ten years, renters should obtain the ownership title for the flat. Furthermore, the land is recommended to be kept within a community title to diminish potential gentrification processes.

The system described can only function if further aspects of a "full and fair" compensation are respected: it must be guaranteed that inhabitants are able to earn a livelihood and receive necessary services. Therefore, ISDF – together with other ministries like the Ministry for Economic Development and the Ministry of Solidarity – have to provide support in the fields of job and skills training, provide start-up loans connected with space for (work-)shop establishments, and immediately organise regular and affordable transportation. Further recommendations pertain to allowing a choice between/within relocation sites and housing types.

Beside the case-study-related interventions, the following amendments on a national level of the current practice on relocation are proposed:

(1) The authority that issues directives to the department responsible for implementing relocations must be strengthened. Even though the Ministry of Urban Renewal and Informal Settlements was dissolved in September 2015, and ISDF relocated to the higher Ministry of Housing, there is still an imbalance and lack of power to enforce all necessary implementations, which have to be conducted by other ministries.

(2) The National Council for Human Rights, together with an ombudsman (to be established), is proposed to become responsible for an independent short-, medium- and long-term monitoring and evaluation of the processes before, during, and after relocation.

(3) The articles 63 and 78 of the Egyptian constitution require specifications, and – most importantly – would need to be translated into national laws and be complemented by detailed guidelines.

Conclusion

Avoiding forced evictions with their multiple, intertwined, and often negative impacts is a complex and difficult task. Any relocation, or in the case of a natural disaster, evacuation, should strive for a participatory resettlement of affected people and not simply a physical shift. This study reveals numerous deviations from international guidelines without justification: no genuine consultation and monitoring process took place, and no impact assessment was conducted. Moreover, even though the living situation

in the two relocation areas differs, both were found to be "inadequate" following UN definitions because tenure security, services, accessibility, and nearby relocation sites had not or had only partly been provided. The author then suggests amendments on the case-specific and national level. These include a revised surveying and compensation system, a strengthened institutional lead authority, an independent monitoring body, and an adjusted national law.

Further follow-up research on the new institutional framework (after the ministerial shift) and on the current living situation is needed. Within the latter, interrelations of livability, settlement planning, housing type, service provision, mixed use, working opportunities, and freedom of choice should be further explored.

Around 13,000 inhabitants, half of those first identified, still live in areas classified as life-threatening, and the state plans to relocate them within the next few years⁴. Therefore, all parties involved, whether administrators, inhabitants, or NGOs, must be aware of the necessity to ban and avoid forced evictions and to aim for an inclusive city.

References

Amnesty International (2011). 'We are not dirt' – Forced evictions in Egypt's informal settlements. London: AI Ltd.

CESCR (1991). General Comment No. 4: The Right to Adequate Housing (Art. 11.1): forced evictions: 20/5/97. Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

CESCR (1997). General Comment No. 7: The Right to Adequate Housing (Art. 11.1): forced evictions: 20/5/97. Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

Deutsches Institut für Menschenrechte (2015). General Comments. <www.institut-fuer-menschenrechte.de/en/project-child-rights-in-development/general-comments/>, Accessed: 12/04/2015.

Denis, E. (2011). La financiarisation du foncier observée à partir des métropoles égyptiennes et indiennes. In: *Revue Tiers Monde* 2 (206), p. 139-158.

Everett, M. (2001). Evictions and human rights: Land disputes in Bogotá, Colombia. In: *Habitat International*, 25, p. 453-71.

IASC (2011). IASC operational guidelines on the protection of persons in situations of natural disasters. Washington: The Brookings – Bern Project on Internal Displacement.

Langford, M. & Plessis, du J. (2006). Dignity in the Rubble? Forced Evictions and Human Rights Law. <www.escr-net.org/sites/default/files/dignity_in_the_rubble_-_forced_evictions_and_human_rights_law_2006.pdf> [Accessed 21/04/2015].

OHCHR (2007). Basic principles and guidelines on development-based evictions and displacement. Annex 1 of the report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, A/HRC/4/18.

OHCHR (2014). Forced Evictions. Geneva: Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Fact Sheet No. 25 (Rev 1).

Plessis, du J. (2005). The growing problem of forced evictions and the crucial importance of community-based, locally appropriate alternatives. In: *Environment & Urbanization*, 17 (1), p. 123- 134.

Shehayeb, D., AlHalimim, K., Sabry, S., Khalid, Y., AlHelo, A. (2013). Marginalized groups and the right to adequate housing. In: *CAW-TAR*, pp. 73-93.

UN-Habitat (2007). Global Report on Human Settlements 2007: Enhancing Urban Safety and Security. Nairobi: UN-Habitat, p. 262 ff.

SDI (2016). Community Planning. <<http://old.sdi.net.org/method-community-planning/>> Accessed: 20/12/2016.

Westaway, M. (2006). A longitudinal investigation of satisfaction with personal and environmental quality of life in an informal South African housing settlement, Doornkop, Soweto. In: *Habitat International*, 30, p. 175-189.

Expert Interviews

Official 1, (2015). Ministry and relocation processes; ISDF/MURIS, Cairo, 01.06.2015

Expert 1, (2015). Civil society and relocation processes; legal situation; ECCLR, Cairo, 26.04.2015

Expert 2, (2015). Civil society and relocation processes; ECHR, Cairo, 14.04.2015

Expert 3, (2015). Civil society and relocation processes; HIC, Cairo, 12.04.2015

Expert 4, (2015). Local lawyer and relocation processes; lawyer, Cairo, 20.03.2015

Official 2, (2015). Cairo governorate and relocation processes; governorate, Cairo, 12.03.2015

Interview partners are anonymised due to political sensitivity. All interviews conducted by F. Thonke.

Acknowledgement

My sincere thanks to all interviewed stakeholders, from government officials to NGO representatives to community members. As this paper draws from a thesis submitted in 2015 at the universities of Stuttgart and Ain Shams University Cairo, I would especially like to thank Prof. Salheen, Prof. Ley and Prof. Shehayeb for their support and enriching discussions. Last, I gratefully acknowledge the comments of the reviewers on previous drafts.

4

A major relocation to the newly build Al Asmarat area is approaching just now.



Friederike Thonke

urban planner and architect, has worked in Ghana, Kenya, Egypt and Cambodia. Her main areas of expertise are habitat creation as well as housing policy advocacy, with a focus on participatory upgrading of informal settlements. Friederike holds a double master's degree in 'Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design (IUSD)' from Stuttgart University and Ain Shams (Cairo) University. Currently, she advises the "Inclusive Cities Partnership Programme" of GIZ in India. Contact: <rike.thonke@web.de>

Potentials of New Governmental Entities of Managing Slums in Egypt

The Informal Settlements Development Facility, ISDF

Mohamed ElGamal

The modern history of urban development in Egypt has witnessed many attempts to deal with slums. Over the last forty years, consecutive Egyptian governments issued laws such as the Unified Building Law in 2008. They initiated national programmes such as the Belting Informal Settlements Programme in 2004 and established new governmental bodies to deal with the challenge. In 2008, after a rockslide of Moqatam Hill in Cairo killed over 30 slum dwellers, the state issued Presidential Decree 305/2008 promulgating the establishment of the Informal Settlements Development Facility (ISDF) with the main goal of developing a general policy of slum regeneration. The ISDF was an entity directly accountable to the Prime Minister and privileged by a separate budget. Throughout the history of slum regeneration in Egypt, this was the first time that an autonomous entity was created to deal with slums in order to achieve better and faster results. This research discusses the establishment of the ISDF in the broader context of history of slum regeneration in Egypt and as a significant step taken by the state to deal with slums. Moreover, it analyses the underlying Egyptian administrative system to present a holistic overview of slum management by the state. These analyses are based on data of official reports and presentations done by governmental and international entities such as the ISDF itself and the General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP), and laws such as Law 43/1979¹. Three case studies support these analyses: the "Manshiet Nasser" and "Istabl Antar" case studies in Cairo are based on an ongoing research project between Ain Shams and TU Berlin universities. Thirdly, the "Tobgeya" case study in Alexandria is based on a structured interview with an expert who took part in the management of the last-mentioned case study. Furthermore, observations and some semi-structured interviews with inhabitants are used to draw a comprehensive image of what has been done in "Tobgeya". This research concludes by evaluating the performance of the ISDF, determining its contributions and failures, and showing how the Egyptian government would benefit from the ISDF experience, seeking a better administrative reform process. Challenges that prevented better results are presented, showing why the ISDF implemented some top-down approaches. The ISDF experience is compared with previous governmental experiences, such as the GOPP. Furthermore, this experience is discussed in relation to the establishment of the new governmental entity, "Tahya Masr"². Finally, some critical questions for further research are raised regarding the future of the "Tahya Masr" entity and based on the ISDF experience.

Potentiale neuer Regierungseinheiten in der Verwaltung von Slums in Ägypten – Eine Untersuchung der Informal Settlements Development Facility, ISDF

Ägyptens moderne Stadtentwicklung war von zahlreichen Versuchen begleitet dem Problem der Slums Herr zu werden. Über vierzig Jahre lang haben die Regierungen entsprechende Gesetze erlassen, nationale Programme aufgelegt und Regierungseinheiten geschaffen um der Herausforderung zu begegnen. Nachdem 2008 mehr als dreißig Slumbewohner von einem Felsrutsch getötet wurden, wurde mit dem Präsidentenerlass 305/2008 die Informal Settlements Development Facility (ISDF) geschaffen mit dem Ziel eine allgemeine Politik zur Erneuerung der Slums zu erarbeiten. Die ISDF unterstand unmittelbar dem Premierminister und war mit einem eigenen Budget ausgestattet. Zum ersten Mal in der Geschichte der ägyptischen Slumsanierung gab es damit eine selbständige Einheit, die bessere und schnellere Ergebnisse erzielte. Diese Studie stellt die Schaffung der ISDF in einen größeren historischen Zusammenhang und würdigt ihre Bedeutung. Sie analysiert das zugrundeliegende Verwaltungssystem und bietet damit einen umfassenden Überblick über die Verwaltung von Slums im ägyptischen Kontext. Dabei stützt sie sich auf Regierungsdokumente und Gesetze, auf Präsentationen internationaler Agenturen und offizieller Stellen wie der staatlichen Planungsbehörde GOPP und des ISDF selbst. Drei Fallstudien illustrieren die Analyse: Untersuchungen der Stadtteile Manshiet Nasser und Istabl Antar stützen sich auf eine laufende Forschungs Kooperation zwischen der Ain-Shams-Universität und der TU Berlin. Die Fallstudie zu Tobgeya in Alexandria basiert auf einem Interview mit einem der verantwortlichen Planer, eigenen Beobachtungen und leitfadengestützten Interviews mit Bewohnern. Die Studie schließt mit einer Bewertung der Wirkung der ISDF, macht Aussagen zu ihren Verdiensten und Misserfolgen und zeigt wie die ägyptische Regierung bei der Verwaltungsreform von den Erfahrungen der ISDF profitieren könnte. Dabei werden auch die Herausforderungen genannt, die bessere Ergebnisse verhindert und die Tendenz der ISDF zum Durchregieren befördert haben. Der Artikel vergleicht die Praxis der ISDF mit den Erfahrungen der staatlichen Planungsbehörde GOPP und diskutiert die Einrichtung der neuen Regierungseinheit "Tahya Masr". Vor dem Hintergrund der Erfahrungen der ISDF werden abschließend auch einige kritische Fragen zur Zukunft der Regierungseinheit "Tahya Masr" gestellt.

Over the last eight years, the Egyptian state positioned the ISDF as the main governmental entity in charge of slum regeneration. Accordingly, the ISDF appeared as a main partner in a large majority of slum-regeneration projects, especially during the first three years of its activities, from 2008 to 2011. Yet, the ISDF's position and role remained relatively unclear, i.e., the author of this article talked to scholars, some of whom mentioned the ISDF as a subnational entity, while others addressed it as a ministry. This vagueness comes as a result of the two changes in the ISDF's

affiliation since its establishment in 2008. This vagueness still exists today, as the ISDF's role has hardly been defined – especially after the establishment of other national entities that have similar aims, such as the "Tahya Masr" facility. So, the main core goal of this examination is to delineate a clear understanding of the role of the ISDF in slum regeneration, and to investigate its potentials to overcome the challenge of managing slums. This paper also aims to identify lessons for the state to learn to develop better actions of future institutional development.

This article has been peer reviewed by two independent reviewers. A group of about 30 distinguished experts is engaged in TRIALOG's peer review process.

As the above-stated objectives are addressed, firstly, an overview of the history of slum regeneration in Egypt is provided to highlight important political and historical events; secondly, relevant programmes, laws and entities that were developed in relation to the regeneration processes over the last four decades are addressed; then the role of the institutional governmental system of Egypt and the ISDF's position are examined by studying the hierarchy of the Egyptian administrative system at different levels. Results of this analysis, together with data analysis done by the ISDF itself and by other scholars, who work in the Egyptian context, form the base to describe the ISDF's performance and outputs. This work is further supported by analysis of two projects that were implemented by the ISDF: firstly, a development attempt in the Manshiet Nasser and Istabl Antar slums that took place in Cairo in 2015 is discussed.³ Secondly, analysis of the Tobgeya case study in Alexandria is presented. The latter is based on personal observation, semi-structured interviews with inhabitants, and one structured interview with Professor Assem Hanafy, who worked as an expert for the ISDF on the project in 2010.

Slums in Egypt and the history of dealing with the challenge

Parties concerned with slum regeneration in Egypt use different terms to define deteriorated urban areas. While several governmental entities use terms such as "unsafe" and "unplanned areas", many international agencies and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) prefer to use terms such as "informal" or "illegal areas". In 2008, the ISDF developed the term "unplanned areas" when referring to areas established with no reference to planning and building laws and regulations, but providing a minimum level of safe housing. At the same time, the ISDF introduced the term "unsafe areas" when referring to

areas in need of immediate intervention and lacking safe housing and containing risks for life and health and tenure (Khalifa, 2011). The word *Ashwa'eyat*, an Egyptian jargon for slums, is also widely used by many stakeholders when discussing the challenges of slums with their residents. This term was also used to name the ISDF in Arabic and to describe deteriorated urban areas in the 2014 Egyptian constitution. As a matter of fact, the differing terminologies used in available databases has resulted in the production of conflicting slum-regeneration visions, as each stakeholder works with their own database, which is usually developed in relation to their own definition of slums (see Figure 1). In 2009, the ISDF identified only 404 areas across the country, with roughly 1.1 million inhabitants, as unsafe areas. According to the ISDF, unplanned areas comprise 65 percent and unsafe areas amount to only 5 percent of the total urban space in Egypt (ISDF, 2012). These percentages and numbers were not agreed upon by all stakeholders, and different numbers have been announced. Khalifa (2011, p. 47) stated, for example, "This figure of 1.1 million inhabitants indicates the real size of the problem, unlike the estimate by Davis of 11.8 million slum dwellers (2006: 24) or even the more optimistic figure estimated by the UN-Habitat, 5.405 million inhabitants (2008: 97)." For the sake of clarity, this research uses slum as a general term that defines deteriorated urban spaces in Egypt.

The phenomenon of slums emerged in Egypt in the mid-1950s across the whole country, especially in the Greater Cairo Region – GCR (El-Shahat & El Khateeb, 2013). There were several reasons for this: a permanent state of war meant that most public financial resources were dedicated to the military from 1956 till 1973, and Nasser followed a policy of investing in the industrial sector only in big cities (Kafrawy, 2012; El-Batran and Anadal, 1998). As a result of migration from rural areas to big cities by people

1 Promulgating Law of Local Government System

2 Tahya Masr, the name of the new entity, means "Long live Egypt". The slogan is often used by the Egyptian president el-Sisi and his supporters. It is also written on the presidential aircraft.

3 Analyses of this case study are based on an ongoing research project of colleagues in Cairo, please check Elmouelhi et al., 2015.

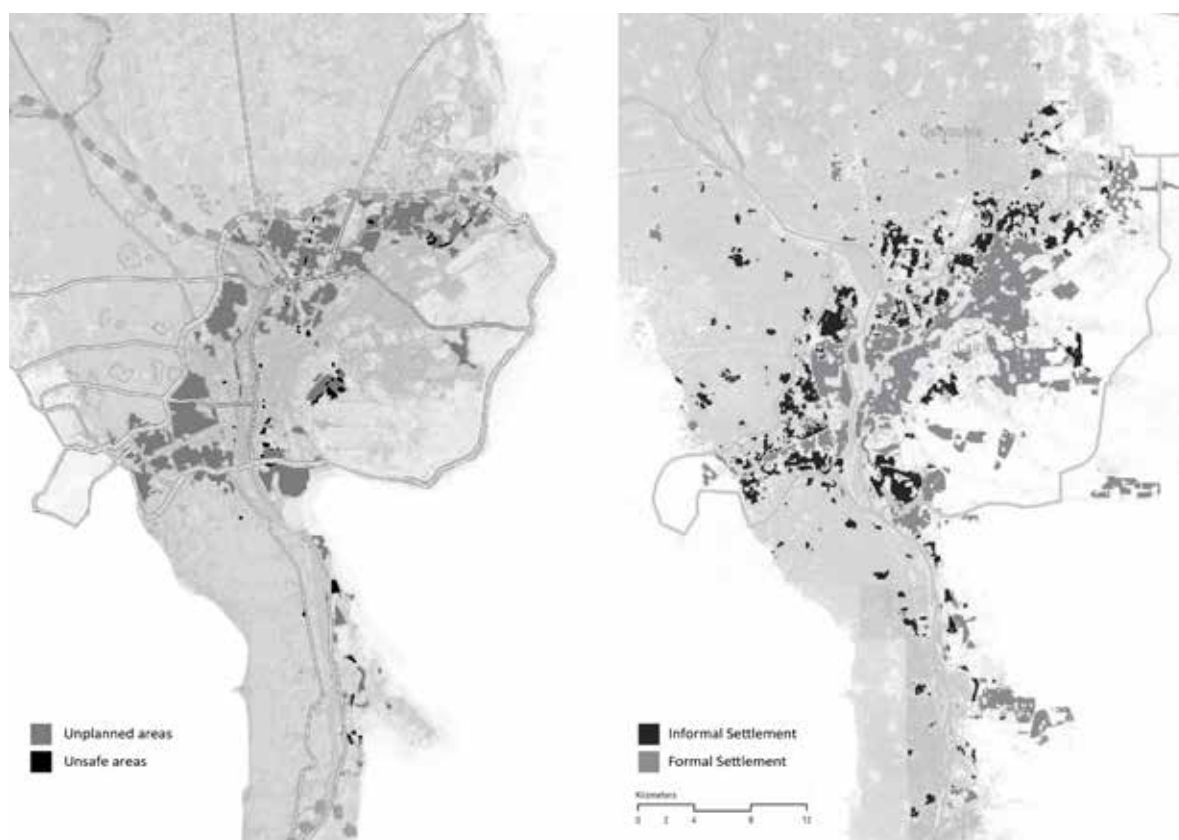
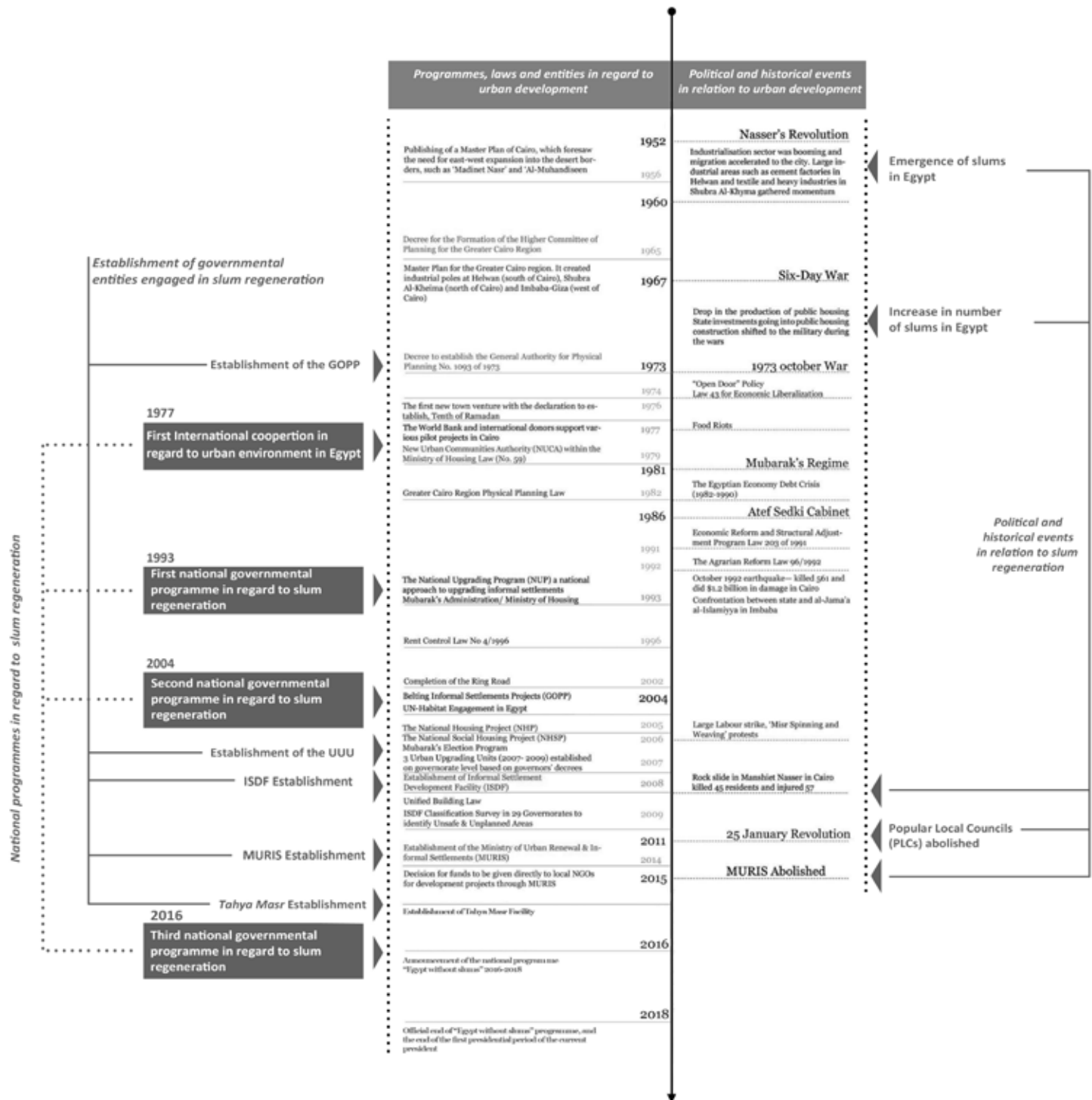


Figure 1: Right side: governorates of the Greater Cairo Region including formal and informal settlements. Source: GTZ Egypt & PDP, 2009. Left side: "unplanned" and "unsafe" areas in the Greater Cairo Region. Source: GOPP, 2012.



