Social Production of Habitat in Latin America

Editorial

Ausgehend von den Zwängen einer weltweit vorherr-schenden neoliberalen Wirtschaftspolitik und den damit ver-bundenen Vorgaben mächtiger Entwicklungsagenturen und Kreditinstitutionen wird die Lösung der Wohnungsprobleme in vielen Ländern der Welt dem Markt überlassen. Der Markt versagt jedoch in Bezug auf die Bedürfnisse der Ärm-sten, wie selbst von Apologeten der Wirtschaftsliberalisie-rung eingeräumt wird. Die zum Gesetz erhobene strikte Logik des Marktes raubt den Menschen ihr Recht auf eine selbstbestimmte Gestaltung der Umwelt und macht aus ihnen eine Ansammlung von Konsumenten. Von Partizipati-on ist keine Rede mehr, nach dem Motto: „Nimm's, friss und halt den Mund!"

Staatliche Subventionen für den Wohnungsbau errei-chen nur in den seltensten Fällen die Bedürftigsten, und wenn, so haben sie primär den Sinn, den Markt zu erwei-tern. Ärmere Familien, die zum privaten Wohnungsmarkt und auch zur staatlichen Wohnungspolitik keinen Zugang haben, sind gezwungen, ihr Habitat unter prekären Bedin-gungen im Eigenbau zu errichten. Dies gilt für die Mehrheit der Bevölkerung in einem Großteil der Länder dieser Erde.

Bereits im Jahre 1987 wurde in einer Ausstellung auf dem Habitat Forum in Berlin sowie in dem begleitenden Buch „Building Community" einleuchtend dargelegt, wozu Arme selbst fähig sind. Inzwischen ist die Entwicklung wei-ter gegangen. Die Organisationen der Armen haben viel Kompetenz dazu gewonnen und sind zuweilen bereits Part-ner von lokalen Regierungsmaßnahmen, wie etwa beim *programa de mejoramiento habitacional* in Mexiko-Stadt.

Es ist das Verdienst des weltweiten Netzwerks der *Habitat International Coalition* und seines lateinamerikani-schen Sekretariats, die vielen konkreten Erfahrungen mit selbstbestimmten Ansätzen in Wohnbau und Stadtentwick-lung systematisiert und in ein theoretisches Konzept ge-bracht zu haben: das der „Sozialen Produktion des Habitat". Ein Großteil der lokalen Prozesse, die Grundlage dieses Konzeptes sind, wurde von der kirchlichen Entwicklungszu-sammenarbeit gefördert, insbesondere von Misereor / KZE und CEBEMO (heute CORDAID).

Der Blick auf diese lokalen Prozesse kann Grundlage für eine kontinentübergreifende Diskussion bezüglich eines Gegenmodells zum neoliberalen sein. Deshalb erschien es uns sinnvoll, in dieser Ausgabe von TRIALOG die lateina-merikanischen Erfahrungen (natürlich nur einige davon) bekannt zu machen und dazu anzuregen, die in anderen Kontinenten gemachten Erfahrungen ebenfalls zu systemati-sieren, um das Konzept entsprechend weiterentwickeln zu können.

Der einführende Beitrag von **Eike Jakob Schütz** ver-weist auf den Kontext, in dem sich das Konzept der „Sozia-len Produktion des Habitat" entwickelt hat, und beschreibt

The constraints of globally predominant neo-liberal eco-nomic policies and the concomitant requirements of power-ful development agencies and credit institutions have in many countries left the solving of housing problems to the market. The latter has, however, failed to respond to the needs of the poorest, a fact that has even been admitted by the apologists of economic liberalism. A rigid market approach deprives human beings of their legitimate right to determine the character of their environment, converting them into a hoard of consumers. Any former semblance of participation has been replaced by the "take it, swallow it and keep your mouth shut!" attitude.

State subsidies for housing rarely benefit the poorest and if so, are aimed primarily at widening the market. Poor families with no access to these subsidies or to the private housing market are forced to build their own habitat, relying purely on themselves. This applies to the great majority of populations in most of the countries of the earth.

The 1987 Habitat Forum Exhibition in Berlin and the accompanying publication Building Community has already demonstrated with great conviction what the poor can pro-duce with their own means. Meanwhile things have devel-oped: organisations of the poor have increased their compe-tence considerably and succeeded in becoming manage-ment partners of local government in Mexico City.

The *Habitat International Coalition* (HIC) global network and its Latin American Secretariat (HIC-AL) can be credited with having systematised the many concrete experiences with self-determined approaches in housing and urbanism and to have incorporated them into a theoretical concept: the "Social Production of Habitat." A relevant number of local processes that have shaped this concept were sponsored by church development cooperation, i.e., by Misereor/KZE and CEBEMO (now CORDAID).

A survey of these local processes could be the starting point for an intercontinental debate on alternative models to the neo-liberal approach. We therefore consider it appropri-ate to present Latin American experiences in this volume of TRIALOG (only some of them, of course) and to urge for the systematisation of experiences from other continents as a means of ensuring the on-going development of such a concept.

The introductory article by **Eike Jakob Schütz** refers to the context in which the idea of "Social Production of Habi-tat" developed and - taking Chile as an example - also describes it as a form of resistance against neo-liberal ten-dencies in housing and urban politics. **Gustavo Romero** explains how the individual and collective self-production of dwellings challenged failed public housing policies as far

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Eike Jakob Schütz / Klaus Teschner

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dies auch als Form des Widerstands gegen - am Beispiel von Chile verdeutlichte - neoliberale Tendenzen in Wohnungspolitik und Stadtentwicklung. Bereits seit den 60er und 70er Jahren stellten, wie **Gustavo Romero** darlegt, verschiedene Konzepte der individuellen oder gemeinschaftlichen Produktion von Wohnungen das gescheiterte Modell staatlicher Wohnungsversorgung in Frage. Die daraus entstandene Praxis der „Sozialen Produktion des Habitat" schaffte es, staatliche Politiken zu beeinflussen - z.B. in Mexiko - gerade weil sie weit bessere Wohn- und Siedlungsqualitäten erzeugen kann als diese. Sie trug darüber hinaus zur Entstehung städtischer Basisbewegungen bei sowie zu deren Vernetzung und Lobbyarbeit auf internationaler Ebene im Rahmen der *Habitat International Coalition*. Die Wohnungsbaupolitik in Peru ist geprägt von einer Duldung von Landbesetzungen und einer Konzentration der Fördermittel auf den Neubau. Lokale Spar- und Kreditkooperativen setzen dem selbst entwickelte Instrumente zur Wohnraumverbesserung entgegen. **Carlos Escalante** präsentiert in diesem Zusammenhang den von peruanischen NGOs und Bewohnerorganisationen getragenen Vorschlag eines dezentralen Fördersystems für Verbesserungsmaßnahmen an Wohnung und Siedlungen. **Silvia de los Ríos** beschreibt das Wohnungsprojekt El Chaparral im Zentrum Limas als Beispiel einer bewohnerbestimmten Stadterneuerungspolitik. Die Stärkung der Basisorganisation in von ihnen bestimmten Prozessen erhöht nicht zuletzt das Selbstbewusstsein der Frauen. Dies zeigt sich auch in der von **Cristina Almazán** vorgestellten Wohnungsbaukooperative aus Veracruz, Mexiko, die als integrales Quartiersentwicklungsprojekt von der UN prämiiert wurde. **Néstor Jeifetz und Carla Rodríguez** berichten von Hausbesetzern und innerstädtischen Basisbewegungen in Buenos Aires, die es schafften, die Gesetzgebung zu ihren Gunsten zu ändern und aus den Besetzungen heraus kooperative Projekte zu entwickeln. Als Ausblick und Perspektive skizziert **Enrique Ortíz** die Bedingungen dafür, dass das Konzept der „Sozialen Produktion von Habitat" zur Veränderung der Lebensrealität einer Mehrheit der Bevölkerung beitragen kann. Die in diese Prozesse eingebundenen Beratungsorganisationen, die NGOs des Südens, befinden sich, wie **Alexander Jachnow** pointiert feststellt, in einer oft widersprüchlichen Situation zwischen kritisch-autonomen Anspruch einerseits und andererseits deutlicher Abhängigkeit von den Richtlinien der Geberländer und Entwicklungsinstitutionen sowie einer nur verschämt thematisierten Konkurrenz untereinander um knappe Mittel. Gerade als unabhängige und innovationsfähige Beratungsteams sind sie jedoch unverzichtbar.

Das Ziel der fachlichen Arbeit im engeren Bereich des Wohnbaus und der Stadtentwicklung kann kaum besser definiert werden, als es Italo Calvino im letzten Absatz seines Buches „Die unsichtbaren Städte" getan hat. Er lässt Marco Polo zu Kublai Khan sagen:

„Die Hölle der Lebenden ist nicht etwas, was sein wird; gibt es eine, so ist es die, die schon da ist, die Hölle, in der wir tagtäglich wohnen, die wir durch unser Zusammensein bilden. Zwei Arten gibt es, nicht darunter zu leiden: die Hölle akzeptieren und so sehr Teil davon werden, dass man sie nicht mehr erkennt. Die andere ist gewagt und erfordert dauernde Vorsicht und Aufmerksamkeit: suchen und zu erkennen wissen, wer und was inmitten der Hölle nicht Hölle ist, und ihm Bestand und Raum geben."

back as the 1960s and 70s. The practice of "Social Production of Habitat and Housing" that emerged from these experiences managed to influence state policy - e.g., in Mexico – as a result of producing infinitely superior building and settlement qualities than the latter had done. It contributed to the rise of urban action groups as well as to creating grassroots networks and lobbies at the international level in the context of *Habitat International Coalition*. Housing policies in Peru are characterised by tolerance towards land-squatting and housing subsidies primarily for new constructions. Local saving and credit cooperatives counteract this approach with self-developed instruments for improvement measures. In this context, **Carlos Escalante** presents a proposal for a decentralised support system of housing and settlement improvement, designed by Peruvian NGOs and inhabitant organisations. **Silvia de los Ríos** describes the El Chaparral housing experience in the centre of Lima as an example of urban renewal policies controlled by the inhabitants. The strengthening of grass-roots organisations through processes produced by the inhabitants themselves also leads to a heightening of women's confidence and awareness, as can be seen both in El Chaparral and in the UCISV housing cooperative in Veracruz, Mexico, presented by **Cristina Almazán**. The latter received the UN Habitat best practice award for an integral neighbourhood development project. The report by **Néstor Jeifetz** and **Carla Rodríguez** deals with squatters and the inner-city grass-roots movements in Buenos Aires that succeeded in bringing about a favourable change in the law und in developing cooperative projects arising from the squats. Presenting a future prospect, **Enrique Ortíz** outlines the conditions under which the "Social Production of Habitat" concept could contribute to changing basic living conditions for a majority of the population. The southern NGO consulting organisations involved in these processes often find themselves in a contradictory situation, as **Alexander Jachnow** keenly points out, where their critical-autonomous self-understanding is forced to contend with their obvious dependency on donor guidelines. In addition, they are in competition with other NGOs for scarce funds, expressed albeit in a very restrained form. However, as independent and innovative consulting teams, they are indispensable.

The objective of professional interventions in the closer area of housing and urban development can hardly be defined more succinctly than by Italo Calvino in the last paragraph of his book The Invisible Cities. Here he makes Marco Polo say to Kublai Khan:

"Living hell is not something in the future. If it exists, then it is the one that is already there, the hell we daily live in, the one we create by being together. There are two ways of not suffering from it: accepting the hell und becoming so much a part of it that it is no longer recognisable. The other is risky and requires constant care and attention: looking for and knowing how to recognise who and what is not part of the hell in the middle of hell and giving them stability and space."

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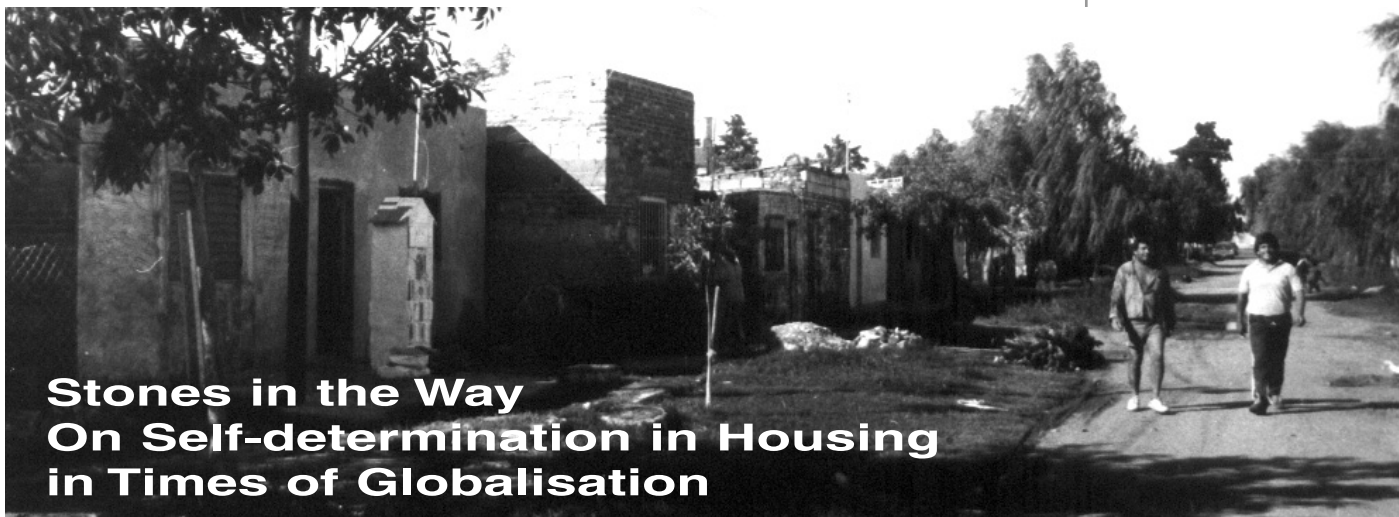
Stones in the Way
On Self-determination in Housing
in Times of Globalisation

EIKE JAKOB SCHÜTZ

Since shelter is a precondition for a worthy human life, the right to shelter is counted among the Universal Human Rights. It is one of the so-called "ESC-rights" (economic, social and cultural rights). These rights are self-evident, yet they are given little priority as soon as particular interests compete with them.

The globalisation of the neo-liberal model of economics has asserted itself in a manner which makes even its advocates admit that for large parts of the population, globalisation has resulted in a reduction of opportunities and a step backwards into poverty. Yet, instead of doubting this form of economics, they propose relief measures for those suffering from the system – measures to be paid, naturally, by the general public.

These circumstances have a decisive influence on the access to shelter, be it in the narrow sense of a dwelling or in the wider sense of human habitat. Particularly in poorer countries, statistics reveal that there has been an enormous loss in the purchasing power of the lower income groups. Social programs, including housing programs, are being drastically cut; joblessness, accompanied by rising criminality, is mounting everywhere. Everything is increasingly being left to the market, i.e. to open competition. Everybody has to compete, but - in accordance to the laws of competition - only few win; the rest loose. The ethical category "Justice" is viewed as irrelevant, and with it the concomitant Human Rights. For this reason alone this system is not sustainable in the long run.

It is recognised that there is a general, all-encompassing resistance against all attempts to convert citizens into nothing more than consumers or clients. This resistance is more often unconscious than conscious. Conscious are networks such as "ATTAC" or "HIC".[1] Less conscious, in this respect, are the multitude of local emancipation and self-organisation initiatives found in many sectors of life, but especially amongst the poorer populations. One such area is that of shelter and human habitat. The endless slums surrounding the cities of the so-called Third World show that the poor create their shelter on their own, alone or as a community - often illegally, but not illegitimately.

Steine im Weg – zur Selbstbestimmung im Wohnungsbau zu Zeiten der Globalisierung

Das Recht auf Obdach ist ein Menschenrecht, dem generell keine große Priorität eingeräumt wird. Inzwischen ist allgemein bewusst, dass die Globalisierung der neoliberalen Wirtschaft große Teile der Bevölkerung in die Armut zwingt. Nach den Gesetzen des Wettbewerbs können nur wenige gewinnen, alle anderen verlieren. Zunehmend werden alle Bereiche des Lebens dem Wettbewerb anheim gegeben, auch der Bereich Obdach und Habitat. Aber selbst die billigsten Wohnungen, die der Markt bietet, sind für die Armen unerschwinglich. Die endlosen, in individueller oder organisierter Selbsthilfe gebauten Armenviertel um die Städte zeigen dies. Selbsthilfe meint hier die Organisation und Kontrolle des Siedlungsprozesses durch die Siedler. Aus erfolgreichen, lokalen Erfahrungen wurde in Lateinamerika das Konzept der „Sozialen Produktion des Habitats" entwickelt, das als Gegenmodell und Form des Widerstands gegen das neoliberalen Wirtschaften in der Stadtentwicklungspolitik verstanden wird. Die Regeln dieser Politik werden hier am Beispiel Chile gezeigt, dessen Wohnungsbau-Markt durch immense Staatssubventionen erweitert wurde. Die Bauunternehmen machten großartige Gewinne. Die Lebensqualität der armen Familien hat sich jedoch nicht verbessert, sondern teilweise sogar verschlechtert. Demgegenüber steht die soziale Produktion des Habitats, die nicht profitorientiert ist und in der die Betroffenen die wesentlichen Entscheidungen treffen. Sie führt zu Siedlungen, die in sozialer, ökologischer und ökonomischer Hinsicht tragfähig sein können.

2
Enrique Ortíz: "Notas sobre la Producción Social de Vivienda", Mexico 1998

3
Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo - MINVU: "Memoria 79 - Política Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano (P. M. 79)", Anexo R 4, Santiago de Chile 1979

4
The Spanish text under the title *Política Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano (P. M. 79)* runs:

"En Marzo del presente año fue aprobado oficialmente por el Ejecutivo el documento doctrinario de Política sobre Desarrollo Urbano al nivel nacional, cuya inspiración general está contenida en los siguientes principios básicos:

- El suelo urbano no es un recurso escaso: su aparente escasez es consecuencia de la falta de concordancia entre las normas técnicas y jurídicas vigentes y las condiciones de oferta y demanda del mercado.

- El uso de suelo queda definido por su mayor rentabilidad: (...)

- La concentración espacial de la población genera ventajas comparativas para el desarrollo de las actividades económicas y sociales.

- El uso del suelo debe regirse por disposiciones flexibles, definidas por los requerimientos del mercado. (...)

Conforme a estos principios, la Política Nacional del Desarrollo Urbano define los siguientes lineamientos principales:

a) Aplicar un sistema de planificación flexible con el mínimo de intervención estatal, apoyado en normas técnicas y procedimientos de tipo genérico.

b) Definir procedimientos y eliminar restricciones de modo de permitir el crecimiento natural de las áreas urbanas, siguiendo las tendencias del mercado. (...)

d) Fomentar y apoyar por parte del Estado la creación de un mercado abierto de viviendas, dejando la responsabilidad de producción de ellas al sector privado. (...)",
s. MINVU 1979

This has always been so, but today this concept can be interpreted as a counter-concept and further extended. Actually, such a concept has taken root in Latin America, originally under the name "Producción Social de Vivienda"**2** (Social Production of Housing) but now instead called "Producción Social del Hábitat" (Social Production of Habitat).

This change of name is not one of terminology but of content. As already mentioned, the concept of "Habitat" includes the built environment in a wider sense as well as the city as such. Globalisation affects particularly the urban areas. This does not refer to the (in my opinion) fruitless question of "What are global cities?" Rather, it points much more to the simple question of urban development: Whom does it serve, who capitalises from it?

What city means in an era of global neoliberal economic politics cannot be better expressed but in a document of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (MINVU)**3** of Chile (the model country of all theorists of adjustment). It defines the basics of urban development policy as follows (literal excerpts, own translation) :

- Urban land is not a scarce asset…

- Land-use is determined by the rules of greater efficiency…

- Demographic concentration creates comparative advantages…

- Land-use has to be guided according to the requirements of the market…

- Natural growth of urban areas in response to the market should not be blocked. Restrictions should be abolished.**4**

This is frank. The consequence is clear: Cities which are just, sustainable and economically efficient for all citizens (and not only for a few) cannot be created in this way. Chile's housing policy after the military dictatorship also pursued neo-liberal guidelines. Some big developers were put in a position to implement extensive housing programs which were also aimed at the lowest income strata,

but since the latter could not finance even the most inexpensive dwellings the State implemented a system of subsidies. Seeing a chance to raise their profits, the developers incited the State to continuously increase the subsidies (i.e. to spend more tax resources). The developers then skimmed them by raising prices.

This system of house-building for poor families offered those affected no opportunity for participation, despite it being prescribed in the official housing policy of the MINVU. The result of such a housing policy (one without any participation) is disastrous, as Ana Sugranyes and Alfredo Rodriguez**5** have documented convincingly:

- Houses, partly with only 35 m^2 floor space…

- On plots of partly less than 60 m^2…

- Lacking any options for extension or improvement (one of the basics when housing poor families)…

- Lacking communal activity space...

- With large problems in regard to the social realm resulting from the tight living conditions…

- Which instigated vandalism…

- With the extremely poor execution of construction work resulting in high maintenance costs.

This system of providing housing space by developers covered the issuing of the corresponding plots as well. Since the aim of an enterprise is profit, the developers tend to opt for plots far away from the centre. This results in major disadvantages, especially for low income groups (no access to odd jobs, poor urban services, high transport costs etc).

It has to be stated: The market delivered the required number of houses. The target group, however, was unable to pay for them. Consequently, the public had to provide the funds (through taxes). Some have earned very well through this procedure, but the quality of life of the poor families has not improved through the housing programmes – in some
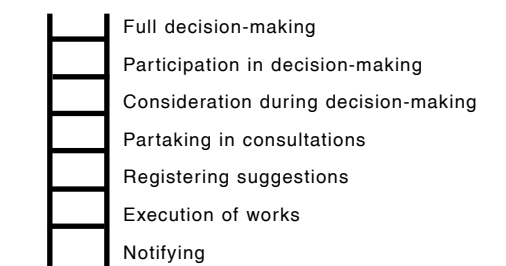
aspects it even decreased. This mode of production of dwellings excludes the affected people, the dwellers themselves, from bringing in their own desires and ideas. They are reduced to becoming passive clients and subsidy recipients. The true winners in a "competing housing market" are a select few big construction enterprises.

In contrast to this is the initially mentioned concept of "Social Production of Housing". This concept is not a theoretically conceived scheme. It is founded on a multitude of experience gained all over the world, especially in Latin America.[6] The postulates of the Social Production of Housing are:

a) The measures are not dictated by profit

and b) Those concerned participate in the entire process.

Participation is a widely-embracing notion. It goes from simply informing the beneficiaries to letting them decide on measures and matters. The different steps form a ladder of degree in participation, as is depicted in Fig. 1.

Fig. 1: Ladder of Degree in Participation

Full decision-making
Participation in decision-making
Consideration during decision-making
Partaking in consultations
Registering suggestions
Execution of works
Notifying

What this means is that in a tangible case of Social Production of Human Habitat, the target group should end up taking full responsibility and make decisions in respect to the production of their abodes and living environment by themselves. This is completely different from what has previously been understood under the notion of "self-help", namely to carry out the necessary (construction) work by oneself. The essential aspect of the Social Production of Human Habitat concept is the control of the entire procedure by those concerned. This process includes:

- Preparation of the project,

- Selection of the beneficiaries,

- Designating the plot,

- Architectural Planning,

- Procurement and management of funds,

- Execution of building work (by builders or through self-help),

- Administration and maintenance of the settlement.

On the one hand, the technical and organisational know-how needed to control and guide such a complex procedure can be gained through training and consultation. On the other hand, however, a keen awareness as well as a pronounced determination is also needed to overcome any possible difficulties. This attitude can only emerge from the core of an organisation itself.

Wherever such processes succeed – and, as mentioned previously, there are hundreds of documented cases in which they have – the results are settlements which are socially, ecologically and economically sustainable. But even more important than the apparent improvement in material life conditions are the steps towards emancipation by hitherto excluded population groups.

This, however, is an obstacle to neo-liberal economic policies, the ideas of which lead to the destruction of local know-how, traditions and perspectives for the sake of a unified market. Insofar, the Social Production of Habitat is a counter-model, if only in a small sector. Likewise, it is solid, indisputable proof that the confutation of the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, "Um outro mundo é possível" (another world is possible), is not just some pleasing rhetoric. Indeed, it is something put into practice by people all over the world, especially the poor.

Social Production of Habitat: Reflections on its History, Conceptions and Proposals

GUSTAVO ROMERO

Die soziale Produktion des Habitat: Gedanken zu ihrer Geschichte, ihren Konzepten und Vorschlägen

In den 50er Jahren begannen das explosive Wachstum der Städte in Lateinamerika und damit das Wohnproblem der unteren Einkommensgruppen. Die offiziellen Ansätze der Beseitigung der Wohnungs- not (teilweise mit internatio- naler Finanzierung) scheiter- ten, auch in den sozialisti- schen Ländern. Das Schei- tern führte in den 60er und 70er Jahren zu neuen Vor- schlägen. Sehr einflussreich waren die von John Turner, der vor allem den sozialen Akteuren mehr Spielraum für die Autoproduktion der Woh- nung (nicht Autokonstrukti- on) zumaß. Dieser Ansatz war ein großer Fortschritt, von Turner jedoch zu indivi- dualistisch konzipiert. Gleich- zeitig bildeten sich die ersten NRO in diesem Bereich, und progressive Sektoren der katholischen Kirche nahmen sich der Problematik an. Die Wohnungsnot wurde stärker in einen politischen Zusam- menhang gestellt. Bereits hier stehen die fundamenta- len Aspekte der „Sozialen Produktion des Habitat", Par- tizipation und Organisation, im Vordergrund. In Mexiko wurden grundlegende Bei- spiele von Wohnbauinitiativen armer Familien realisiert, die sowohl die staatlichen Wohn- baupolitiken beeinflussten als auch den Grundstein für das Entstehen des „MUP" (Movimiento Urbano Popu- lar) legten.
Ein wichtiger Schritt war die UN Habitat I–Konferenz 1976 in Vancouver mit dem ersten NRO-Forum auf einer internationalen Konferenz.

As is well known, concern began to emerge starting in the 1950s around the explosive population growth occurring in large Latin American cities. This population growth had originated out of economic policies focused on import substitution, bringing with them an accelerated rural-urban migration process and important birth rate increase.

In several of our countries, once the inner-city rental districts became saturated - hous- ing form which provided the initial response to the poor population's new demands - unregu- lated division into multiple parcels and settle- ment of urban land spread rapidly. In the 1960s, the phenomena was generalized and the landscape of "irregular settlements" domi- nated in various Latin American cities. The *ranchos* of Caracas, the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro, and in general the shacks and shanties seen in Mexico City and other impor- tant cities in the region, alarmed the dominant sectors, middle classes, and general public opinion.

The first responses to the situation were targeted to promote housing production and construction based on modern architectural ideas and the *Athens Charter*. In other words: construction of expansive high-rise apartment blocks built on a massive scale, incorporating new building technologies and housing con- cepts based on the nuclear family and mini- mum spaces but with all modern-day required services. Parallel to, or in lieu of, this strategy, the *bulldozer policy* was used to eliminate the huts, shanties, shacks, and other types of housing which, always with derogatory terms, allude to the housing of the poor.

These two types of responses no doubt reflect the incomprehension of the phenome- na and social rejection of the world of "the poor," who are blamed for the existence of this type of settlement and for making our cities ugly. At the same time they are held responsi- ble for their situation, accused of being "lazy," "backward in their ways," "irresponsible drunks," or simply "not modern and civilized" like the dominant classes.

Contempt for popular settlement process- es goes hand in hand with proposals which, by force or guised as "assistance," sustain that the only legitimate solution to the housing problem is one based on the ideas of the dominant classes as to what housing and habitat should be.

Faced with the scale of the problem and given the ineffectiveness of the above- described policies to overcome it, between the late 1960s and early 1970s a series of initia- tives emerged in the search for solutions or strategies, which, while they might not resolve the problem, aimed to at least soften its effects. One example is illustrated in the land invasion policies directed in Peru by the state itself, and in Chile by some political parties although with state consent.

Later came the attempts by some profes- sionals to propose solutions derived from observation of certain formal and technical aspects of the processes. Most noteworthy among these solutions are the "sites and ser- vices" and "progressive housing" strategies promoted by the World Bank, which the region's governments reluctantly accepted along with the dollars lent to them, so neces- sary for their economies.[1]

Unfortunately, these solutions, far from understanding the complexity and the logics in which irregular or uncontrolled settlement took place - uncontrolled, that is, by existing laws which attempted to create an orderly world through rules and prohibitions, maintaining social divisions and inequities - ended up mar- ginalizing the poor even more, closing and limiting the paths toward other options which were already emerging.

Many authors attempted to delve further in the understanding of the phenomena, and some proposed different solutions. Most of them conceived it as a problem of the capitalist market societies, their intrinsic injustice, and the role they assigned to laborers' families in relation to habitat and housing. They therefore concluded that changing the social system would be the basis for resolving the problem.

Nevertheless, the erred experiences and the limits and failures of housing policies of the socialist countries, which with similar urban-architectural concepts repeated and amplified the same type of solutions - for example, large high-density high-rise apartment buildings - soon showed that the issue was not so simple.
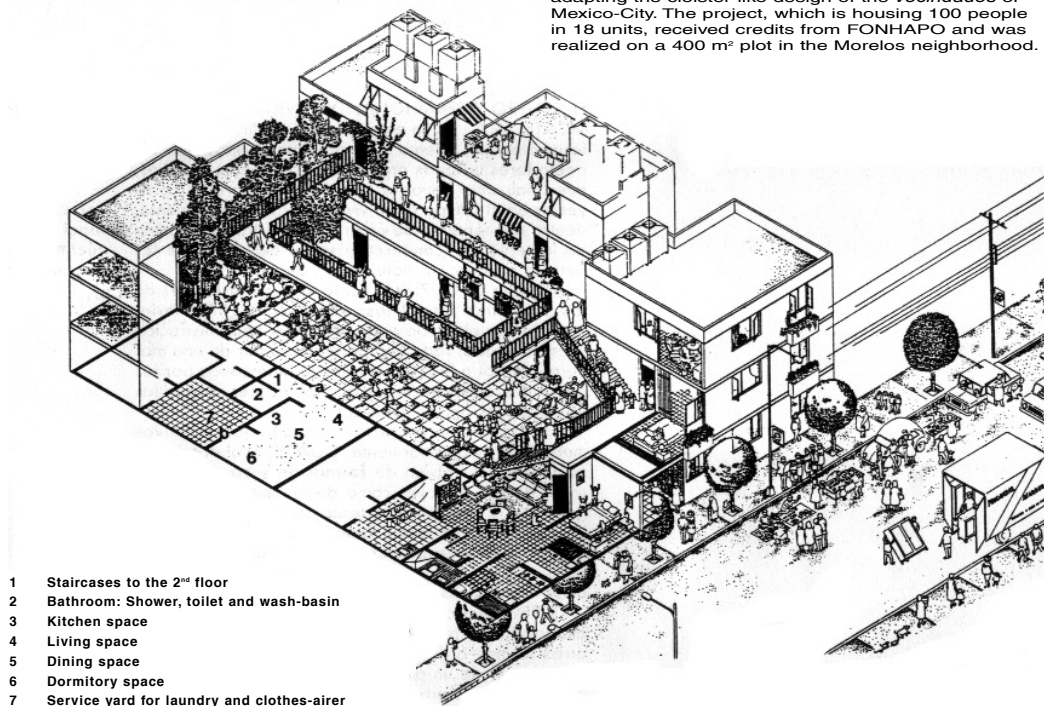
Among alternative proposals which emerged, one which stands out is that of John Turner, who emphasized the values and importance of *self-produced* - in lieu of *self-built* - urbanization and housing processes developed by poor inhabitants. While with a certain dose of idealization and individualism, which generated some criticism, Turner proposed creating an open and decentralized system which would allow the population to select among diverse options in the distinct self-production process phases. I believe that the root of this author's proposal deserves to be rescued: the creation and development of a society with greater capacity of action for the social agents, less dependent on the state, but at the same time fair and equitable.

The socialist left, in contrast, focused on attending to the workers and the most needy through state policies, but with centralized structures based on the specialized, and not infrequently idealized, knowledge of the professionals and on that established by the political vanguard as the common good. In most cases, proposals were promoted which may be qualified as technocratic, full of good intentions. It is important to recall that the defenders of this current spurned self-production, seen as one more form of exploitation of the working class, and therefore they have found it difficult to comprehend the complexity and the potentials of self-produced processes.

In the institutional field, among the multiple proposals put forward and pursued in the "third world," we see a variety of options developed by national governments, the World Bank, and the United Nations Center for Human Settlements (UNCHS or *Habitat Center),* which attempt to find options toward solutions to the growing problem of irregular settlements - which in fact multiplied in the second half of the past century despite the many programs and policies applied.

In reality, behind the good intentions of some actors and the declarations of governments was general distrust of the poor majority population, and, worse yet, the miserable amount of resources designated in national budgets to the low-income groups.

Fig.1:
General view of a COPEVI project from the 1970s, adapting the cloister-like design of the *vecindades* of Mexico-City. The project, which is housing 100 people in 18 units, received credits from FONHAPO and was realized on a 400 m² plot in the Morelos neighborhood.

1	Staircases to the 2nd floor
2	Bathroom: Shower, toilet and wash-basin
3	Kitchen space
4	Living space
5	Dining space
6	Dormitory space
7	Service yard for laundry and clothes-airer

1
Mesías, Rosendo and Romero, Gustavo. 2000. *La Participación en el planeamiento y diseño del hábitat popular*, Program of *Ciencia y Tecnología para el Desarrollo en Iberoamérica* (CYTED), *Fomento Solidario de la Vivienda* (FOSOVI), Habitat International Coalition (HIC), Department of Architecture of the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México* (UNAM), Mexico.

PERSPECTIVA INTERIOR
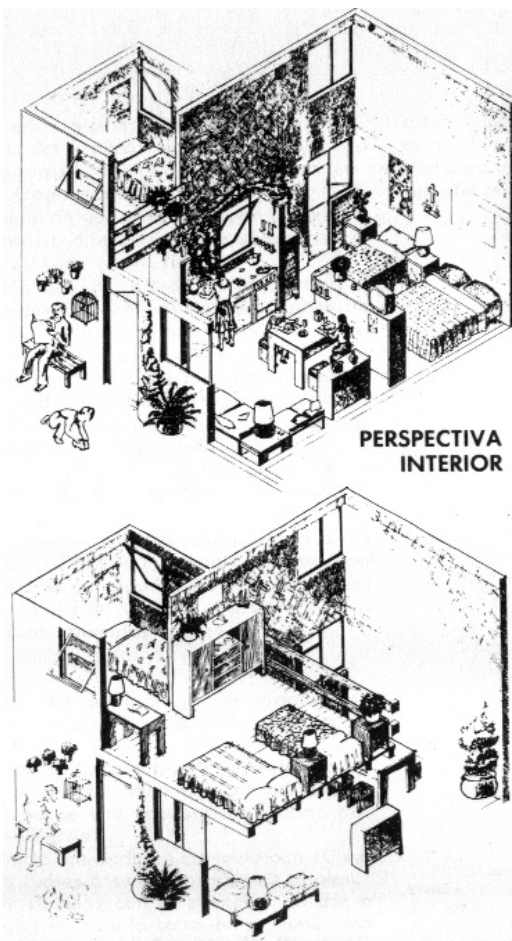
2
Cfr. Romero, Gustavo. 1995. *La alternativa y opciones de la Autoconstrucción en América Latina*, in *Varios, Reflexiones sobre la autoconstrucción del hábitat popular en América Latina*, CYTED, San Salvador. A definition may be found here of what we understand within the term "popular sectors."

3
Pioneers in the development of experiences as well as theoretical reflection on the theme in Latin America include the following organizations: *Centro Cooperativo Uruguayo* (CCU), *Fundación Salvadoreña de Desarrollo y Vivienda Mínima* (FUNDASAL), *Centro Experimental de la Vivienda Económica* (CEVE) in Argentina, the original *Centro Operacional de Vivienda y Poblamiento* (COPEVI) in Mexico, and DESCO in Peru, among others.

4
Settlement and Housing Operational Center (COPEVI), institution from which other NGOs detached. Responsibility for technical advisory later continued under FOSOVI. A.C.

5
Also initially with COPEVI and later with the Housing and Urban Studies Center (*Centro de la Vivienda y Estudios Urbanos* - CENVI A.C.), another NGO integrant of Habitat Mexico Coalition in Mexico City.

The search for alternatives

Parallel to the processes described, in the decades of the 1960s and 1970s, different actors emerged in Latin America who would link more directly and organically with the popular sectors[2] in function of settlement and housing. The so-called nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)[3] and various sectors of progressive elements of the Catholic Church, especially the Jesuits, began to form important networks around these issues at the regional as well as global scales - such as the Latin American and Asian Popular Housing Service (*Servicio Latinoamericano y Asiático de Vivienda Popular* - SELAVIP). Diverse professionals, either individually or linked to universities, also began to search for answers working from the problematic itself.

Various initiatives and proposals developed calling for improvement of the majority population's housing and habitat problems to be undertaken in a more integral way and through a more complex vision of the problems and the ways to resolve them. These initiatives and proposals did not refer merely to finance, norms, or architectural-construction solutions to housing and infrastructure, but saw the problems rather as an opportunity for the population itself to decide and control how

to improve its life, considering, among other aspects, those related to habitat and housing.

The strategy is based on two key aspects: participation and organization. It begins from the basic precept that the fundamental problem rests in the economic and political weakness of the individual actors (in this case, the poor settlers), respecting the social and cultural forms which make up their world.

The intention, therefore, is to transform housing and habitat conditions, which can not be separated from the struggle to improve the popular sectors' economic, social, and political capacities. Organization, training, participation in decisions, etc., are required at different levels and in function of immediate as well as medium and long term interests.

Of course it is not naively assumed that simply this process and the struggle to transform housing and habitat conditions would on their own produce general transformation of society toward a more just and equitable world. Among many other required factors, linkages must be developed among the multiple forms of social and economic struggle developing in diverse fields and sectors, among which stand out those led by housing and habitat groups and movements in various countries of our continent (Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, and Uruguay, among others).

The case of Mexico

No legislative or legal frameworks existed in Mexico in the 1970s to support poor inhabitants' efforts to secure access to housing which could better satisfy their needs. The NGOs then promoted a series of cases using cooperative organization, which, while in Mexico was not defined in the case of housing, could be used albeit with limitations and misunderstandings. The first of these was a building identified for cooperative ownership in the neighborhood of Tepito in the poorest part of Mexico City's historic downtown. In that case, for the first time an organized group requested a loan to purchase the homes they rented and pursue a project for new housing, winning modification of the finance program's rigid design norms to more adequately correspond to the inhabitants' cultural characteristics.

Another very important case, in which various strategy elements were forged which would later transform into national housing policies, is the "Palo Alto" cooperative. A group of sand mine workers in what was the outskirts of the city in the 1970s, and who had settled with their families on lands around the mine, saw their situation threatened when mine production ended and the owner intended to remove the families and sell the land. With

advisory from a few social promoters and an NGO - the original *Centro Operacional de Vivienda y Poblamiento* (COPEVI)[4] - a proposal was developed incorporating forms of savings, alternative finance, progressive housing, and organizational and self-construction techniques. A hard struggle was necessary to achieve legal ownership, which then allowed the residents to seek loan support. Even a self-invasion was organized which provided leverage in order to negotiate under better conditions.

Palo Alto had four housing construction stages between 1975 and 1985, the last of which focused on the cooperative members' children and their new families with progressive growth apartment solutions. The many crises suffered by the cooperative fostered development of a series of proposals which it opened up to the multiple cooperative and civil association groups generated in the 1980s.

In the 1970s, organized groups seeking housing began to form, which would be the forerunners of the urban movements which would become so important in the housing and popular housing settlement struggles and achievements of the 1980s. With one of those groups, focused on rental housing problems in downtown Mexico City, the "Guerrero" cooperative was formed in 1975-76. With NGO assistance,[5] a loan was solicited from the National Workers' Housing Fund Institute (*Instituto del Fondo Nacional de Vivienda de los Trabajadores* - INFONAVIT). For the first time in Mexico, a high-rise progressive housing solution used the construction support method of Dutch Architect Habraken, adapted to Mexico. The first participative design exercises in Mexico also occurred with this experience.[6]

Unfortunately the finance institution never again supported this type of experience, but such experiences were continued in any case in the 1980s.

Habitat I

The first world conference on human settlements, Habitat I, held in Vancouver in 1976 organized by the United Nations, fostered the encounter of numerous groups and persons struggling for a better world from the habitat and housing field. Groups from the north and the south of the planet established links and exchanged experiences. The collective reflection, discussions, and proposals gathered there were synthesized in a *Charter* on human settlements subscribed to by the majority of participants.

Nevertheless, many of the proposals were used afterward only as elements of government discourse and were never reflected in

effective actions or resources to support groups struggling for housing and habitat.

In part due to the occasion opened by this meeting, the Mexican government that same year decreed its *Human Settlements Law*, which proposed interesting changes. The Law, however, ran up against enormous resistance by the conservative sectors - for whom it was a socialist law - and manipulated public opinion. What could have been important social reforms toward greater access to urban land for the low-income population, and in general greater public control over urban issues, were thus detained.

One year later, the Ministry of Human Settlements and Public Works was created in Mexico. Some members of the habitat NGOs, respected as professionals with important experience and an open and plural vision of the issue, were invited to collaborate in the Ministry's housing area.

In 1979, the first National Housing Program was approved. Following are some of the most noteworthy strategies lobbied for by the NGOs to support the poor population's housing efforts:

- accept that housing is a process and should be recognized as such in laws and regulations in order to assure respect for the different ways of pursuing said process;

- legally recognize organized inhabitants, integrated in the form of cooperatives or as housing associations, in order for them to be eligible for loans and finance;

- create a financial institution which supported the low-income inhabitants, in accordance with their characteristics and modalities, and especially non-wage earners;

- propose a housing law to foment the different production forms and the participation of diverse social agents.