▲ **Figure 2:** Timeline of the official dealing with slums in Egypt. Source: Elmouelhi et al, 2017, edited by the author.

seeking better standards of living, a wide gap emerged between demand and supply in the housing market. Moreover, the private sector focused on high-level luxury housing projects while neglecting lower and middle class housing projects (Khalifa, 2011; El-Faramawy, 2008)⁴. As a result of the shortage in affordable and adequate formal alternatives, people opted for informal areas.

Throughout Egypt's history, the government has always considered slums as a special case apart from the general housing policy. Subsequently, visions of housing were not developed in relation to slum regeneration and, as a result, the number of slums proliferated further. The first governmental programme of slum regeneration was begun in 1994. This was the National Upgrading Programme (NUP) by the Ministry of Housing. The programme aimed

at providing basic services (such as electricity, water, sanitation, paved roads, etc.) to about 325 slums by 2004. The second programme, named Informal Settlements Belting Programme, started in 2004 with the goal of restricting the growth of slums, especially in the Greater Cairo Region and the city of Alexandria (ISDF, 2012; El-Faramawy, 2008). Unfortunately, most of the projects carried out as part of this programme were constrained to certain areas and were not up-scaled and mainstreamed. At the same time, many of the existing slums continued to grow due to high birth rates and the ongoing arrival of newcomers from rural areas. The newest governmental programme is "Egypt without Slums", a continuing programme initiated as part of the national goal to completely eliminate slums (unsafe areas) in Egypt by 2018. In June 2016, the Egyptian president and his secretary of housing announced this

⁴ El-Faramawy, A., (2008) is an unpublished PowerPoint presentation in Arabic. Title: *The Informal settlement development facility ISDF*. A copy can be acquired from the author.

programme during the official opening of the El-Asmarat housing project, which aimed to offer "safe" housing for "unsafe" slums dwellers in Cairo. It is worth mentioning that the same goal was previously announced by the head of the ISDF in 2013, and further was embraced by the Ministry of Urban Renewal and Informal Settlements (MURIS) in 2014.

In line with launching these programmes, consecutive Egyptian governments initiated new implementation entities and developed the cooperation with international agencies and NGOs. For example, in 1973, the General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP) was established as an institutional arm for the Ministry of Housing to deal with urban development. Tacitly, the GOPP was also intended to handle slum regeneration. Urban Upgrading Units (UUU) were established in 2007 to carry out projects at local level as part of the national decentralisation process, which had been initiated by the state in cooperation with the "*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit*" – GIZ (Elmouelhi et al., 2015). The year 2008 was a turning point in the history of slum regeneration in Egypt, when President Mubarak issued Decree 305/2008 to establish the ISDF as the first independent entity to deal with the challenge of slums in Egypt (Presidential Decree 305/2008; Khalifa, 2009). Since the 2011 revolution, due to rapid political changes many laws and regulations have been issued in regard to slums in Egypt. For the first time in Egypt's history, the word "slum" was mentioned in the 2014 constitution. That same year, the state established the Ministry of Urban Renewal and Informal Settlements (MURIS), which was abolished again in 2015.

Throughout the history of dealing with the challenge of slums in Egypt, many stakeholders have taken part in the slum-regeneration processes. Among the most important of these are governmental entities, international agencies, community groups, NGOs, universities, research centres, the private sector, and local and national bodies as well as national and local consultants. Due to the limited financial and technical resources, the Egyptian state found international cooperation to be an amiable solution to address many developmental needs that could not be covered by governmental entities. Hence, many regional and international partnerships have been developed since the late 1970s, a period when the World Bank and international donors began to support various pilot projects in Cairo. In 1998, GIZ started the first participatory development planning project in Egypt. In 2002, the UN-Habitat was engaged to work on urban development (Elmouelhi et al., 2015; El-Shahat & El Khateeb, 2013). Although these partners completed many projects and also provided highly needed services to slums, they also worked according to their own agenda. There was no holistic plan of slum regeneration (see Figure 2).

In addition to the many physical and socio-economic challenges of slums in Egypt, many scholars – Boex, 2011; Ben Néfissa 2009 – consider governmental management of these urban areas the main obstacle to achieving sustainable slum regeneration. Despite various attempts to improve the government's performance in dealing with the challenge of slums, the problem persists and has become increasingly complex. For a deeper understanding of the role of the ISDF in slum-regeneration processes, the institutional governmental system in Egypt is analysed

in the coming section⁵. This analysis examines the roles of different stakeholders and the relationships among them, then it highlights the inherent shortcomings and, further, delineates the position of the ISDF in the system.

The ISDF's position within the institutional governmental system of Egypt

The hierarchy of the Egyptian administrative system at the national level consists of the president, the prime minister, the different ministries, and their corresponding councils and authorities. The prime minister, who is appointed by the president, heads the "Council of Ministers and Governors", which convenes regularly to set the general policy of the state and its implementation mechanisms at the different levels. A central stakeholder at the regional level is the High Council for Regional Planning. It is composed of governors of the region, heads of regional planning authorities, members of local councils, and ministries' representatives. The council aims to coordinate between the governorates of the region, and determines priorities according to available budgets and proposes development projects for the whole region. At the local level, the governor, who is appointed by the president, answers to the prime minister and is the key person in the local system. He has the responsibility to run the governorate according to general state policies, and supervises the presidents of the urban districts. The governor also heads the Council of Functionaries, which lays down plans and regulations at the local level based on recommendations from members of the local district councils and Popular Local Councils (PLCs) (ElGamal, 2014).

As part of the entire governmental structure, the administrative system that manages the Egyptian urban context suffers from many shortcomings that hinder a more-sustainable urban development. Among the most important challenges are: centralisation, the lack of coordination between entities, the multiplicity of authorities, as well as the lack of financial and technical resources. Concerning slum regeneration, a considerable number of governmental authorities are involved. At the national level, these are the ministries of Housing, Culture, and Local Administration. Additionally, a number of their operational arms such as the GOPP and the National Organization for Urban Harmony (NOUH) take roles in regeneration processes, along

5 The system is described based on former analyses done by the author as part of his master dissertation, please check ElGamal, 2014.

Figure 3: The Egyptian administrative system in regard to slum regeneration. (Source: ElGamal, 2014, edited by the author.)

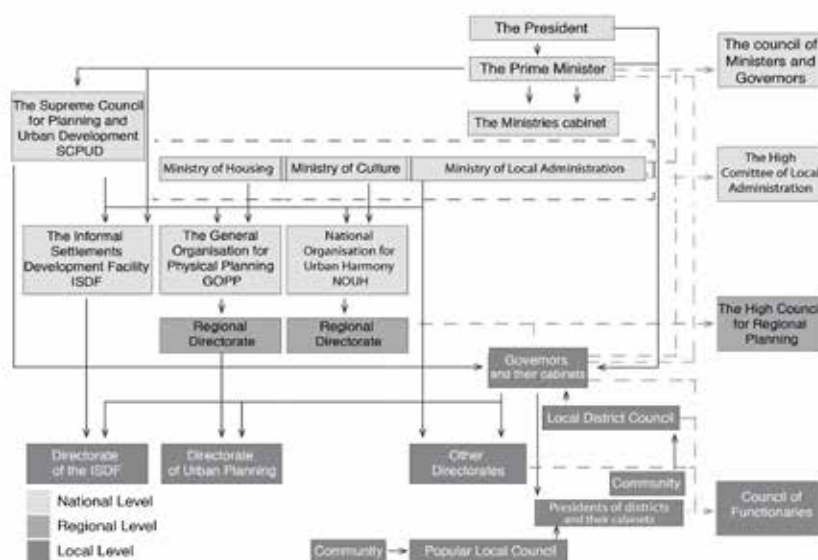
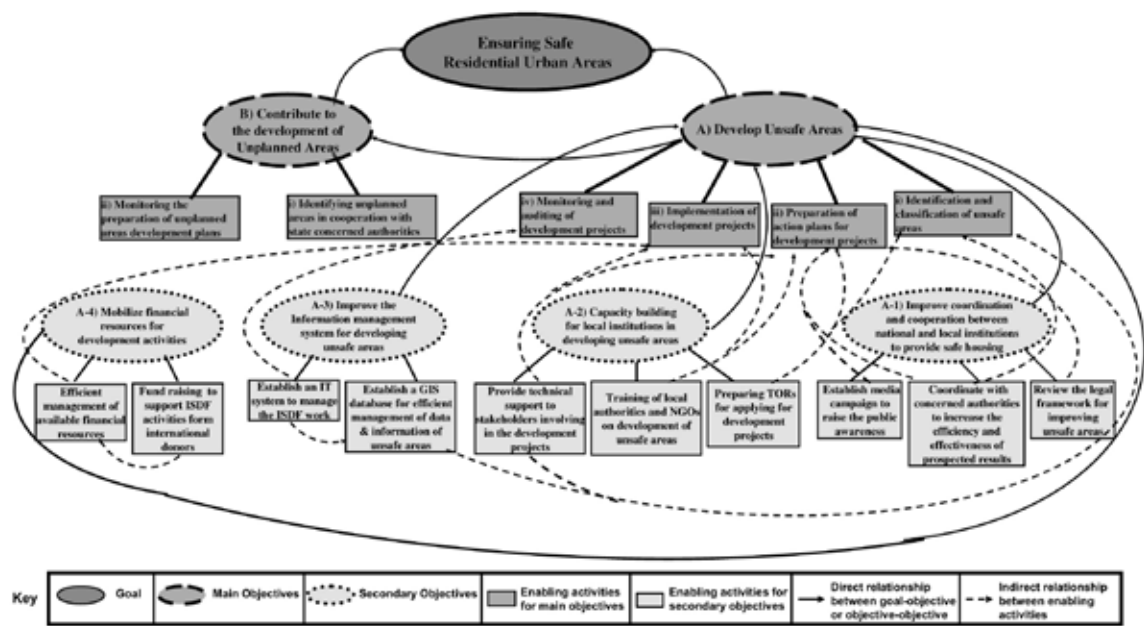


Figure 4: Mechanisms of the ISDF, its programmes, priorities and goals. Source: Khalifa, 2011.



6 This mapping was done by the author as part of his master dissertation based on analyses of a number of laws, such as the Unified Building Law 119/2008 and the Law 43/1979, in addition to a number of structured interviews with officials in the government of Egypt, such as the Cairo Governorate, the Alexandria Governorate and the GOPP-Alexandria office. For further details, see ElGamal, 2014.

with national organisations such as the Supreme Council for Planning and Urban Development (SCPU). At the local level, governorates, local districts and directorates in charge of governorate-level services are also involved (see Figure 3)⁶. Many scholars – ElGamal, 2014; Boex, 2011; Ben Néfissa 2009 – argue that the institutional governmental system of Egypt leads to a dilution of responsibility and the dissipation of financial resources. It also shows constant power struggles between governmental authorities resulting in the failure to coordinate and achieve integrated approaches. However, in this highly centralised system, the ISDF directly answers to the prime minister and has an independent budget from the central government. Moreover, it has direct authority at the local level, and the support of national and subnational entities as issued by the presidential decree in 2008. This position empowers the ISDF's efficiency, and further facilitates its missions bridging many centralised and bureaucratic procedures in the administrative structure (see Figure 3). The next section presents the ISDF, analysing its performance and highlighting its potentials.

The ISDF model: new forms of governmental entities for better management

Formation and administrative structure

This section describes the establishment, structure, objectives, programmes and outputs of the ISDF, starting from its establishment in 2008 till now. The Articles 2, 3, 4, 6, 8 and 9 in Presidential Decree 305/2008 state the formation of the ISFD as an independent entity that has absolute authority to run itself and make autarkic decisions to achieve its objectives with the approval of the

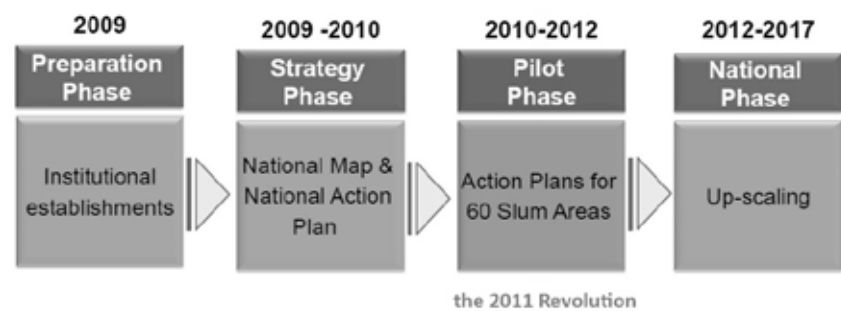
prime minister. The decree further allocates a direct central budget to the ISDF, and legalises various donations, loans and grants to be channelled to its account. Additionally, Article 9 allows the ISDF to directly add the returns of its investments to its accounts. This is a very important point, as the administrative system in Egypt, based on Law 43/1979, allocates the returns of all projects and governmental entities at different levels of government to the Ministry of Finance, which in turn allocates the returns depending on various needs and not necessarily to the same project or entity (ElGamal, 2014). One more important issue is that the decree mandates all governmental entities, especially the GOPP and governorates, to cooperate and to provide the ISDF with all data required to complete its mission.

Regarding its administrative structure, the ISDF's high committee consists of twelve members: six members representing the ministries of Electricity, Finance, International Cooperation, Economic Development, Social Solidarity and Housing, and three experts and three representatives of civil society, the private sector and CBOs. Nonetheless, the prime minister selects all these members. In addition to the committee, the ISDF is headed by an executive manager who runs its technical, financial and administrative affairs. Although the ISDF has been an independent entity since its establishment, the head of its high committee changed two times as three different ministries took the position of its head. The Ministry of Local Development took charge in 2008, the MURIS in 2014, and the Ministry of Housing in 2015.

Outputs

In addition to developing the general slum-regeneration policy, the ISDF had the role of categorising and mapping slums across the country and providing them with basic amenities. It also encouraged civil society and the private sector to participate in the regeneration processes. One of the most important projects done by the ISDF is the national map of slums categorised as unplanned and unsafe areas (Khalifa, 2011). In essence, the main goal of the ISDF's work is to differentiate between unsafe and unplanned areas, and to

Figure 5: The ISDF programme phasing. Source: ISDF, 2012.



develop different programmes for each type based on different grades of risk, needs, and priority of intervention. As a result, the ISDF developed three main programmes: unsafe areas development in the short term, unplanned areas in the middle term, and general urban development of the whole Egyptian urban context in the long term (ISDF, 2012). Figure 4 gives more details about the mechanisms of the ISDF and highlights its objectives, activities, programmes, priorities and goals. It shows that the ISDF directed all its resources to approach unsafe areas as the needy areas for urgent intervention, and left unplanned areas for other stakeholders without a clear plan of intervention. The ISDF categorised unsafe areas into four groups in relation to the level of risk. It also developed priority programmes to be applied in the short term to each of the risk groups, after identifying their needs (see Figure 5). This action continues to affect many regeneration policies and interventions, as it helped to determine areas in great need of immediate action and those in need in the middle and long terms. Moreover, the categorisations and activities also produced data on socioeconomic status, laws, and the environment. This gave the ISDF's outputs an added value, as the previous data done by other governmental entities, such as the GOPP, was limited to the names and the number of the dwellers.

Performance and change of affiliation

During the first period of 2008-2011, the ISDF had a strong political support that enabled the entity to carry out many projects on the ground. The Minister of Local Development, the ISDF's head at that time, supported the performance of the ISDF as he had authority, resources and facilities to integrate the ISDF within the formal administrative system by establishing partnerships with other entities. This was very important in the beginning to empower the ISDF. During this period, the ISDF succeeded in direct interventions in "unsafe areas", reducing their numbers from 404 in 2009 to 372 in 2011 (ISDF, 2012) (see Figure 6). However, the criteria of choosing these areas were, in many cases, primarily related to satisfying public opinion and the good relations between certain governors and the Minister of Local Development. The case of the Tobgeya slum in the centre of Alexandria city is presented in the following section to give us more insights about the performance of the ISDF during the first period of 2008-2011.

In 2010, the ISDF directorate in the Alexandria governorate, in cooperation with all local districts, identified 13 unsafe areas in Alexandria for development through cooperation with the ISDF. Tobgeya was listed as an "unsafe area" in need of immediate intervention due to its deteriorated physical conditions and due to the importance of the area, which is located in the city centre next to Pompey's Pillar, one of the most important archaeological sites in the city (see Figure 7). As a consequence, the Alexandria governorate decided to demolish 600 illegal housing units and to relocate their residents to another district. The team responsible for managing the project proposed to develop the vacant lands so as to prevent former and new inhabitants from re-occupying it. The team suggested a play area for kids to improve social interaction in the area and, additionally, it proposed bazaars and kiosks to foster economic activities and to

National Map of Slums 1/1/2009					
Unsafe	Categories	Private Property	State Property	Central Organisation Property	Total
	1	3	31	1	35
	2	159	91	31	281
	3	49	17	2	68
	4	0	15	5	20
	Total	211	154	39	404

National Map of Slums 15/5/2011					
Unsafe	Categories	Private Property	State Property	Central Organisation Property	Total
	1	3	25	1	29
	2	156	77	33	266
	3	49	17	2	68
	4	0	15	5	20
	Total	208	134	41	383

National Map of Slums 30/5/2012					
Unsafe	Categories	Private Property	State Property	Central Organisation Property	Total
	1	2	23	1	26
	2	158	71	31	260
	3	48	17	2	66
	4	0	15	5	20
	Total	207	126	39	372

serve tourism. However, the project stopped after the displacement process. Although the project solved one of the problems in Tobgeya, an integrated development was not achieved. The project dismissed socioeconomic aspects such as supporting local micro-projects making use of the archaeological site on the area to support tourism. A few months after the implementation of this intervention, dwellers gradually began to come back to their old district, which is perfectly located near all public services unlike the new district they were displaced to. Hanafy (2014) argued that there was no will to further develop the area. From his point of view, the local government focused on projects that have a direct influence on public opinion.

Following the 2011 revolution, Egypt witnessed rapid and severe political shifts. In 2014, the Egyptian president decided to launch the MURIS to focus on slum regeneration. Quite ironically, this ministry had the same objective as the ISDF, but it had no administrative structure or budget. Hence, the new ministry took the ISDF's headquarter as its main office and further shared the management of the ISDF's budget until the state abolished the MURIS in 2015. The situation was very confusing; some scholars argued that the MURIS replaced the ISDF, others argued that the ISDF was converted into a ministry. The fact is that the ISDF

▲ **Figure 6:** Reduction in the number of unsafe areas in Egypt between the years 2009 and 2012 according to the ISDF. Source: ISDF, 2012 [sic]. Italics indicate errors in calculation.

Figure 7a: The Tobgeya slum appears behind Pompey's Pillar, one of the most important archaeological sites in Alexandria. Source: the author, 2014.



remained an independent entity. Projects carried out by the ISDF were announced as part of the MURIS's mission. The Minister of the MURIS was in charge to speak on behalf of the ISDF to the media and the public. At this period, many ISDF's interventions were limited to short-term pilot projects with quick physical impact, designed to convince the public of its performance. Elmouelhi et al. (2015 p.344), discussing one of the ISDF interventions in the Manshiet Nasser and Istabl Antar slums at this period, state, "For the facades painting project in both areas, we can argue that the MURIS was looking for a fast product, due to the political instability and aspiration to show the government's achievements. The residents' priorities, which increased their mistrust towards the government. Participation was announced, just as a cover to reach the main outcome of the painted facades. The residents are not convinced that they are part of the process. In MA [i.e., Manshiet Nasser], as a matter of fact, only 4 young residents participated in the implementation."

In 2015, the ISDF was reformed to be a specialised entity for slum regeneration under the Ministry of Housing and was headed by the ISDF's former executive manager during the MURIS period. On the one hand, the new situation could better relate slum-regeneration policies to housing policies. On the other hand, the ISDF lost part, if not all, of its power and authority as an independent entity by becoming a satellite entity under the Ministry of Housing. As announced by the Ministry of Housing, slum dwellers

have the priority to receive new units in all national housing projects in Egypt. However, no results of this approach can be recognised to date, as most of the plans are still ongoing.

Conclusion: How might the Egyptian government make use of the ISDF experience?

Although the ISDF started strongly in 2008, it gradually lost its power and authority, and ended as a satellite entity under the Ministry of Housing in 2015. As the ISDF was the result of an ad hoc reaction and not part of a holistic institutional development, it failed to develop effective partnerships. The ISDF was neither capable to determine clear mandates for its work nor to implement plans in cooperation with other stakeholders to cover all areas related to its scope of work – including the stakeholders on the ground. Sometimes, this lack of a broad authorisation caused it to apply top-down approaches on selected areas to fulfil political desires and to satisfy the media and the public opinion. Consequently, the ISDF made a contribution to slum management by creating a national map of slums, and by replacing the vague term "slum" with the more-refined terms "unplanned" and "unsafe", but its impact was limited to the implementation of a few projects. There were many reasons behind these challenges: rapid change in laws and regulations, change of affiliation, absence of a holistic plan for slums regeneration, as well as power conflicts with other formal entities.



Figure 7b: Informal patterns of the Tobgeya slum. Source: the author, 2011.



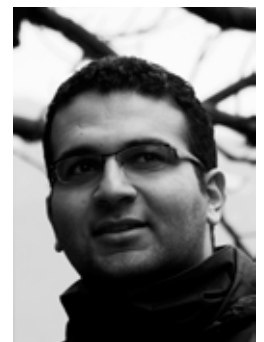
As a result, it is hard to argue that the ISDF dramatically improved the government's performance in facing the challenge of slums. Its model should not be considered a prototype to be repeated, but rather a useful experience to be revisited for future institutional development. The history of slums in Egypt proves that the ISDF repeated the experience of the GOPP, which was the ISDF's precursor. The experiences reflect the need for regulations empowering entities such as the ISDF, and supporting their independence within a holistic institutional framework and with a clear mandate instead of establishing them as a single action. It is also essential to regulate the coordination between all stakeholders as part of overcoming the challenges of centralisation. However, it seems that Egyptian authorities are ready to repeat the same experience, without learning from its drawbacks. The establishment of the MURIS, with the same objective as the ISDF, is one example.

Another example is the establishment of the "Tahya Masr" facility, which is a governmental entity initiated by the Egyptian president in 2015 to cover several sectors, especially healthcare and slum regeneration. Nowadays, the ISDF – although it still exists – is only slightly involved in national slum-regeneration plans, because many if not all of its slum-related projects are being marketed as carried out by the "Tahya Masr". The question that still needs an answer is whether the "Tahya Masr" will follow the ISDF's path and lose its power and authority after a period of time. Quite similarly to the case of the ISDF, the entity was established based on a political decision, not within the framework of a holistic plan for approaching slums. Given that it takes its power and authority from the president, will it be able to survive when a political or regulatory change takes place?

▲ **Figure 7c & d:** Live expressions from the Tobgeya slum (left). Informal blocks next to original formal blocks in Tobgeya (right). Source: the author, 2011.

References

- Ben Néfissa S. (2009) "The Crisis of Local Administration and the Refusal of Urban Citizenship." In: Singerman, D. (ed.), *Cairo Contested: Governance, Urban Space and Global Modernity*. Cairo: The American University Cairo Press. (pp. 177-198).
- Boex, J. (2011) *Democratization in Egypt: The Potential Role of Decentralization*. Retrieved May 30, 2016, from the Urban Institute: <http://www.urban.org/research/publication/democratization-egypt-potential-role-decentralization>.
- Davis, M. (2006) *Planet of slums*. New York: Verso.
- El Kafrawy, A. H. (2012) *Housing policy and finance in Egypt: Extending the reach of mortgage credit*. Published PhD dissertation. Retrieved May 30, 2016, from University of Glasgow: <http://theses.gla.ac.uk/3299/>.
- El-Batran, M. & Arandel, C. (1998) "A shelter of their own: informal settlement expansion in Greater Cairo and government responses." In: *Environment and Urbanization*, 1 April, 10(1), pp. 217-232.
- ElGamal, M. A. (2014) *Understanding the gap between local development and heritage conservation in Egypt*. Published Master's thesis, University of Stuttgart and Ain Shams University. Retrieved February 2, 2017, from: iusd.asu.edu.eg/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/2ndInt_Aniss1.pdf
- Elmouelhi, H., Alfiky, M., Mourad, M., Abdelaal, A., Born, L., Misselwitz, P., Salheen, M. (2015). "Development Priorities in Cairo's Informal Areas. Planning, Realisation, and Local Perceptions." In: XVI N-AERUS Conference: Who wins and who loses? Exploring and learning from transformations and actors in the Global South (Dortmund, 19-21 November 2015), pp. 321-347.
- Elmouelhi, H., Alfiky, M., Born, L., Misselwitz, P., Salheen, M. (2017) "Development Priorities in Cairo's Informal Areas. Planning, Realisation, and Local Perceptions." In: *Trialog*, 122 (3/2015), March 2017, pp. 28-34.
- El-Shahat, M. M., & El Khateeb, S. M. (2013) "Empowering people in Egyptian informal areas by planning: Towards an intelligent model of participatory planning." In: *The Journal of Urbanism*, January, 26(1), pp. 1-19.
- GOPP (2012) *Greater Cairo Urban Development Strategy. Part I: Future Vision and Strategic Directions*. Retrieved June 1, 2017, from: <https://unhabitat.org/strategic-development-of-greater-cairo-english-version/>.
- Government of Egypt (2008) "Establishment of Informal Settlement Development Facility ISDF (Arabic)." In: *The Formal Egyptian Newspaper*, 42 repeated, 18 October.
- GTZ Egypt & PDP (2009) *Cairo's Informal Areas Between Urban Challenges and Hidden Potentials: Facts. Voices. Visions*. Cairo: Pre-press: Critério Produção Gráfica, Lda. (Portugal). Printing: Norprint SA.
- ISDF (2012) *Presentation of Development of Slum Areas in Egypt*. Cairo, the Greater Cairo Region GCR, Egypt, 19 June.
- Khalifa, M. A. (2011) "Redefining slums in Egypt: Unplanned versus unsafe areas." In: *Habitat International*, 35(1), pp. 40-49.
- The 2014 Egyptian Constitution (2014) *Egypt 2014*. Retrieved February 21, 2017, from *Constitute*: https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Egypt_2014?lang=en.
- UN-Habitat (2008) *State of the world's cities 2008/2009 harmonious cities*. London, Sterling, VA: United Nations Human Settlements Programme.



Mohamed ElGamal

MSc-Ing., lecturer and researcher at the Department for Urban Regeneration and Planning, University of Kassel, Germany. Double Masters' Degree MSc in Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design (IUSD), University of Stuttgart, Germany and Ain Shams University, Egypt (2012-2014). Assistant Lecturer (on leave), Architecture Department, Faculty of Fine Arts, Alexandria University, Egypt (2011-2016). Architect and urban planner, contributed to urban planning and research projects in several countries including Egypt, Germany, Saudi Arabia and Tunisia (2012 to date). Main research interests: Urban governance in Egypt, slum regeneration in the Greater Cairo Region, sustainable urban development in cities of the Global South. Contact: <mohamed.elgamal@asl.uni-kassel.de>

Das Programm Ersatz „prekären Wohnraums“ in Algerien

Hintergründe und Herausforderungen der Umsiedlungspolitik

Meriem Chabou-Othmani

Mit dem wirtschaftlichen Aufschwung Ende der 1990er Jahre und begünstigt durch gestiegene Ölpreise hat die algerische Regierung umfangreiche neue Programme zur Wohnungsbauförderung aufgelegt. Der Staat erklärte damals die Beseitigung der bisher als unlösbar erscheinenden Wohnungsnot zur Priorität mit dem Ziel der „Sicherung von Frieden und sozialer Stabilität“. In den letzten Jahren hat sich die Dynamik des staatlichen Wohnungsbaus noch einmal beschleunigt. Durch das Programm zum Ersatz „prekären Wohnraums“ (résorption de l'habitat précaire) sollte Algier bis 2016 zur „ersten slumfreien Hauptstadt in Afrika“ werden. Das Programm geht einher mit dem Abriss zahlreicher informeller Siedlungen („bidonvilles“) sowie massiven Umsiedlungen an den Rand der großen Städte. Gestützt auf Pressemitteilungen, die Auswertung grauer Literatur, Interviews mit Verantwortlichen und teilnehmende Beobachtungen stellt der Artikel Hintergründe und Vorläufer dieser neuen Wohnungspolitik dar, versucht Widersprüche und Schwachstellen zu benennen sowie die Folgen der Umsiedlungspolitik abzuschätzen. Dabei wird unter anderem auf die problematischen Standorte der neuen Wohngebiete, die Entwurzelung der Bewohner der bidonvilles sowie auf das starke Interesse an der Wiederverwertung freigewordener innerstädtischer Flächen eingegangen.

Algeria's "Replacement of Precarious Housing" Programme – Background and Challenges of the Resettlement Policy

Thanks to the boom of the late 1990s and rising oil prices, the Algerian government initiated massive new housing programmes. In order to "secure peace and social stability", the abolition of the housing shortage, which had always been considered insurmountable, was declared the first priority of the state. In recent years, the dynamic of public housing construction has gained even more momentum. Through the replacement of "precarious housing" programme, Algiers was supposed to become the "first slum-free capital in Africa" by 2016. The programme is accompanied by the demolition of numerous informal settlements ("bidonvilles") and a massive resettlement to the outskirts of the major cities. Based on press releases, government documents, interviews with officials, and participants' observations, this article presents the background and precursors of this new housing policy, and tries to point out contradictions, shortcomings, and consequences of the resettlement policy. Amongst other aspects, it refers to the problematic locations of the new housing areas, the uprooting of the "bidonvilles" dwellers, and the strong interest in the reclamation of cleared inner-city areas.

Dieser Artikel wurde einem anonymen Peer-Review-Verfahren durch zwei unabhängige GutachterInnen unterzogen. An TRIALOGs Peer-Review-Prozess sind ca. 30 angesehene WissenschaftlerInnen beteiligt

Im Kontext der regionalen Instabilität, die auf den „arabischen Frühling“ folgte, ist in Algerien seit 2014 eine beschleunigte Dynamik staatlichen Wohnungsbaus zu beobachten. Diese geht einher mit dem Abriss zahlreicher informeller Siedlungen im Innern der großen Städte, vor allem in Algier, sowie mit massiven Umsiedlungen dort lebender Bevölkerungsgruppen an den Stadtrand. Dieser Artikel beschäftigt sich mit den Hintergründen und Vorläufern dieser Politik und versucht einerseits, Widersprüche und Schwachstellen dieser Maßnahmen zu benennen sowie andererseits, die Folgen dieser Umsiedlungspolitik abzuschätzen.

Zunächst wird ein kurzer Überblick über die Geschichte des Umgangs mit informellen Siedlungen und des sozialen Wohnungsbaus in Algerien gegeben. In den folgenden Abschnitten wird auf die Förderlinien eingegangen, die seit der Jahrtausendwende aufgelegt wurden, sowie auf die systematischen Umsiedlungen, die etwa um das Jahr 2010 einsetzten. Die Umsiedlungen und Siedlungsabriss der letzten Jahre, die Algier zur „ersten afrikanischen Hauptstadt ohne Slums“ machen sollen, werden genauer dargestellt. Dabei stützt sich der Artikel auf Pressemitteilungen, die Auswertung grauer Literatur, Interviews mit Verantwortlichen und teilnehmende Beobachtungen. Auf dieser Grundlage werden im letzten Abschnitt sowohl die Verdienste als auch die stadträumlichen, sozialen und ökologischen Herausforderungen des Programms diskutiert.

Strategien zur Beseitigung der „bidonvilles“ von der Kolonialzeit bis zu den 1990er Jahren

Der staatliche Umgang mit „prekären“ Wohnvierteln schwankte in Algerien stets zwischen Beseitigung und Integration, also zwischen Zwangsräumung und Siedlungsabrissen einerseits und Laisser-faire oder „Regularisierung“ andererseits. Bereits die französische Kolonialverwaltung in den 1950er Jahren setzte auf massive Umsiedlungen und auf Wohnungsneubau, um die informellen Siedlungen, die um die großen Städte Algier, Annaba, Oran und Constantine herum entstanden waren, zu beseitigen.

Nach Prenant (2002) waren diese informellen Siedlungen, abwertend als „bidonvilles“ bezeichnet, eine direkte Folge der Verelendung der algerischen Landbevölkerung durch die Kolonialpolitik, die ihren Landbesitz enteignet und sie zuletzt, während des Unabhängigkeitskriegs, in Lager (offiziell *camps de regroupement*) zwangsumgesiedelt hatte¹. Verarmung und staatliche Repression hatten bis zum Ende der Kolonialzeit eine massive Abwanderung der Landbevölkerung in die großen Städte verursacht und führten dort zu einer wachsenden Wohnungsnot und zum Anwachsen informeller Siedlungen.

In den letzten Jahrzehnten der Kolonialzeit wurden umfangreiche staatliche Wohnungsbau-Programme aufgelegt, darunter subventionierter Mietwohnungsbau für die

1

In den *camps de regroupement*, die der algerischen Unabhängigkeitsbewegung FLN die Unterstützung der Landbevölkerung entziehen sollten und vielfach zu Recht als „Konzentrationslager“ bezeichnet wurden, waren während des Unabhängigkeitskrieges (1954–1962) bis zu zwei Mio. Menschen untergebracht.

europäische Mittelschicht, Einfachwohnungsbau für die Arbeiterklasse europäischer Abstammung und die muslimische Elite sowie Notaufnahmequartiere für ärmere Schichten (Fourcaut 2004). Die Sozialwohnsiedlungen und die Notaufnahmequartiere aber waren weder der algerischen Lebensweise noch den vorherrschenden Familiengrößen angepasst und so kam es zur schnellen Verdichtung dieser Wohngebiete, die sich im Lauf der Zeit zu neuen „*bidonvilles*“ entwickelten.

Nach der Unabhängigkeit im Jahre 1962 wurden die von den Franzosen verlassenen Wohnungen von der algerischen Bevölkerung übernommen. Dadurch verschwand zunächst die Wohnungsnot und es entstand für kurze Zeit so etwas wie ein fragiles Gleichgewicht zwischen Angebot und Nachfrage. Dies wurde jedoch schnell wieder aufgehoben durch das starke Bevölkerungswachstum in den 1970er Jahren und durch die Landflucht in die sich modernisierenden und industrialisierenden Städte. [Abb. 1]

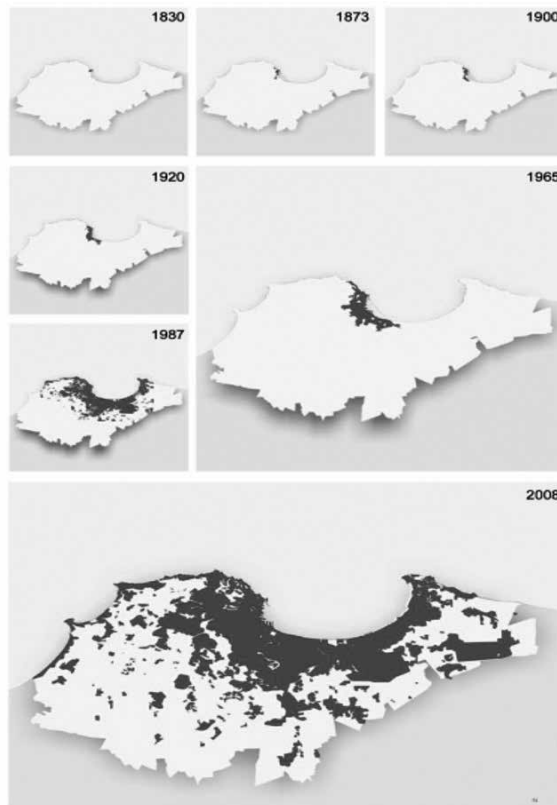
Trotz aller Bemühungen, die aus der Kolonialzeit ererbten Wohnprojekte fertig zu stellen, und trotz des Baus zahlreicher Großsiedlungen in den Stadtrandbereichen wurde schon Ende der 1970er Jahre sichtbar, dass auch die „moderne“ Wohnungspolitik nicht in der Lage war, prekäre Siedlungen und Wohnformen dauerhaft zu beseitigen. Dabei zielte der staatlich geförderte Wohnungsbau auch eher auf die Mittelschichten als auf die Armen (Le Tellier 2010). Nach Baduel (1986) bedingte das bis Ende der 1980er Jahre auf primäre Akkumulation ausgerichtete Entwicklungsmodell des algerischen Staates eine Beschränkung der staatlichen Investitionen und damit eine tendenzielle Vernachlässigung des sozialen Bauens.

Der sich abzeichnende Zusammenbruch des Ostblocks und der Fall der Ölpreise zwangen den algerischen Staat zu einer restriktiven Haushaltspolitik, um Einnahmeverluste und steigende Schulden auszugleichen (Rolnik 2011). So wurden zwischen 1980 und 1990 im Schnitt nur etwa 95.000 Wohnungen pro Jahr erstellt, während zur Deckung des Bedarfs schätzungsweise 300.000 nötig gewesen wären (Boubekeur 2009). Dies führte zur Entstehung neuer „*bidonvilles*“ auf Restflächen und zur Ausweitung illegaler Parzellierungen auf Agrarland an den Rändern der Städte.

Ab 1983 gingen die Behörden massiv gegen diese informellen Siedlungen vor. Dabei setzte der Staat auf Zwangsmaßnahmen zur Rücksiedlung aller arbeitslosen Bewohner(innen) der „*bidonvilles*“ in ihre Herkunftsorte. Laut Safar-Zitoun (1996) ist für die Zeit zwischen 1983 und 1986 allein in Algerien die Zerstörung von 270 Siedlungen dokumentiert.

1985 wurde eine Verordnung erlassen, nach der Baugenehmigungen für jede Bautätigkeit verpflichtend wurden. Die Absicht, damit die informelle Bautätigkeit zu entmutigen, wurde jedoch dadurch konterkariert, dass vor Inkrafttreten der Verordnung entstandene Bauten, die als unbedenklich eingestuft wurden, nachträglich legalisiert wurden.

1990, mitten in einer Krisensituation, in der Algerien am Rande des Bankrotts stand, angesichts hoher



◀ **Abbildung 1:** Stadtwachstum von Algerien zwischen 1830-2008. Quelle: Wilaya d'Alger / Parqueeexpo (2011)

Jugendarbeitslosigkeit und heftiger Unruhen, wurden neo-liberal geprägte Reformen angestoßen. Dazu gehörte unter anderem die Liberalisierung des Grundstücks- und Immobilienmarkts und die Schaffung individueller Eigentumsrechte an Gebäuden und Grundstücken (Rolnik 2011). Nach der Annullierung der Parlamentswahlen von 1991, bei denen die Islamische Heilsfront gesiegt hatte, folgte ein langer Bürgerkrieg mit mehr als 100.000 Opfern. Vor diesem Hintergrund stieg die Zahl informeller Grundstücks- und Immobilienverkäufe, angetrieben auch von der Abwanderung ländlicher Bevölkerung aus den Konfliktgebieten. Dies führte zur Verdichtung bestehender informeller Siedlungen im Stadtinneren und zu einer beschleunigten, anarchischen und tentakelhaften Besiedlung neuer Flächen rund um die großen Städte (Safar-Zitoun et al. 2009). [Abb. 1]

Im Jahre 1994 wurden fast 400.000 Wohnungen als „ungesund und unbewohnbar“ und weitere 120.000 Wohnungen als sanierungsbedürftig eingestuft – „dringliche bauliche Maßnahmen“ erfordernd (Banque Mondiale 1998). In dieser Phase wurde die öffentliche Wohnbauförderung nach der finanziellen Leistungsfähigkeit der Haushalte differenziert (Safar-Zitoun 1996). Neben den Sozialmietwohnungen für Haushalte mit geringen Einkommen, die zu 100% vom Staat finanziert und verwaltet werden (*logement social locatif* – LSL oder *logement public locatif* – LPL), wurden auch Sozialwohnungen mit Selbstbeteiligung (*logement social participatif* – LSP) und Wohnungen zum Mietkauf (*logement en location-vente* – LV) errichtet. Daneben gab es die Förderlinie für Ländliches Wohnen (*logement rural* – LR).

Das 1998 mit Hilfe der Weltbank entwickelte Projekt zum Ersatz „prekären Wohnraums“ (*Projet de Résorption de l'Habitat Précaire* – RHP)² hatte den Anspruch, das Problem der informellen Siedlungen ganzheitlich anzugehen. Das Projekt wollte den Förderbedarf der einzelnen

2
Der französische Begriff „*résorption*“ bedeutet wörtlich „Rückbildung“ (z.B. einer Geschwulst) oder „Beseitigung“. Auch wenn es der algerischen Regierung ohne Zweifel darum geht, prekäre Wohnformen zu beseitigen, so soll dies jedoch ausnahmslos durch Bereitstellung von Ersatzwohnraum an anderer Stelle erreicht werden. Deshalb wurde hier zur Übersetzung der Begriff „Ersatz“ gewählt. Mit „Beseitigung“ wäre die Logik der Maßnahmen nicht korrekt beschrieben.

Tabelle 2: Historische Übersicht der algerischen Wohnungs- und Umsiedlungspolitik. Quelle: M. Chabou, eigene Darstellung

Koloniale Politik		
1950	Diskriminierung der ländlichen Bevölkerung, Enteignungen, sozialräumliche Segregation Politik nach der Unabhängigkeit	Constantine-Plan <i>Habitat Bon Marché</i> (HBM) = preisgünstiger Wohnungsbau einfachen Standards <i>Habitat à Loyer Modéré</i> (HLM) = Sozialwohnungen mit regulierten Mieten
1970	Sozialismus, Modernisierung, Industrialisierung	Übernahme der von den Franzosen verlassenen Wohnungen Fertigstellung der Projekte des Constantine-Plan Bau der ZHUN = Großsiedlungen in Plattenbauweise Bau von 1000 Bauerndörfern
1980	Ölschocks, Zusammenbruch des Ostblocks, wirtschaftlicher Übergang	Rückgang der Wohnungsprogramme ab 1986 Einleitung der Siedlungsprogramme Selektive Verdrängung Vertreibung von Bewohnern von Bidonvilles und informellen Gebieten in ihre Heimatregionen Regulierung der informellen Siedlungen, die vor 1985 gebaut wurden 1988 Beginn landesweiter Unruhen
1990	Politische Reformen und Liberalisierung	Gesetz Nr. 90-25 vom 18. November 1990 zur Neuordnung des Bodenrechts: Liberalisierung des Grundstücks- und Immobilienmarkts und Schaffung individueller Eigentumsrechte an Gebäuden und Grundstücken 1991 Einrichtung des Nationalen Wohnungsfonds CNL 1994 Einführung der „Hilfe zum Zugang zu Wohneigentum“ (<i>Aide à l'Accès à la Propriété</i>) zusätzlich zum Bau von "Sozialmietwohnungen". Anstieg der terroristischen Gewalt und Unterbrechung der Wohnungsbauprogramme 1998 „Projekt zum Ersatz prekären Wohnraums“ (RHP) mit der Weltbank
Ab 2000	Wirtschaftlicher Aufschwung Anstieg des Ölpreises Verstärkte Intervention des Staates	Bau von 2 Millionen Wohneinheiten Erheblicher Mitteleinsatz (3.700 Milliarden Dinar) Ziel: Beseitigung der informellen und prekären Lebensräume bis 2017 2016: Algier „erste afrikanische Hauptstadt ohne Bidonvilles“

Haushalte besser identifizieren und wirksame Mechanismen entwickeln, um die verschiedenen Bevölkerungsgruppen an den Kosten des Wohnungsbaus zu beteiligen. Den Bewohner*innen wurden mehrere Optionen zur Wahl gestellt. Neben einer Umsiedlung in neu erstellte Wohnungen bot das RHP zum Beispiel auch ein wachsendes Kernhaus mit der Möglichkeit zur Erweiterung in Selbsthilfe an (*habitat évolutif*). Weitere Möglichkeiten waren die infrastrukturelle und bauliche Sanierung der bestehenden informellen Siedlungen sowie ein Umzug auf erschlossene Grundstücke zum Selbstbau (*site and service*). Leider wurde das Programm damals nicht konsequent umgesetzt, da Stadt- und Ministerialverwaltungen nicht darin geübt waren, mit den hier angestrebten partizipativen Methoden umzugehen (Le Tellier 2010; Safar-Zitoun 2012 a).

Abbildung 3: Verteilung der „bidonvilles“ und Haouches (traditionelle ländliche Mehrfamilienhäuser) im Großraum von Algier nach Bezirken: Quelle: Egis Eau / IAU-IDF / BRGM (2012: 309)



Hochkonjunktur staatlichen Wohnungsbaus und der Wohneigentumsförderung ab 2000

Die Beendigung des Bürgerkriegs mit Verabschiedung des „Gesetzes zur zivilen Eintracht“ im Jahr 1999 und durch ansteigende Ölpreise verbesserte Staatsfinanzen erlaubten es, dem öffentlichen Wohnungsbau ab dem Jahr 2000 Priorität zu geben und neue Förderprogramme aufzulegen. Das „Programm zur Unterstützung des wirtschaftlichen Aufschwungs“ (*Programme de Soutien à la Relance Economique – PSRE, 2001-2004*) sollte die Armut vermindern, Arbeitsplätze schaffen sowie zur regionalen Ausgewogenheit und zur Wiederbelebung ländlicher Gebiete beitragen. Darauf folgte der „Ergänzende Plan zur Förderung des wirtschaftlichen Aufschwungs“ (*Plan Complémentaire de la Croissance Économique – PCSC, 2005 – 2009*), der nach Angaben des Präsidialamts 555 Milliarden Dinar (ca. 7,4 Mrd. Dollar) an Wohnbaufördermitteln zum Bau von 1 Million Wohnungen zur Verfügung stellte (Présidence de la République o.J.).