Fig. 3:
Site plan of the *Cooperativa Guerrero* Housing Project, Mexico DF: four- and six-storey buildings housing 350 people on a 1,450 m² plot. One of the first participative housing design exercices realized by COPEVI A.C. in the Mid-1970s

Fig. 1-3 taken from *Alternativas de vivienda en barrios populares.* Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Xochimilco (UAM-X) / Secretaría del Desarrollo Urbano y Ecología (SEDUE). 1988
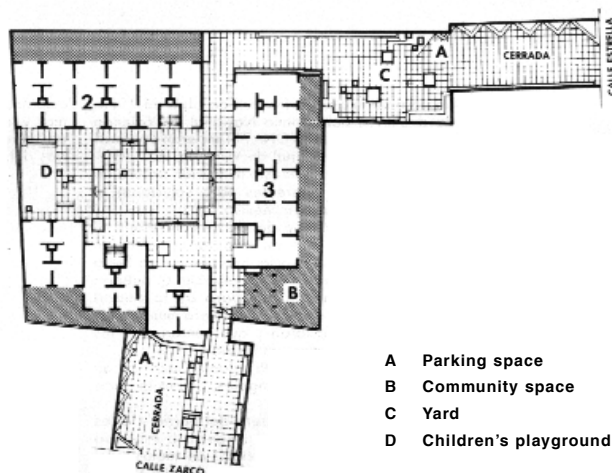
A   **Parking space**
B   **Community space**
C   **Yard**
D   **Children's playground**

All of these goals were achieved, although with different degrees of success. Especially noteworthy is the creation of the National Popular Housing Fund (*Fondo Nacional de las Habitaciones Populares* - FONHAPO), an institution with enough flexibility in its rules and operating criteria for organized inhabitants to obtain loans. In the ten-year period of 1982-1992, FONHAPO allocated approximately 20,000 loans, benefiting 150,000 people.

Setbacks and new paths opened in the struggle

Most unfortunately, all these advances have been in large part disassembled and destroyed by the new economic policies, referred to as neo-liberal, applied beginning in the mid-1980s in the housing field as in others in Latin America and Mexico (especially as of 1992). This is the era of what some researchers characterize as "the deconstruction of the popular housing support system".[7]

It is necessary to analyze and evaluate what this setback of the progressive forces has meant and means, especially in the light of the extraordinary development of capitalism in its financial and global phase which paradoxically submerges modern societies in the illusion of material wealth and technological progress - even if only for a few - while placing human civilization at risk, confronting it with social, economic, and ecological collapse.

In the field we have been analyzing, housing and habitat are merchandise to be produced and distributed according to market

Fig. 4:
Palo Alto neighborhood, Mexico DF, built in self-help in the 70s; in 2000, approaching "globalization" threatens the site
photo: Eike Jakob Schütz

laws. In a world where everything must be paid for, solidarity, mutual aid, and other social forms of production not based on the law of earnings, have no place. At the same time it is important to recognize that many social policies and postures, even progressive ones, have been exposed and placed in crisis, for the facts of being plagued with inefficiency, irresponsibility, determinism, willfulness, incapacity, and demagogy. If we do not transform and fight against these as well, our proposals for profound transformation will have little possibility of success.

But by this moment we can also refer to an already long historic experience uniting multiple actors: social groups and organizations, nongovernmental organizations, committed research centers and university groups, professionals and technicians looking to give sense to their practice, a few governmental experiences seeking authentic solutions for the common good, and some functionaries and members of international civil society bodies, the United Nations, and even the World Bank.

The UN declared International Year of the Homeless in 1987 created the occasion to bring together 57 NGOs from 40 countries in Limuru, Kenya. The Limuru Declaration and the mutual understanding which came out of that gathering led to the proposal to transform Habitat International Council, which had been established in conjunction with the Vancouver Habitat I Conference. The Council itself, and as one of the most salient activities of that year, organized the Habitat Forum held in Berlin. Part of the Forum included the exhibit of social production of habitat experiences undertaken in Latin American, African, and Asian countries. The occasion also served to invite the NGOs involved in those experiences and other groups and individuals working over many years in the search for alternatives, to form part, together with the old Council members, of Habitat International Coalition (HIC).[8]

An important transformation began at that point, and it was decided that both the headquarters and the General Secretary of the new HIC should be chosen from the southern hemisphere.[9] It was the first network with more than three hundred members encompassing nongovernmental and civil organizations and research and academic centers, with a clear definition of objectives and strategies in the struggle for the right to housing and related aspects derived from that struggle.

Along that same path, the Rio de Janeiro conference on sustainable development in 1992 made possible the gathering of Latin American inhabitants organizations (united in the Continental Front of Communal Organiza-

tions - *Frente Continental de Organizaciones Comunales* - FCOC), environmentalist networks, and members of the Science and Technology for Development in Ibero-America program (*Ciencia y Tecnología para el Desarrollo en Iberoamérica* - CYTED) among others. That occasion no doubt provided great stimulus to the process of analysis, reflection, and work programs aiming to impact at the international level in the application of the right to housing and the city, as well as to lobby for policies which would allow the greatest number of social groups to participate with their own decisions and achieve access to the support they needed to improve their quality of life.
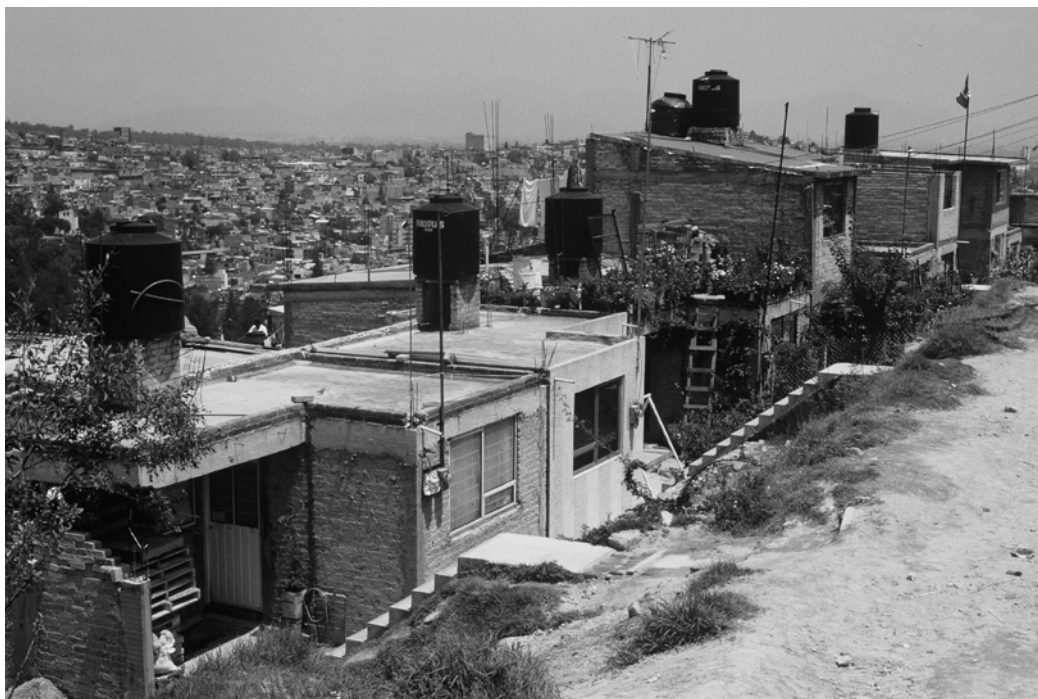
In 1993, at the invitation of the then Director of the UN Habitat Center to a meeting to promote the *Cities Summit* (Habitat II, Istanbul 1996), the decision was made to reinforce the Coalition's work in the promotion of the implementation of the right to housing and to consolidate all the necessary measures. Discussion on the issue was opened in various forums, and the initiative emerged from the Latin American HIC network to promote *social production of habitat and housing* (SPHH) as a key concept and strategy to focus and reap the greatest potential from the efforts undertaken by the inhabitants.[10]

Social Production of Habitat and Housing (SPHH): the debate

The term *social production of habitat and housing* had been in use since the 1970s and was gradually being adopted by various actors, although the lack of consensus on a precise definition led to various differing interpretations. In some texts it is defined as "the

evolutionary development process of habitat, spontaneous or planned, to achieve satisfaction of the tangible and intangible needs of the traditionally excluded social sectors".[11]

In more detail, for Enrique Ortiz it is "a social production system acting on a not-for-profit basis, through the initiative and under the control of a social entity which may be a community based organization (cooperative, association, mutual-aid group, union, etc.), or a professional nongovernmental organization (some the types of NGOs, technical assistance groups, popular housing institutes, pro-housing civil associations, etc.) which produce housing units and complexes for organized seekers of housing, who generally participate actively in the housing process from its initial phases".[12]

Here we have a first problem. Many understand social production as that in which the inhabitants participate, in either individual or organized form. Others include the population which is organized for said purposes or that which is organized under the wing of governmental institutions. And others refer to it as self-production and/or self-construction or informal production, etc.. It is also important to note that some refer only to housing, while others consider the broad habitat sphere in general.

This demonstrates that in social production of housing and habitat processes, many actors intervene with different roles, diverse conceptions of how to do things, and distinct goals and objectives. Classifying as social production of housing and habitat both that produced spontaneously and that produced through

8
Limuru Declaration, International NGO Seminar, April 1987, Limuru, Kenya.

9
In this case, the site was established in Mexico City and the designated Secretary General was Enrique Ortiz, professional with very significant background in the field.

10
For more information on this process of reflection and theory production, refer to the following documents among others: *Habitat II, Declarations, Commitments and Strategies for Action*, Víctor Delgadillo, Editor, Habitat International Coalition and Habitat Coalition Mexico, Mexico, 1998; and *Ten Proposals toward Habitat II, Declaration of the Housing and Building Network (Red Viviendo y Construyendo)* Sub-Program XIV-HABYTED- of CYTED, 1994. (*Editor's Note*).

11
In: Enet, Mariana; Mesías, Rosendo; Romero, Gustavo et. al. 2001. *La participación en el planeamiento y diseño en la producción social del hábitat, Red Viviendo y Construyendo*, Sub-Program XIV-HABYTED- of CYTED Unpublished document.

12
Ortiz, Enrique. 1998. *Notes on social production of habitat. Basic elements for its conceptualization and promotion*, Casa y Ciudad, Mexico.

Fig. 6:
Social production of habitat leads to very different solutions: Neighborhood built by a cooperative in Tlalpan, Mexico DF
photo: Eike Jakob Schütz

13
Enet, Mariana; Mesías, Rosendo; Romero, G. 2001. Op. cit.

planned, participative, and strategic processes[13], with the inhabitants themselves as significant actors, is useful from the point of view of comprehension of the phenomena. Nevertheless, for the purposes of a proposal to build a transforming policy which integrates the efforts of the population with participative organization, financial supports, and fulfillment of adequate norms, contradictions emerge requiring further analysis. It is not the purpose of this text to delve into said contradictions, but only to expose these questions so they may be discussed and SPHH more solidly defined.

It is important to recall that the idea of social production of habitat emerges from the evidence of the enormous effort undertaken by an important part of the population - those who we define in Latin America as the popular sectors - to obtain their own home. The popular settlements have allowed many inhabitants to acquire a plot on which to build a home over time and gradually achieve introduction of infrastructure and facilities. Such places have also generated a supply of rental housing, mainly rooms in homes or *vecindades* (generally buildings formerly convents or other communal habitation institutions converted into multi-family dwellings), in which small stores, workshops, and factories are often developed alongside housing.

The process has a series of positive results which must be emphasized, given that its virtues tend to be denied: housing with ample spaces and flexibility to respond to multiple demands (shops, rental rooms, additional homes), streets with variable uses allowing formation of neighborhoods, and scales fostering social interaction.

Nevertheless, these inhabitants also face many problems. First of all, they must overcome existing norms and deal with the incomprehension of many technicians, researchers, and functionaries who look upon them with political sympathy but do not understand the processes and their potentials. In second place, they must resolve the poor conditions of the sites and lands on which they are located: often on the outskirts of the city, poorly communicated and serviced, on difficult lands with steep slopes, prone to flooding, etc.

Despite all these limitations and difficulties, these inhabitants build neighborhoods which over time are gradually consolidated. We can affirm that after fifty years, many of them are in better state than most of the housing complexes built through public policies and with technical supervision.

The purpose of SPHH is to achieve a production system which allows diverse sectors of society to obtain habitat and housing responsive to their multiple conditions and demands through processes in which they participate and make decisions, and doing so in a way which adapts to their present and future realities, possibilities, and potentials. Which allows them to relate their particular demands with those of the block, neighborhood, and city-wide communities in which they live; linking with the social, economic-political, normative, cultural, architectural, urban-space, and ecological sustainability questions which make up and determine habitat, understood as a product-production in a dialectic process. We would thus have a complex response to the multi-varied phenomena of inhabiting and of habitat.

A first question posed to us is whether only organized population groups may lead this type of experience. Here we have two levels: that of housing, and that of habitat. It is obvious that the two must be related and linked and this is one of the objectives to be pursued, but we must also accept they may be carried out independently, and in any case we may work from one to link it with the other.

A second question, at both the housing and habitat levels, is the dominant trend toward isolated processes of families or communities (the street, neighborhood, etc.). Here we must accept that this is the case and support them, attempting to help them advance toward more complex organizational and participative forms.

This means in the case of housing, that for those families attempting an individual self-production process, the system should make it possible for them to do so, given the reality that they are the majority and it will be difficult in the early stages to get them to work only through organized processes.

Toward a definition of "Social Production of Habitat and Housing"

In synthesis, we will define SPHH as the system which allows individuals, families, communities, and different social organizations, to produce housing and habitat in such a way as to control the fundamental decisions, either individually or jointly, through processes which tend to evolve toward more complex and effective forms. This implies the need for the existence of policies, strategies, instruments, legislation, norms, finance, advisory, and space for all of the paths, possibilities, and options which facilitate it.

We propose a SPHH which is planned, participative, and strategic, with the following central characteristics:

- active actors inclined to link with others; flexible planning;

- diagnosis developed based on agreed community needs;

- decisions made in a participative way jointly by the whole of actors;

- collective construction and action plans, and

- projects which express the possible, based on consensus and conflict-resolution.

These characteristics and the objectives should be envisioned over time, not as mandatory preconditions but rather as the situation we aspire to reach. It is clear that SPHH ideas and forms are in permanent construction, and the experiences and paths forming it over time must be evaluated. Even more important is to undertake theoretical discussion among the different interested actors, which would allow us to clarify our intention, identify diversities and possibilities, and gradually perfect the most useful strategies for its development and evolution.

This essay intends to simply contribute a series of ideas on the processes, reflections, and discussions of some of us actors who have been involved in these themes. I hope this opportunity opens new possibilities for more fruitful dialogue both among the NGOs and social organizations as well as with other involved actors, especially the international institutions and governments.

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Toward Decentralized Housing Improvement Policies in Peru

CARLOS ESCALANTE

1
A variant of this occupation modality through "irregular land acquirement" is undertaken through the small farmer (*campesino*) communities. The procedure used is that of appropriation in use and usufruct of a plot of the community's land for a determined time through assimilation of the condition of communal member.

2
Plan Nacional de Vivienda - Vivienda para todos: Lineamientos de Política 2003 - 2006 approved by supreme decree Nº 006-2003-*Vivienda* on 10/03/03.

3
These figures correspond to the 1993 National Population and Housing Census.

The most important habitat production modality in Peru in quantitative terms is the invasion of usually public lands in which self-construction clearly predominates as the means through which to acquire a home. The finance source for the most part is family savings; access to services comes later and is usually obtained through neighborhood organization. The lowest-income social sectors are those which recur to this housing strategy. The second type of habitat production begins through irregular purchase of unurbanized lands.[1] For this purpose, the families - with greater economic capacity - organize themselves in cooperatives or housing associations. A third social production of habitat modality is constituted by processes of creation of new housing units through expansion of originally built areas and/or subdivision of preexisting plots and homes.

During the inter-census period of 1981-1993, 121,249 homes were built in Peru per year, and according to official diagnosis[2] most of these were built by the "social sector." This situation, which the experts do not argue, is nevertheless not always translated into public policy and even less in assignation of budget funds.

Primary impacts

Observing the results of these processes, especially those involving land invasions and housing self-construction outside of regulations and with the complicity or at least indifference of the authorities, it may be argued that the processes are excessively long, generating a series of hardships in the families which register high infant illness and death rates, domestic violence, etc. And the housing and neighborhoods produced are generally of low quality. Housing construction deficiencies including use of precarious materials in walls, floors, and roofs are characteristics corresponding to 14.2% of all homes according to the 1993 census. Overcrowding affected 17.8% of Peruvian homes, and deficient basic services affected more than half the homes (53.9% in potable water supply and 61.1% in drainage).[3]

Für dezentrale Fördersysteme zur Wohnraumverbesserung in Peru.

Es ist unbestritten, dass die untersten Einkommensgruppen in Peru die Hauptlast der Wohnraumproduktion tragen. Über geduldete Landbesetzungen und sukzessiven Selbstbau, der sich flexibel der Finanzlage der Familien anpasst, schaffen sie beachtliche Werte. Andererseits erleiden sie räumliche Enge, eine oft mangelhafte Bausubstanz und langjährige Defizite in der Versorgung mit Infrastruktur. Die staatliche Wohnbaupolitik fördert jedoch - ganz im Interesse der Bauindustrie - bevorzugt den Neubau und nicht die qualitative Verbesserung oder Aufstockung dieser bestehenden Substanz. So wurden im letzten Jahrzehnt in und um Lima selbst steile Hanglagen, abgelegene Wüstenflächen oder ursprünglich für Sozialeinrichtungen und Parks reservierte Gelände neu besiedelt. Die "spontane" soziale Produktion gerade auch auf solchen Flächen wird über exzessive Landtitelvergabe und Kleinkreditprogramme gefördert, beides zentralstaatlich gesteuert, ohne Rücksicht auf Gemeindebelange und oft von parteipolitischen Interessen geleitet.
Angesichts dieser Defizite könnten Spar- und Kreditkooperativen zur Wohnbauverbesserung, wie die Kooperative "Señor de la Esperanza", einer staatlichen Wohnungspolitik als Modell dienen. Die NGO CENCA entwickelte in diesem Sinne mit Unterstützung durch Misereor / KZE den Vorschlag eines dezentralen Fördersystems zur Wohnraum- und Siedlungsverbesserung mit technischer Beratung, lokaler Kontrolle der öffentlichen Fördermittel auf Ebene der Gemeinden sowie einer aktiven Rolle der Bewohnerorganisationen bei der Planung der Maßnahmen. Dies wird unterstützt von einem breiten zivilgesellschaftlichen Bündnis, dem es bereits gelang, das Recht auf menschenwürdiges Wohnen in der neuen peruanischen Verfassung zu verankern.

Another cause of suffering for the population is the poor location of their homes in dangerous areas threatened by landslides, floods, or contamination from garbage dumps, industrial wastes, etc., extremely critical situations causing increasing risk with each passing day.[4]

However, it must also be mentioned that this social process has created wealth[5] and has brought value to completely marginalized lands with initially no commercial value, and in which the market forces are unable or show no interest in investing. The immense demand generated for construction materials and related services has contributed enormously to the construction sector's economic dynamic. On the other hand, as settlements are consolidated, local markets are created for diverse activities, especially in service industries. A noteworthy case is the construction of large commercial centers in previously outlying areas which now vie competitively for investments due to the enormous demand for services registered there.

New trends

In recent years and especially since the 1990s, the informal land occupation process has reached areas increasingly less adequate for urban use. The most recent land invasions have occurred in very difficult and rugged areas, occupying steep and rocky or sandy slopes far from the city, elevating urbanization and housing construction costs even more, and therefore prolonging the hardships of the settlers. They are often expansions of old settlements and occupy the far-away hills avoided by the first occupants or the lands designated for communal facilities but not yet conditioned for their foreseen purpose. And while both cases involve low or very-low income populations, tensions and conflicts are generated between them over borders, prejudices, etc. In any case, these last settlements are characteristically small and occupied by housing built with improvised materials, without basic services or passable roads. They are inhabited by families in extreme poverty, often headed by women or young couples who work as street peddlers.

According to various sources, between 1993 and 1996 no fewer than 700 new informal settlements[6] emerged in Lima, and according to COFOPRI[7] figures, 200 land invasions took place in the capital over the past five years. As the result of said process and despite the work of COFOPRI in the land regularization sphere, to date there are approximately 2,500 informal settlements without titles of a total of 4,800.

Access to land for the lowest-income sectors has been limited in recent years by formal mechanisms, despite the fact that COFOPRI and the National Commission on Access to Housing have created the so-called Land Exchange (*Bolsa de Tierras*). And uncultivated lands which by law are state property are being auctioned to real estate companies for construction of government-promoted housing programs.

**Traditional instruments
and housing policy**

The process of social production of habitat or informal growth of cities has been confronted from the public sector through diverse instruments, some preventative, such as urban planning and the municipal housing programs which attempted to define expansion areas for low-income sectors and organize and implement orderly occupation processes in said areas, and others designed to accompany the

4
Two examples of these critical situations are the neighborhood of Belén in Iquitos in the Peruvian Amazon, which is flooded annually and registers alarming health statistics, overcrowding, and precarious housing conditions; and the equally precarious Oroya Antigua neighborhood, affected by toxic emissions from a neighboring metallurgic plant and threatened by landslides from the hill on which it is located.

5
According to Hernando de Soto, the value of extra-legally possessed rural and urban properties in Peru reaches approximately 74 billion USD, while governmental investment in housing was equivalent, up to the late 1980s, to only 2 percent of the extra-legal sector in the same field. Hernando de Soto: *El Misterio del Capital*. Ed. El Comercio S.A.

6
Paul Maquet, *El problema de la vivienda en Lima metropolitana* CENCA 1998. The term "*Asentamientos Humanos*" ("Human Settlements," translated in this text as "Informal Settlements") is used in Peru as the official term for informal neighborhoods or land invasions.

7
COFOPRI – Informal Property Formalization Commission (*Comisión de Formalización de la Propiedad Informal*). Responsible for regularizing informal properties in the country. It is part of the justice sector, and is very "efficient," but does not coordinate enough with the municipalities. It has a private sector vision which has led it to look for owners in cases in which there is no one claiming the property in question.

processes and facilitate housing and urban facilities construction, such as the technical assistance and credit for housing construction and urban improvement programs, etc.. Finally, there are the corrective-character programs on land regularization, urban renewal, urban remodeling, and population relocation.