Parallel zum Förderplan PCSC wurden zwei staatliche Sonderprogramme für die Wohnbauförderung im Hochland und im Süden des Landes aufgelegt. Daneben wurde das „Projekt zum Ersatz prekären Wohnraums“ (RHP) erneuert. Von einst mit der Weltbank festgelegten partizipativen Elementen oder verschiedenen Optionen war in der Umsetzung jetzt nicht mehr die Rede. Einerseits hatten die wenigen bis dahin im Rahmen des RHP-Projekts realisierten Vorhaben nicht die erwarteten Ergebnisse erzielt, andererseits entschied sich der Staat angesichts verbesserter Staatsfinanzen für Massenum-siedlungen als bevorzugte Lösung zur Überwindung der

Wohnungsnot. Das RHP-Projekt wurde damit zu einem Wohnungsbau- und Umsiedlungsprogramm.

Zwischen 1999 und 2009 wurden in allen Förderlinien und Programmen insgesamt mehr als 1,5 Millionen Wohnungen mit Baukosten von mehr als 1.314 Milliarden Dinar (d.h. 17,5 Milliarden Dollar) erstellt (MHUV o.J.). Im Fünfjahresplan 2010-2014 wurden 3.700 Milliarden Dinar zum Bau von 1,2 Millionen Wohnungen in diesem Zeitraum eingestellt. Bis zum Jahr 2017 sollten sogar 2 Millionen Wohnungen gebaut werden, darunter 300.000 zum „Ersatz prekären Wohnraums“. Zwar wurden die Planungsvorgaben nicht erreicht. Aber mit 247.266 fertiggestellten Wohneinheiten im Jahr 2013 und 326.141 Wohneinheiten im Jahr 2014 wurden für das unabhängige Algerien bislang nie erreichte Werte realisiert.³

Zu diesem Zweck erleichterte der Staat den Zugang zu den verschiedenen bereits erwähnten Förderlinien für Wohnraum und weitete dies dann ab 2012 über die Programmsparten „Geförderter preisgünstiger Wohnbau“

(*logement promotionnel aidé* – LPA) und „Öffentlicher preisgünstiger Wohnbau“ (*logement public promotionnel* – LPP) auch auf höhere Einkommensgruppen aus. Außerdem wurde die bereits im Jahr 1991 eingeführte Eigentumsförderung durch den Nationalen Wohnungsfonds (*Caisse Nationale de Logement* – CNL) intensiviert. Dessen Fördermittel werden jetzt genutzt, um auch einkommensschwachen Haushalten Zugang zu den Förderlinien „Geförderter preisgünstiger Wohnbau“ (LPA), „Sozialwohnungen mit Selbstbeteiligung“ (LSP) und „Wohnungen zum Mietkauf“ (LV) zu ermöglichen. Diese flexibleren Förderlinien sind besonders hilfreich für Haushalte mit geringem Einkommen und die Bewohner von „*bidonvilles*“. Viele von ihnen haben auf diese Weise erstmals Zugang zu Wohnungseigentum oder zu einem Bauförderprogramm erhalten.

Nach Angaben des Wohnbauministeriums hat diese umfangreiche Wohnungsbauförderung zum Ziel, endlich die Wohnungsnot zu überwinden, unter der Algerien seit der Unabhängigkeit leidet. Außerdem soll die Landflucht

3
Diese Zahlenangaben stammen aus Berichten der nationalen Presse: „Le soir d’Algérie“ vom 14. Januar 2015.

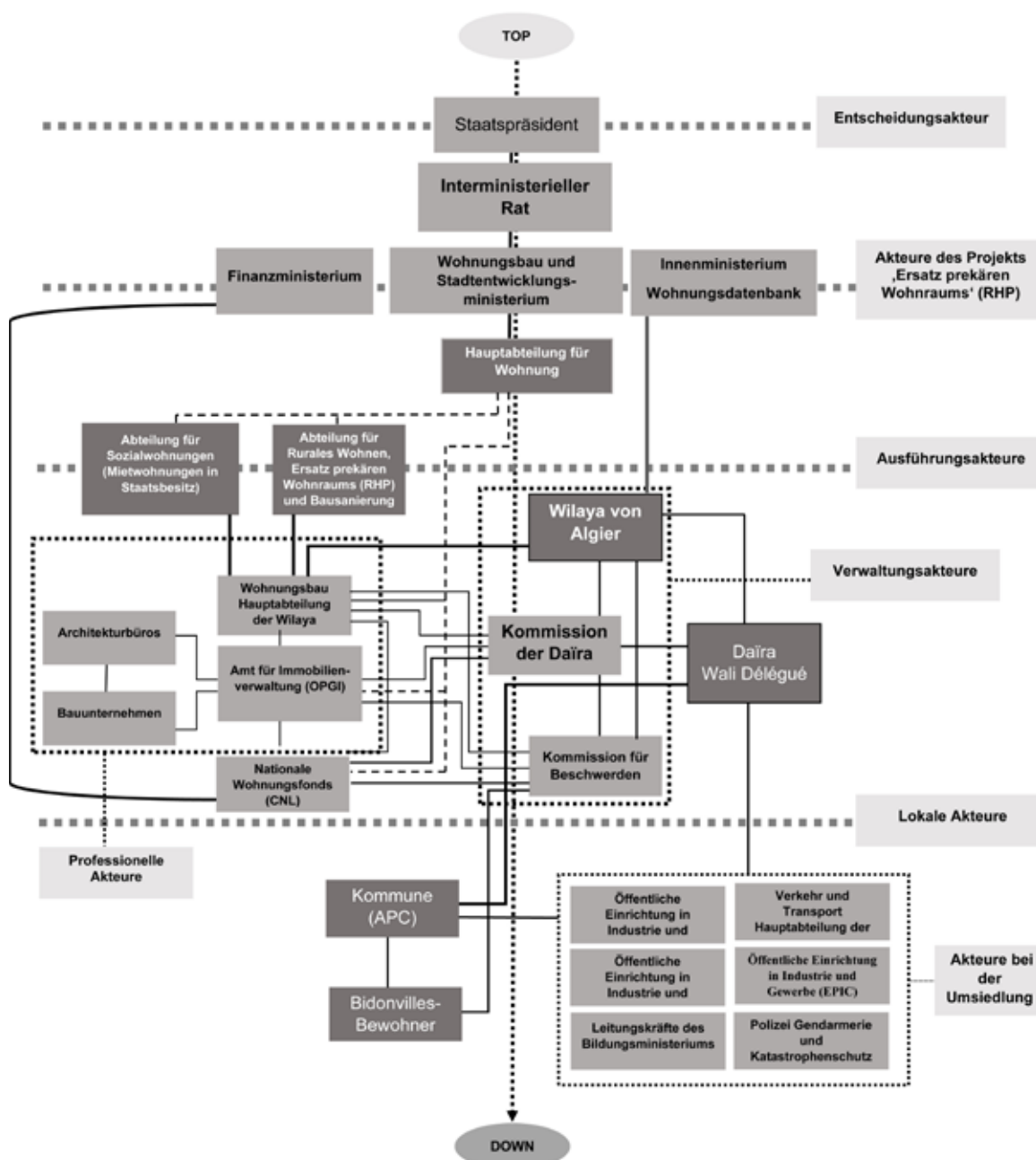


Abbildung 4: Steuerung der Umsiedlungsprozesse. Quelle: M. Chabou und H. Zitoune, eigene Darstellung)

Tabelle 1: Anzahl „prekärer Orte“ in Algier in 2013 und dort lebenden Familien differenziert nach verschiedenen Kategorien „prekärer Wohnformen“. Quelle: El-Djazair.com (2016: 28)

Kategorie „prekäre Wohnformen“	Anzahl „prekärer Orte“ in Algier 2013	in diesen Orten lebende Familien
„Bidonvilles“, informelle Siedlungen	569	58.468
Gebiet mit Notunterkünften (<i>sites chalets</i>)	9	2.498
Baufällige Quartiere (<i>quartiers vétustes</i>)	22	5.198
Einsturzgefährdete Gebäude	380	3.060
Illegal bewohnte Keller und Terrassene	146	3.528
Summe	1.126	72.752

gebremst werden und vor allem soll eine „bessere Siedlungsverteilung in Raum und Territorium“ erreicht werden. Ein weiteres Ziel ist es, „prekäre Wohnsiedlungen“ zu beseitigen durch „einen radikalen Eingriff, welcher die Verwirklichung von Wohnungsbauprogrammen für die bereits erfasste Bevölkerung dieser Siedlungen kombiniert mit einem strengen Vorgehen der Behörden gegen alle Versuche, neuen prekären Wohnraum zu errichten“ (Présidence de la République o.J.).

Massiver Ersatz des „prekären Wohnraums“ durch Wohnungsneubau ab 2010

2007 erfasst eine Studie etwa 73.000 „in prekären Verhältnissen“ lebende Familien in Algier, darunter 54.970 in den „bidonvilles“ (Egis Eau / IAU-IDF / BRGM 2012). Aufbauend auf diese Erhebung wird für den Zeitraum zwischen 2010 und 2014 ein Kontingent von 300.000 neu zu erstellen den Wohnungen vorgesehen, das die Beseitigung des „prekären Wohnraums“ in Algier und die Umsiedlung der dort lebenden Bevölkerung ermöglichen soll (Conseil des ministres 2009).

Die staatliche Strategie versucht, eine größtmögliche Zahl von Umsiedlungen mit einer Formalisierung des Bodenbesitzes zu verbinden. Einerseits soll der nach dem „schwarzen Jahrzehnt“ erreichte Frieden verstetigt und das in der Verfassung des Landes verankerte Recht auf Wohnen verwirklicht werden. Andererseits geht es um die

Freiräumung von dringend benötigten und in den Innenstadtbereichen nur unzureichend verfügbaren Entwicklungsflächen, die vor allem in der Hauptstadt für die Umsetzung stadtstruktureller Projekte gebraucht werden.

2013 hat das Wohnungsbauministerium die 2007 durchgeführte Bestandsaufnahme der „bidonvilles“ aktualisiert. Dabei wurden fünf Kategorien von „prekären Wohnformen“ [vgl. Tabelle 1, Abb. 3] unterschieden, deren Bewohner(innen) im Umsiedlungsprogramm berücksichtigt werden sollten:

1. „Bidonvilles“;
2. Notunterkünfte (*sites chalets*, auch *centres de transit* – Zwischenunterkünfte);
3. baufällige Quartiere (*quartiers vétustes*);
4. einsturzgefährdete Gebäude (*immeubles menaçant ruine* – IMR) und
5. illegal bewohnte Keller und Terrassen.

Priorisiert sind „bidonvilles“, die auf Grundstücken liegen, auf denen der Strategische Plan Algier 2029⁴ zur Neuordnung der Stadt- und Metropolenentwicklung Großprojekte vorsieht.

Die neuen Wohnsiedlungen am Stadtrand sollen ein qualitativvolles Wohnumfeld mit vielen Annehmlichkeiten bieten: es soll Gärten, Parkplätze, nahegelegene soziale Infrastruktureinrichtungen und vor allem Schulen oder

4
Der Strategische Plan (*plan stratégique de développement de la wilaya d'Alger 2009-2029*), der vom französischen Büro Arte Charpentier erarbeitet wurde, überführt die Ziele des Masterplans (*plan d'orientation d'aménagement et d'urbanisme* - PDAU) in konkrete Projekte. Die letzte Überarbeitung des PDAU erfolgte 2007-2014 durch das portugiesische Büro ParQU-Expo (vgl. Chabou-Othmani 2015).

Tabelle 2: Anzahl zerstörter Orte mit „prekären Wohnformen“ in Algier und Zahl umgesiedelter Familien bis Ende 2016. Quellen: El-Djazair.com (2016: 28); aktualisiert durch Informationen aus einem Interview mit der Wohnungsabteilung der Wilaya von Algier vom November 2016

Kategorien „prekärer Wohnformen“	Zerstörte „prekäre Orte“	Umgesiedelte Familien
bereits vor Juni 2014 umgesiedelt		25.904
Zerstört zwischen Juni 2014 und Januar 2016		
„Bidonvilles“, informelle Siedlungen	204	18.668
Gebiet mit Notunterkünften (<i>sites chalets</i>)	9	2.254
Baufällige Quartiere (<i>quartiers vétustes</i>)	8	3.846
Einsturzgefährdete Gebäude	353	2.911
Illegal bewohnte Keller und Terrassen	?	1.888
Summe Juni 2014 bis Januar 2016	574	29.567
Ab Februar 2016 (21. Operation)		17.281

Gesundheitszentren geben. Die Wohnungen sind staatliche Mietwohnungen nach der Förderlinie LPL für die Bevölkerungsgruppen, deren geringe Einkommen keinen Zugang zu Wohneigentum erlauben. Die subventionierten Mieten sollen den finanziellen Möglichkeiten der Haushalte angepasst sein.

Welche Bevölkerungsgruppen wann umgesiedelt werden, hängt vom Fortschritt der Bauprojekte ab. Dadurch ist es aber schwer im Voraus festzulegen, wer wohin umgesiedelt wird. Sobald ein Bauabschnitt fertig ist, wird die Umsiedlung der dafür vorgesehenen „*bidonvilles*“-Haushalte vorbereitet. In die Organisation der Umzüge wird eine große Anzahl verschiedener Akteure eingebunden. Eine Kommission der *Daïra* (Kreisverwaltung) führt eine Haushaltsbefragung der betroffenen „*bidonvilles*“ durch. Diese hat das Ziel die genaue Zahl der hier Wohnenden zu identifizieren, deren tatsächlichen Wohnsitz vor Ort nachzuprüfen und die legalen Dokumente für die Umsiedlung vorzubereiten. Die Umsiedlung erfolgt dann gemäß den Bestimmungen der Ausführungsverordnung Nr. 08-142, in welcher die Regeln für die Zuweisung einer öffentlichen Mietwohnung festgelegt sind. Nach Artikel 4 der Ausführungsverordnung können nur Haushalte auf voll geförderte Wohnungen (LPL) zugreifen, die mindestens fünf Jahre vor Ort gelebt haben und deren Monatsgehalt nicht mehr als 24.000 Dinar (ca. 250 Euro) beträgt. Dadurch werden frühere Nachbarn bei der Umsiedlung getrennt.

Welche Haushalte woher und wohin umgesiedelt werden, wird von einer Kommission des *Wilaya* (der Provinzverwaltung) unter dem Vorsitz des Wali (Gouverneurs) erst wenige Tage vor dem Umzug festgelegt, um zu verhindern, dass die Bewohner(innen) der „*bidonvilles*“ ihre Kontaktnetze in die Verwaltung aktivieren, um für sich bevorzugte Wohnungslagen oder Wohnorte reservieren zu lassen. Zudem wird der Umzug stets nachts durchgeführt, mit einer kurzfristigen Benachrichtigung der Haushalte wenige Stunden zuvor, um gerade noch die notwendige Vorbereitung zu ermöglichen. Dies soll sowohl Verkehrsstaus vermeiden, als auch Protesten oder Aufruhr derjenigen entgegenwirken, die noch nicht zur Umsiedlung in neue Wohnungen vorgesehen sind (Interviews mit Mitarbeitern der Provinzverwaltung im März und April 2017). [Abb. 4]

Die Steuerung der Umsiedlungen ist auf Ebene der Provinzverwaltung (*Wilaya*) konzentriert. Dieses Vorgehen

erleichtert die statistische Erfassung der Begünstigten und der zugeordneten Wohnungen in einer nationalen Datenbank. Die Datenbank steht unter der Kontrolle des Innenministeriums und erfasst die Nachfrage nach Wohnungen im ganzen Staatsgebiet.

Haushalte, die mit dem Verfahren und der Umsiedlung unzufrieden sind, können nach definierten Regeln eine Beschwerde bei der Verwaltung einreichen. Bis zum Februar 2016 gab es über 10.000 solcher Eingaben. Die anschließenden Überprüfungen führen freilich nur sehr selten zu Korrekturen⁵.

Algier – die „erste afrikanische Hauptstadt ohne Slums“?⁶

Im Juni 2015 verkündete der algerische Wohnungsbauminister Tebboune, spätestens im ersten Quartal 2016 werde Algier die „erste afrikanische Hauptstadt ohne Slums“ sein (Algérie Presse Service 2015)⁷. Zu diesem Zweck beabsichtigte die Regierung den Bau von 84.766 Wohneinheiten – im wesentlichen Öffentliche Sozialmietwohnungen – LPL – und Sozialwohnungen mit Selbstbeteiligung – LSP – für die Umsiedlung von 72.752 Familien, die bei der Aktualisierung der Bestandsaufnahme prekärer Wohnformen im Jahr 2013 erfasst wurden [vgl. Tabelle 1].

Die verschiedenen Umsiedlungen begannen im Juni 2014 mit intensiver Berichterstattung der nationalen Medien, besonders der Fernsehnachrichten. Bis Ende 2016 wurden in Algier in mehreren Etappen 21 Umsiedlungen durchgeführt und allein zwischen Juni 2014 und Februar 2016 fast 30.000 Familien umgesiedelt – teils auch in die angrenzenden Bezirke Blida und Boumerdes. Im Oktober 2015 wurde die größte „*bidonville*“ Algiers, die Siedlung Erramli mit 4.487 Familien geräumt. Die Räumung dauerte fünf Tage und beschäftigte eine große Zahl von Polizeikräften, Verwaltungsbeamten und Logistikpersonal. Die freigeräumten Standorte sind fast alle für neue Großprojekte im Rahmen des strategischen Plans von Algier 2029 reserviert. Die Zerstörung der „*bidonville*“ Erramli war prioritär, weil die Siedlung den Weiterbau des Schnellstraßenviadukts Oued Ouchayah blockierte.

Nach offiziellen Angaben wurden in Algier vom Beginn der Umsiedlungsoperationen in 2013 bis zum Januar 2016 insgesamt 55.471 Haushalte umgesiedelt, d.h. 76,24 % der im Jahr 2013 gezählten 72.752 Familien in „prekären“ Wohnsituationen. Allein zwischen Juni 2014 und Januar

5
Bis Februar 2016 gingen 10.477 Beschwerden ein. Bis Februar 2016 gingen 10.477 Beschwerden ein. 585 wurden akzeptiert, 6.159 wurden abgelehnt und 3.733 wurden als Betrugsversuche gewertet (El-Djazair.com 2016: 28).

6
Dieser Abschnitt stützt sich auf Angaben des offiziellen algerischen Pressedienstes Algérie-Presse und ein Interview der Autorin mit dem Leiter der Wohnungsbauabteilung der Wilaya von Algier im November 2016.

7
Im Oktober 2015 wiederholte Tebboune die Ankündigung anlässlich eines Besuchs des stellvertretenden Generalsekretärs der Vereinten Nationen, Nikhil Seth, jetzt mit einer Frist bis Ende 2016. Die Beseitigung der Siedlungen hatte freilich schon früher begonnen.

Abbildung 5: Neubausiedlung in Ouled Fayet an der südwestlichen Peripherie, etwa 19km entfernt von Algier. Foto: M. Chabou





▲
Abbildungen 6 & 7: Neubausiedlung in Koléa, einer schnell wachsenden Kleinstadt, etwa 28km entfernt von Algier. Fotos: M. Chabou.

2016 wurden 29.567 Familien umgesiedelt [vgl. Tabelle 2]. Die in diesem Zeitraum durchgeführten 20 Umsiedlungsoperationen erlaubten die Rückgewinnung von 334 ha. Baufläche in der Hauptstadt, darunter 180 ha. allein im Jahr 2015. Die restlichen 17.281 Familien sollten dann im Rahmen der 21. Operation und weiteren Operationen ab Januar 2016 umgesiedelt werden (El-Djazair.com 2016: 28f.).

Diskussion: Beispielhafte Wohnungspolitik oder Ausgrenzung der Armut?

Die neue Wohnbau- und Umsiedlungspolitik in Algerien steht in engem Zusammenhang mit dem wirtschaftlichen Aufschwung ab Beginn der 2000er Jahre. Sie wird auf internationaler Ebene, etwa bei der UN, als beispielhaftes und einzigartiges Programm präsentiert, weil hier in relativ kurzer Zeit eine große Anzahl angeblicher „Slums“ beseitigt wurde und für die zuvor dort lebenden ärmsten Bevölkerungsgruppen angemessene Wohnbedingungen geschaffen wurden⁸.

Die Politik der Umsiedlungen und Siedlungsabrisse in Algerien ist gekennzeichnet durch eine fast militärisch durchgeplante Vorgehensweise und eine starke Subventionierung der Maßnahmen. Die Umsetzung der Planungen wurde durch die Verbesserung der Staatsfinanzen nach dem Anstieg der Ölpreise möglich (Safar-Zitoun 2012 b) und basiert auch auf der politischen Vorgabe, die Wohnungsnot und die politische Krisensituation, in die das Land in den 1990er Jahren geraten war, endlich zu überwinden.

Im Gegensatz zu vorherigen Wohnbauprogrammen der 1970er und 1980er Jahre ist diese Wohnungspolitik tatsächlich auf die ärmsten Bevölkerungsgruppen ausgerichtet (Le Tellier 2010). Dies hat es ermöglicht, vielen Tausenden in „prekären Wohnverhältnissen“ lebenden Haushalten Zugang zu einer menschenwürdigen Wohnung zu verschaffen und damit einigermaßen die Spuren und Überreste des „schwarzen Jahrzehnts“ auszulöschen. Es sei daran erinnert, dass islamistische Extremisten einen Teil der Armutsgebiete zu ihren Hochburgen gemacht hatten (Brulé / Fontaine 1997). Die neue staatliche Wohnungsbaupolitik hat es geschafft, die Vergabe von Sozialwohnungen im Sinne eines „Win-Win“-Sozialpakts zu instrumentalisieren: „Wohnung“ gegen „sozialen Frieden“.

Diese Politik als Teil einer klassischen Rentenökonomie mit Verteilung der Öleinnahmen an verschiedene Sozialgruppen, den verschiedenen Legitimationslogiken des Staates im Kampf gegen französischen Kolonialismus und islamistischen Terror folgend, lässt die Umrisse eines hybriden Regierungsmodells der „kontrollierten Öffnung“ erkennen (Dris Ait-Hamadouché / Dris 2012). Die Finanzierung der ehrgeizigen Wohnungsbau- und Umsiedlungspolitik bleibt jedoch vom Ölpreis abhängig, der seit 2014 eingebrochen ist, was auch die Dynamik der Umsiedlungsprogramme deutlich verlangsamt und die sozialen Versprechen des Staates zu einer schweren Hypothek werden ließ. Zudem gibt es trotz aller Anstrengungen erhebliche Mängel in der Projektsteuerung und Inkohärenzen bei der Planung der neuen Wohngebiete, unter anderem Defizite beim Ausbau der Infrastruktur, die mit der Dynamik des Wohnbaus nicht überall Schritt hält.