However, application of these instruments in general terms has not had a positive result. In the majority of cases, land occupation took place in areas unforeseen by the directive plans due to divergence between the logic of the population and the technical and functionalist criteria of the planners. While the designers identified lands for urban expansion based on the possibility of water and drainage services, linkage to urban infrastructure networks, and lower natural disaster risk, the marginal-sector and lowest-income families prioritized occupation of the lowest-cost (preferably no-cost) lands which are precisely those lacking the technical qualities demanded by the planners.

State loan programs such as the Materials Bank designed to accompany the self-construction process were used politically and therefore generated a high level of default, which affected their sustainability. Furthermore, they were centrally developed, explicitly excluding local actors (municipalities and social organizations), and therefore their products were too standardized and did not respond to the cultural characteristics of the diverse localities in which they were implemented.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that the official figures themselves establish the qualitative deficit as approximately three times the quantitative deficit,[8] governmental housing policy prioritizes construction of new housing units and not improvement of existing housing. This policy of prioritizing new construction translates through two loan modalities: for the middle-income sectors, fiscal funds are channeled through the bank to private promoters who offer housing programs. For the lower-income sectors, demand is subsidized so it may reach access to the housing supply produced by the private sector.

Housing policy emphasis in the past decade was placed on the application of corrective instruments such as land regularization, to the detriment of preventative measures such as municipal programs for access to land and progressive housing construction. While COFOPRI received financial support from the World Bank in the amount of 38 million USD, and was allocated exclusive and excluding competence in the field of regularization of 1.2 million plots, municipal housing programs were discontinued and received no financial support from the central government. Housing is precisely one of the sectors with no program for transfer of functions, competences, and resources toward the regional or local levels. To that we should add that the municipal housing programs have also not been integrated within a coherent system to interrelate interventions and generate corresponding synergies based on common objectives.

Within that focus, the "Mivivienda" (My Housing) and "Techo Propio" (Own Roof) Programs which are the primary financial instruments of the government's housing policy are developed from the central government itself with marginal participation by the municipalities and a resource allocation modality through open calls in which the applicants are

8
The qualitative deficit constituted by precarious, overcrowded, or deteriorated housing, numbers 900 thousand units, while the quantitative deficit, i.e. the number of homes without housing, numbers only 300 thousand units.

Pachacutec neighborhood, Distrito de Ventanilla, Lima
photo: CENCA

not focalized. In that sense it is difficult for this policy to address the most critical cases given that selection of beneficiaries is not based on priority of social cases using criteria such as degree of precariousness, risk level, or problem magnitude, but instead on individually evaluated applications.

These types of housing policies which take references from experiences in various Latin American countries and have been promoted by the Inter-American Development Bank, contain some elements important to note. On the one hand, subsidies do not appear as a generalized policy but rather the criteria is to give enough to a few so they may access the prices of private supply, while mechanisms for recovery of the fiscal expenditures caused by the subsidies do not appear to guarantee their full replacement.**9** The logic of the intervention appears to be explained rather by the need to reactivate the economy, favoring expansion of the construction industry and benefits for the large construction companies.

But the main objection is to the disregard for the process of social production of habitat, despite its enormous importance in housing production, replacing it by an alliance of the government with the construction companies and the private bank.

My Roof Program and Lord of Hope (Señor de la Esperanza) Savings and Loan Cooperative

In this framework, the Urban Development Institute (*Instituto de Desarrollo Urbano -* CENCA)**10** develops a housing loan and technical assistance program called My Roof (*Mi Techo*). This program has the objective to sup- port the efforts of self-building families producing their homes in the most adverse conditions due to their scarce income and the difficult soil conditions where they are located. The program forms part of CENCA's integral intervention program in San Juan de Lurigancho and which also incorporates advisory to the inhabitants in the regularization of their property, improvement of their environmental conditions, use of sustainable technologies, income-generation, and participative planning.**11**

The My Roof program is oriented to the lowest-income sectors (social status E according to official terminology) and incorporates two main focuses: technical assistance in housing design and construction, and finance through micro-credits staggered to adjust to the irregular income of the population. But above all the program promotes reflection on the usefulness of the financial instruments to reap the greatest potential from family savings.

Within that framework of objectives, the My Roof program has led to the creation of a Savings and Loan cooperative of the inhabitants themselves, the "Señor de la Esperanza" Savings and Loan cooperative, to provide them with a communal financial instrument allowing them access to economic resources to sustain their own projects. The My Roof program has supported consolidation of the cooperative, transferring funds to it for its initial activities. For its part, the cooperative, in addition to its financial activities, assumes tasks in educational development and community leadership training, while also promoting debate on the role of cooperatives in housing policies for the lowest-income sectors.

9
The government's argument is that application of the subsidy will stimulate the construction industry and investment amounts will be recovered through taxes. Nevertheless, calculations made and experiences in other Latin American countries show that these amounts are not completely recovered (except in Chile which grew at a seven percent rate over fifteen years). In a poor country such as Peru, the result is that a high subsidy (3,600 USD) is only enjoyed by a few.

10
CENCA – Urban Development Institute (*Instituto de Desarrollo Urbano*). Non-profit institution dedicated to supporting the lowest-income population's efforts to improve its quality of life. CENCA works in the fields of urban development, local economic development, and capacities development.

11
"Land regularization and popular housing improvement in the East Cone of Lima", project supported by KZE / Misereor.

12
Among these are the self-managed communal funds or cooperatives, NGO directed credit programs, local microfinance institutions such as the Municipal Funds, Rural Funds, and EDPYMES, as well as the Security Funds (*Fondos Previsionales*) of unions of teachers, policemen, fishermen, etc.

13
According to the magazine *Microfinanzas en el Perú*, we may be talking about more than 280 million USD with more than 320,000 current loans. According to other experts, micro-enterprise credit (which does not include the savings and loan cooperatives or the security funds but does include the banks) registered investments of 359.4 million USD in late 1998 and 392.4 in the year 2000. See: Felipe Portocarrero Maish, *Microfinanzas en el Perú. Experiencias y Perspectivas. Universidad Del Pacífico –* PROMPYME.

14
Estimates of the System of Support for Social Production of Housing and the City. Instituto de Desarrollo Urbano CENCA and the Campaign Committee for the right to decent housing, February 2002, Lima, Peru.

In that sense, evaluation of the My Roof program, the positive evolution of the "Señor de la Esperanza" Savings and Loan cooperative, and the fact that an extensive network of cooperatives and other micro-credit institutions exists in the country,[12] lead us to sustain that the best way to confront the need for finance for housing improvement is through this network of micro-credit institutions. It is estimated that these micro-credit institutions, working with average loans of 800 USD and serving sectors considered "high risk" by the traditional bank,[13] have assigned only 6.4% of the total of their investments for housing construction and/or improvement, amounting to 25 million USD, of which savings and loan cooperatives contribute 67 percent, investing approximately 17 million USD in the housing sphere.[14] In this sense, the figures show, on the one hand, the leadership of the cooperatives which may be explained by their proximity to the daily problems of the people, and on the other, the ample space for growth in this field still open to other micro-credit institutions. That will require a process of awareness-building on the role these institutions can and should play in housing policies for the lowest-income sectors as well as a sustained effort to develop capacities to allow them to efficiently develop this task. It should also be noted that the majority of Peruvian micro-credit institutions have focused primarily on support for productive activities (loans to micro-enterprises) and not on housing improvement.

Decentralized Support System for Social Production of Housing

For the past two years a citizen initiative has been underway called "Campaign for the right to decent housing for all." This campaign - in the framework of the global campaign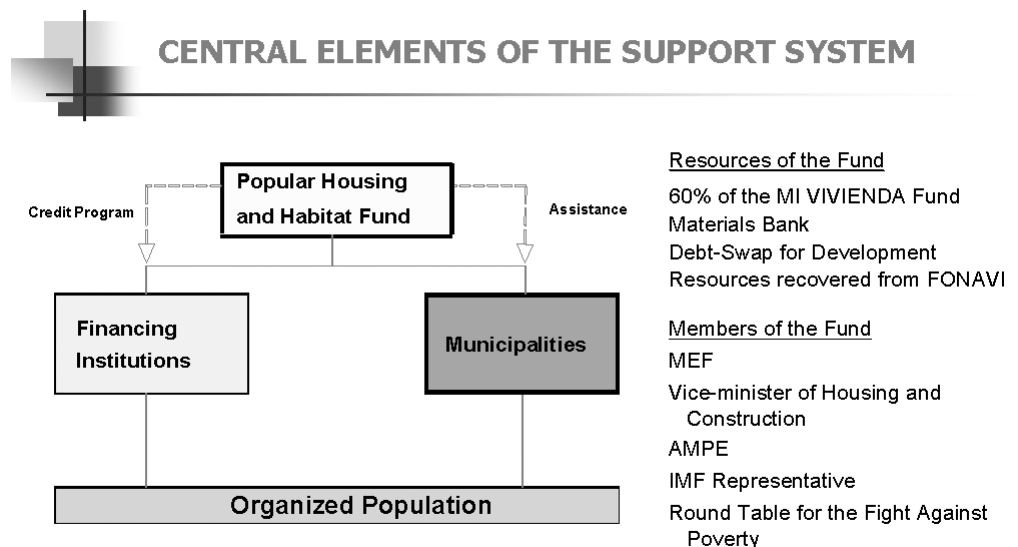s for Security of Tenure and Good Urban Governance promoted by the United Nations Habitat Center - aims to call attention to the grave conditions in which 1.2 million families live in our country; to develop actions to influence housing policy, and to defend housing as a human right. Toward those goals, it has promoted restitution of the Right to Housing in the Constitutional Reform and the implementation of consensual mechanisms in the finance, technical, and legal norm spheres to facilitate concrete implementation of said right. Parallel to lobby actions to influence public policies on land and housing, the campaign has incorporated emblematic cases which are documented and directly supported and which constitute reference points for the design of specific procedures for attention to these problems.

The Campaign Committee[12] has recently designed a proposal called "Support System for Social Production of Housing and the City" which is based on the fact that families are the primary producers of popular housing and neighborhoods. The proposal calls for a housing policy which prioritizes improvement of the housing self-built by the city's poor over construction of new housing. The proposal defends the need for more active presence of the local governments in the resolution of these problems - which are heterogeneous and require thousands of small and distinct solutions, not always apparent for standardized and massive programs such as those of the central government and large construction companies.
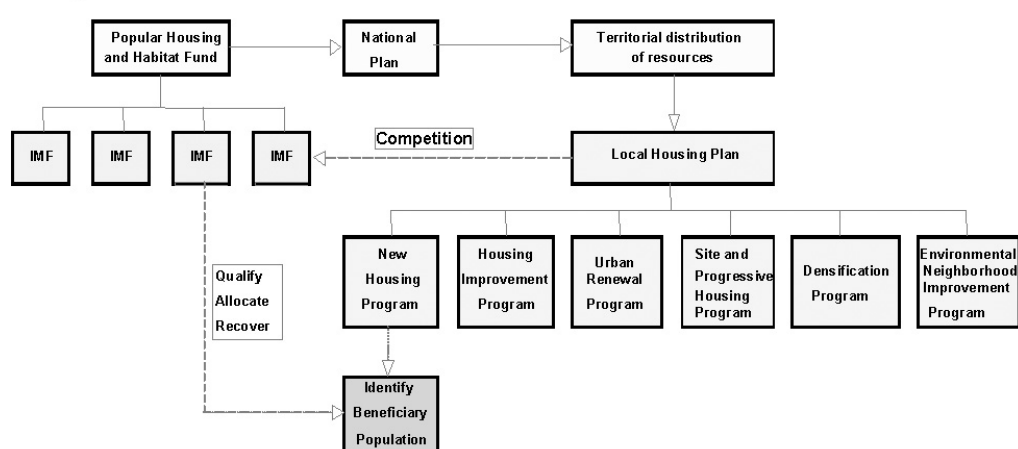
The decentralized system of support for social production of habitat is based on four central elements:

1. A Popular Housing and Habitat Fund, integrated by 60% of the My Housing Fund, the resources assigned to the Mate-

CENTRAL ELEMENTS OF THE SUPPORT SYSTEM

Resources of the Fund

60% of the MI VIVIENDA Fund
Materials Bank
Debt-Swap for Development
Resources recovered from FONAVI

Members of the Fund

MEF
Vice-minister of Housing and
    Construction
AMPE
IMF Representative
Round Table for the Fight Against
    Poverty

OPERATION OF THE SUPPORT SYSTEM

rials Bank, and those recovered from the National Housing Fund (*Fondo Nacional de Vivienda* - FONAVI) currently in process of liquidation. Resources from the Debt-Swap for Development project and international cooperation should also be incorporated within the Fund.

2. The provincial and district municipalities, which would be in charge of leading the process at the local level, promoting the elaboration of local action plans duly agreed upon with the social organizations and inhabitants in general. The municipalities would also be responsible for organizing the technical assistance to the self-building families, for which they may establish an employment exchange for local professionals and skilled workers; agreements with universities, professional colleges, and NGOs, etc.

3. The micro-credit institutions, responsible for placing the loans, qualifying individual or organized inhabitants, and undertaking follow-up and recovery of allocated loans.

4. The social organizations, participating not only in dissemination of the technical assistance and loan programs but also in the social qualification of inhabitants and social supervision of the programs. Most importantly, the social organizations should have an active role in prioritizing the programs to be implemented in the local action planes.

The system works as follows:

- Territorial assignation of the resources from the popular housing fund, to be car-

ried out through application of poverty level, housing deficit, and other indicators. In this way, each locality will have an amount to apply for the execution of its intervention programs.

- Participative elaboration of Local Action Plans under the responsibility of the local actors, municipalities, social organizations, local institutions, and general population. The programs and intervention arenas will be identified within these planes, programming and financing the investment amounts.

- Selection of local micro-credit institutions which would assume the financial support through public bidding.

- Execution of the credit programs under the responsibility of the micro-finance institutions, and of the technical assistance programs under the responsibility of the municipalities.

- Loan recovery under the responsibility of the micro-credit institutions but with the active support of the community considering that the continuity and sustainability of the program depend on such a community role.

To carry out a policy such as that outlined here, the Campaign Committee is determined to bring together a social force capable of influencing those making the decisions in this field, and is developing a strategy which includes alliance with representative municipalities and international support. For that purpose it has established an alliance with the roundtables on coordination for the struggle against poverty in order to promote a process toward national level coordination on the housing and habitat theme.

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The Renovation Process in Downtown Lima and the El Chaparral Self-managed Housing Experience

SILVIA DE LOS RÍOS

Stadterneuerung im Zentrum Limas und das selbstorganisierte Wohnungsprojekt El Chaparral

Die von Regierung und Stadtverwaltung umgesetzten Planungen zur kulturellen und touristischen Aufwertung des Historischen Zentrums von Lima trugen bisher nur wenig dazu bei, die Situation der Familien zu verbessern, die dort unter oft unerträglichen sanitären Bedingungen in 18.000 überbelegten und verfallenen Elendsbehausungen leben. Großteils liegt dies an der mangelnden Einbeziehung deren Selbstorganisationen, obwohl diese - mit Beratung durch NGOs - durchaus eigene Vorschläge präsentierten. Wie Stadterneuerung im Sinne dortiger BewohnerInnen aussehen könnte, zeigen selbstorganisierte Erneuerungsmaßnahmen, wie das hier vorgestellte Wohnungsprojekt El Chapparal. Nach einer Brandkatastrophe schlossen sich die dort lebenden Familien zusammen, um das Gelände zu kaufen und auf den Ruinen schrittweise eigene Häuser zu errichten. Der Kauf wurde durch ein Sparprogramm finanziert (219 US$ pro Familie), der Bau mit staatlichen Krediten; für die Infrastruktur wurden öffentliche Zuschüsse eingefordert. Schwierigkeiten, wie etwa das abschüssige Gelände, bürokratische Hürden oder interne Konflikte konnten erfolgreich überwunden werden. Dies stärkte die Organisation, insbesondere das Selbstbewustsein der Frauen und machte diese Initiative zum Beispiel für andere Bewohner des Zentrums und für mit Stadterneuerung befasste Institutionen.

The largest concentration of slums in Metropolitan Lima is found in the *Cercado* District, which includes the Historic Downtown.[1] The District is home to 278,804 residents (2001 figures), with a high land occupation ratio (557 persons/ha.) and less than ten percent open land areas. Deterioration of buildings with historic monumental value is significant, caused by improper use, subdivision of prevalent large older homes and their degeneration into slums, and the aging of installations which subsequently threatens the structures themselves. Average house age is more than 60 years, and 5,000 of those are in a state of collapse. Some 38 percent of housing is rented. The economic crisis and high unemployment rate are joined by loss of cultural traditions, moral degradation, and a new focalized delinquency. Finally, the inhabitants who could pursue housing renovation or improvement are rejected by the private banking systems. Normative restrictions restrain urban renovation or neighborhood improvement, as do the overlap of competences among public entities and the immobility of the confusing urban land tenure regimen. The National Construction Regulations law is not fully applicable to the reality of the poor neighborhoods and this impedes implementation of possible actions such as de-slumming without uprooting inhabitants.

To confront this scenario, the Metropolitan Municipality of Lima and the inhabitant organizations and NGOs pursue new initiatives to reduce this central area's primary problems. Each of the actors pursues a distinct route, with no linkage among initiatives developed. The strategic planning proposals established

lote con 1 piso construido

lote con 2 pisos construidos

próximo lote a iniciar construcción
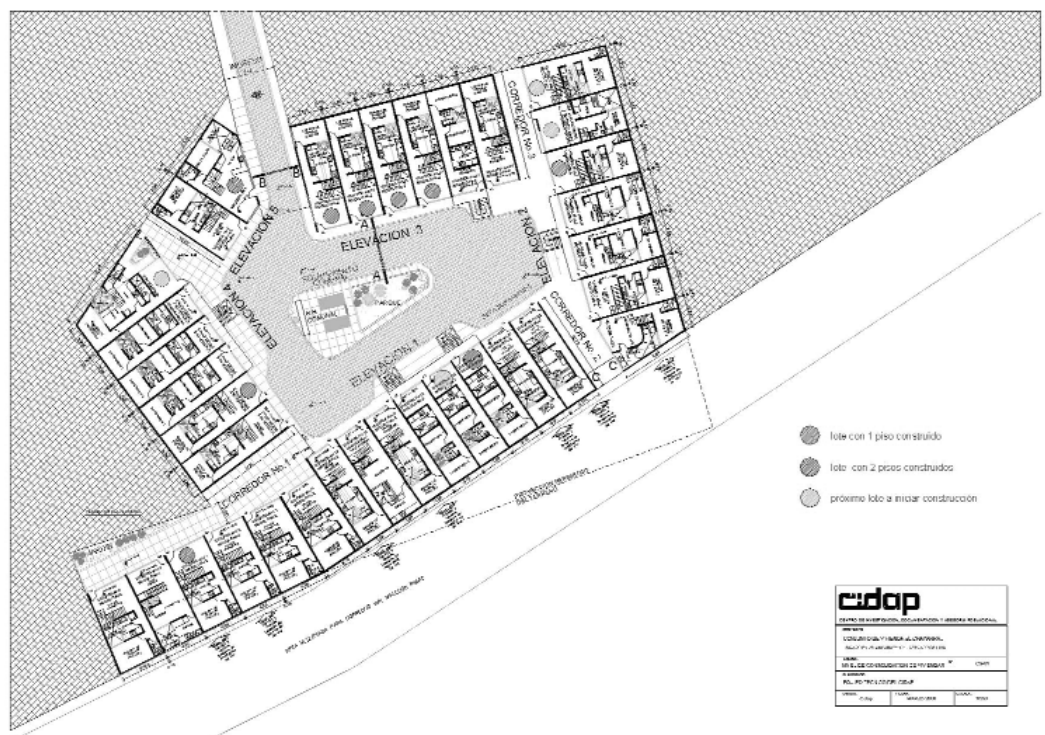
and regulated by the local government are left as conceptual framework, despite the fact that the daily practice is distinct.

On one side we find the proposal of inhabitants and NGOs who have been able to produce and present a proposal developed through dialogue and based on the inhabitants' interests with the objective to build a dignified habitat for everyone. On the other side we find the proposal of the Metropolitan Municipality and central government entities which see the city as a product for sale in the national or international market, attempting to assure profitability capable of stimulating private investment. Public management thus evades many of its responsibilities, especially in housing which it categorizes as expense rather than investment.

The Cercado District has a Master Plan elaborated and approved by the same Metropolitan Municipality, conceived as an urban planning instrument to orient the action of the different sectors and assure its inhabitants' quality of life. Nevertheless, this purpose is not reflected in downtown urban life. The objectives established by the Plan are the following:

- Modernize Lima and develop its ability to compete in the globalized context.

- Lead the decentralization process.

- Broaden and strengthen municipal labor in employment generation and social promotion.

- Contribute to improve the population's quality of life.

- Promote Lima as cultural and tourism capital.

Lack of direct participation of Cercado District inhabitants in Master Plan elaboration and application was the reason for the instrument's weakness in achieving the purposes for which it was created. Participation is conceived and approached by the municipal entity as consultative and indirect, and serving only to inform the population about what the government intends to do based on the idea of city it wants to implant.

We face two different concepts of city construction: that envisioned by inhabitants and NGOs, and that pursued by authorities and businessmen. There is no harmony or negotiation of interests. Urban segregation is thus sharpened and deepened. Planning is not seen as a process, or - as Eike Schütz says - as the art of navigation, able to generate spaces for negotiation, conflict resolution, and recognition and institutionalization of participation as a force for change in neighborhoods:

El Chaparral, Montserrate, Lima
Temporary homes after the fire disaster
photo: CIDAP

„Urban development is not a project, it is a process. (...) The city is not only a conglomeration of bricks or stones, with which its buildings and streets are constructed. The city is a complex system, formed by numerous subsystems, which are superimposed and interrelated. These subsystems are located along an axle of time, that is, they are processes. (...) different subsystems, of which the citizen is part, subsystems which are superimposed, interrelated, or broadened. And all those subsystems conform the global system of the city, which evidently is a very complex and multidimensional system (...) Nevertheless, this is not the cause of the chaos of cities. The chaos results from the different weight or importance assigned to the distinct elements, according to individual priorities. For example, for a real estate agent, the priority is to maximize profit; for the worker who lives from temporary jobs, the priority is to live as close as possible to their location; the automotive industry's priority is to promote individual traffic; for environmental protection the priority is to promote collective transportation, etc., etc. Stated simply: the non-trivial systems, as is a city without any doubt, do not allow themselves to be directed by a priori planning. Influence is only possible during the development of the process. Thesis: in order to develop cities in a socially just, ecologically sustainable, and economically efficient direction, we must newly appreciate the ancient art of navigation, of managing the helm. Electronic data processing, that is cybernetics, probably constitutes a useful tool for navigation".

Eike Jakob Schütz, Misereor, Lima 1999.

1
18,087 slum units (*tugurios*), from a total of 81,819 private-owned homes. 50 percent of these Cercado slums are found in Barrios Altos, with a population of 70,000 inhabitants.

family housing - also contradicts basic urban planning principles of international institutions such as the WHO.[2] These principles propose urban centers as housing locations in accordance with the cultural models exercised and demanded by area residents.

The implementation of this Plan leads us to believe that the concept of city continues to be maintained according to type of citizens. Those who lack sufficient opportunities, especially economic, to access the private housing finance market, are left with the public alternative of economically "minimal" housing, synonymous with technically overcrowded housing built for the poor, to whom, according to the government, no more can be offered.

Once again we are presented with the challenge which should be taken on by every professional and authority: contribute to the formulation of creative solutions for the housing of the majority, considering costs, dimensions, and living conditions.

El Chaparral:
Popular Housing Complex in Lima Urban Renovation

The El Chaparral project developed in the first block of *Jirón Angaraes* in Monserrate neighborhood, one of the most densely populated and deteriorated areas of downtown Lima. A group of inhabitants of this slum area, home to approximately 3,700 people, was able to organize and successfully negotiate with public authorities and institutions to build a self-managed 35-unit housing complex through progressive construction with support from technical consultants in housing and progressive urban rehabilitation from the Population Research, Documentation, and Consultancy Center (*Centro de Investigación, Documentación y Asesoría Poblacional* - CIDAP).

From tenants to owners

In 1969, approximately 50 tenant families in the Monserrate neighborhood located in the first block of Jirón Angaraes, survived a fire in the building[3] they occupied. The disaster left them with no safe shelter and only a 3,194m^2 plot in which they set up shacks with materials recovered from the fire. To improve the situation and safety of the families, occupants organized themselves within a voluntary-membership Housing Association. That organization began negotiations with the landowner for its purchase. Ten years went by with no progress, and their attempts were further frustrated by a new fire.

In July 1989, negotiations to purchase the land were resumed. The tenants learned indi-

The governmental response to the population's demands is presented with the support of the Martinete housing Pilot Plan, which is a management model negotiated between the central and local government demonstrate the possibility to develop projects linked among actors. However, once again the central urban actor - the organized inhabitants - is not invited to this Plan's decision making, despite having presented its downtown Lima proposals (proposing, among other elements, high-rise densification with housing units with a minimum 60 m^2 living area).

The weak citizen participation in elaboration and development of this housing Plan provokes results contrary to the citizen proposals, which have clear technical basis. The Plan's urban proposal - based on a horizontal urban growth trend with 30 m^2 plots for single

rectly that the owner planned to sell to a real estate company. That news mobilized the families and they agreed to purchase the land, with no consideration of how many square meters would belong to each family. The most important concern was to avoid abruptly leaving the place in which they had lived for so many years.

After several meetings and debates around the idea of becoming owners, the group of neighbors agreed to finalize negotiations with the owner and invite all the tenants to demonstrate that they could be owners through their efforts and savings. As part of the set of agreements reached by the neighbors as a whole, a collective savings process was initiated with personal savings booklets, to guarantee to the owner completion of the purchase within the proposed period of time so that it would not be necessary to sell the land to another institution.

It was agreed that each family should collect the amount of 2,120,000 Intis (219.00 USD at that time).[4] Through various types of economic activities, in November 1989, 35 families were able to liquidate the full cost of the plot, which totaled 74,200,000 Intis (7,665.29 USD), converting themselves into co-owners of the land. The remaining 17 families were unable to secure their share of the money, and therefore were unable to become owners of the land they occupied.[5]

Obstacles and results

The El Chaparral experience has faced multiple limitations, such as:

- Significant technical and cost difficulties for urban rehabilitation and housing construction due to the quality and slope of the land.

- Internal conflicts among social and political groups antagonistic to El Chaparral neighborhood interests.

- Prolonged processes (continuing to the present) to obtain approval of projects by the municipality as required by law; lack of municipal political will and lack of facilities by functionaries to resolve demands. These situations forced the organization to mobilize, apply pressure, and present proposals in order to obtain their recognition, financial resources, permits, and other necessary supports.

- Incomplete inventory of neighborhood drainage networks by the competent public entity impedes expedition of approval of the water supply and drainage project as
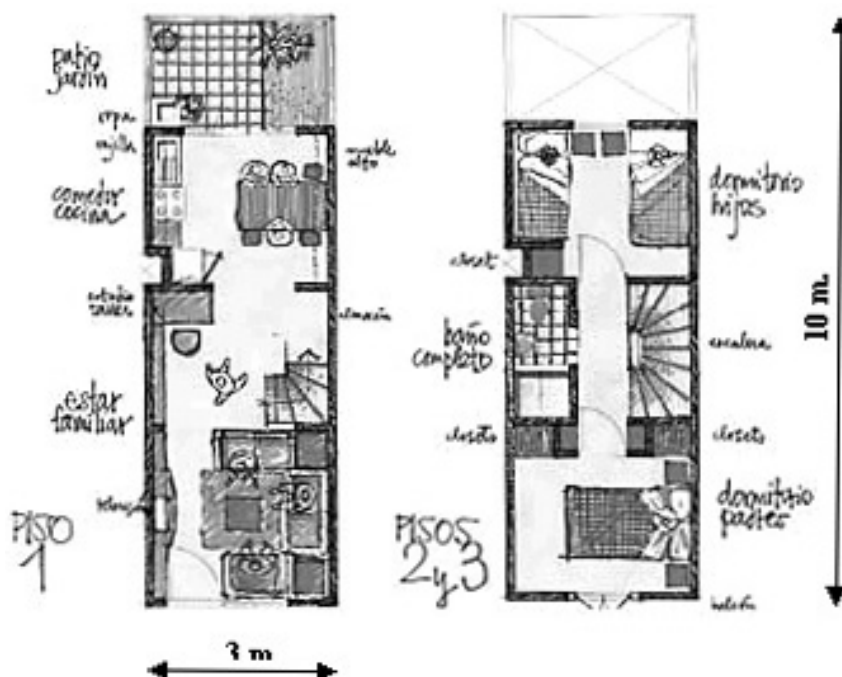
well as execution of household connections.
- Precarious occupants unable to be part of the purchasing group and with housing in other neighborhoods invaded a strip of land resulting in legal suits and processes.

Despite the obstacles, very positive results now exist. One of the most important was and continues to be increasing women's participation in the process in conflict management and negotiation.

The housing urban and architectural design was undertaken in a participative and progressive manner. The entire process was controlled by the social organization of the inhabitants which also assured protection of a central green space for recreational and productive use. The whole effort contributed to strengthen the neighborhood organizations, demonstrating self-managed housing improvement possibilities which may be pursued in this type of downtown urban areas.

The results have had an impact on neighbors, NGO experts, and national and international academics, in promotion of other experiences. The experience's potential to promote changes in public policies is being considered in new decision making and in the approach to "urban renovation without evictions" of the current municipal and central governments.

Development of this type of experience in highly populated downtown areas with large numbers of deteriorated constructions has an important impact on issues of social production of habitat in urban renovation processes and democratic management of the city.

Three-storey housing type
El Chaparral
drawing: CIDAP

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UCISV-Inhabitants Housing Program A Social Production of Habitat Experience in Mexico

CRISTINA ALMAZÁN

Das Wohnbauprogramm der Bewohnerunion von Veracruz - eine Erfahrung mit der sozialen Produktion von Wohnraum in Mexiko

Dass arme Stadtbewohner die Befriedigung ihrer Wohnbedürfnisse selbst in die Hand nehmen können, zeigt das Wohnungsbauprogramm der Bewohnerunion von Veracruz. Ausgangspunkt dieses Projektes waren 160 Familien, die seit 1995 auf einer Flächenreserve der Stadt Xalapa siedelten. Durch kollektive Sparanstrengungen, Zuschüsse aus Mitteln der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit sowie Darlehen und Sachzuwendungen des Bundesstaates gelang es einen revolvierenden Wohnungsbaufonds aufzubauen, aus dem über 500 Familien mit Wohnraum versorgt werden konnten. Entscheidend für seine Konsolidierung waren die überwiegend von Frauen getragenen Solidaritätsgruppen, die durch die langjährige Gemeinwesenarbeit des Vereins UCISV-VER aufgebaut und begleitet wurden. Der soziale Charakter des Programms zeigt sich vor allem an der Mitverantwortung der Bewohner für die Mittelverwaltung und ihrer Beteilgung an Planung und Bau der Wohnungen.
Die Nachhaltigkeit des Programms ist indes noch nicht gesichert. Nach mehrjähriger-Unterstützung hat der Bundesstaat dem Fond 2002 alle Mittel entzogen. Solange eine langfristige öffentliche Förderung nicht gesichert ist, muss die Selbstorganisation der Bewohner das Recht auf Wohnen immer wieder aufs neue einfordern.

The right to housing is constitutionally recognized in Mexico. However, the public policies applied have not overcome the housing lag and are far from addressing Mexico's housing needs, which will average 398,162 new housing actions and 731,584 housing improvement actions per year over the next ten years, according to official figures.

On the other hand, public policies in housing defined by the multilateral bank have a disturbing characteristic: they favor the private industry which builds housing units that do not correspond to the real needs of the population in at least two aspects: in their design, which restricts living spaces to the minimum and therefore housing quality, and their costs which are outside the reach of popular sectors. Public resource application[1] is not channeled to organized initiatives outside of the real estate market. All current policies to address this social need have specific norms which facilitate or "place at their disposition" these resources for the private companies.[2]

With this policy, the population's productive capacities are crushed, and housing is converted to a consumer good without the creative, playful, and spiritual elements or the diversity of cultural conceptions which for centuries people have imprinted in their homes. Effects on neighborhoods are devastating: communities facilities are annulled; green and recreational areas are destroyed; urban infrastructure and services are privatized; a depredatory relationship is fostered with the natural environment, and social fabrics and solidarities among peoples are destroyed to make way for an individualist and in fact stressful conception with which to address family or community problems. This is the exclusivist neoliberal concept of building the city. It is the conception that stigmatizes the role of citizens, limiting it to the simple function of voter, restricting his or her right to active and conscious participation in decision-making.

Fortunately there is resistance to these conceptions. In Mexico, as in other parts of Latin America and the world, there is a great diversity of experiences which promote the micro and the diverse, collective participation, and direct democracy, and which demonstrate that another world - another city - is possible. In this context we documented our own experience, which in 1998 achieved the International United Nations-Dubai Award as one of the year's Ten Best Practices in Habitat Improvement.

UCISV-VER/ CENVI Housing Program

In 1995, UCISV-VER[3] obtained the contract for 160 plots in the Xalapa Territorial Reserve for an equal number of families. The challenge then faced by the families was to occupy their plots, relying only on their will, their own economic resources, and their organizational capacity, while at the same time paying rent, paying off the loan for their plot, and covering their family expenses; in other words, cover all these expenses with their meager incomes. All of that in a period of two years.[4]

Many families occupied their plots building provisional shelters out of wood and cardboard panels, in the "traditional" manner of the popular settlements. The integrants of UCISV-VER and CENVI[5], through a highly participative mechanism, analyzed the problem and reached the decision to promote a Housing Program which would generate an alternative within the population's reach to allow it to progressively build a home while conserving the plot purchased from the state.

The experimental phase of the program

The Housing Program was experimentally developed in 1997 with the participation of seven women who had completely liquidated the cost of their plots with the State Government and were in conditions to join the Program

without substantially affecting their incomes. The model was called **TANDA-LOAN** and consisted in the integration of a solidarity group, in this case of seven female household heads who each saved 162 USD through the *Tanda*[6] with a biweekly contribution of 20.40 USD.[7] A loan for 243 USD from the UCISV-VER/ CENVI Revolving Fund was added to that amount.

Simultaneously to development of the community savings process, each family discussed and designed the prototype for its home with advisory from CENVI, in the understanding that construction would be progressive.

During the operation of the 1997 model, support was secured from the State Government consisting in *material packages* worth 406 USD, of which 50 percent was considered a loan to be repaid and the remaining 50% was granted as subsidy. The Municipal Government also made a one-time, in-kind contribution of a few complementary materials (see Table 1). Upon conclusion of the housing investment, each family reintegrated their loan amount back to the UCISV-VER/ CENVI Revolving Fund, and later the agreed amount was repaid to the State Government.

These resources made it possible for each family to build 32 square meters which included: foundation, walls, and roof, translating into a cost of 26 USD per square meter.

The success achieved with the first *Tanda-Loan* groups laid the basis to consecutively promote five stages of the Program up to 2003.
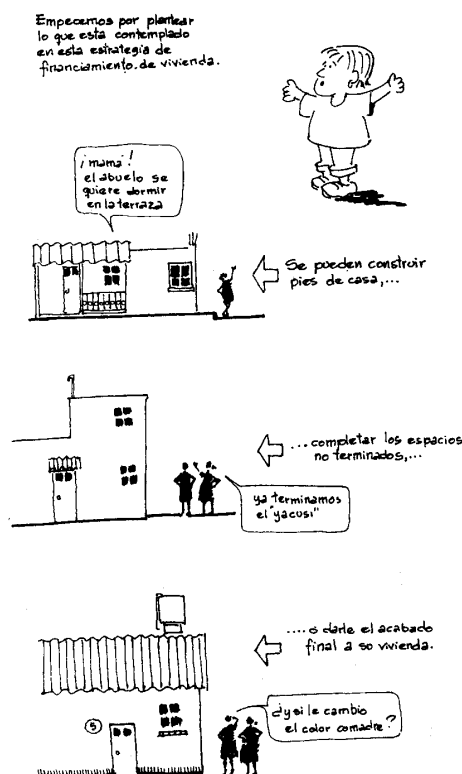
Table 1.
Contributions made to the UCISV-CENVI Housing Program in its experimental phase

Contributions	Amount US$
Group tanda	162.00
Revolving Fund Loan	243.00
State Government Loan / Subsidy	406.00
Municipal Government In-kind Subsidy	71.00
Total Contribution	882.00

The innovative *Tanda-Loan* experiment was possible thanks to the support, at key moments, of financial resources contributed by international cooperation. While it did not cover all the investment, this support allowed the process to begin, stimulated activities already underway, and served as financial base to mobilize resources from other financial sources.

Consolidation of the Program

Through seven years of activity, the Program has been consolidated and has defined its structure and operation in three parts:

a) Community organization:
Allows formation and consolidation of solidarity groups that make possible the project's technical, financial, and administrative operation. These works require closely accompanying the families to facilitate a process of identity and solidarity that facilitates program execution with the least number of problems.

Program options and resources for the savings and credit scheme

Cartoons taken from UCISV-VER / CENVI. *El sistema TANDA-PRESTAMO - una alternativa para construir tu vivienda.* Mexico 1999
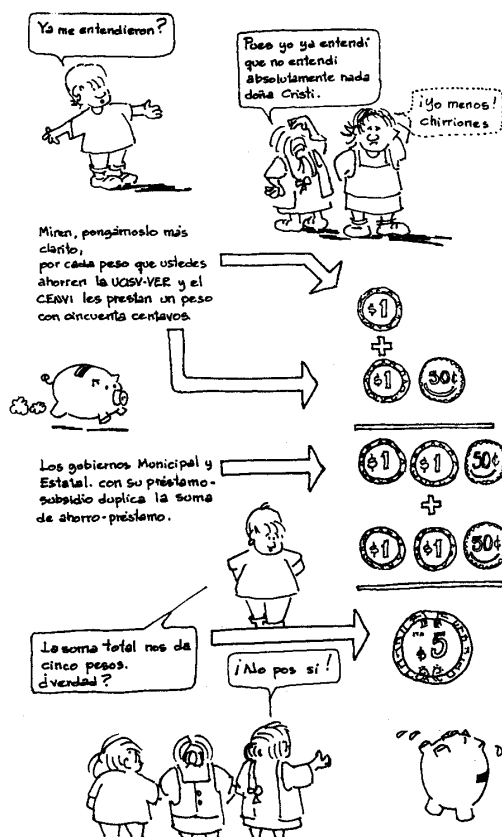
8
The families participating in the program are constituted on average by three members, and household heads in most cases are natives of Xalapa or neighboring rural communities. 45 percent of household heads are married, 23 percent live in open union, and 19 percent are single. Average monthly family income is 193 USD, which is 1.7 times regional minimum wage. Socio-economic studies identify the following main occupations: domestic workers, bricklayers, office workers, and "housewives." The last of these is the activity reported by 40 percent of the women who integrate the Program, but this figure should be taken with caution since the women often do not report productive or informal activities which in fact contribute significant complementary incomes to their families.

9
Coraggio J.L., 1994.

10
The contributions from the City Council of Madrid and the European Community were negotiated with the intervention of the Institute of Political Studies for Latin America and Africa (*Instituto de Estudios Políticos para América Latina y África* - IEPALA).

11
The figures registered for 2000-01 should be considered preliminary given that the recovery process is still ongoing.

b) Financial operation:
Combines economic resources from the following: the families through the tanda mechanism, the UCISV-VER/ CENVI Revolving Fund, and government support through material packages which were substantially obtained during the first three years (see Graph 2). The accounting administration of these resources is the co-responsibility of the solidarity groups and UCISV-VER.

c) Advisory and technical supervision:
This element is assumed under the responsibility of CENVI, which facilitates implementation of a participative design and construction execution process to assure planning and progressive growth of the housing.

Progress and difficulties — Community organization

The Program has consolidated its presence not only in the Territorial Reserve; its impact has allowed it to extend to eight neighborhoods in the Municipality of Xalapa and to generate demand for the program in nine municipalities in Veracruz.

While the Program equally welcomes participation of male or female household heads, the reality is that the majority of integrants are women, household heads or not.[8] This partici-pation has had an important role for the Program's consolidation, reflected in both the strengthening of the women's promotion groups and in exponential growth of demand (see Graph 1).

Community organization is also reflected in the capacity of the population involved in the project to diversify its activities. The women's promotion groups undertake social development to improve basic services or introduce them themselves in their neighborhoods, and to promote productive projects to help augment family income.

The gender focus has made possible the real and effective participation of women in reproduction of goods and income for the household economy and for society, through creation of a solidarity economic system, demonstrating the economic aspects of the reproduction and production of human capital.[9]

Financial operation

Up to now, Program operation and Revolving Fund integration have been possible thanks to international finance. For operational expenses, support was received from the Dutch Organization for Development Cooperation, NOVIB (1997-1998); the City Council of Madrid (1998-2000); the European Commission (1998-2003), and the Grant Program of the Ministry of Social Development (2000-2002). The finance to execute each of the construction projects has been obtained through combination of the resources of the families integrating the solidarity groups, the UCISV-VER/ CENVI Revolving Fund (see Table 2), and the in-kind contributions of the Veracruz State Government and the Municipality of Xalapa.

During the first three stages, the families integrated in the solidarity groups each contributed 20 USD bi-weekly, which covered their tanda and the payments to the Revolving Fund and State Government, undertaken over a period between 1.5 and 2.8 years. These resources are jointly administered by the UCISV-VER technical team and the solidarity groups through their representatives, for which specific training workshops are held. This has given transparency and trust to the Program. The Revolving Fund was formed thanks to negotiations by both UCISV-VER and CENVI with national and international cooperation entities, as outlined in Table 2.

This Fund has made it possible to issue loans to the solidarity groups, considering during the first three stages an additional recovery of 10% over the amount loaned to cover some Program operation costs. Starting with the fourth stage, 7 percent annual interest is applied

over the amount loaned in order to begin sustainable management of the Revolving Fund.

The governmental contribution for construction and/or improvement since 1997 consisted in construction material packages, and went from 50 percent to just over 70 percent of total resources applied to construction up to 1999, as shown in Table 3 and Graph 2. However, in the year 2000 the Program was delayed by absence of response from the State Government, which was not activated until 2001, but with a critical decrease of 34 percent of the contribution amount. No governmental contributions have been received in subsequent years.

As illustrated, the ratio of these governmental contributions is inversely proportional to the family and Revolving Fund contributions up to 1999. For the 2000-2001 period, despite existence of an agreement to mobilize governmental support, for diverse reasons said support did not materialize in the required amounts. There was no governmental support in the year 2002.