Auch wenn das Wohnbauprogramm es geschafft hat, die klientelistische Logik zu umgehen, die bei der Zuteilung von Wohnungen in früheren Wohnbauprogrammen üblich war, so folgt es doch letztlich einer liberalen Logik des Ausschlusses und der Ausgrenzung der städtischen Armut und zielt auf die Umnutzung der in Städten dadurch freigewordenen Standorte für den Bedarf der aufstrebenden Mittelklasse sowie für kommerzielle Vorhaben. Das – vordergründig zur Vermeidung des Klientelismus – hier praktizierte autoritäre, ja bevormundende Vorgehen schließt nicht nur eine Bürgerbeteiligung bei der Planung der neuen Wohngebäude, sondern auch jede Teilhabe an der Planung der Umsiedlungen und jede Angabe von Präferenzen in Bezug auf Ort oder Art der neuen Wohnung aus. Da es nicht allein um das Wohl und die soziale Befriedung der umgesiedelten Bevölkerung geht, sondern vielleicht sogar in erster Linie um die Verwertung der damit freigeräumten innerstädtischen Flächen für staatliche oder private Bauprojekte, ist zu befürchten, dass bei zunehmend schrumpfenden Staatseinnahmen die Priorität auf die innerstädtische Flächenverwertung gelegt wird und immer weniger auf die noch nachzuholende Ausstattung der neuen Wohngebiete am Stadtrand.

Das Interesse an einer raschen Umsetzung des Programms und an der schnellen Wiederverwertung der freigeräumten Flächen bedingte einen großen Druck in Richtung auf eine schnelle Planung und Fertigstellung

8

Der Wali (Gouverneur) von Algier präsentierte am 25. Oktober 2016 bei den Vereinten Nationen in New York die algerische Erfahrung zur Beseitigung der „bidonvilles“. Parallel dazu lief eine Ausstellung über das Wohnbau- und Umsiedlungsprogramm mit dem Titel „Algier, die erste afrikanische Stadt ohne Slums“.

der neuen Wohngebiete. Dies ließ wenig Zeit für professionelle Studien, die in der Lage gewesen wären, eine sozial und ökologisch nachhaltige Stadtentwicklung zu antizipieren und die Umsiedlungen nach einer solchen integrierten Strategie zu planen. Durch die Nutzung bislang nicht zu Bebauung vorgesehener Flächen im Umfeld der Stadt für die neuen Wohnsiedlungen wurden die bestehenden Flächennutzungs- und Stadtentwicklungsplanungen obsolet und wurde der Verlust von stadtnahem Agrarland sowie die Zersiedlung befördert. Die hier geschaffene neue dezentrale Siedlungsstruktur wird sehr wahrscheinlich zusätzliche Pendlerströme und damit ein Anwachsen der Verkehrs- und Umweltprobleme bedingen. [Abb. 5-7]

Die Auslagerung einkommensschwacher Bevölkerungsgruppen aus zentralen Bereichen der Stadt an die Peripherie ist auch unter anderen Gesichtspunkten problematisch. Sie missachtet die Verwurzelung dieser Bevölkerung in den Quartieren, die sie teils seit mehreren Jahrzehnten bewohnt hatten. Dazu kommt die Vereinzelung der umgesiedelten Familien und ihre Loslösung aus dem ursprünglichen sozialen Umfeld, welches ihnen Schutz und vielfältige Überlebenshilfen bot. Auch

die Möglichkeit des Einkommenserwerbs in unmittelbarer Nähe der eigenen Wohnung ist dabei ein wichtiges Element, das in den neuen Wohnvierteln außerhalb der Stadt in der Regel nicht mehr gegeben ist. Die Umsiedlungen könnten so nicht nur die wirtschaftlichen Probleme ärmster Sozialgruppen verschärfen, sie können auch die sozialräumliche Segregation und damit die Spaltung der Gesellschaft verstärken und stellen das „Recht auf die Stadt“ für die Ärmsten in Frage.

Angesichts all dieser Probleme ist es fraglich, ob diese Wohnbau- und Umsiedlungspolitik mit ihrer Mischung aus autoritärem Vorgehen und großzügiger Subventionierung ihren Anspruch gerecht werden kann, prekäre Wohnsituationen und informelle Siedlungen in Algerien nachhaltig zu beseitigen. Es ist zu befürchten, dass die jetzt schon sichtbar werdenden Widersprüche und Defizite dieser Politik neue problematische Situationen erzeugen werden – entweder in der Form langsam verfallender neuen Siedlungen mit ungenügender Ausstattung und sozialräumlicher Marginalisierung oder durch neue informelle Siedlungen, die das Kriterium einer Nähe zu möglichen Arbeitsplätzen besser erfüllen als der an den Stadtrand verbannte Sozialwohnungsbau.

Quellenverzeichnis

Algérie Presse Service (03.06.2015) „Ville-urbanisme-aménagement: Alger sera exemptée de bidonvilles à fin 2015“ <www.djaziress.com/fr/apssfr/423947> [Zugriff: 01.07.2017].

Baduel, Pierre R. (1986) „La production de l'habitat au Maghreb.“ In: Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord, Tome XXV, Ed. CNRS, Paris.

Banque Mondiale (1998) Rapport final sur le Programme de Résorption de l'Habitat Précaire: Etude d'Impact sur l'Environnement, Avril 1998. Washington, D.C. <<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/pt/981271468741585832/pdf/multi-page.pdf>> [Zugriff: 16.11.2016].

Boubekur, Sid (2009) „L'industrie du bâtiment dans la politique industrielle de l'Algérie.“ In: La ville et l'urbain dans le Monde arabe et en Europe: Acteurs, Organisations et Territoires, S. 85-92. Rabat: Institut de recherche sur le Maghreb contemporain. <<http://books.openedition.org/irmc/562>> [Zugriff: 08.02.2017].

Brulé, Jean-Claude / Fontaine, J. (1997) „Geography of political islamism in Algeria: interpretations from the 1990 and 1991 polls.“ In: Bulletin de l'Association de géographes français, 74e année, 1997-1 (mars). Espaces du monde arabe. S. 83-96. <www.persee.fr/doc/bagf_0004-5322_1997_num_74_1_1957> [Zugriff: 21.08.2016].

Chabou-Othmani, Mariam (2015) „Sustainable urban requalification in Algiers as a way to recover deteriorated areas.“ In: Özcevik, Ö., Brebbia, C.A. und Sener, S.M.: WIT Transactions on Ecology and The Environment, Vol 193, Wessex Institute of Technology, UK, S.15-25.

Conseil des ministres (2009) Programme quinquennal des investissements publics 2009-2014. Alger. <www.mae.gov.dz/images/sce/programme-quinquennal.pdf> [Zugriff: 01.05.2016].

Driss Aït Hamadouche, Louisa / Driss, Cherif (2012) „De la résilience des régimes autoritaires: la complexité algérienne.“ In: L'Année du Maghreb, dossier: Un printemps arabe? VIII, S.279-301. <<http://anneemaghreb.revues.org/1503>> [Zugriff: 01.05.2016].

Egis Eau / IAU-IDF / BRGM (2012) Etude sur la vulnérabilité et l'adaptation de la Wilaya d'Alger au changement climatique et aux risques naturels. Chapitre 6. <http://cmimarseille.org/sites/default/files/newsite/library/files/fr/ACC_Alger_Phase%20FINALE_Part2.pdf> [Zugriff: 04.05.2016].

El-Djaziir.com (2016) Le Magazine promotionnel de l'Algérie, Hors-série, spécial habitat, „La bataille du grand Alger“. <http://eldjaziir.com/telech_doc_supplement.php> [Zugriff: 01.07.2017].

Fourcaut, Annie (2004) „Alger-Paris: Crise du logement et choix des grands ensembles autour du Xle Congrès National de l'Habitation et d'Urbanisme d'Alger (Mai 1952)“, In: Chabbi-Chemrouk, N., Djellal, N., Sidi Boumedine, R. et Safar Zitoun, M. (Hrsg.) Alger, lumières sur la ville, S.128-133. Alger: Dalimen.

Le Tellier, Julien (2010) „Regards croisés sur les politiques d'habitat social au Maghreb: Algérie, Maroc, Tunisie.“ In: Lien social et Politiques, no 63, printemps, S. 55-65. <www.erudit.org/revue/lsp/2010/v/n63/044149r.pdf> [Zugriff: 01.05.2016].

MHUV (Ministère de l'Habitat, de l'Urbanisme et de la Ville) (o.J.) Revue Habitat n°2. <www.mhuv.gov.dz> [Zugriff: 08.02.2017]

Prenant, André (2002) „L'informel en Algérie.“ in: Cahiers du GRE-MAMO, n° 17, S. 71-93.

Plan Stratégique d'Alger, In: Revue Vie des Villes, hors-série n°03 (2012).

Présidence de la République (o.J.) <www.elmouradia.dz> [Zugriff: 16.05.2016].

Rolnik, Raquel (2011) Résumé du Rapport sur l'Algérie, Conseil des droits de l'homme, Dix-neuvième session. <<http://dzactiviste.info/rapport-onu-logement-algerie-par-mme-raquel-rolnik-juillet-2011/>> [Zugriff: 02.05.2016].

Safar-Zitoun, Madani (1996) Stratégies patrimoniales et urbanisation. Alger 1962-1992, Paris: L'Harmattan.

Safar-Zitoun, Madani (2012 a) „Le logement en Algérie: programmes, enjeux et tensions.“ In: Confluences Méditerranée n° 8½, S. 133-152.

Safar-Zitoun, Madani (2012 b) „Etat providence et politique de logement en Algérie, Le poids encombrant de la gestion des rentes urbaines.“, in: Revue Tiers-Monde n° 210/2, S. 89-106.

Safar-Zitoun, Madani, Tabti-Talamali, Amina avec la collaboration de Julien Le Tellier (2009) „La Mobilité Urbaine Dans L'agglomération d'Alger: Évolutions Et Perspectives“. In: Rapport sur Alger plan bleu, Banque Mondiale. <https://planbleu.org/sites/default/files/publications/mobilite_urbaine_alger_fr.pdf> [Zugriff: 17.05.2016].

Wilaya d'Alger / Parquexpo (2011) PDAU 2030 d'Alger: Rapport d'orientation, direction de l'urbanisme, Alger, 133 S.

Die Autorin dankt Klaus Teschner für seine wertvollen Hinweise und seine Hilfestellung bei der Übersetzung fachbezogener französischsprachiger Bezeichnungen.



Meriem Chabou-Othmani

Dr. Ing., Dozentin (Maître de Conférences) an der Hochschule für Architektur und Städtebau (Ecole Polytechnique d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme - EPAU) in Algier. Kontakt: <m.chabou@epau-alger.edu.dz>

The ABC of Real-world Lab Methodology

From "Action Research" to "Participation" and Beyond

Oliver Parodi, Richard Beecroft, Marius Albiez, Alexandra Quint, Andreas Seebacher, Kaidi Tamm, Colette Waitz ^{1,2}

"Real-world laboratories" and "real-world lab research" are new concepts, and therefore not yet clearly defined. Even though they are highly-regarded newcomers in certain scientific communities, there is still no common understanding of their characteristics. This compilation of key terms offers a brief overview of real-world laboratories and their position between science and practice. With this paper, the authors explicate their understanding of these key terms to invite discussion, in the hope of contributing to a consensus on the characteristics of real-world laboratories.

Von „Aktionsforschung“ bis „Zielkonflikt“: Schlüsselbegriffe der Reallaborforschung

„Reallabor“ und „Reallaborforschung“ sind junge und demgemäß noch wenig scharf umrissene Konzepte. Obwohl sie in einigen wissenschaftlichen Communities gerade Karriere machen, hat sich noch kein allgemein geteiltes, inhaltliches Verständnis herausgebildet. Die Sammlung von Schlüsselbegriffen soll einen schnellen Einstieg und ersten Gesamteindruck geben, was Reallabore auszeichnet, und die Bezüge zur umgebenden Wissenschaftslandschaft und Praxis aufzeigen. Die Autorinnen und Autoren explizieren hiermit ihr Begriffsverständnis und stellen dieses zur Diskussion mit dem Ziel, zu einem geteilten Begriffsverständnis in der Reallaborforschung beizutragen.

1

An earlier version of this text was published in German: Parodi, O.; Beecroft, R.; Albiez, M.; Quint, A.; Seebacher, A.; Tamm, K. & Waitz, C. (2016) Von 'Aktionsforschung' bis 'Zielkonflikte'. Schlüsselbegriffe der Reallaborforschung. In: TATuP 25/3, p. 9-18.

2

If not indicated, all figures are by the authors (© QZ/ITAS/KIT)

Figure 1: "Gaining an understanding of the problem situation, and developing practical solutions": Citizens looking at our project's timeline, displayed along the "Future Space" showcase windows.

1. Action Research, Intervention Research
2. Aims, Conflicts of Aims
3. Citizen Science, Public Engagement in Science
4. Education, Social and Societal Learning
5. Interdisciplinarity, Transdisciplinarity
6. Laboratories, Labs
7. Location, Addressability
8. Participation, Actors
9. Planning, Design, Development
10. Real-world Experiment, Experiment, Transdisciplinary Experiment
11. Real-world Laboratories
12. Sustainable Development, Sustainable, Future-oriented
13. Transformation Research, Transformative Research

This compilation of key terms is presented in the form of a glossary. They are not abstract definitions, but explicitly tailored to the context of real-world laboratories. The glossary encompasses four types of key terms: terms from various academic traditions (e.g., "action

research"), theoretical and methodological terms that describe the specific working methods of real-world laboratories (e.g., "real-world experiments"), commonly used terms (e.g., "location") that need to be specified in the context of real-world laboratories, and key terms that describe the aims of real-world laboratory research (e.g., "sustainability"). The nature of the respective explanations varies accordingly. The text has deliberately been kept short, touching only briefly upon the conceptual fields. The references are selected as starting points to deepen the respective issue.

1. Action Research, Intervention Research

In the 1940s, the concept of "action research" was coined by social psychologist Kurt Lewin (Lewin 1946). Today, Lewin's concept is still being applied. Action research is a form of experimental research that addresses the problems of a group, a community, or an organisation, and helps the people involved to work on their problems in an iterative, empirical and reflexive way (Kemmis 2011, Stringer 2014). The aim of action research, which was originally designed in an educational context, is to gain an understanding for the problem situation and to develop practical solutions. The basic steps form a spiral of planning, acting, observing and reflecting (Kemmis/McTaggart 1988, Kemmis 2011). Sometimes, practitioners plan and carry out action research independently in order to improve their own experience. In most cases, action research is used as a participatory research format to cooperate between researchers and partners from other fields. The use of everyday language makes the process of research more accessible and helps all involved in this process to see themselves as co-researchers.

Since the 1990s, intervention research has come up as a strategy related to action research. It is characterised by a stronger role of the researchers, an idea



of practice that is more system-oriented than action-oriented, and with an increased focus on a far-reaching system transformation. According to Krainer and Lerchster, intervention research should support practice systems on their way to collective self-reflection and enlightenment in order to reach decisions about their own planning for the future (Krainer/Lerchster 2012, p. 10-11).

Real-world laboratories and real-world lab research stand in the tradition of action and intervention research, as these are research strategies which work especially well in experimental settings that focus on iterative processes and continuous reflection. For this purpose, real-world laboratories provide ideal conditions. Real-world lab research could also be regarded as a type of institutionalised action or intervention research. (For more information about the roles of the researchers, see also Wittmayer/Schäpke 2014.)

Literature

Kemmis, S.; McTaggart, R. (eds.) (1988) *The action research planner*. Victoria.

Kemmis, S. (2011) "A Self-Reflective Practitioner and a New Definition of Critical Participatory Action Research." In: Mockler, N. & Sachs, J. (eds.) *Rethinking Educational Practice Through Reflexive Inquiry*, p. 11-29. Springer Netherlands.

Krainer, L.; Lerchster, R. E. (2012) *Interventionsforschung Bd. 1: Paradigmen, Methoden, Reflexionen*. Wiesbaden.

Lewin, K. (1946) "Action Research and Minority Problems." In: *Journal of Social Issues* 2(4), p. 34-46.

Stringer, E. T. (2014) *Action Research: A Handbook for Practitioners*. 4th ed., Newbury Park.

Wittmayer, J. M.; Schäpke, N. (2014) "Action, research and participation: roles of researchers in sustainability transitions." In: *Sustainability Science* 9/4, p. 483-496.

2. Aims, Conflicts of Aims

To work in a sustainability-oriented real-world laboratory means to concurrently pursue aims of research, transformation, and education/learning. Two types of conflicts can appear in doing so. "Conflicts of interest" denotes a clash of different interests (justified or not) of various actors on practice level. True conflicts of aims (aka "goal conflicts") are of fundamental and theoretical character. If several aims are pursued at the same time and are mutually exclusive in their fulfilment, they constitute a conflict of aims.

In real-world labs, conflicts of aims arise not only from pursuing different aims of research, transformation, and education/learning, but also from the multidimensionality of sustainable development. Its sub-targets – and their respective realisation – can exclude each other fundamentally. Such conflicts of aims originate already from theory and not only from realisation in practice; therefore, they can hardly be solved (Dusseldorp 2007, Dusseldorp 2017). Hence, in real-world lab research, conflicts of aims will inevitably appear, which calls for considering case-specific and contextualised solution options. Conflicts of aims and conflicts of interests can appear simultaneously. It seems useful to deal with conflicts in an open and transparent way and to seek a dialogue with all actors involved; yet, a complete resolution of conflicts of aims cannot be expected.



Literature

Dusseldorp, M. (2007) "Zielkonflikte der Nachhaltigkeit als Herausforderung für die Technikfolgenabschätzung." In: Bora, A.; Bröckler, S. & Decker, M. (eds.) *Technology Assessment in der Weltgesellschaft*, p. 417-421. Berlin.

Dusseldorp, M. (2017) *Zielkonflikte der Nachhaltigkeit. Zur Methodologie wissenschaftlicher Nachhaltigkeitsbewertungen*. Wiesbaden: Springer.

March, J. G. (1994) *A primer on decision making: how decisions happen*. New York: The Free Press.

Rittel, H.; Webber, M. (1973) "Dilemmas in a General Theory of Planning." In: *Policy Sciences* 4 (1973), p. 155-169.

Figure 2: Workshops and talks on a big variety of topics (such as urban mobility, regional food supply, deceleration, community, and eco-villages) correspondingly attract a wide audience among the urban population.

3. Citizen Science, Public Engagement in Science

Based on the perception of general social reservations regarding science and technology ("expertocracy"), a search began for ways to create acceptance for science and technology. Supposing that this lack of acceptance is primarily the result of poor understanding, educational programmes for the "public understanding of science" were (and still are) being initiated, supposedly enabling a vivid, playful and self-active access to scientific topics.

Under the heading "public engagement in science", these activities have been extended and deepened (critically reconstructed in Weingart 2005). This was done by opening research to the public, not presenting final results but rather making the diverse way that leads to them visible and perceptible. Although the term suggests otherwise, "public engagement in science" projects rarely include engaging the public in the selection of the research questions.

The keyword "citizen science" describes numerous activities in which interested citizens collect large quantities of data. This method is predominantly used for questions from natural sciences (e.g., bird watching), but it is gradually also being applied in social sciences. And citizens get included more and more into the data analysis, evaluation and also in the generation of new and interdisciplinary research questions. High hopes are placed in citizen science concerning the reconnection of science into the democratic society (Finke/Laszlo 2014). But citizen science as a programmatic approach also raises serious questions

with regard to the relationship between science (as a profession) and citizenship.

"Citizen science" can prospectively serve real-world labs as a valuable complement of its methodical spectrum to allow higher numbers of citizens to participate and to integrate their problem perceptions and ideas for solutions. In real-world labs, "public engagement in science" is put into practice to a much higher degree than the programmatic approach describes.

Literature

Eitzel, M.V. et al. (2017) "Citizen Science Terminology Matters. Exploring Key Terms." In: *Citizen Science: Theory and Practice* 2/1, p. 1.

Finke, P. & Laszlo, E. (2014) *Citizen Science: Das unterschätzte Wissen der Laien*. München.

Franzoni, C.; Sauermann, H. (2014) "Crowd science: The organization of scientific research in open collaborative projects." In: *Research Policy* 43 (2014), p. 1-20.

Nowotny, H.; Scott, P. & Gibbons, M. (2001) *Re-thinking science: Knowledge and the public in an age of uncertainty*. London/UK: Polity Press.

Riesch, H.; Potter, C. (2014) "Citizen science as seen by scientists: Methodological, epistemological and ethical dimensions." In: *Public Understanding of Science* 23 (2014), p. 107-120.

Weingart, P. (2005) *Die Wissenschaft der Öffentlichkeit: Essays zum Verhältnis von Wissenschaft, Medien und Öffentlichkeit*. Weilerswist.

4. Education, Social and Societal Learning

Research in real-world laboratories, like transdisciplinary research in general, is often described as a social learning process (Schneidewind/Singer-Brodowski 2015). This term depicts different aspects: (1) Real-world lab research can be seen as an iterative process that offers participants an opportunity to gain experience, to reflect, and to initiate change. The real-world laboratory can be seen as a supportive infrastructure, as a place of learning. (2) Real-world lab research offers the opportunity of peer learning and mutual learning by social exchange. (3) The learning process also includes social issues and involves different groups of stakeholders (social learning, Reed et al. 2010). (4) Real-world lab research can and should work as an engine for social transformation processes and therefore represents the starting point of societal learning, which can be seen as a learning

process for the society as a whole. (5) As far as the learning processes are changing the participants' worldview and self-image, they can also be considered as processes of education (or "Bildung", Beecroft/Dusseldorp 2009). Although these five aspects refer to each other, it should be noted that a mere description as "social learning processes" would blur the differences between these five levels of meaning.

Even though real-world lab research is often described and partly planned as a "social learning process", there are currently few references to the experiences of didactics within the field of planning learning and educational processes.

Literature

Barth, M.; Michelsen, G.; Rieckmann, M.; Thomas, I. (eds.) (2016) *Routledge handbook of higher education for sustainable development*. Routledge international handbooks. London & New York: Routledge.

Beecroft, R.; Dusseldorp, M. (2009) "TA als Bildung. Ansatzpunkte für Methodologie und Lehre." In: *TATuP* Nr. 3, 18. Jg., p. 55-64.

Fadeeva, Z.; Brundiers, K.; Wiek, A.; Redman C. L. (2010) "Real-world learning opportunities in sustainability." In: *International Journal of Sustainability in Higher Education* 11(4), p. 308-324. DOI: 10.1108/14676371011077540.

Reed, M.; Evely, A.; Cundill, G. et al. (2010) "What is Social Learning?" In: *Ecology and Society* 15(4): r1. [online] URL: <http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol15/iss4/resp1/> (10.11.2016).

Schneidewind, U.; Singer-Brodowski, M. (2015) "Vom experimentellen Lernen zum transformativen Experimentieren: Reallabore als Katalysator für eine lernende Gesellschaft auf dem Weg zu einer Nachhaltigen Entwicklung." In: *Zeitschrift für Wirtschafts- und Unternehmensethik*, 16/1, p. 10-23.

Wals, A. (ed.) (2007) *Social learning towards a sustainable world*. Wageningen: Wageningen Academic Publishers.

Wiek, A.; Xiong, A.; Brundiers, K.; van der Leeuw, S. (2014) "Integrating problem- and project-based learning into sustainability programs." In: *International Journal of Sustainability in Higher Education* 15(4), p. 431-449. DOI: 10.1108/IJSHE-02-2013-0013.

5. Interdisciplinarity, Transdisciplinarity

The terms "interdisciplinarity" and "transdisciplinarity" describe two consecutive research paradigms: Interdisciplinarity refers to the cooperation of researchers from different disciplines with the aim of generating knowledge which would otherwise remain hidden to the single disciplines (Kocka 1987, Frodeman et al 2017). Transdisciplinarity describes an opening of science to: a) real world problems; b) the integration of non-scientific players and; c) addressing the normative dimension of the issues explicitly. In most cases, transdisciplinary research includes interdisciplinarity (Bergmann et al. 2010) and is seen as a sophisticated research process that is created in cooperation with non-scientific actors. This specific situation of transdisciplinary cooperation also changes "the research questions, hypothesis, methods and the language of research" (Eckhardt 2014, own translation).

Both research paradigms stem from the criticism of the limits of disciplinary science (Euler 2005). Today's discourse on interdisciplinarity has largely lost its problem-oriented impetus. In transdisciplinary science, the impetus often takes the shape of a positive and normative orientation based on the concept of sustainable development (Hirsch Hadorn et al. 2008). A second discourse on

Figure 3: "The Karlsruhe Repair Café – a perfect, low-threshold format for learning about (and elegantly teaching) sustainability, sufficiency and resiliency issues.



transdisciplinarity focuses on the connection between science and art (Tröndle/Warmers 2011, Adams et al. 2008). Both interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity are central categories of cross-disciplinary teaching. In the field of real-world laboratories, transdisciplinarity is seen as the common research paradigm.

Literature

Adams, R.; Gibson, S.; Müller Arisona, S., (eds.) (2008) Transdisciplinary Digital Art: Sound, Vision and the New Screen. Vol. 7, Springer Science & Business Media.

Bergmann, M.; Jahn, T.; Knobloch, T.; Krohn, W. et al. (2010) Methoden Transdisziplinärer Forschung. Ein Überblick mit Anwendungsbeispielen. Frankfurt (Main).

Eckhardt, F. (2014) Stadtforschung. Gegenstand und Methoden. Wiesbaden.

Euler, P. (2005) "Interdisziplinarität als kritisches 'Bildungsprinzip' der Forschung: methodologische Konsequenzen." In: TATuP 14 (2), p. 63-68.

Frodeman, R., Thompson-Klein, J. & Dos Santos Pacheco, R. C. (eds.) (2017) The Oxford Handbook of Interdisciplinarity. 2nd edition. Oxford University Press.

Hirsch Hadorn, G. et al. (eds.) (2008) Handbook of transdisciplinary research. Dordrecht: Springer.

Kocka, J. (ed.) (1987) Interdisziplinarität. Praxis – Herausforderung – Ideologie. Frankfurt (Main).

Lang D. J. et al (2012) "Transdisciplinary research in sustainability science: Practice, principles, and challenges." In: Sustainability Science 2012, 7(S1), p. 25-43.

Tröndle, M.; Warmers, J. (eds.) (2011) Kunstforschung als ästhetische Wissenschaft. Beiträge zur transdisziplinären Hybridisierung von Wissenschaft und Kunst. Bielefeld.

6. Laboratories, Labs

The term "laboratory" (or "lab") describes a place and an infrastructure constructed for generating knowledge. It allows for creating stable conditions for experimental research and its documentation. Laboratories are closely connected to the development of natural sciences and engineering (Schmidgen 2011).

In order to emphasise the technological, infrastructural or innovative-creative character, a lot of (research) facilities and projects are carrying the term "lab" in their names (SENWTF 2013). Currently, an inflationary use of the label "laboratory" or "lab" can be observed.

The profile of real-world laboratories emphasises transformation research, sustainability and transdisciplinarity. These three characteristics distinguish real-world laboratories considerably from the following "laboratories" whose experimental approach is only partly scientific and whose findings do not necessarily flow back to the scientific discourse:

- Living lab, urban living lab, sustainable living lab: infrastructure for open socio-technical innovation processes, connection to the users' everyday life, with partial inclusion of transdisciplinary elements (von Geibler et al. 2013);
- Transition lab, urban transition lab, ecological design lab, sustainability lab: co-design of and research on transition towards more sustainability (Neuens et al. 2013);



- City lab, urban lab, ecological design lab, resilience lab: urban and regional planning, urban development, e.g., relating to a smart city vision (no systematic overview published yet);
- Fab lab, fabrication laboratory: free access to production technologies, open hardware & maker-movement (Baier et al. 2016).

Furthermore, there are many funding initiatives in Germany for urban and regional planning, like the *Internationale Bauausstellung*³ or *REGIONALE*⁴, which are designed as laboratories but do not carry this term in their names (Hohn et al. 2014).

Literature

Baier, A.; Hansing, T.; Müller, C.; Werner, K. (ed.) (2016) Die Welt reparieren. Open Source und Selbermachen als postkapitalistische Praxis. Bielefeld.

Evans, J.; Karvonen A. (2011) "Living laboratories for sustainability: exploring the politics and epistemology of urban transition." In: Bulkeley, H.; Castán Broto, V. et al. (eds.) (2011) Cities and Low Carbon Transitions, p. 126-141.

Geibler, J. von; Erdmann, L.; Liedtke, C. et al. (2013) Living Labs für nachhaltige Entwicklung: Potenziale einer Forschungsinfrastruktur zur Nutzerintegration in der Entwicklung von Produkten und Dienstleistungen. Wuppertal.

Hohn, U.; Kemming, H.; Reimer, M. (ed.) (2014) Formate der Innovation in der Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung. Reflexionen aus Planungstheorie und Planungspraxis. Lemgo.

Neuens, F.; Frantzeskaki, N.; Gorissen, L. et al. (2013) "Urban Transition Labs. Co-creating Transformative Action for Sustainable Cities." In: Journal of Cleaner Production 50, p. 111-122.

Schmidgen, H. (2011) "Labor." In: Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO). Institut für Europäische Geschichte. Mainz. URL: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schmidgenh-2011-de> (10.11.2016).

SENWTF Senatsverwaltung für Wirtschaft, Technologie und Forschung, Landesinitiative Projekt Zukunft (2013) Innovations- und Kreativlabs in Berlin. Räume und Events als Schnittstellen von Innovation und Kreativität. Berlin.

Wiek, A.; Kay, B.; Forrest, N. (2017): "Worth the trouble?! An evaluative scheme for urban sustainability transition labs (USTL) and an application to the USTL in Phoenix, Arizona." In: Frantzeskaki, N.; Coenen, L.; Castán Broto, V. & Loorbach, D. (2017) Urban Sustainability Transitions, p. 227-256. Routledge Series on Sustainability Transitions. London: Routledge.

▲
Figure 4: The "Future Space" district office and science shop in Karlsruhe – a space for cooperation, consulting, and events; and an information hub and meeting point for non-academic working groups, researchers, and visitors.

3
The *International Building Exhibition* ("IBA") is a sporadic town planning and urban development instrument in Germany which, having a thematic focus, aims at stimulating regional transformation (see Wikipedia.de).

4
The *REGIONALE* is an intermittent strategic means of promoting ground-breaking joint projects of a region financed by the German State of North Rhine-Westphalia (see Wikipedia.de).

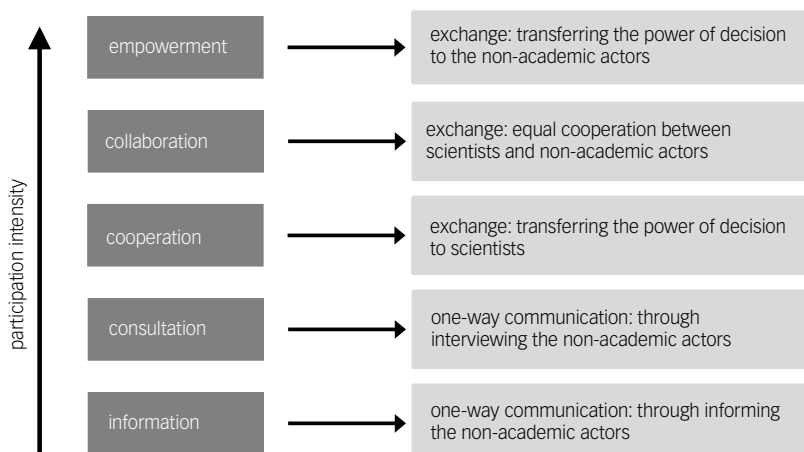
7. Location, Addressability

Real-world labs should, as an infrastructure for transdisciplinary participative working, have their own designated space, which needs to be easily accessible and centrally located in the project area, outside the so-called academic ivory tower. Key requirements for this location are visibility, accessibility, address generation and addressability. Typical characteristics and functions are:

- The location serves as a place where all participating actors can meet and exchange.
- It is accessible for everybody, facilitates interaction and identification with the real-world lab, and supports co-design of projects and the real-world lab itself.
- It enables seriousness and permanence, thereby strengthening the trust relation between academics and practice actors, which is fundamental for a long-term transdisciplinary process.
- It provides a continuous basis for the provision, generation and integration of knowledge, from academic as well as local and life-world perspectives, and it facilitates the discussion of local issues in relation to sustainable development.
- It provides a supportive framework for participatory processes at all levels (see chapter "Participation and Actors") as well as for educational processes and consultation.

The design of the space may differ significantly depending on the thematic focus and local conditions. It can feature characteristics of a neighbourhood office, a science shop (Gnaiger/Martin 2001, Steinhaus 2015), an agenda office (de Haan et al. 2013, Wittmayer et al. 2016), a studio, a community centre, and/or a researcher's office – but it can also be more than any one thing. As a hybrid, it unites various functions to a specific profile. By becoming a permanent part of its surroundings, the real-world lab also develops a (physical) aesthetic face ("addressability") supporting both the identification within the lab and the branding towards outside.

Figure 5: Five-step model of participation, following Brinkmann 2015 and Stauffacher 2008. Source: own representation.



Literature

De Haan, G.; Kuckartz, U. & Rheingans-Heintze, A. (2013) Bürgerbeteiligung in Lokale Agenda 21-Initiativen: Analysen zu Kommunikations- und Organisationsformen. Frankfurt (Main).

Gnaiger, A. & Martin, E. (2001) Science shops. Operational options. SCIPAS Report No. 1. Utrecht: Science Shop for Biology, Utrecht University.

Steinhaus, N. (2015) "Wissenschaftsläden vieler orts." In: Finke, P. (ed.) Freie Bürger – Freie Forschung. Die Wissenschaft verlässt den Elfenbeinturm. München.

Wittmayer, J. M. et al. (2016) "Governing sustainability: a dialogue between Local Agenda 21 and transition management." In: Local Environment 21/8 (2016), p. 939-955.

8. Participation, Actors

Participation – be it involvement in project work, research, or social design processes – plays a driving role in transdisciplinary research. Participation is the basis for co-designs and co-creation in real-world labs. Activating participation enables different actors to engage on eye level, to receive information, to take part in decisions, and to contribute to a design process (co-creation). This is mainly achieved through transparent processes and through raising sensibility for differing views on the subject. This perspective explicitly includes scientists in an active, engaged role rather than as a distant observer.

The intensity of participation is often classified into levels (Arnstein 1969, Selle 2013), for instance from information as a basal level (1), via consultation (2), co-operation (3) and equal collaboration between scientific actors and practice actors (4) through to empowerment (5), which means to enable actors to make decisions and to act in an autonomous and competent way (Brinkmann et al. 2015). Real-world labs can vary in the intensity of participation. To meet the requirements of transdisciplinarity (see section "Interdisciplinarity, Transdisciplinarity"), at least the level of cooperation (level 3) needs to be reached (Meyer-Soylu et al. 2016: 33) (see Figure 5).

Actors – are both individuals and groups, which intervene as natural or legal persons (Gabriel 2004) actively in a societal process. The constellation of actors depends on the topic of the real-world lab. It includes scientific actors and actors who are not focusing on sustainable development, even disagree with it. Actors that are physically present in the "sustainability theatre", i.e. the "sustainability crowd", develop through more intense concrete interaction (*resonance relationships/ "Resonanzbeziehungen"*, Rosa 2017) – parallel to their often lively digital activities – a higher transformative capacity of mobilisation, advertisement, and public awareness than the "sustainability cloud", whose members are mere "digital activists". Actors can also be categorised according to other aspects, for instance the degree of formalisation, relation to the project (area), intensity of activities, funds, level of explicit sustainability orientation, effectiveness, or profit orientation, as well as the degree of freedom according to the development and implementation of ideas.

Literature

Arnstein, S. (1969) "A Ladder of Citizen Participation." In: Journal of the American Institute of Planners 35 (4), p. 216-224.

Brinkmann, C.; Bergmann, M.; Huang-Lachmann, J. et al. (2015) Zur Integration von Wissenschaft und Praxis als Forschungsmodus – Ein Literaturüberblick. Report 23, Climate Service Center Germany, Hamburg.

Gabriel, M. (ed.) (2004) Paradigmen der akteurszentrierten Soziologie. Wiesbaden.

Hirsch Hadorn, G. et al. (eds.) (2008) Handbook of transdisciplinary research. Dordrecht: Springer.

Kasemir, B. (ed.) (2003) Public participation in sustainability science. A handbook. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Meyer-Soylu, S.; Parodi, O.; Trenks, H.; Seebacher, A. (2016) "Das Reallabor als Partizipationskontinuum. Erfahrungen aus dem Quartier Zukunft und Reallabor 131 in Karlsruhe." In: TATuP Nr. 25/3, p. 31-40.

Rosa, H., (2017 – forthcoming) Resonance – A Sociology of the Relationship to the World. Cambridge/UK: Polity.

Selle, K. (2013) Über Bürgerbeteiligung hinaus: Stadtentwicklung als Gemeinschaftsaufgabe? Detmold.

Stauffer, M.; Flüeler, T.; Krütli, P.; Scholz, R. W. (2008) "Analytic and dynamic approach to collaboration: A transdisciplinary case study on sustainable landscape development in a Swiss pre-alpine region." In: Systemic Practice and Action Research 21/6, P. 409-422.

Trencher, G.; Nagao, M. et al. (2017) "Implementing sustainability co-creation between universities and society: A typology based understanding." In: Sustainability 9 (594). DOI:10.3390/su9040594.

9. Planning, Design, Development

"Planning", "design", and "development" are sometimes used synonymously in the real-world lab discourse to describe the (partly) intentional changes in the experimental field. Nevertheless, in theory and practice these three processes have different characteristics.

Planning – is an intentional process that devises the course and timeline from the initial state to the final target state, realising abstract or factual goals (Jessel 1998, Reimer et al. 2014). Certain measures and instruments are used to influence the surrounding and social context in order to reach a desired future goal. "Urban planning" means the methodical development of a city, for which concepts are formulated on the basis of spatial, economic, and ecologic analyses, also taking into account the interests of public and private actors (Streich 2011).

Design – is a purposeful production process, driven by creativity, during which the participating actors produce something new or improve something existing. To enable design in the context of sustainable development, sustainability problems first need to be recognised as such and knowledge about sustainable development has to be specified for them.

Development – is a continuous process and means a – planned, partly planned or even unplanned – unfolding and advancing. In the context of sustainable development, the term "development" refers in a wider sense to the process-character of change, while it addresses in a narrow sense the socioeconomic development of poorer countries.

In real-world labs, all of these terms can play a central role (especially with regard to real-world labs in the urban context). Therefore, the terms need to be distinguished clearly with respect to their different meanings.



Literature

Jessel, B. (1998) Landschaften als Gegenstand von Planung – theoretische Grundlagen ökologisch orientierten Planens. Berlin.

Knieling, J.; Othengrafen, F. (2015) "Planning Culture – A Concept to Explain the Evolution of Planning Policies and Processes in Europe?" In: European Planning Studies (special issue) 23 (11), p. 2133-2147.

Reimer, M.; Panagiotis, G.; Blotvogel, H. H. (eds.) (2014) Spatial planning systems and practices in Europe. New York.

Streich, B. (2011) Stadtplanung in der Wissensgesellschaft. Ein Handbuch. Wiesbaden.

10. Real-world Experiment, Experiment, Transdisciplinary Experiment

In many scientific disciplines, experiments are an important way to attain knowledge and, especially, to validate or refute hypotheses. A scientific experiment has the following characteristics:

1. It is conducted under at least partially controlled conditions.
2. It is embedded in a theoretical framework.
3. Conditions, course, and results are comprehensively documented.
4. Its prime goal and result is the production of new knowledge (even if it fails).

Therefore, experimenting ranks among the inductive approaches which draw general conclusions from single cases. It can be distinguished from participatory observation (without controlled conditions), from trial and error (which is not led by a theory), from "pure" measurements (which does not support the formation of a theory, e. g. quality control), and from demonstration experiments (whose result is known). There are various forms of experimenting that deviate from the classical, natural, scientific experiment, such as the thought experiment, the computer experiment, and the self-experiment; in the last mentioned, those conducting the experiment become themselves part of it (Riehm/Wingert 1996) – with manifold epistemological and ethical implications.

▲
Figure 6: Project flyer in the form of a postcard: "Join in! Shape your, our future".

Experiments that are conducted within a real-world lab could obviously be termed "real-world experiments". But, initially, the term "real-world experiment" (early mention: Krohn/Weyer 1990) referred critically to the uncontrolled and not scientifically monitored character of technical, political, and societal experiments with an uncertain end (1-4 do not apply). The notion remains negatively connoted in the public despite new constructive interpretations (Groß et al. 2005) – and is therefore unsuitable for real-world labs.

The authors suggest to speak, instead, of "transdisciplinary experiments" (or, where appropriate, "sustainability experiments", "transformation experiments"). These are characterised by the fact that the experimental setting itself (i.e., design, implementation, evaluation, assessment, and utilisation) is open for participation. Transdisciplinary experiments can assume, with regard to the complex role of the participants, the role of (group) self-experiments, or show similarities with participating observation with regard to the sometimes hardly controllable boundary conditions. Nevertheless, they are always oriented towards the four characteristics mentioned above.

Literature

Caniglia, G.; Schöpke, N.; Lang, D. J.; Abson, D. J.; Luederitz, C.; Wiek, A.; Laubichler, M. D.; Gralla, F.; von Wehrden, H. von (2017): "Experiments and evidence in sustainability science: A typology." In: in press, Journal of Cleaner Production, No. XXX, p. 1-9.

Groß, M.; Hoffmann-Riem, H.; Krohn, W. (2005) Realexperimente. Ökologische Gestaltungsprozesse in der Wissensgesellschaft. Bielefeld.

Gross M. [in German: Groß, M.] (2016) "Give me an experiment and I will raise a laboratory." In: Science, Technology, and Human Values; 41(4), p. 613-634.

Krohn, W.; Weyer, J. (1990) "Die Gesellschaft als Labor." In: Halfmann, J. & Japp, K.-P. (ed.) Riskante Entscheidungen und Katastrophenpotentiale. Opladen, p. 89-122.

Riehm, U.; Wingert, B. (1996) "Methodisch kontrollierte Eigenerfahrung – ein neues Element einer TA-Methodik." In: Bechmann, G. (ed.) Praxisfelder der Technikfolgenforschung. Konzepte, Methoden, Optionen. Frankfurt a.o., p. 299-327. URL: <http://www.itsa.kit.edu/pub/v/1996/rwi96a.pdf> (26.11.2016).

11. Real-world Laboratories

For a few years now, the term "real-world lab" has received great attention in the German-speaking discourse

of sustainability research and transformation. But there is still a striving going on to formulate a sound and consistent concept of what a "real-world lab" should be.

The projects currently labelled as "real-world labs" show a broad range of individual activities, goals, theoretical backgrounds, and methodological approaches. In most cases, they revolve around transformation and learning processes, with stronger or weaker reference to science and to the guiding principle of sustainable development. Building upon first definitions, (Schneidewind/Scheck 2013, Schneidewind 2014), the authors propose the following clarification of the term: "Real-world lab" signifies a transdisciplinary research institution, designed to conduct sustainability experiments within a demarcated societal context in order to stipulate transformation processes, and to give continuity to the respective scientific and societal learning processes. The following seven characteristics are constitutive for a real-world lab (Beecroft/Parodi 2016, Parodi et al 2016, Wagner/Grunwald 2015):

- a. *Research orientation*: Real-world labs serve as scientific institutions for sustainability and transformation research.
- b. *Normativity*: Real-world labs are orientated towards the guiding principle of sustainable development and mention explicitly their normative assumptions, basis and goals.
- c. *Transdisciplinarity*: Real-world labs work in a transdisciplinary way. They link science and society (practice actors) in a direct manner and apply forms and methods of transdisciplinary research in the course of their experiments.
- d. *Transformativity*: Real-world labs conduct transformative research. They are hybrid ventures that aim, at the same time, at scientific findings and changes in societal practice. They enable sustainability research and deliver at once experimental contributions to sustainable development.
- e. *Civil-society orientation*: Real-world labs integrate, from the very beginning, citizens and/or civil society actors as strong partners and decision-makers into their work. They conduct multiple levels of participation (from information, consultation, and co-operation up to empowerment) and develop their transdisciplinary experiments in co-design.
- f. *Long-term perspective*: Real-world labs are established as long-term institutions with a time horizon of (several) decades.
- g. *Laboratory character*: Real-world labs are laboratories. They constitute a transdisciplinary infrastructure and aim at providing as good and stable conditions for experimental research as possible in complex real-world contexts. They offer a reliable framework for new insights. They have an adequate staffing and physical facilities for conducting transdisciplinary experiments.

Figure 7: The happening called Freiluftwohnzimmer ("Open-air Living Room") aims at re-populating public space: i.e., reconquering space lost due to car traffic and its side effects.