This situation reflects the difficulties of operating with the State Government and the fact that despite capacity to mobilize government resources, that capacity is the result of pressure and intense social mobilization, more than governmental will to fulfill inter-institutional agreements to allow projection of this work as public policy.

Operating expenses

With increased scale of the Program from seven to 49 actions (1997-1998), operating costs diminished significantly with respect to total investments, and we observe an investment increase from 17 to 86 percent of resources dedicated to construction (including all contributions) with respect to total investment. These figures reveal the subsidy applied by the two Program operating organizations. The subsidy was provided by international finance and covered practically all the production process, including Program promotion, management, operation, and evaluation. On the other hand, this cost is still below commercial operating costs which reach 40 percent.

Resource recovery

Once the *tanda* contributions of the solidarity group are covered, the families initiate repayment of the loans, first to the Revolving Fund and then the government loan. The recovery rate registered by the UCISV-CENVI Revolving Fund varies between 92 and 100 percent, as observed in Graph 3, while recovery of State resources ranges between 69 and 100 percent.[11]

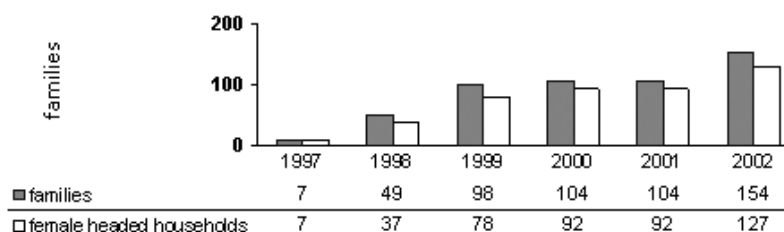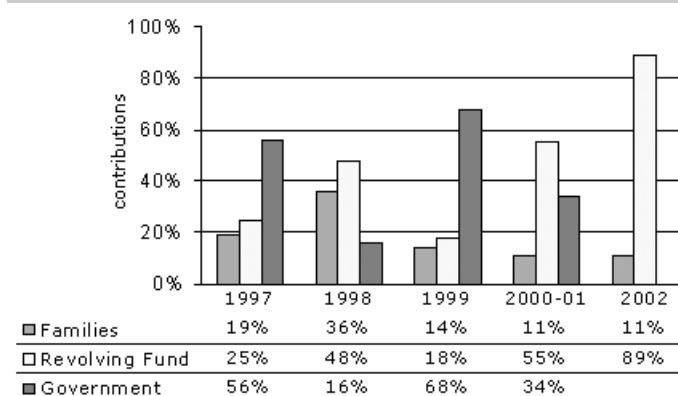Graph 1: No. of families participating in the UCISV-CENVI Housing Program, 1997-2002

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
families	7	49	98	104	104	154
female headed households	7	37	78	92	92	127

Table 2. International Cooperation for constitution of the UCISV-VER / CENVI Revolving Fund, in USD.

Organization		1997	1998	1999
UCISV-VER	Homeless International	1,428.00		
	International UN-DUBAI Award		15,000.00	
	Township of Xalapa, Veracruz		5,102.00	
	City Council of Madrid[10]			72,385.50
	European Community			207,535.00
CENVI	CIMADE	1,428.00		
	Hooge Waard Foundation			14,796.00
Total		**2,856.00**	**20,102.00**	**294,716.50**

Table 3: Contributions to the Housing Program construction and/or improvement process, in USD

Year	Actions	*TANDA* Contribution	UCISV-CENVI Revolving Fund	State Government	Total
1997	7	1,143.00	1,543.00	3,367.00	6,053.00
1998	49	8,000.00	10,800.00	3,631.00	22,431.00
1999	98	15,673.00	21,159.00	78,367.00	115,199.00
2000-01	208	39,347.00	228,776.00	91,837.00	359,960.00
2002	154	25,143.00	210,571.00		235,714.00
Total	**516**	**89,306.00**	**472,849.00**	**177,202.00**	**739,357.00**

Graph 2: Contribution (%) of the Housing Program actors, 1997-2002

	1997	1998	1999	2000-01	2002
Families	19%	36%	14%	11%	11%
Revolving Fund	25%	48%	18%	55%	89%
Government	56%	16%	68%	34%	

Graph 3: Recovery (%) of allocated loans, 1997-2001[11]

	1997	1998	1999	2000-01
Ucisv-Cenvi R.F.	100%	92%	97%	89%
State Government	100%	81%	69%	5%
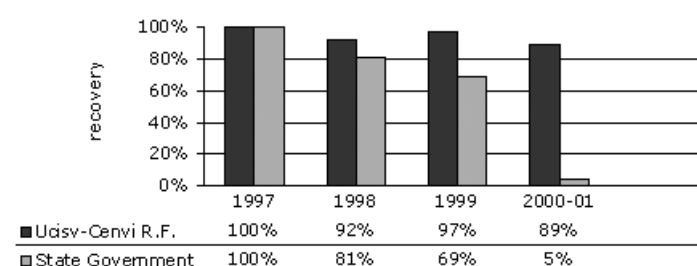
"Social pressure" is the most common mechanism recurred to for resource recovery. However, it should be noted that the low rate of recovery particularly of the government loans may be imputed more to insufficient follow-up capacity of the organization, due to significant growth in demand for improvement and construction actions which was not reflected in increased technical personnel to address said demand.

Advisory and technical supervision

The three important aspects of this technical component are: participative design of housing solutions; technical training of the families, especially the women, as well as the construction workers, and follow-up and technical supervision of construction.

In the first phase of the *tanda*-loan system, the original idea was to promote construction of a livable space of approximately 16 square meters, but the needs expressed by the families led to proposal of a flexible model to support production of house foundations, expansions, and improvements of existing spaces.

To date, 516 housing actions have been executed of which 32 percent have been construction starts and 68 percent housing improvement and/or expansion. The average cost per square meter built by the UCISV-VER/ CENVI Housing Program is 71 USD, compared to 122 USD offered by the local market. It must be reiterated that said cost does not contemplate the indirect costs or discretional earnings with which the commercial housing businesses operate.

The technical experience developed over these seven years has allowed systematization of the project's housing prototypes which integrate 25 different diagrams for plots measuring seven by 15 meters.

Problems in Program operation

Increased demand for the Housing Program obligated its immediate attention and delayed reflection on the most adequate mechanisms both for resource recovery and technical operation. For that reason, the resource recovery percentages, while satisfactory in relation to the UCISV-VER/ CENVI Revolving Fund, are not so in the case of the State Government. One of the Program's risk factors lies in the recovery mechanisms, since they bear an important role to guarantee Program sustainability. A more efficient mechanism must be designed based on deeper assumption of the importance of solidarity and fulfillment of commitments as well as incentives for punctual payment, to avoid application of a "corrective" policy in this

sense. In reference to the State Government participation, while it is true that its contribution was important in the first three years, as has been mentioned this support subsequently dropped drastically. The reasons for this are in large part political,[12] and also due to dependence on bureaucratic norms and mechanisms that hinder and delay resource application. This problem has been reiterated since 1997, leaving the organization permanently worn down by the relations with the government.

Despite this situation, the organization will continue to defend negotiation of government resources, thereby fulfilling its role in exercising the right to housing of the popular sectors in our state.

Program impact

The Housing Program has had an impact in the following aspects:

Institutional strengthening: Execution of the Program has allowed various areas of UCISV-VER, *Poblador@s* A.C. to improve their potential, in aspects related to: technical, administrative and financial capacity for design, execution and evaluation of similar initiatives; capacity for social negotiation and to develop proposals to mobilize resources from the families as well as international cooperation; strengthening of negotiation skills with the public sector, and capacity to generate strategic alliances with other civil organizations.

Local development and impact on public policy: The Program's impact is particularly evident in Xalapa and in the evolution of the neighborhoods where it has been implemented, translated in:

- Improved living conditions of the families through improvement of their housing space and introduction of basic services, the latter achieved through the daily labor of the inhabitants.

- Reconstitution of social fabrics and recovery of values of solidarity and co-responsibility in the communities.

- Promotion of local development through investment in the community and generation of direct and indirect employment.

- Stimulation of complementary projects that contribute to Program development as well as local development, such as a construction materials distributor, and a construction components production unit.

The results of the project provide elements with which to elaborate a public policy on social production of habitat.

12
The year 2000 was characterized by intense electoral politics due to the national presidential succession process.

Access to resources for social production of habitat: The model used not only facilitates access to resources, but also reaps full potential from the savings and investment capacities of families with incomes below three minimum wages, to produce their housing. The Program thus constitutes an alternative for this population sector made up by informal sector male and female workers with irregular incomes, for whom no official programs exist oriented in this sense and who are not subject to credit from financial institutions.

We therefore feel it is important to emphasize that this initiative requires more and better attention from state and national authorities, both through direct application of resources under operative mechanisms, as in establishment of clear agreements and commitments and a financial scheme to allow the economic sustainability of the Program. This would make possible highly efficient resource application and greater social impact, translated in execution of more and better construction works.

Women's empowerment: Security of land tenure and home ownership constitute important elements for women in at least two aspects: in the security provided by a patrimony for their children and themselves, and in the stability it provides allowing pursuit of long-term activities or plans including use of the housing for productive and/or micro-enterprise purposes, which in turn generate access to greater family income.

Improvement of these objective conditions are joined by subjective factors which are rarely discussed. It is vital for women to initiate self-esteem development processes which stimulate them to undertake actions inside and outside of the family, be they for individual or collective benefit.

Perspectives

The model promoted has shown its pertinence and validity in provision of access to finance and promotion of progressive and planned housing construction for low-income families.

Nevertheless, continuity of the Program will depend on the capacity to secure its sustainability, given that until now it has depended on international cooperation and direct subsidy from UCISV-VER and CENVI, and has required significant work and energy in negotiations with the State Government, always subject to the political situation of the moment.

Along these lines, it is proposed to intensify the Program's negotiations and visibility to motivate interest and obtain subvention of the

Program's operation by the government with adoption of corresponding public policy, and/or conversion of the initiative to a social enterprise. In both scenarios, the experience should be analyzed more thoroughly, and its financial operation better adapted and operating team better prepared.

It is important to point out that promotion of this initiative has taken place within a context of national economic crisis. In these socio-economic conditions, it is imperative that the urban social organizations foment alternative projects that promote participation tending to overcome state "inertia," which is the consequence of implantation of the neoliberal model: a policy which reduces social expenditure and through its actions inhibits full exercise of human rights, including the right to housing. Furthermore, it is a policy which reduces social participation to government rhetoric, which in the case of habitat is used only to justify government actions, violating the right to real participation in decision-making while protecting local and national real estate interests.

We the urban social movements must therefore act on various levels, defending our experience in social construction of habitat, prioritizing the strengthening of community identity, and the rescue of the collective and the social fabric over the deteriorated community-government relationship based on political maneuvering and application of individualized policies.

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The Self-managed Co-operative Movement in Buenos Aires and the Construction of Popular Habitat Policies

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Selbstverwaltete Wohnbau-kooperativen in Buenos Aires und die Schaffung einer bewohnerorientierten Habitat-Politik

Nach dem Ende der argentinischen Militärdiktatur, die Arme weitgehend aus der Stadt verbannt hatte, gab es zu Beginn der 80er Jahre eine Welle von Landbesetzungen in Groß-Buenos Aires, bei denen meist wertlose Gelände im Metropolengebiet durch Besiedlung aufgewertet wurden. Gleichzeitig kam es zu Hausbesetzungen im Innenstadtbereich. Obwohl etwa 150.000 Leute daran beteiligt waren, waren diese zunächst unorganisiert, zersplittert und im Bewusstsein, auf teurem Grund und Boden Eigentumsrechte zu verletzen. In der Folge entstand daraus eine „Bewegung der Besetzer und Mieter" (MOI), der es gelang, das „Recht auf die Stadt" offensiv einzufordern und zahlreiche Kooperativen in besetzten Fabriken und Wohnhäusern zu konstituieren. Unterstützt durch die Erfahrungen von kooperativen Bewegungen in Nachbarländern schafften sie es, politische Spielräume geschickt zu nutzen, um bewohnerfreundliche Gesetzgebungen für Gebäudeumnutzungen durchzusetzen. In der nächsten Phase dieser „sozialen Produktion" werden momentan kooperative Neubauprojekte auf innerstädtischem Brachland vorbereitet.

The end of dictatorship in Argentina at the beginning of the 80s was marked by an advance of a spontaneous social production in the field of habitat. This was clearly evident in the massive expansion of land occupations in peripheral areas (in the Greater Buenos Aires' first and second belts) and the squats in the central city areas, which had previously been restricted for popular sectors by the dictators.[1]

Land occupation in the Greater Buenos Aires Area (GBA) implies the material production of entire neighbourhoods, including streets and infrastructure, in peri-urban plots (generally unfit for housing or prone to flooding) with very low real estate values (1 US$ per m^2). The neighbourhoods in question developed to significant levels; small settlements involved no less than 500 people. They were sustained by community organisation processes under different structures (commissions, co-ordinations) geared towards inducing land regularisation processes for individual ownership. A large number of these plots were public property, but some were privately owned. Regularisation laws implied that settlement organisations had to pay the aggregate value that they had collectively generated. This was good business for the owners because the aggregate value was transferred to them. Politically, this was also good for provincial and national governments, as well as for political parties, since it strengthened fragmentation and social control.[2]

At the time squatting in central city areas occurred inside "endogenous" buildings, and although around 150,000 squatters were involved, they were interstitial and scattered. Presently, together with other typologies such as shantytowns, tenancies, boarding-house hotels and occupations, inner-city popular habitat now integrates nearly 500,000 people and 150,000 vacant units. Located in any given city neighbourhood, a typical squatted house lodges around 20 families. At first, being conscious of both the land value in central areas (which ranged from US $200 to US

La Fábrica Cooperative, Barrio de Barracas, Buenos Aires
Photo: MOI

$500 per m², depending upon the district) and of the fact that they were infringing "private property", squatters tried to be "not visible". Thus organisation processes were initially very limited, circumscribed to the families' internal and everyday organisation, or to their defence in eviction trials. (Such trials were civil law suits until the penal code was modified in 1993.)

Nevertheless, the squatter phenomenon has established the city as a scenario for the construction of popular habitat policies. The squatter phenomenon raises questions about "the city for whom", the right to settle[3] and the construction of a democratic city. Simultaneously, from a more specific intervention point of view, it sets the problematic of establishing real estate recovery and building rehabilitation as a priority, given the fact that the urban ambit is completely built and that a significant amount of its patrimony is unoccupied and/or deteriorated. An additional significant aspect is the recovery of everyday usage, beginning with the access to the city's existing equipment and infrastructure which support the quality of everyday relations in the neighbourhood environment (i.e., health care, education, sports, culture).

This social process of habitat production, massively developed by popular sectors, was also the basis and support in the recovery of knowledge and practices in state universities. During the dictatorship, post-modernism was imposed at the School of Architecture. The subsequent re-democratisation process enabled the reconstruction of previous professorial chairs and fields of study, such as City Architecture.[4] This opened new paths for the re-definition of professional outlines both in project specifications and in urban management processes.

The Centro de Estudios del Habitat (Habitat Studies Centre) was founded around this concept of architecture and popular urban management, and was also the basis for the creation of PROHA, an NGO that participated in the first experiences with land occupants and squatters, as well as with the PADELAI experience itself. Several habitat NGOs in the GBA and in the city of Buenos Aires, such as FVC - Fundación Vivienda y Comunidad (Housing and Community Foundation) and SEDECA (Secretariat for Self-managed Communities) were integrated. They have continually accompanied community organisation and resistance processes since the dictatorship.[5]

The Experience of EX PADELAI and the Creation of MOI - Movimiento de Ocupantes e Inquilinos (Squatter and Tenants Movement)

In 1984, the former Patronato de la Infancia (Children's Fund) - Ex PADELAI - was occupied by 120 families. The building is exceptionally well located, next to Plaza Dorrego in the heart of the Historic Preservation Area of San Telmo, the city's historical centre. The building's importance lies in its size and patrimonial significance: It is owned by the local government and covers half a square. Initially, the occupation was promoted through a clientelistic process started by a Partido Justicialista (Peronist) neighbourhood leader. The first organisational steps were accompanied by the Engineering Students' Centre (Engineering School, Universidad de Buenos Aires) and the historical Colegio Nacional de Buenos Aires, as well as by other neighbourhood actors who had managed to overcome the leaders domination and to establish their own objectives in regard to everyday organisation as well as other activities (such as schooling support, child recreation and adult education).

Ground floor plan, *La Fábrica* Cooperative, Barrio de Barracas, Buenos Aires
Figure: MOI
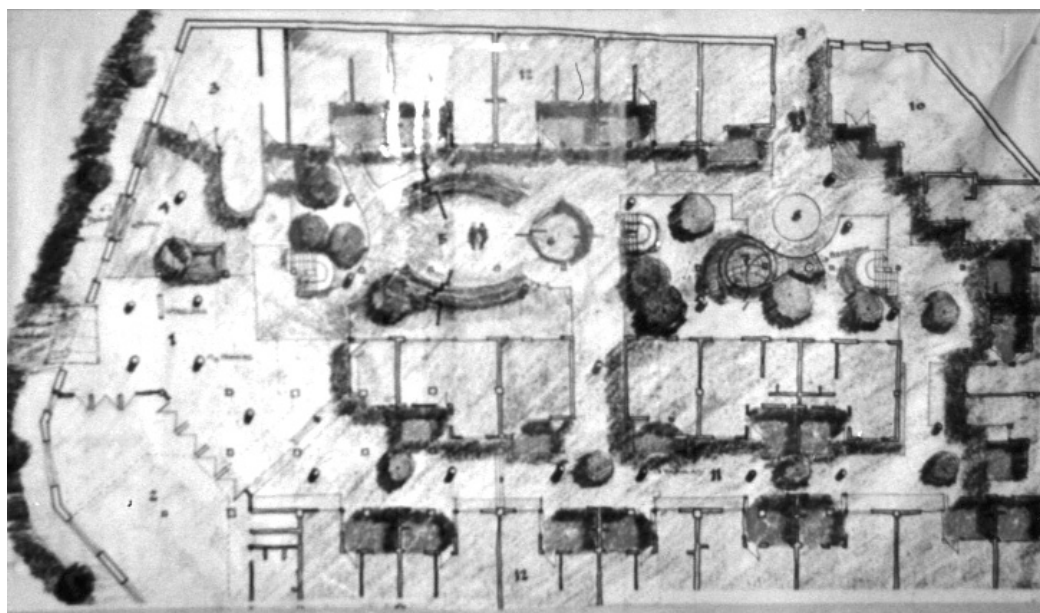
1
Through forced eradication of shanty towns and the establishment of free rents in the city, and by the elimination of popular land divisions through law 89/12 which enforced the provision of services and raised the land prices in the Greater Buenos Aires Area because there was no complementary public investment, etc.

2
This was mainly achieved through atomisation produced by the proliferation of pseudo-neighbourhood associations. Such land regularisation processes were also promoted by international credit organisations during the 80s and 90s. Nevertheless, some of the organisations that arose during this process managed to achieve continuity and a certain autonomy, enabling the conformation of a significant part of the socio-political basis of the "piquetero" movement, an unemployed workers movement, that would consolidate its structure with the end of the millennium crisis (for example, in la Matanza and Solano, basis of the FTV - Land, Housing and Habitat Federation).

3
This was acknowledged by the "regulation" plan in the first ordinance sanctioned by the local legislative power after reinstallation of democracy in 1983, although it was not followed by any corresponding actions and public investment.

4
City Architecture is a concept promoted and developed by Architect Marcos Winograd at the School of Architecture, Universidad Nacional de La Plata, during the 60s and 70s.

5
PROHA, in the city of Buenos Aires, carried out several contacts with squatters' commissions in the districts of Villa Crespo, the Movimiento de Inquilinos de Almagro (Almagro Tenants' Movement), linked to CIBA, a group of lawyers who were originally related to the Communist Party and with the Grupo San Telmo, integrated by students from the Engineering School and the Nacional Buenos Aires, who were working in a tenancy on Defensa street and in Ex PADELAI. This network led PROHA to approach Ex PADELAI and, later on, to the foundation of MOI. SEDECA is the Secretariado de Enlace de Comunidades Autogestionarias.

Section / lateral view of the *La Fábrica* Housing Cooperative, Barrio de Barracas, Buenos Aires
Figure: MOI
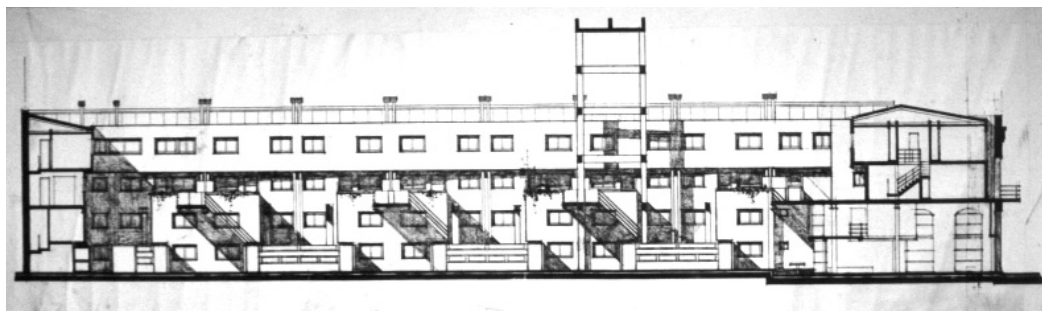
6
SELVIP, the Secretaría Lati-noamericana de la Vivienda Popular (Latin American Sec-retariat for Popular Housing) was formally launched a year later during the Foundational Meeting in Sao Paulo in September 1991. It is a Network based on the opposition to neo-liberal policies, the integration of popular habitat base organisations and the promotion of self-managed policies. At the Third Meeting in Sao Paulo in 1995 companions from Fedevivienda, Colombia, proposed that the participating organisations of SELVIP should become members of the Habitat International Coalition (HIC). In an organised manner, the base organisations begin to integrate HIC, in the understanding and knowledge that the Coalition, initially co-ordinated by habitat NGOs, was promoting - mainly from Colombia and Mexico - the incorporation of their popular habitat social organisations.