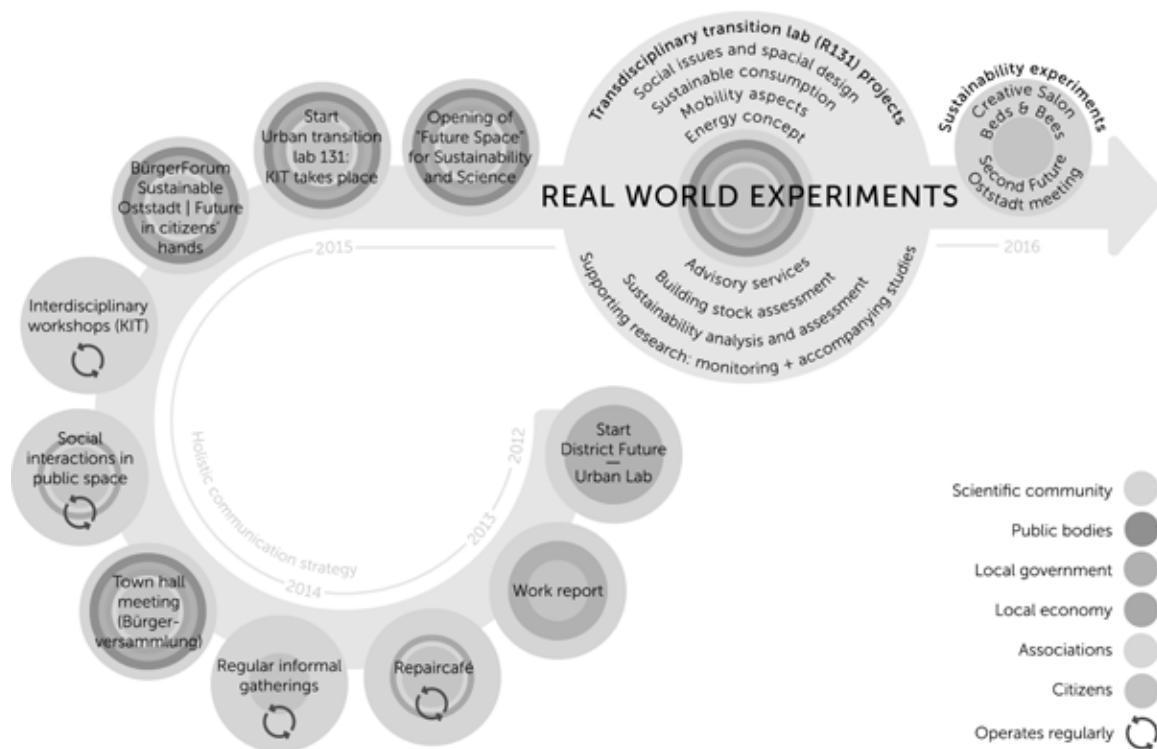


Figure 8: This graphic shows the path of life of the Karlsruhe real-world lab siblings Quartier Zukunft ("District Future") and R131 ("Urban Transition Lab 131"), and explains the types of participatory processes taking place in both.

Real-world labs are especially suitable for producing and exploring a "dense sustainability" that overarches dimensions, disciplines and sectors. Real-world labs are (at least implicitly) educational facilities and stimulating societal learning venues. Often they possess model character and can be designed to enable transferability towards other spatial or societal contexts.

Literature

Beecroft, R.; Parodi, O. (2016) "Reallabore als Orte der Nachhaltigkeitsforschung und Transformation." In: TATuP 25/3, p. 4-8.

Bernert, P.; Haaser, A.; Köhl, L.; Schaaf, T. (2016) "Towards a real-world laboratory: A transdisciplinary case study from Lüneburg." In: GAIA 25/4, p. 253-259.

Luederitz, C. et al. (2016) "Learning through evaluation – A tentative evaluative scheme for sustainability transition experiments." In: Journal of Cleaner Production. DOI:10.1016/j.jclepro.2016.09.005.

Parodi, O.; Albiez, M.; Beecroft, R.; Meyer-Soylu, S.; Quint, A.; Seebacher, A.; Trenks, H. & Waitz, C. (2016) "Das Konzept 'Reallabor' schärfen. Ein Zwischenruf des Reallabor 131: KIT findet Stadt." In: GAIA 25/4, p. 284-285.

Schäpke, N.; Singer-Brodowski, M.; Stelzer, F.; Bergmann, M. & Lang, D. J. (2015) "Creating space for change: Real-world laboratories for sustainability transformations. The case of Baden-Württemberg." In: GAIA 24/4, p. 281-283.

Schäpke, N., F. Stelzer, M. Bergmann, D.J. Lang (2016) "Tentative theses on transformative research in real-world laboratories: First insights from the accompanying research ForReal." In: TATuP 25/3, p. 10-15.

Schneidewind, U. (2014) "Urbane Reallabore – ein Blick in die aktuelle Forschungswerkstatt." In: pnd online (III), p. 1-7. URL: http://www.planung-neudenken.de/images/stories/pnd/dokumente/3_2014/schneidewind.pdf (10.11.2016).

Schneidewind, U.; Scheck, H. (2013) "Die Stadt als 'Reallabor' für Systeminnovationen." In: Rückert-John, J. (ed.) Soziale Innovation und Nachhaltigkeit, p. 229-248. Wiesbaden.

Wagner, F.; Grunwald, A. (2015) "Reallabore als Forschungs- und Transformationsinstrument. Die Quadratur des hermeneutischen Zirkels." In: GAIA 24(1), p. 26-31.

12. Sustainable Development, Sustainable, Future-oriented

The idea of sustainable development (SD) is a reaction to the insight, that the globally dominant, western, modern economic systems and lifestyle are creating increasingly problematic situations and existential threats (Meadows et al., 1972) that are not viable on a long term.

Different sustainability concepts have been formulated in the interplay between political, scientific and philosophical debates at the end of the 20th century (Grunwald/Kopfmüller 2012). They integrate ecological, social, economic, and sometimes also cultural and institutional perspectives on global development. Some concepts also formulate indicator sets (Kopfmüller et al. 2001, BUND et al. 2008), or specified goals (e.g., the sustainable development goals).

The notion of sustainability as intra- and inter-generational, as described in the so-called *Brundtland Report*: A development is deemed sustainable if "it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (United Nations 1987, chap. 3, No. 27). From an ethical perspective, sustainability is a conception of the good and right life, while taking into consideration our fellow mankind, our environment, and our descendants.

Since then, steps have been made on many political levels (e.g., on national level, German Sustainable Development Strategy; on municipality/EU level, Aalborg-Charter), with the United Nations playing a pivotal role as a driver of the implementation of sustainable development. Yet, the discrepancy between far-reaching SD goals and their current state of implementation remains striking.

SD, as a guiding principle both for knowledge production and factual transformation, is a core principle of

Note

Real-world laboratory "District Future"
"District Future – Urban Lab" (in German: Quartier Zukunft) is a research and development project of the Karlsruhe Institute of Technology (KIT) and the Institute for Technology Assessment and Systems Analysis (ITAS). In view of the on-going or foreseeable worldwide demographic and urbanisation explosion, the lab aims at actively promoting urban sustainability by gently changing everyday city life through a strong participatory approach; supporting joint efforts between citizens, science, politics, and the private sector; bringing both pioneering ideas and sustainability pioneers into play; and examining technological and societal innovations. Its conceptual research interests go beyond the actual factual research area in Karlsruhe (Germany), reaching out to other geographic contexts and keeping an eye on global intra- and intergenerational needs. Taking sustainable development seriously the lab strives for a (new) Culture of Sustainability, "sustainability by default", and for standards, and behavioural changes. Contact: <info@quartierzukunft.de>

Oliver Parodi

PhD, hydraulic engineer and philosopher, is project leader of District Future – Urban Lab and Urban Transition Lab 131, manager of the KIT Centre Humans and Technology, head of the Karlsruhe School of Sustainability, and involved in the project Culture and Sustainable Development. Contact: <oliver.parodi@kit.de>

Richard Beecroft

Dipl.-Ing., material scientist and educational philosopher, deputy head of the Karlsruhe School of Sustainability, is currently working on the interrelation of didactics and transdisciplinary methodology. Contact: <richard.beecroft@kit.edu>

Marius Albiez

Dipl.-Geoökol., geo-ecologist, is researcher at the International Centre for Ethics in the Sciences and Humanities (IZEW) at Eberhard Karls University in Tübingen/Germany. Contact: <marius.albiez@uni-tuebingen.de>

Alexandra Quint

M.Sc., urban geographer, focuses on sustainable urban development, communication and sustainability, participatory science and real-world laboratories/transdisciplinary science. Contact: <alexandra.quint@kit.edu>

Andreas Seebacher

PhD, architect and town-planner, is currently working on research into urban sustainability development, transformation, and de-growth. He is co-project leader of Urban Transition Lab 131. Contact: <andreas.seebacher@kit.de>

Kaidi Tamm

Dr. des., cultural and social scientist, researcher, currently working on cultural and personal sustainability, also in education. Contact: <kaidi.tamm@kit.edu>

Colette Waitz

Dipl.-Umweltwiss., studied Environmental Science at the University of Koblenz-Landau. Her main research interests are sustainable lifestyles (especially in urban areas), transformation towards a culture of sustainability, and participation. Contact: <colette.waitz@kit.edu>

real-world lab research, which originates from sustainability research, aims at sustainable transformation, and enables education for sustainable development (ESD). This strong reference to sustainability can also be used to differentiate real-world labs from other lab-like or experimental ventures (see sections "Laboratories and Labs" and "Real-world Labs").

Literature

Banse, G.; Nelson, G. L.; Parodi, O. (eds.) (2011): Sustainable development – The Cultural perspective. Concepts – aspects – examples. Berlin: edition sigma.

Banse, G.; Parodi, O. (2012) "Sustainability and culture: an expanded view." In: Periodica Oeconomica 2012, p. 17-27.

BUND Bund für Umwelt und Naturschutz; Brot für die Welt; Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst (eds.) (2008) Zukunftsfähiges Deutschland in einer globalisierten Welt. Ein Anstoß zur gesellschaftlichen Debatte. Frankfurt.

Grunwald, A.; Kopfmüller, J. (2012) Nachhaltigkeit. 2nd updated edition. Frankfurt.

Kopfmüller, J.; Brandl, V.; Jörrissen, J. et al. (2001) Nachhaltige Entwicklung integrativ betrachtet. Konstitutive Elemente, Regeln, Indikatoren. Berlin: edition sigma.

Meadows, D.; Meadows D.; Randers, J. et al. (1972) The Limits to Growth. New York.

Parodi, O. (2015) "The missing aspect of culture in sustainability concepts." In: Enders, J.C. & Remig, M. (eds.) Theories of sustainable development, p. 169-187. London & New York: Routledge (Routledge Studies in Sustainable Development).

Schultz, J.; Brand, F.; Kopfmüller, J.; Ott, K. (2008) "Building a 'theory of sustainable development': two salient conceptions within the German discourse." In: International Journal of Environment and Sustainable Development, Vol. 7, No. 4, 2008, p. 465-482.

Spangenberg, J. H. (2010) "The growth discourse, growth policy and sustainable development: two thought experiments." In: Journal of Cleaner Production 18/6, p. 561-566.

UNESCO (2017) Education for Sustainable Development Goals: Learning Objectives. Paris. URL: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002474/247444e.pdf> (01.08.2017).

United Nations (1987) Our Common Future. Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development. URL: <http://www.un-documents.net/our-common-future.pdf> (19.07.2017).

13. Transformation Research, Transformative Research

The term "transformation" is derived from the Latin word "transformare" ("to transform") and is used diversely in science. For instance, for the political and economic sciences "transformation" denominates the conversion of societal, economic, or political systems. The term is also used in geography, urban research, linguistics, law, and genetics.

Transformation research, in the real-world lab context, is considered to be a form of sustainability research (Schneidewind 2014). It studies societal changes through observation, modelling and analysis, and generates knowledge on transformation processes and necessary conditions for sustainable development (WBGU 2011, p. 66, 68-69). In transformation research, "transition processes are explored in order make statements about factors and causal relations within transformation processes. [...] Transformation research should conclude lessons from the understanding of decisive dynamics of those processes, their conditions and interdependencies" (WBGU 2011, p. 23).

Transformative research differs from the rather distant and analytic transformation research through its activating approach. It initiates, accompanies, and supports transformation processes by means of socio-technical innovations (WBGU 2011, p. 23, Schneidewind 2014). Real-world labs usually cultivate a style of transformative research as "researchers conduct interventions in terms of 'real-world experiments' in order to learn about social dynamics and processes" (Schneidewind 2014 p. 3, own translation). Transformation and transformative research form a continuous spectrum of research strategies.

The term "transition", alongside "transition management" and "transition research", is also used to describe societal changes, though applying a socio-economic perspective rather than a socio-technical one (Brinkmann et al. 2015, chap. 4.5). Apart from this, various other concepts relating to transition aim at describing or addressing societal transitions (e.g., the Transition Town Movement). In transition research, it is not unusual to exert an influence on the direction of transition processes, especially if guided by the notion of sustainable development. Real-world labs can be considered to be part of this broad field of research. The relation between "transition" and "transformation" still requires an in-depth theoretical definition.

Literature

Brinkmann, C.; Bergmann, M.; Huang-Lachmann, J.; Rödder, S.; Schuck-Zöllner S. (2015) Zur Integration von Wissenschaft und Praxis als Forschungsmodus – Ein Literaturüberblick. Report 23. Hamburg: Climate Service Center Germany.

Geels, F. W.; Schot, J. (2007) "Typology of sociotechnical transition pathways." In: Research Policy 36/3, p. 399-417.

German Advisory Council on Global Change (WBGU) (2011): World in Transition. A Social Contract for Sustainability. Flagship Report. URL: <http://www.wbgu.de/en/flagship-reports/fr-2011-a-social-contract/?amp%3BL=1%27&cHash=4dc1d5793ef827b14f6d6b56a44a7530> (25.07.2017).

Hirsch Hadorn, G., Hoffmann-Riem, H., Biber-Klemm, S., Grossenbacher-Mansuy, W., Joye, D., Pohl, C., Wiesmann, U., Zemp, E. (eds.) (2008) Handbook of transdisciplinary research. Springer Netherlands.

Schneidewind, U. (2014) "Urbane Reallabore – ein Blick in die aktuelle Forschungswerkstatt." In: pnd online (III), p. 1-7. URL: http://www.planung-neu-denken.de/images/stories/pnd/dokumente/3_2014/schneidewind.pdf (10.11.2016).

Schneidewind, U.; Singer-Brodowski, M.; Augenstein, K.; Stelzer F. (2016) Pledge for a Transformative Science. A conceptual framework. Wuppertal Paper 191. Wuppertal.

WBGU Wissenschaftlicher Beirat Globale Umweltveränderungen (ed.) (2011) Welt im Wandel. Gesellschaftsvertrag für eine Große Transformation [Hauptgutachten]. 2nd modified edition. Berlin.

Wiek, A. ; D. Lang (2016) "Descriptive-Analytical vs. Transformational Sustainability Research." In: Heinrichs, H.; Martens, P.; Michelsen G. & Wiek, A. (eds.) Sustainability Science, p. 31-41. Springer Netherlands.

Disillusionment about Habitat III

A Retrospective One Year after Quito

Klaus Teschner

One year after Habitat III – UN Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development held in Quito, Ecuador, from Oct 16 – 20, 2016, the balance made by civil society groups remains quite ambiguous. It oscillates between a feeling of disappointment and the desire to still use some of the good policy elements brought into the final document, the New Urban Agenda, by civil society pressure. The global network Habitat International Coalition (HIC), one of the key civil society actors in Quito due to the strong presence of its Latin American affiliates, is still evaluating the outcomes and did not even substantially discuss them when HIC members met again in Nairobi one year later for their next General Meeting. There seemed to be a discomfort linked to the memory of Habitat III.

Civil society groups dealing with housing, urban development or social, economic and cultural rights had started two years before Quito – in some cases as early as 2013 – to intensely prepare for the 3rd Global Habitat Conference. People's Habitat Committees were built up in different cities (predominantly in Latin America), people's demands and proposals for the final conference document were put on paper, and counter reports were prepared criticising the deficits of the obligatory state reporting on the implementation of the Habitat Agenda, the action plan adopted at the 1996 Habitat II Conference in Istanbul.

Closer to the event, there was intense debate on the 22 policy papers serving as the base for the agenda, and input from many organisations, networks, experts and activists helped to comment, amend and modify the arguments. After lively discussions, some surprisingly radical resolutions and inputs to the agenda were adopted at regional and thematic events in preparation for Habitat III – for example, in Prague and Barcelona. But after the conference, the hopeful dynamic was noticeably replaced by a feeling of disillusionment in the face of the banality of the outcomes and the silent (or outspoken) question of whether the results had really even been worth so much an effort.



▲
Figure 1: Queue at the entrance of the Habitat III exhibition area in Quito.
Photo: K. Teschner

One of the key elements behind that disappointment was the colourless, non-controversial character of the New Urban Agenda, which wasn't even discussed at the conference because some of the key stakeholders had already accorded the final version of the document the previous September in New York after several rounds of watering down the critical elements of the agenda and some last-minute debates on the future of UN Habitat and the inclusion or non-inclusion of a reference to the "Right to the City". Many of those coming to Quito weren't aware that this last version would not be put to debate any more – a shocking revelation for the mayors of some of the major metropolitan cities of the globe who had put together input to the New Urban Agenda at a meeting in Bogotá some days before the conference (pointlessly, as they had to realise).

Given that there was nothing to negotiate or decide any more, those concerned about senseless state expenses should seriously question what all the thousands of highly paid government officials and city employees did over those four to six days at the meetings in Quito – even civil society activists sometimes

asked themselves what they were doing there. What a difference to the Vancouver Conference in 1976 or the 1996 Habitat II Conference in Istanbul, which both involved dramatic debates and night-long negotiations on text passages linked to women's rights, gender issues, or the Human Right to Housing, topics strongly defended by the Habitat networks and civil society activists against some rights-opposed governments like those of the US and UK.

Around 10,000 people from outside Ecuador had found their way to Quito, and another 20,000 local participants joined them at the conference site and exhibition area. They attended side events and networking events, which allowed for informal exchange similar to the World Urban Forums. The exhibition area, also used for smaller events, showed how many governments support private sector interests like smart city concepts or commercialised housing, so that the IT giants, private



▲ **Figure 2:** General Assembly of the Habitat International Coalition - HIC in Quito, 17-10-2016. Photo: K. Teschner

service providers or the building industry didn't even need to be present to defend their stakes. In the middle of those predominantly neoliberal approaches, the German pavilion won people over not only due to its beautiful design using wooden panels that could be recycled after the event as emergency shelter for Ecuadorian earthquake victims, but also for the outstanding exhibition curated by the architecture magazine Arch+ with rather subversive content going against the grain of mainstream development policies.

The civil society from Ecuador and from abroad didn't have much influence on the character of the event. It was clear that no relevant input was to be expected from the tame playground of the Global Assembly of Partners (GAP), a non-representative stakeholder forum convened by UN Habitat. More-critical civil society groups seemed to be rather lost and dispersed amidst all the government delegations, UN officials and development agencies encircled by their funded project partners and grassroots. Events at the official conference often had a more self-referential character and sometimes gave the impression of last-minute organisation. About a dozen TRIALOG members were present, actively participating in various networking sessions as well as in an own TRIALOG event presenting issue 124/125, on Habitat III, with some of the authors.

Unlike in Istanbul or the legendary Habitat Forum in Vancouver, there was not one big parallel civil society forum. Civil society presence outside the main site was split between two academic forums hosted by the Catholic University and the research network FLACSO, and a counter-event "in resistance to Habitat

III", convened by a small group of grassroots and NGOs, without many participants or visibility. Governments known for a policy of eviction and exclusion did not really have to fear organised protests at their pavilions and events – only (and at least) the mortgage debtor's movement PAH, from Barcelona, tried to interrupt a hypocritical government presentation.

A big part of the civil society groups present in Quito had focussed their advocacy before and during the event on the promotion of the "Right to the City", a notion that had to be explained and re-explained to all those not familiar with the history and multiple possible meanings of the concept. In contrast to that, advocacy for the Human Right to Housing, still strongly defended at Habitat II, was hardly visible. As the New Urban Agenda did not include a clear statement against forced evictions, and as it is to fear that the transformation processes of cities will lead to a much bigger dimension of evictions and displacements, a strong civil society engagement for that topic would have been important. But, instead, most activists around the global platform for the Right to

the City focussed efforts on the promotion of that unrecognised right and its inclusion in the final document, and tried to convince themselves that the meaningless wording in §11 of the New Urban Agenda was actually a big achievement.

Now, one year later, Habitat III is almost forgotten and its weak outcome, the New Urban Agenda (<http://habitat3.org/the-new-urban-agenda/>) still without a clearly defined monitoring framework, seems to have only limited significance – and be much inferior to the Sustainable Development Goals. But some of the good elements brought into the agenda through civil society pressure still could be used for specific advocacy; for example, the references to the necessary government support for the social production of housing, for different collective models of real estate property, and for a diversity of housing solutions. In addition, the policy papers and resolutions from the preparation process – with their good analysis and proposals – are still valid and could perhaps even have more impact than the uninspiring final document approved in Quito.

Klaus Teschner

Architect, urban planner and researcher. Board member of TRIALOG. Experience focussing on self-managed housing, settlement upgrading and urban grassroots movements in Latin America, Africa and Europe. Contact: <teschner@habitants.de>

▼ **Figure 3:** Parallel HIC event at Catholic University in Quito 17-10-2016. Source: HIC GS



Forthcoming Events / Veranstaltungen

October 19-21, 2017 in Lecce, Italy

2017 Annual Conference of the IGU Commission 'Geography of Governance': "Local Governance in the New Urban Agenda" at the University of Salento, Lecce, Italy. Contact: <igu.geogov@gmail.com>; conference website: <<https://sites.google.com/site/geogov2017conference/>>

October 24-26, 2017 in Tallinn, Estonia

International conference "Nature-based Solutions: From Innovation to Common-use", organized by Ministry of the Environment of Estonia and the University of Tallinn, as part of the Estonian Presidency of the Council of the European Union. Contact: <RTD-ENV-NATURE-BASED-SOLUTIONS@ec.europa.eu>; More information: <www.tlu.ee/en/nbs>

October 25-26, 2017 in Johannesburg, ZA

African Real Estate & Infrastructure Summit - Developing Future African Cities, More information: <<http://www.african-real-estate-summit.com/>>

October 26, 2017 in Memphis, USA

Music Cities Convention "...showcases best practices on the use of music - and all its variants - to improve city life". More information: <<https://www.musiccitiesconvention.com/memphis-information/>>

October 30-31, 2017 in Kampala, Uganda

3rd Urban and Infrastructure Development Conference (UIDC), organized by the School for Integrated Urban Planning, Kampala, Uganda. Contact: <uidcug@gmail.com> (Mr. Daniel Bwanika); more information: <www.uidc-ea.org>

October 30 - November 02, 2017 in New Delhi, India

Second Annual Meeting of the Global Platform for Sustainable Cities: "Innovation & Smart Solutions for Urban Sustainability". More information: <www.worldbank.org/en/events/2017/08/03/second-annual-meeting-of-the-global-platform-for-sustainable-cities?lk#2>

November 6-9, 2017, Valparaiso, Chile

"Placemaking Latinoamérica", organized by Espacio Lúdico, in association with Project for Public Spaces, Avina Foundation, UN-Habitat and the Civic Wise community. More information: <<http://placemakinglatinoamerica.com/en>>

November 6-17, Bonn, Germany

UN Climate Change Conference – COP 23. More information: <http://unfccc.int/meetings/bonn_nov_2017/meeting/10084.php>

November 13-14, Kisumu, Kenya

Mistra Urban Futures Annual International Conference "Realising Just Cities - Learning Through Comparison". More information: <www.mistraurbanfutures.org/en/realising-just-cities-learning-through-comparison>

November 19-25, 2017 in Havana, Cuba

27th Annual INURA Conference, organized by the International Network for Urban Research and Action, combines a 4-day conference (19.-22.11.) with a 3-day retreat (23.-25.11.). Contact: <contact@inura.org>; More information: <<https://inura2017.wordpress.com/>>

November 16-17, 2017, Mechelem, Belgium

Global Conference on Cities and Migration, "a preparatory event for energizing local governments' contribution to developing a Global Compact on Migration", coordinated by IOM, UCLG and UN-Habitat. More information: <www.citiesandmigration.com>

November 23-24, 2017 in Hanover, Germany

Herrenhausen Conference "Dangerous Landscapes – Rethinking Environmental Risk in Low-Income Communities" organized by the Institute of Landscape Architecture, Leibniz University Hannover. Contact: <werthmann@ila.uni-hannover.de>; more information: <<https://www.unisdr.org/we/inform/events/52383>>

November 29-30, 2017 in Budapest, Hungary

2nd European Urban Green Infrastructure Conference (EUGIC) "Celebrating nature-based solutions for cities", organized by CEEweb for Biodiversity, the European Federation Green Roofs & Walls (EFB) and livingroofs.org. Conference website: <<http://eugic.events>>

December 01, 2017 in Berlin, Germany

TRIALOG Annual Conference "Mapping Space and Action", organized in collaboration with the degree programme "Raumstrategien" of weißensee kunsthochschule berlin. Followed by the Annual General Meeting of TRIALOG. Contact: Prof. Dr. Günter Nest <nest.hfb@t-online.de>; more information: <www.trialog-journal.de/verein/tagungen-mitgliederversammlungen/> and <www.raumstrategien.com/wp/>

December 01, 2017 in Frankfurt/Main, Germany

Fachtagung „'Eigentum verpflichtet' Grund und Boden im Konflikt zwischen Renditeerwartung und Allgemeinwohl", organized by Frankfurt University of Applied Sciences. Contact: <fabian.thiel@fb1.fra-uas.de>, more information: <www.frankfurt-university.de/tagung-eigentum>

December 15-16, 2017 in Naples, Italy

10th INU Study Day "Crisis and Rebirth of Cities", organized by the Italian National Institute of Urban Planning and the Department of Architecture of the University of Naples Federico II. Contact: <xgiornatastudio@inu.it>; more information: <www.inu.it/x-giornata-di-studio/>

February 1-2, Cape Town, South Africa

African Centre for Cities International Urban Conference, "to take stock of cutting-edge urban research and to debate knowledge priorities in the aftermath of the new global development architecture". More information: <<https://www.africancentreforcities.net/programme/african-centre-cities-international-urban-conference/>>

February 7-13, 2018 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

9th Session of the World Urban Forum will be the first session to focus on the implementation of the New Urban Agenda adopted in Habitat III. More information: <<http://wuf9.org/>>

February 26-28, 2018 in Maputo, Mozambique

International Conference "Middle Class Urbanism in the Global South: Routes, shapes and aspirations", organized by the "Middle Class Urbanism" Research Team and the Department of Anthropology at Aarhus University. Deadline for abstract submission: December 1st, 2017. Contact: <anna.mazzolini@cas.au.dk> and <florabotelho@cas.au.dk>; more information: <<http://projects.au.dk/middleclassurbanism/>>

February 28 – March 2 in Vienna, Austria

At the Urban Future Global Conference and Urban Future Expo, 200 speakers are supposed to present innovative solutions for sustainable cities. More information: <<https://www.urban-future.org/>>

July 15-21, 2018 in Toronto, Canada

XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology "Power, Violence and Justice: Reflections, Responses and Responsibilities", organized by the International Sociological Association. Deadline for abstracts: 30.09.2017. More information: <www.isa-sociology.org/en/conferences/world-congress/toronto-2018/>

July 24-27, 2018 in Thessaloniki, Greece

17th Conference of the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration (IASFM): "Whither Refugees? Restrictionism, Crises and Precarity Writ Large" at the Department of Balkan Slavic, and Oriental Studies, University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki, Greece and the Laboratory for the Study of Cultures, Gender, and Borders. More information: <<http://iasfm.org/iasfm17/>>

July 24-28, 2018 in Cologne, Germany

5th Global Conference on Economic Geography "Dynamics in an Unequal World", organized by the Institute of Geography and Department of Economic and Social Geography of the University of Cologne. More information: <<https://www.gceg2018.com/>>

TRIALOG

A Journal for Planning
and Building in a
Global Context

- A journal for architects, planners, sociologists, geographers, economists and development planners
- A journal for the exchange of professional experience in the field of urban development in the Third World
- A journal for the presentation and discussion of new research results and for the discussion of recent concepts of development policies for urban change
- A journal of free discussions, of work reports and of documentation of alternative approaches

The thematic range of TRIALOG includes among other related topics: urbanisation / housing policy / urban social movements / architecture and regional cultures / ecology and appropriate technologies / rural development strategies.

Contributions in TRIALOG are written in German or English, with a summary in the respective other language.

Available TRIALOG-numbers in English:

126/7 (3-4/16)	Neighbourhood Development
124/5 (1-2/16)	Hábitat III – Quito 2016
123 (4/15)	Other Housing Strategies
122 (3/15)	Who wins and who loses?
120/1 (1-2/15)	Global South
118/9 (3-4/14)	Spaces of Memory
116/7 (1-2/14)	Multi-locality
115 (4/13)	Housing in Cuba (soon available)
114 (3/13)	Oman – Rapid Urbanisation
112/3 (1-2/13)	Camp Cities
111 (4/11–12)	Private Urbanisation – Zoo Cities
110 (2/11–12)	Urban Public Transport
109 (2/11–12)	Urban Rural Linkages
108 (1/11–12)	Public Space
107 (4/10)	Urban development and Spirituality
106 (3/10)	Designing for People – Amos Rapoport
104 (1/10)	Perspectives on Urban South Africa
102/3 (3–4/09)	Redefining the Urban
101 (2/09)	Borders and Migration
100 (1/09)	Urban Visions
99 (4/08)	East Africa
98 (3/08)	Forced Evictions
95/96 (1/08)	<think future>
94 (3/07)	Housing Policies
93 (2/07)	Imposing European Urban Structures

(previous issues on request)

As of issue 101, print copies cost € 10 (plus postage), double issues cost € 18 (plus postage)
Print copies of issue 1 to 100 cost € 6 (plus postage)
PDFs of issues 1 -100 can be downloaded for free at:
<www.trialog-journal.de/en/journal/archive/>

Membership in the association: € 65,-
Students' membership: € 40,-
(Annual fee, incl. the subscription of TRIALOG)

Request for membership:
TRIALOG – Gerhard Kienast, Leberstr. 13
D-10829 Berlin, E-mail: <gkienast@yahoo.de>

Subscription of TRIALOG (4 issues/year):
€ 35 for personal orders (plus postage)
€ 45 for institutions (plus postage)
€ 20 for students (plus postage)

Orders for subscription / single issues:
Wolfgang Scholz, TU Dortmund
Fakultät Raumplanung, D-44221 Dortmund
e-mail: <wolfgang.scholz@tu-dortmund.de>

Account: TRIALOG
IBAN: DE23 5001 0060 0004 8356 05 | SWIFT/BIC: PBNKDEFF
Postbank Frankfurt am Main

Book Reviews / Neue Bücher

Architektur



Lore Mühlbauer, Yasser Shretah (Hg.): Handbuch und Planungshilfe Flüchtlingsbauten. Architektur der Zuflucht: Von der Notunterkunft zum kostengünstigen Wohnungsbau. DOM Publishers, Berlin 2017, ISBN 978-3-86922-532-6, 304 Seiten.

Das Handbuch zur Flüchtlingshilfe beschäftigt sich mit der Unterbringung und Integration von Flüchtlingen auf der baulichen Ebene. In fünf Abschnitten werden von verschiedenen Autoren die Themen der Geschichte des Wohnens in Syrien und Deutschland, Konstruktionsprinzipien und Typologien von Flüchtlingsbauten behandelt, sowie Visionen zur gelungenen Integration von Flüchtlingen in Deutschland vorgestellt. Im letzten Kapitel werden Beispiele von kurzfristigen und dauerhaften Wohnformen vorgestellt.

Zu Beginn wird die Geschichte des Wohnens im Orient behandelt, da in diesem Buch vor allem der Flüchtlingsstrom aus Syrien beschrieben wird. Wichtige Typologien im syrischen ländlichen Raum sind Schwarzzelte, Kuppelhäuser und Hofhäuser. In Städten wie Damaskus, Homs, Hama oder Aleppo war der wichtigste Bautyp das Hofhaus, wurde aber im Zuge von Verdichtungen durch Haustypen westlichen Zuschnitts ersetzt. Flüchtlinge kommen mit neuen Wohnformen in Kontakt, die von internationalen Hilfsorganisationen zur Verfügung gestellt werden. Dabei wird oft nicht beachtet, dass Flucht vor allem Warten bedeutet und meistens viel länger andauert, als Hilfsorganisationen bei der Camp-Planung kalkulieren. Somit wurden die Camps, die temporär gedacht waren und sich entlang der syrischen Grenzen oft spontan entwickelten, zu dauerhaften Einrichtungen, denen die nötige Infrastruktur fehlt. Einmal in Deutschland angekommen, stehen wieder andere Bauformen zur Verfügung, die nur bedingt auf Flüchtlinge zugeschnitten sind. Doch Bauen für Vertriebene ist kein neues Phänomen in Deutschland. Für die Aufnahme der

Kriegsflüchtlinge zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts wurden Massenwohnungsbauten und Lager errichtet, bei denen man sich vor allem eines Baukastenprinzips bediente, wo Holzteile, Elemente für die Stromversorgung und Installationen sowie die Möbel genormt waren. Nach dem Ende des 2. Weltkriegs kam es wieder zu einer Welle von Flüchtlingen, diesmal von ca. 12 bis 14 Millionen Menschen. Um rasch Wohnraum zur Verfügung stellen zu können, wurden Fertighäuser mit Betonfundament und einem Stahlgerippe errichtet, die ca. 40 000 bis 60 000 Menschen Unterkunft boten. Diese Gebäude sind heute verschwunden. Im zweiten Teil des Buches geht es um neue Typologien und Strategien für Flüchtlingsunterkünfte. Durch Aufstockungen, Schließen von Lücken, Überbauungen und Ergänzungen, Umnutzungen und dergleichen kann ein Anstoß für neue Ideen gegeben werden. In Bayern wurden beispielsweise neue Umbau-Strategien entwickelt, die zu kostengünstigen Wohnlösungen geführt haben. Diese Projekte sind insofern zukunftsweisend, als Integration nur gelingt, wenn Flüchtlinge ein permanentes Zuhause haben. Geschickte städtebauliche Lösungen können zur Integration der Ankommenden beitragen, indem sie an Kultur und Alltag in Deutschland herangeführt werden. Auch konstruktiv sollte man innovative Ansätze zulassen und dabei nicht nur an Neubau denken, sondern auch Objekte heranziehen, die eine flexible Nutzung zulassen. Bei solchen Projekten ist es notwendig, dass Immobilienwirtschaft und öffentliche Hand eng zusammenarbeiten, was bereits vielerorts geschieht. Ziel muss immer sein, Wohnraum für alle zu schaffen, die obdachlos sind. Dazu gibt es bereits Erfahrungen, z. B. mit der Unterbringung von Obdachlosen. Neben den Gebäuden ist auch eine sinnvolle Gestaltung des Außenraums für das Miteinander von Flüchtlingen und Anwohnern wichtig. In einem Planungshandbuch darf ein Leitfaden für das gute Gelingen von Architektur der Zuflucht nicht fehlen. Daher sind im Abschnitt "Visionen" sieben Punkte zusammengestellt, die der Autorin wichtig erscheinen: Neben Größe geht es dabei um die Faktoren Lage und Umfeld, kostengünstige Konstruktionen, kurze Bauzeiten, flexible Grundrisslösungen, geringe Kosten der Planung und eine hohe Qualität der architektonischen Gestaltung. Auch Container können diese Voraussetzungen erfüllen, wenn sie raumbildend angeordnet werden und so eine hohe Qualität des Außenraums entsteht. Wichtig ist eine faire, kleinteilige aber lokale Architektur, denn einmal Gebautes ist nur schwer zu beseitigen oder sinnvoll weiterzuentwickeln. Neben diesen konstruktiven Aspekten ist auch auf die frühzeitige Beteiligung der Flüchtlinge notwendig, will man innovative und nachhaltige Stadt- und Wohnbauentwicklung erreichen. In München beispielsweise leben in einem innovativen und integrativen Projekt 2800 Menschen aus 70 Nationen zusammen. Aufgrund der steigenden

Nachfrage sind schnelle Lösungen gefragt. Auch Experimentalbauten können zur Lösung beitragen, oder aber die Vermietung oder Verpachtung der ca. 1,7 Millionen Wohnungen, die in Deutschland derzeit leer stehen. Dazu enthält das Handbuch Überlegungen zu einer neuen städtischen Dichte, zur Mobilisierung des ländlichen Raums sowie zur Einführung von mobilen Bauweisen. Diesem theoretischen Teil steht der praktische Teil des Buches gegenüber. Hier werden kurzfristige Lösungen in Hallen- und Modulbauweise aus Groningen, Berlin, München, Hannover, Bremen, Frankfurt/Main und Bonn vorgestellt. Im zweiten Teil des Abschnittes werden dauerhafte Lösungen beschrieben, also Beispiele vom Wohnen im Bestand aus Berlin, Stuttgart, Salzburg, München oder Wien. Das Buch ist sehr umfangreich konzipiert und versucht alle Aspekte rund um das Wohnen für Flüchtlinge zu betrachten, die gerade in Deutschland diskutiert werden, ohne dabei aber wirklich Neues zu bringen. Schade ist, dass das zu Beginn des Buches vorgestellte traditionelle Wohnen in Syrien später gar nicht mehr aufgegriffen wird, denn man hätte gerne mehr über die Möglichkeiten, Chancen und Grenzen der Integration traditioneller syrischer Wohnungstypen in deutschen Städten erfahren.

Renate Bornberg

Immobilienrecht

Lehavi, Amnon: The Construction of Property. Norms, Institutions, Challenges. Cambridge University Press 2013, ISBN 978-1-107-03538-6, 352 pages.

The author of the "Construction of Property", Amnon Lehavi, is the Atara Kaufman Professor of Real Estate at the Radzyner School of Law and Academic Director at the Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) in Herzliya, Israel. When attending a conference on "100 years of Zoning" at the IDC in June 2016, it was obvious to me that multi-disciplinarity was truly "lived" at the campus in Herzliya. Currently, Lehavi serves as the editor of the 2015 IDC conference compilation. The compendium titled "Private Communities and Urban Governance" has been published by Springer International in 2016 and offers an interdisciplinary and comparative study of the complex interplay between private versus public forms of organization and governance in urban residential developments. It challenges much of the conventional wisdom about the division of labour between market-driven private action and public policy in regulating residential developments and the urban space, and offers a new research agenda for dealing with the future of cities in the twenty-first century. Similar to this monograph on Private Communities, "The Construction of Property" also identifies the current trends in constructing the physical, economic, and social infrastructure of the built environment, ranging from legal realism and history, critical legal studies via the economic analysis of law towards new institutional economics, experimental psychology, and contemporary

moral theories. The interest towards property (rights) amongst planners and architects has risen significantly in the recent years. The monograph is a – extensively rewritten and restructured – compendium of papers that have been published in prominent journals such as Columbia Law Review, University of Colorado of Law Review and Yale Law Journal. For Lehavi, theorizing real-life phenomena of property forms and trying to bring them together, to unravel the richness of the evasive concept of property is not only an "incredible field of law" (p. vi), but also a never-ending field of research and academic challenge. Hence, Lehavi starts to describe property as a legal construct, continuous with rules and standards, examines the private-common-public relations of property in view of their consequences for planning and real-estate development. Chapter 1 focuses on the three structural traits of property: the (complicated) in rem nature of property's legal interests, and the inherent complex of public/private interplay of property. Chapter 2 describes the unique institutional features in which property is embedded. Clearly, the author was inspired by Robert C. Ellickson's paper on "Property in Land", published in Yale Law Journal in 1993. The "spectrum of property regimes" (Part II, chapters 3-8) leads the reader into the tension between rigidity and dynamism in property, thus moves beyond the paradigms that have led much of the analysis in current theory, "typically that of an asset such as land that is privately owned by a single proprietor and governed exclusively by the laws of a national system" (p. 3). Part III highlights the protagonists of property beyond the individual and the State, while Part IV addresses – in the words of Lehavi – "property's greatest challenge": moving into the one that accommodates the increasing social and economic forces of globalization. "Can land law go global?" asks the author (pp. 243-273); doubtlessly, the answer is yes, in view of Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs), trade and investment protection agreements such as NAFTA or CETA, maybe based on the level of heterogeneity and homogeneity in the diverse attributes of property, supranational property governance, and the growing effects of extra-national systems (pp. 252-265; p. 311). Since Lehavi – convincingly to me – sees property rights different (p. 272), i.e., as a socio-political institution, property as the result of the coercive power of society that directly implicates all members of society in their individual capacity and their collective one, the book is of high value for planners (as the landowners' best friends), developers and community organizers. The sub-chapters and comments on the principle of eminent domain (including the legendary Suse Kelo saga), and community land trusts (CLT) as tri-layered property regimes (pp. 140-145) are well-written and show the commitment and enthusiasm of Lehavi towards collective and shared equity homeownership as instruments that could implement affordable housing schemes.

Fabian Thiel

Impressum

Herausgeber von TRIALOG / editor: TRIALOG e.V.,
Verein zur Erforschung des Planens und Bauens in
Entwicklungsländern www.trialog-journal.de

Postadresse für Redaktion und Verein / address:
TRIALOG e.V. c/o A 53 Habitat Unit,
Straße des 17. Juni 152, 10623 Berlin
Vertrieb / distributor: Südost Service (SVS) GmbH, Waldkirchen
ISSN Nr.: 0724-6234; V.i.S.d.P.: Gerhard Kienast

Redaktion / volume editors:
Gerhard Kienast, Peter Gotsch
Satz / layout: Melanie Halfter
Proofreading: Bryn Abraham
Druck / print: LASERLINE Druckzentrum, Berlin
Veranstaltungen / events: Gerhard Kienast
Titelbild / title: Villa 31, Buenos Aires
Quelle / source: Santiago Salazar

Die in TRIALOG veröffentlichten Artikel repräsentieren nicht
zwingend die Meinung der Herausgeberinnen und der Redak-
tion. Nachdruck ist mit Angabe der Quelle und Zusendung
eines Belegexemplars gestattet. Artikel, Ankündigungen und
Informationen bitten wir an die Adresse des Vereins oder an
folgende Kontaktpersonen zu richten:

Vorstand / Board:
Gerhard Kienast (Mitglieder / membership)
Leberstr. 13, 10829 Berlin, Tel. 01577 – 6040320
E-mail: <gpkienast@yahoo.de>

Klaus Teschner (Finanzen / treasurer)
Schleiermacherstr. 10, 10961 Berlin, Tel. 0179 – 2395619
E-mail: <teschner@habitants.de>

Kosta Mathéy (Buchrezensionen / book reviews)
c/o GLOBUS, Internationale Akademie an der FU
Grimmstraße 12, 10967 Berlin, Tel. 0170 – 7113337
E-mail: <kosta.mathey@gmail.com>

Wolfgang Scholz (Abonnements / subscriptions)
TU Dortmund, Fak. Raumplanung, August-Schmidt-Str. 6,
44225 Dortmund, Tel. 0231 – 7553267
E-mail: <wolfgang.scholz@tu-dortmund.de>

Renate Bornberg (Artikeleingang / contact for authors)
c/o IVA – Institut für vergleichende Architekturfor-
schung TU Wien, Auhofstraße 51/2/14, 1130 Wien
E-mail: <nbornberg@googlemail.com>

Beirat / Scientific council:
Antje Wemhöner, Zwinglstr. 4, 10555 Berlin,
Tel. 030 – 39101525, E-mail: <A.Wemhoener@gmx.de>

Philipp Misselwitz / Paola Alfaro d'Alençon
Habitat Unit, Straße des 17. Juni 135, 10623 Berlin
Tel. 030 – 31421908, Fax: 030 – 31421907
E-mails: <misselwitz@tu-berlin.de> /
<paola.alfarodalenc@tu-berlin.de>

Jürgen Oestereich, Am Dickelsbach 10, 40883 Ratingen
Tel/Fax: 02102 – 60740, E-mail: <J_Oestereich@gmx.de>

Hassan Ghaemi, Löwengasse 27 E, 60385 Frankfurt/Main
Tel. 069 – 560464-0, Fax: 069 – 560464-79
E-mail: <hassan.ghaemi@ghaemi-architekten.de>

Michael Peterrek, Frankfurt Univ. of Applied Sciences,
Nibelungenplatz 1, 60318 Frankfurt/Main
Tel. 069 – 53098328, E-mail: <michael.peterrek@fb1.fra-uas.de>

Astrid Ley, Städtebau-Institut (SI), Univ. Stuttgart, Keplerstr. 11,
70174 Stuttgart, E-mail: <astrid.ley@si.uni-stuttgart.de>

Peter Gotsch, Heinrich-Tessenow-Str. 12, 34134 Kassel,
E-mail: <info@peter-gotsch.de>

Kathrin Golda-Pongratz Plaça Sant Pere, 4 Bis 3-1,
E-08003 Barcelona Tel. +34 – 93 2691226,
E-mail: <kathrin@pongratz.org>

Hans Harms, 29 South Hill Park, London NW3 2ST, UK
Tel. +44 – 207 4353953, E-mail: <hans@hans-harms.com>

Florian Steinberg, Edificio Perla del Otún, Apto. 1301
Cra. 10 # 20-11, Pereira, Risaralda, Colombia
E-mail: <florian.steinberg@yahoo.de>

Elvira Schwanse, Col. Copilco el Bajo, Coyoacán,
04340 México D. F.; E-mail: <arquitectaelvira@hotmail.com>

TRIALOG Kto. No. 4835-605, BLZ 500 100 60
Postbank Frankfurt am Main, SWIFT: PBNKDEFF
IBAN: DE23 5001 0060 0004 8356 05

**TRIALOG 126/127 kostet / costs 18,- € + Vers. / postage
Stand / up-dated: 10/2017**