Since 1987, movements geared towards eviction have been headed by a neighbourhood centre right councillor (Unión de Centro Demo-crático - UCD). Within this context, the first approaches to PROHA were made and the EX PADELAI families began to think beyond eviction, towards the possibility of demanding their right to the city and to living in that building.

Between 1989 and 1991, a strategy was developed through the elaboration of a self-managed project proposal. It designated the San Telmo Cooperative families, a design chair of the School of Architecture, the University of Buenos Aires and several NGOs - PROHA and FVC - as the organisational basis for interaction with the legislative and executive powers.

The basic goal of this process was to sanction a regulation defining:

a) Land regularisation with a property deed in favour of a condominium including San Telmo Cooperative and the Government of the City of Buenos Aires (GCBA).

b) The definition of a social housing programme with neighbourhood involvement and impact.

c) The elaboration of technical, architectural, social and legal-administrative documents with an agreement between the School of Architecture, the Cooperative and the Government of the City.

d) The self-managed execution of the housing complex and of the communal and commercial infrastructure.

e) The creation of a self-managed fund destined for the low income population sectors.

Within this framework, a multi-sectoral Neighbourhood Commission (Comisión Veci-nal) and a local newspaper called Todo Telmo were founded. The ordinance was approved in 1990, the Agreement was signed in 1991, and the blueprints were then made. In November, the property deed in favour of the Cooperativa (70%) and the GCBA (30%) was signed.

The PADELAI experience was discussed in 1990 in Montevideo during a workshop organised by FUCVAM, the Uruguayan Federation of Housing Co-operatives by Mutual Help (Federación Uruguaya de Cooperativas de Vivienda por Ayuda Mutua) to celebrate its 20th anniversary. The interaction and exchange of experiences during this workshop led to the demand for the creation of a Latin American habitat organisation, SELVIP.[6] The encounter between the paradigmatic Uruguayan co-operative experience and the Argentinean squatter phenomenon through the PADELAI case opened a challenging dialogue. Antagonistic policy axes, such as formality and informality in the world of labour at the social basis of these experiences, construction in peripheral areas versus appropriation of central ones, and execution of new works versus building rehabilitation and patrimonial recovery, were all discussed.

The PADELAI experience promoted a similar approach for squatter families living in other occupied buildings. On this basis, meetings were held with the idea of establishing

Ground floor and upper floors of the *El Molino* Housing Cooperative, Barrio de Constitución, Buenos Aires
Figure: MOI
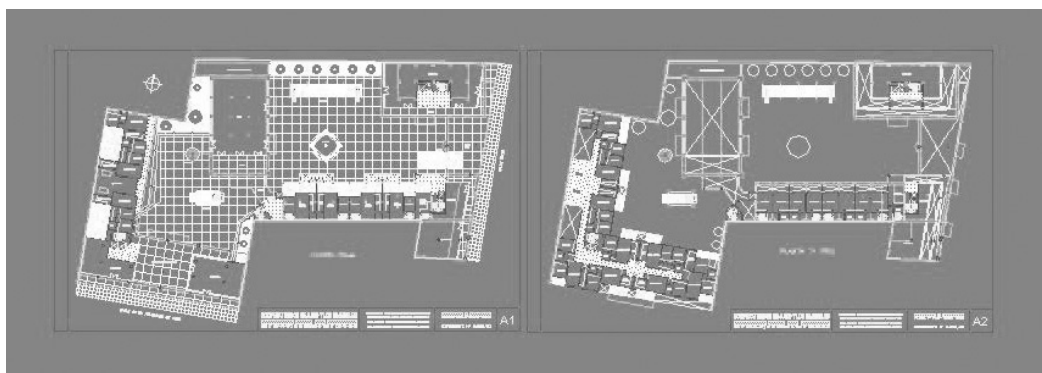
commissions in different neighbourhoods. Finally, in 1991, the constitution of the Movimiento de Ocupantes e Inquilinos (MOI) was decided on, utilising the premises used by Cooperativa San Telmo (the Ex PADELAI Co-operative) for its meetings.[7]

The 90s: Unidirectional Self-management[8] and Beginnings of Regulation

The populist breeze that blew lightly during the first few years of the "justicialista" (Peronist) government in the City of Buenos Aires between 1989 and 1991 enabled the existence of four proposals, with different levels of development, related to popular habitat issues in the City. Three of them (Warnes in La Paternal district, Recup Boca in La Boca and Manzana de los Franciscanos next to Plaza de Mayo) were promoted from official ambits. The fourth was the PADELAI experience, built "from the bottom up", as previously described. However, this hopeful breeze soon vanished. The politics of President Carlos Menem were in servile obedience to orders given by international organisations and their Northern lords. They lead not only to the privatisation of strategic national firms, the increased growth of the external debt, the pulverisation of the labour legislation by means of deregulation, but also to flexibility and precarious employment, the opening for imports and the destruction of the national productive apparatus.

The changes in local policies which followed these neo-liberal strategic actions were expressed in an absolute stop in the city government's support of the PADELAI experience. The Centros Sociales Zonales (GCBA, or Social Zoning Centres - de-concentrated organisations with strong links with neighbourhood demands) were ordered not to contact

MOI, a heavy discriminatory mass media campaign was instigated and, to put the cherry on the cake, developers and constructors joined forces with the radical party to pass a law changing the Civil Code so as to make building occupations a penal crime. This meant that anyone who did not have a shelter for his/her children because he/she had been deprived of a job and had, as a result, occupied an empty house - usually already for many years - had to go to jail.

In regard to the habitat sector, the city government's actions were directed towards intervention processes for urban renewal related to mighty private investors who, of course, have been historically subsidised. Such is the case of the Project Puerto Madero, where central urban land was "given away" for less than US $200 per m^2, a gift known as "private investment promotion".

Some of the squatter families had already approached MOI during the PADELAI process. Later on, the Meeting of Squatters (Encuentro de Casas Tomadas) became involved with the First San Telmo Open Congress, a parallel process to the constitution of an agreement ambit - Mesa de Concertación - that would be the interlocutor of the first "justicialista" city government.

Between 1992 and 1998, during the period of the two "menemist" governments, MOI approached the main occupied buildings in the city and formed around 15 co-operatives in the same number of buildings, involving about 350 families.[9] The final four successful experiences after PADELAI - Lobos, Perú, La Unión and Yatay - numbered nearly 70 families. This means that out of every 5 families initially incorporated in the co-operative

Facade of MOI house, logistic base of the movement in Barrio de Barracas, Buenos Aires
Photo: MOI

7
It is worthwhile remembering that Arch. Enrique Ortíz visited PADELAI at that time and informed about this experience in HIC documents. Arch. Andrés Necochea, responsible for Habitat, UN, also visited the site and expressed his enthusiastic opinion about conforming and promoting such squatter organisations.

8
For the definition of this expression, see Jeifetz.N (1995). "Autogestión, reflexiones en torno al proceso desde el contexto y la práctica". Quinto Congreso de la SELVIP. San Pablo.

9
In addition to PADELAI (118 families), the following buildings were "gained" through different land regularisation processes: Eleodoro Lobos-Consorcio E. Lobos in Parque Centenario and Azopardo 920-Cooperativa La Unión in Puerto Madero, both national buildings purchased within the framework of Law 24.146; a municipal building, Perú 770-Cooperativa Perú in San Temo, purchased within the framework of a law sanctioned by the City's Legislative Power and a building in the district of Barracas, purchased through traditional market mechanisms by squatter families who had been living in Yatay 435-Cooperativa Yatay in the district of Almagro.

Facade of the *El Molino* Housing Cooperative, Barrio de Constitución, Buenos Aires
Photo: MOI

10
See „Construcción de una cultura autogestionaria para ganar el derecho a la ciudad.“ (pp 107 - 112) en Informe Nacional Estambul+5. Documento de la República Argentina. June 2001.

11
See „Sobre el desalojo del Padelai. El In-formador. nro 58. April 2003. MOI's newspaper.

12
During these processes, urban policy has played a fundamental role: national and local governmental actions have produced the necessary conditions for economic, social and environmental changes in degraded and re-qualifiable city areas. During "menemism" the National Government significantly influenced this situation by making available, at very low prices, 170 hectares of national land through the creation of the "Corporación Antiguo Puerto Madero". The City Government invested in infrastructure works, such as the coastal defences to alleviate flooding in La Boca, located next to Puerto Madero towards the South, and developing an urban renewal process, as well as other public investment schemes. It was carried out under the illustrative motto of the first directly elected city government (1996) of Dr. De La Rua: "incorporating the South to the North".

processes, only one reached the final stage of self-managed processes: "Building without Bricks". They gained, through purchase of their own building, the right to live in the City.

This period ended in 1998 when MOI created the Guardia de Autogestión (Self-management Guard), a space that implies that *"the first step is taken by those in need"* of housing in the City.

Cooperativa La Unión, First Experience in Self-managed Building Rehabilitation in Central Areas[10]

In the same way that the PADELAI experience meant - and still does, despite the recent repressive eviction of last February 25th[11] - the first land regularisation experience in the City of Buenos Aires' central areas through self-managed processes, Cooperativa La Unión was the first building rehabilitation experience in central areas carried out by collective property co-operatives and mutual help.

The stage "Building without Bricks" was in full swing in April 1995 when the promissory sales contract was signed for a former waterproof materials factory building located between San Telmo and Puerto Madero through an operative within the framework of Law 24.146. It financed the co-operative purchase of the site with an 8 years repayment plan (these payments finish next May).

The stage "Building with Bricks", i.e. building rehabilitation, with an apprenticeship period at FUCVAM for the co-operative members, began in July 1997 and ended in July 1999. During 1998, a team of co-operative members belonging to the co-operatives Leandro Gomez and Covitea shared 10 days of joint work. Resources were gathered so as to buy materials, and technical assistance was provided by Programme 17 - now closed - of the Nation's Housing Sub-ministry (Subsecretaría de Vivienda de la Nación). Qualified labour was hired with the support of national subsidies (integrated to the co-operative's accounts) called *Plan Trabajar*, and there were co-operative mutual help contributions that surpassed the amount of required non-qualified labour.

New Internal Construction Methodologies: Guardias (Guards)

A significant process during the 90s in Buenos Aires arose as a consequence of a popular reaction vis-à-vis urban renewal processes in the traditional neighbourhood of La Boca. Renewal implies, from a socio-spatial standpoint - as it usually does in a capitalistic city - eviction and expulsion processes.[12] To face this situation, the Assembly of La Boca

Evicted People (Asamblea de Desalojados de La Boca) was constituted, integrating affected families and the parish of San Juan Evangelista as well as its emerging base organisation, the Mutual Help Organisation for La Boca Evicted People (Mutual de Desalojados de La Boca).

This organisation promoted the approval and later regulation of an ordinance by the Legislative Power, thus generating Operative 525, which was carried out by the Municipal Housing Commission (Comisión Municipal de la Vivienda). It targeted families in housing emergency, providing individual mortgage loans. In this sense they were maladjusted in regard to what had been a collective struggle. This shows that their problems are not very different from those in the collective struggle for land, which was atomised by regularisation processes geared towards individual ownership.

This process also opens the door to the multiplication of social organisations that constitute themselves as actors to be taken into account. Another product of this operative is the debate over the difference between "emergency" and "self-management", which argues the need to differentiate an emergency policy from the outlines of self-managed co-operative production.

In fact, these struggles, debates and meetings are the basis of proposals that have begun "to appear" as alternative constructions to the official system; proposals declaring support of self-management processes instead of subsidies for entrepreneurial operations, and which support the recognition of the right to settle and recover idle buildings. All these concepts are expressed in Article 31 of the local Magna Charta, the Constitution of the City of Buenos Aires, autonomous as city since 1996.

A product of this development was the approval of Law 341 in February 2000 and its regulation in August 2001 by the Municipal Housing Commission as Self-management and Housing Emergency Operative. Hence, without one year's effort of mobilization and lobbying by MOI and the Mutual Help Organisation for La Boca Evicted People these regulations would not have been approved.

This law established for the first time in the city of Buenos Aires the fact that popular habitat organisations with legal capacity were subject to financing. Thus they began to be perceived, from their pre-existing collective practice, as administrators of official resources in regard to purchasing buildings - consolidation of the Right to the City - and transforming them into housing complexes - consolidation of the Right to Housing. Self-management regulations began to exist.

During this stage, which began in 1998, MOI widened its aims and changed its methodology for the conformation of co-operative processes. A weekly Guardia space was implemented with three basic characteristics:

a) Families must approach as from their own initiative

b) The size of co-operatives was fixed (not less than 30 families) and

c) Co-operative proposals were opened to formal workers and to low income tenant families.

The Guardia, a pattern of the co-operative organisation, is intended to develop the people's self-management capacities for internal organisation, to jointly define a collective objective, to assume roles and functions, to work in teams in order to achieve these goals, and to make them realise that they are part of a larger struggle process aiming at the reconstruction of the popular field.

It operates in three sub-stages:

a) The initial stage of approaching the initiative, with approximately 3 to 4 information meetings.

b) The "first time" stage, when the organisation's basic proposals - pertinence, history, distance travelled and any reflection about co-operatives, MOI's structure and working areas - are discussed.

c) The pre co-operative stage, a process of approximately six months structured around an agreement of participation, contributions and mutual help.

In this context, Cooperativa Fortaleza-Chile 1970 arose in the San Cristóbal neighbourhood in 1998, still within the existing regulation (Operatoria 525 of the Municipal Housing Commission). The building is a "chorizo" type house, with one room after another in a row, all opening to a patio. Next was the Cooperativa La Fábrica in a factory building located on Icalma Street at the corner of Feijóo in Barracas (in vicinity to Cooperativa Yatay with its 12 families). It involves dwellings for 50 families with socio communitarian equipment. This is the first co-operative purchase in the city of Buenos Aires within the framework of the Self-management Law 341, and it is the first one to achieve the integration of CTA13 associated formal workers (APA, airlines staff). The property deed was signed during the December 2001 national crisis. Finally, the co-operatives Los Invencibles and 20 de Julio arose, integrated today in the Cooperativa El Molino, also within the framework of Law 341. The El

Molino co-operative was originated by families who lived in hotels subsidised by the City Government. Located in Solís 1978 in the neighbourhood of Constitución, the building was originally a factory. The Municipal Housing Commission signed the property deed in July 2002, as business manager, to transfer it to the co-operative. It involves 100 dwellings as well as socio-communitarian and productive commercial equipment.

To summarise, these three co-operatives (El Molino, La Fábrica and Yatay) involve 162 dwellings. The physical intervention will be the renewal of approximately 100 units, and construction work will be carried out for another 62.

2000: Crisis and Self-management

Within the context of the country's profound socio-economic, cultural and institutional crisis, on July 20, 2001 an aspect of the government's policy regarding housing emergency "exploded": It involved the families who lived in subsidised hotels for which the city government was paying more than US $500 per month (until December 2001). The rooms measured 4m by 4m and were deficient of common services; additional faults were restricted visits and jail-like regimes for the use of spaces, constant arbitrariness exerted by superintendents, etc. The local government's response to the housing emergency through subsidised hotels constitutes another example of the meaning and main aim of state intervention: A sub-market destroyed by the crisis - that of hotel owners - is rescued and reconstructed by means of government subsidies.

Law 341 became the tool for the implementation of alternatives, often without proper knowledge or organisational logic. The families, who rapidly constituted legal civil associations or co-operatives as the governmental structures politically responsible for these problems, embraced this law and its specific

Front view of *La Unión* Cooperative, Barrio San Telmo, Buenos Aires
Photo: MOI

14
MOI participated in this process i.e. by involving two Uruguayan Technical Assistance Institutes (Centro Cooperativo Uruguayo-CCU and Hacer de Sur). The new regulations include the following topics: a) Readjustment of a unit's value from $30.000 to $42.000; b) Incorporation of a pattern to enable higher subsidy levels for the lowest income groups with interest rates between 0 and 1.5%; c) Compulsory incorporation of Interdisciplinary Technical Assistance Teams to the co-operatives and d) Advance payment to the co-operatives.

15
Unemployed workers movement. Its more distinctive way of protesting is by cutting roads.

16
In this sense, a pending issue is the creation of a Self-Management School, a proposal that has been discussed at SELVIP and HIC.

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operation - self-management and housing emergency. The families living in hotels promoted, jointly with popular habitat organisations such as MOI, the "production" of this law. The purchase of plots and buildings for nearly 1,500 families incorporated into about 50 co-operatives in the City of Buenos Aires should become the basis of new housing complexes, collectively constructed and self-managed by grass-root organisations.

Towards the end of 2002, Law 341 was readapted and improved. Law 964, the new law modifying Law 341, was approved on December 5, 2002. During the second half of 2002, the Municipal Housing Commission advanced in its regulation.[14] The operative today is called Self-managed Housing Program (Programa Autogestionario de Vivienda), and although this does not mean that the differences between self-management policies and those destined to housing emergency are clear, some differential aspects are beginning to emerge.

Perspectives

Many of the popular movements that arose in the context of the accelerated crisis - for example the "piquetero" movement[15] - reproduce the worst assistance proposals within the crude emergency situation that affects nearly 60% of the national population. They live the contradiction of embodying, from inside the popular movement itself, the most genuine will for change while being restrained and trapped in practices that emerge from the individual subsidies systems forced by the World Bank.

The self-managed co-operative movement in the City of Buenos Aires made its first steps during the post-dictatorship years and later achieved the regulation frameworks for the development and installation of popular habitat policies. It has now to provide a sectoral contribution for the construction of a new society: To start its execution stage and build housing complexes and community infrastructure. The organisation for the execution as well as for the construction of spaces for transference and training in self-management will be crucial for the development of a self-managed housing production[16] as well as the way in which the national crisis will be solved.

At the height of a profound structural crisis, the struggle between antagonistic concepts is crudely expressed in different areas and dimensions, some of which are:

- Individualistic assistance versus collective self-management.

- A culture of subsidies, functional to the class inequalities of a capitalist society, versus a culture of work in the hands of those who generate human riches.

- Private versus collective property.

- Entrepreneurial habitat production versus social production.

- A socio-spatially expelling city in comparison to a democratic city with neither expelling nor expelled sectors.

- Organisational atomisation versus articulation and integration of the popular field.

- Oblivion and concealment of history versus people's recovery of reflection and historic memory.

- Representative versus direct democracy.

The building of a popular movement must solve these dichotomies in its favour everyday in an organised way, in order to be free, to be fulfilled, and to strengthen its humanity.

Social Production of Habitat: Marginal Option or Reality-transforming Strategy?

ENRIQUE ORTÍZ

Several years ago, after the fall of the Berlin wall, in a meeting called by the World Bank in Washington to discuss social policies with Latin American civil organization representatives, we were informed in no uncertain terms of the new rules for playing development.

One of the Bank's Vice Presidents, in his inaugural speech, addressed us in fulminating terms to inform us - according to the synthesis I built as I heard his words - that there are two bowls of soup, that one of them is gone, and the remaining soup would be eaten according to their recipe, or there would be none.

As the solemn international functionary reached this categorical conclusion, I also pondered my response, based on the vast wealth of Latin American social experience - represented in this meeting by numerous colleagues with long histories in the field - which allowed us to affirm the falsehood of said conclusion, that peoples' ways are immensely diverse and a world can be built in which we all have a place, based on that wealth. I was struck by the fact that the soup being offered, in addition to being tasteless and boring, being the only option, would surely sicken us, leaving us no doubt at the mercy of their only medicine: structural adjustment and belt-tightening.

All of this moved me to react immediately, but I was unable to request my turn to speak. Mr. Bank Vice President had spoken, establishing the only and immutable truth, which would from that moment on rule our debates and surely our lives. He had finished his speech, and he marched, haughty and satisfied, without listening to anyone in return.

In this same authoritarian way and with complete disregard for the people, the triumphant model - that of infinite accumulation, the one-way-of-thought, fierce competition, unrestricted free trade, financial and productive globalization, city-corporations, and habitat-merchandise - is imposed. The supposed end of history, and the announced death of ideologies.

Today we suffer new more abstract forms of domination, further removed from our control, which expropriate the popular assets and knowledge and snatch away or cancel the autonomous productive capacity of large social sectors. The logic itself of the triumphant system drives it to grow at the cost of the degradation of nature and the exploitation, dispossession, and exclusion of large majorities. To avoid their rising up and their protests, collectives are disintegrated and problems and solutions are individualized. Nation-states are debilitated, and leading roles are assigned to the cities, forced to compete among themselves to gain the favors of the nationless investors, subsidizing them with the peoples' money.

Reality is reduced in order to control it. The communications media help in the homogenization of cultures, minds, products, and even human beings, ignoring and crushing the continuously reduced autonomous cultural production and social management spaces.

The other, the different, the minority, is ignored, persecuted and even exterminated. The invisible hand of the market does not work, as Thomas Friedman would say, without

Die soziale Produktion des Habitat – Randerscheinung oder Veränderungsstrategie?

Während die Vertreter des neoliberalen Wirtschaftsmodells selbstbewusst als Sieger der Ost-West-Systemkonkurrenz auftreten und die Verfolgung ihrer Rezepte, auch im Bereich Wohnungsversorgung und Stadtentwicklung fordern, stellt sich die Frage nach der Relevanz der vielfältigen Ansätze selbstbestimmter Wohnbau- und Siedlungsinitiativen. Sie stehen widersprüchlichen staatlichen Politiken gegenüber, die einerseits der privaten Bauindustrie die Wohnungsversorgung übertragen und diese als strategischen Wirtschaftssektor fördern, andererseits in bester paternalistischer und interventionistischer Manier Brosamen verteilen für die vom privaten Wohnungsmarkt Ausgeschlossenen. Demgegenüber sind die Erfahrungen der „sozialen Produktion des Habitat", wenn auch über 40 Jahre gereift, doch nur einzelne Blüten in einem Meer aus Steinen. Als solche haben se bereits die Realität beeinflusst. Inwieweit sie - im Zusammenhang der zahlreichen Initiativen zugunsten einer „anderen möglichen Welt" - Raum gewinnen können, um die Lebensbedingungen der Bevölkerungsmehrheit dieser Erde zu verbessern, dazu gibt es mehr Fragen und Hoffnungen als Gewissheiten.

an invisible fist. Focused wars, violence, and repressive acts against the model's opponents, proliferate; the fist becomes more visible every day, and its use more cynical.

In the field of social policies, accelerated transition takes place from the welfare state to the facilitator, which abandons old responsibilities in favor of the free play of the market. In the habitat field, the concepts of need, solvent demand, and market supply of housing solutions substitute now-considered obsolete concepts of state provision of goods and services, with no consideration given to what may be cutting-edge inclusive proposals based on the inalienable right of everyone to a dignified and safe place in which to live and in fundamental principles such as free determination and co-responsible action of citizens.

The globalized-era state decentralizes itself, depositing its traditional responsibilities in one alone of the potential social actors: the private sector. Financial capital and the large corporations are privileged, and all support and recognition of social producers is cancelled, even while they remain the main builders of cities and housing in the majority of our countries, in part as a consequence of the same noted conditions.

Satisfaction of the human right to housing, whose definition, recognition, and defense have brought together vast efforts of diverse United Nations bodies and an innumerable list of civil organizations and organized populations throughout the world, is understood today limited to the massive production and sale of habitable (even when only marginally so) spaces. The abundance of houses for sale fits within this conception, providing satisfaction of this right, just as the abundance of foodstuffs and medicines on the shelves of supermarkets and pharmacies pretends to fulfill, from the supply side, the rights to food and health.

Upgrading of housing and living conditions has mobilizing impact on other activities
Sta. Fé, Argentina
photo: Eike Jakob Schütz

It does not matter that this profusion of inhabitable objects for sale is out of the reach of large social sectors, and that their conception ignores peoples' ways of living, preferences, and dreams. The fact that these objects turn their backs on the cities in which they are located is of even less concern, destroying every urban concept of encounter and conviviality, and imposing their monotonous rows of repetitious constructions ad nauseam.

Nothing matters, as long as someone can buy the supplied products. While there is business, while the abstract statistics and macro-economic indicators grow, everything is fine with the model and for those who control it.

Partial and contradictory policies are designed, which on the one hand conceive housing as a strategic macro-economic factor, motor for economic development and important activator of financial capital, while on the other hand limiting its social impact on quality-of-life improvement and on construction of the family's private patrimony. Policies which, on one side, prescribe the free market and promotion of the housing industry and private promoters to produce and offer for sale inhabitable objects to carefully selected credit subjects, and, on the other, focalize state intervention on sectors excluded from the model through compensatory programs which distribute crumbs to a sea of socially excluded, as paternalistic social assistance.

Property-centered and individualized policies are imposed which minimize and tend to cancel housing cooperativism and other organized popular housing production, management, and tenure forms.

They are policies centered on economic-financial interests which ignore and intend to cancel the macro-social and micro-economic potential of other conceptualizations which, like social production of habitat, focus on the human being, in his or her personal as well as collective dimensions.

The possibility is thus lost to conceive of housing production as generator not only of walls and roofs, but of aware, productive, and responsible citizens, and at the same time as a popular economy stimulating process.

Social production of habitat, especially that supported by collective self-managed processes incorporating training, participative responsibility, organization, and active solidarity among the inhabitants, contributes to strengthen community practices, direct democratic exercise, participants' self-esteem, and more vigorous social co-existence. The growth of organized inhabitants' management capacity and their

control over habitat production processes; the channeling of resources from savings, credit, and subsidies within the communities in which the actions unfold, and the subsequent strengthening of popular market circuits, contribute in turn to strengthen the economies of individual participants, the neighborhood community in which they are located, and the popular sectors as a whole. Placing the - collective and individual - human being at the center of their strategies, work methods, and actions, puts innovative processes in march with profound content and impact toward transformation of reality.

Centering housing policies and habitat planning, design, and production processes around people and not around money, holds the potential to produce housing and popular neighborhoods which are social products that recognize the diversity and the creative and living wealth of the communities, and that build upon (instead of over) the historic traits, life forms, aspirations, and dreams of the participant social groups.

On the contrary, imposition of housing policies which ignore cities and citizens, has generated enormous contradictions: massive production of merchandise-houses inaccessible to large population masses who are then forced to self-produce their neighborhoods and their homes with no support; growing social and urban segregation, citizens without cities and cities without citizens, and massive evictions of poor populations in favor of macro-investments justified in concepts of public utility, progress, and the city's global competitive edge, supposedly to the benefit of its inhabitants. An in fact dual city is created, that of the excluded and poorly-housed who seek to integrate themselves, versus that of the city masters enclosed in well-serviced, controlled, and gated ghettos.

These contradictions penetrate us, and with minimal critical sense we accept the formulations which express this duality: formal and informal city, normal and subnormal housing, global enclave and marginal neighborhood.

Where does this leave the right of all to the city? The universal and inalienable human right to a place and to housing? How do we explain the mutation of human rights into merchandise? The subordination of social rights to the commercial rights of large corporations? The postponement of the rights of the majorities to satisfy the interests of a few?

The growing contradictions can not bring anything positive for human co-existence. The destruction of the social fabric generated by these situations has grave consequences for

Building communities: people's assembly in Villa El Salvador, Lima
photo: Klaus Teschner

society as a whole: violence, insecurity, lack of governance, social polarization, privatization and subsequent suppression of public spaces, and the rejection of all initiatives which aim to resolve our neighborhoods' problems, to the extreme of opposing all public-benefit works.

The city's purpose as space for socialization and community co-habitation, as political theater, and as context for civilized human life, is thereby denied. Either the city is for everybody or it will be for nobody. This is a theme which unifies struggles, processes, thoughts, and projects in today's Latin America.

The historic struggle of those of us participating in this collection of essays has focused, and continues to focus today more than ever, around support for initiatives which tend to strengthen the autonomy and free determination of the social sectors who consciously and responsibly assume the construction of the city and of citizenship, through concrete and often heroic efforts to produce and manage their habitat and to transform the polices and structures of power which impede and obstruct their efforts.

At this dawn of the XXI century, does this upstream struggle represent only a marginal option or survival tool destined for failure? Hopeless socialistic nostalgia in times of fierce individualism? Anachronic struggle to defend peoples' lands and places, in times dominated by the imposition of the non-location, the space of flows through virtual networks, and society conceived as only communication?

Or, on the contrary, may this stubborn struggle to promote transforming processes driven from tangible places and by live people be considered part of a global strategic process exploring new routes in the search for another possible world, founded on respect for nature, life, and human beings?

Poetics of everyday life: Simple but solid houses enable to set roots in the neighborhood Sta. Fé, Argentina
photo: Eike Jakob Schütz

Faced with the brutal enslavement imposed on us by transnationalized economic power and its local allies, themselves increasingly subordinated, obedient, and ambitious, the struggle to defend and broaden autonomous spaces of production, management, and cultural creation, is for many a ridiculous and marginal effort with no future.

It is increasingly common to find cases of intellectuals and social and civil organizations who have abandoned these struggles to jump aboard the train of economic or political profitability: NGOs converted into private businesses or that have abandoned their community work to manage their political agendas or position their leaders as full-time state functionaries or "interlocutors;" social organizations, which call themselves revolutionaries, mutated into housing intermediaries or organizers of housing demand in support of private real estate interests; "organic" intellectuals now converted into experts or consultants selling their services to the highest bidder; social movements beheaded by the abandonment of their leaders in favor of political party or public sector positions.

But this does not in any way represent the only possible route. New strategies are explored, new processes are opened and multiplied, and new searches are embarked upon, especially by women and youth. Old organizations also move forward, deepening their experience and renewing their strategies and methods, maintaining themselves open and in continual search consistent with their social commitment and historic work, despite the obstacles and limitations imposed by current trends.

Agents of the social production of habitat: Self-help group in Sta. Fé, Argentina
photo: Eike Jakob Schütz

Recently, and in response to some of the recommendations of the World Assembly of Urban Inhabitants held in Mexico in October 2000, we undertook a survey to identify and document complex cases of social production and management of habitat in Latin America. With support from the networks of Habitat International Coalition - Latin America (HIC-LA) and the Latin American Popular Housing Secretariat (SELVIP), a sample of 45 cases from 13 countries was collected, representing a broad range of experiences focused on implementation of peoples' rights to the city and to housing.

Most of the documented cases are tremendously vital experiences exploring and developing innovative paths, demonstrating the capacity of the social organizations to administer and drive complex processes. Their approaches vastly surpass the sectoral vision of the governments, the homogenizing reductionism imposed by the transnationalized markets, and the fragmented specialization of the experts.

The programs and projects registered integrate diverse components and processes, beyond the housing construction, training, and organizational strengthening which characterize social production of habitat. They include various of the following components and processes: income-generating activities or others oriented to strengthen the popular economy; use of eco-techniques, environmental education and ecological project development; health, security and basic-goods supply support actions; attention to special-needs sectors (children, youth, elderly); gender equity promotion within the collective itself; cultural and sports activity promotion; active participation in public policy negotiation, and strengthening of democratic struggles or local empowerment.

From the micro level, these experiences build popular sovereignty and new culture centered in collective practices and strategies based on training, use of information, participative decision-making, socialization of responsibilities, and self-management of the inhabitants' own knowledge, skills, assets, and resources. Independently of which actor originated the experience, the most advanced cases center on the community and imply the interlinked and interdisciplinary work of technical support persons and professionals who assist the productive and self-managed processes.

These experiences, which represent only a sample of the work being developed by the organizations in which this book's contributing authors collaborate, among many other habitat organizations, are also paralleled in experiences of organizations working in many other

fields. Thanks to electronic media, contacts and solidarity ties among such organizations are growing, and encounters and joint actions are celebrated which contribute to interweave and link processes at different scales - local, national, regional and global - simultaneously and progressively, without following pre-established patterns or mechanical models.

New organizational and action forms develop which unite wills and build synergies in the global defense of human rights, nature, and human habitat; cultural and biological diversity; the dignity and rights of the indigenous, laborers, the displaced, refugees, migrants, victims of war and man-made and natural disasters; the hungry, the ill, and the homeless.

Experiences, testimonies and reflections are exchanged on innovative processes in fields as diverse as organic agriculture, fair trade, barter, alternative medicine, transforming education, and self-managed popular habitat. Actions are linked against the exclusive globalization of the powerful, drug trafficking, the arms race, and social and environmental impacts of macro-development projects.

The other possible world is being built today on diverse fronts, in multiple places, and at every scale - a world that inspires the dreams, encounters, and debates integrated within the World Social Forum and other spaces which imagine and build, step by step, the other globalization, that which conceives our world as space and patrimony for all. That other world will certainly not emerge from the institutions, too closed within their own reductionist, separatist and fragmentary rationality, and bogged down in their bureaucratic routines and obstacles. The other world we refer to, on the contrary, bursts with vitality in innumerable, perhaps millions, of small experiences driven by communities, solidarity groups, and social networks which, throughout the planet, resist the enslavement of their autonomy and struggle for their dignity and survival, collectively interacting and learning to drive increasingly complex and integral processes and projects.

Opposed to the gray men, accumulators of time, power and money, new ways of living in community are developed which take us closer to building and inhabiting - to borrow the words of the Zapatistas - a world with room for all worlds.

Nevertheless, almost 40 years working in the margins of the system impede us from being naive. We know that our best experiences, many of them recognized and rewarded as "best practices," are but singular flowers grown among rocks.

World Assembly of Urban Inhabitants, Mexico DF, 2000
photo: Klaus Teschner

While our achievements and the new experiences inaugurated today on so many fronts inspire us to continue to move forward to invent and open new routes, we do so in the face of the enormous economic and political power concentrated in the large corporations that want it all, and which count on the support of their operators in the governments, international agencies, massive communications media, and armed forces.

What place does our current daily work have among these situations? To what point do we dedicate our meager strengths to confront the monster in his territory, the monster which in his long agony wipes out everything opposing his path? How long do we continue to plant seeds of the new in the most fertile and modest fields of the people who struggle for their dignity and survival? Is the upstream struggle to multiply, intensify, and link these experiences and processes, the work we must undertake at the dawn of a new civilizing era?

The answers to these questions will not be found in new "models" or in narrow utopias used to justify our steps. The only certainty we can count on is that this certainty does not exist. That both science and history show us that the universe and our world constitute a dynamic, undetermined, unpredictable, profound, and increasingly complex system, and that everything that happens at the smallest scale of matter and of social existence, impacts in some way on what happens at the planetary scale and in the confines of the universe.

These facts are precisely what affirm our hope and motivate us to continue forward, even if we must do so from the cracks opened by the great contradictions of our time and from the chaotic, random, and unpredictable reality in which the social processes which may transform this reality are developed.

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Changing Realities —
Neo-liberalism
and the NGOs in the South

ALEXANDER JACHNOW

Neue Realitäten für südliche NGOs

Es ist eine weitverbreitete Vorstellung, dass NGOs als Teil der Zivilgesellschaft den Kampf gegen den Neoliberalismus anführen. Ihre Beteiligung an den Weltgipfeln - als Ausrichtende der Sozialgipfel und Demonstranten bei den Wirtschaftsgipfeln - hat sie als sogenannte Antiglobalisierungsbewegung in die Medien gebracht. Doch ist die große und durchaus heterogene Gruppe der NGOs nicht per se der Gegner einer neoliberalistischen, „neuen" Weltordnung, die von der Devise „der Markt ist überall" geprägt ist und welche den Ausschluss weiter Teile der Menschheit von ihren Grundrechten zufolge hat. Innerhalb des dritten Sektors sind inzwischen weite Teile in neoliberale Strukturen einbezogen. Auch und gerade die kleinen südlichen NGOs müssen sich einem Wettbewerb mit oft ungewissem Ausgang stellen, sich den Vorstellungen ihrer nördlichen Geber anpassen und die Bedingungen der internationalen Finanzinstitutionen befolgen, um ihre Arbeit an der Basis weiterführen zu können. Entwicklungs-NGOs sind in zunehmendem Maße Teil der „Privatisierung" von Entwicklungszusammenarbeit und auch wenn sie bessere Erfolge erzielen als vordem staatliche Institutionen, ist ihr Wirkungskreis doch reduziert und ihre Arbeit exklusiv. Um Lösungen aus dem Dilemma zu finden, wird es nötig sein, kritischer mit den Beiträgen und Bedingungen der NGOs umzugehen.

Defining NGOs is, as a German scholar phrased it, as easy as nailing a blancmange to the wall. The miscellaneous group of non-governmental organisations, also called the "third sector", is best described as "neither private in the sense of the market, nor public in the sense of the state" (Carroll 1992: 11), though one may then confuse NGOs with other entities of civil organisations such as sport clubs or grassroots organisations. NGOs only form part of the much wider concept which the term "civil society" stands for.

Many organisations operating worldwide have been labelled "NGOs", although they work in the most diverse contexts, on a vast variety of issues and with quite different purposes. NGOs defy attempts at precise classification. Nonetheless, in the late 1990s five characteristic dimensions were set up for defining Non-Governmental Organisations (Anheier 1997: 29 - 50).

On the basis of this definition an NGO is

- institutionally autonomous

- organised through a defined setting and internal rules

- self-administered

- based on volunteerism

- and non-profit.

For an organisation to qualify as an NGO, all five criteria have to apply. However, while the first three characteristics are relatively easy to identify, and prove, the concept of volunteerism might lead to confusion.[1] Clear signs of volunteerism, such as donations, unpaid helpers and a membership base are applicable only to a subgroup of NGOs, generally found in the North (i. e. in OECD-countries). As the prevailing type in the South (i.e. in countries that receive development aid) consists mostly of small groups of employed professionals and has little access to dona-

tions or gratis support at the local level, an essential difference between North and South is to be pointed out for defining NGOs.

It is the Northern NGOs working in the field of development that channel the funds they raise from voluntary contributions (and also government aid) to their Southern counterparts. The basis of volunteerism therefore has to be understood in this international constellation. Southern NGOs often lack a supportive basis at the local level. Therefore, they might be autonomous institutionally, but they are not so in terms of economics and politics.

Distinction

Emphasizing the fact that an extremely diverse group forms the third sector shows that talking about "*the* NGOs" (as I do here) is a misleading simplification. And it is not only the location, they are working in or for, that makes the difference, but their history, size, approach, legal status etc.

To differentiate by individual approaches is useful in analysing their aims, strategies and settings. Korten (1987) identified three subgroups by their distinctive orientations in programming strategy, which he called generations. As the most antique, he defined the relief-and-welfare approach as the origin of the emergence of NGOs, followed by the small-scale development approach, which was criticised and replenished by a "third generation" aiming towards sustainable systems development. This latter is also known as the Reform Generation that had a share in implementing more comprehensive development policies, also extending its influence to the international level. At present, all three forms exist parallel, as "new generations take their place along with older generations" (Korten 1987: 156). The following observations here refer to the Southern urban NGDOs, the local Non-Governmental Development Organisa-

tions working in Southern cities that belong mostly to the second generation. Again, these are non-membership, small professional organisations, dedicated to small-scale development, though some intend to fit their projects into a wider picture of sustainable systems. Their specific tasks include urban upgrading, housing and related areas.

Perception from outside

Structural definitions of NGOs or distinctions within the sector however do not lead us very far, towards comprehending the specific role of NGOs at present. Maybe more revealing for the nature of the "NGO-success-story phenomenon" is to look at the common perception most people have of them. In contrast to the dilemma of defining them, nearly everyone in the wide range of experts, activists and bankers has quite a firm opinion about what NG(D)Os are to them.

Among these assumptions one will find the consensus that:

- they "touch the ground" being in direct contact with the poor
- they contribute to poverty alleviation through their work directly, and
- they are independent, though committed to the well being of the communities they work with, and represent somehow, what is known as civil society.

Even if these are not particularly specific suppositions, they may represent the lowest common denominator that the above mentioned groups can agree upon.

A projection surface for one's ideals...

An astonishing feature of the perception of NGDOs, however, is that most people who appreciate their work show a certain self-identification with their aims when defining them.

To Northern independent development activists, NGOs pursue an alternative, non-state-controlled development. To experts, they are the experienced professionals working on the ground, solving problems by adapting international development expertise to the local setting. The World Bank defines them as "private organizations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development" (WB: Operational Directive 14.70, 2000). And of course, those who focus from outside on the contact with the poor, classify NGOs as important intermediaries. Finally, western politicians presume their democratic commitment.

For many people, particularly in the media, it also is a common assumption that civil society and, within it, the NGOs represent the most effective and non-corrupt opponent of neo-liberalism. With the movements and demonstrations against globalisation in mind, with the gatherings of NGOs during world summits on issues such as environment, gender and habitat, the anti-neo-liberalist attitude of non-governmental organisations makes perfect sense.

But both assumptions are only partly true. Globalisation is not a synonym for neo-liberalism and NGOs are not the spearhead when it comes to fighting neo-liberalism. Relevant sections of the Third Sector are turning into a part of a neo-liberal global concept, which is hallmarked by indicators such as socially unjust distribution and the philosophy that "anywhere is a marketplace".

...and the truth behind

The impact of the neo-liberal setting absorbs many NGOs into global mainstream development strategies, no matter, what approach or political background they originally

1
The last of the five criteria, "non-profit", also leaves room for interpretation, especially in areas where for instance consultancy may provide the NGO or its members with an extra income. However, to receive direct personal benefit is unusual, but this also applies to many private businesses.

Decision flows for governmental projects

policy-level

programme level

project level
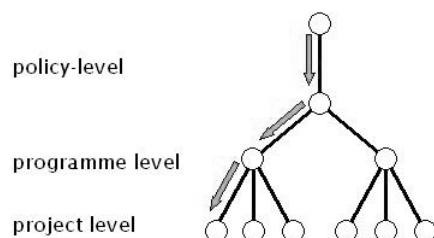
had or still claim as their own. And analysing the present-day setting, we must remember, that within each approach there have always existed miscellaneous political orientations. They can be conservative or declare themselves "completely apolitical", as is common in civil-war-traumatized Central America.

However, political orientation is decreasing in importance. The conditions and the socio-economic setting in present-day cities NGOs work in have become very much the same. Southern Non-Governmental Development Organisations (NGDOs) have therefore adopted certain patterns of behaviour that often unwillingly and unwittingly position them as supporters of World Bank and IMF policies.

For the benefit of big construction companies in Mexico and Argentina, for example, the aim is now (again) social housing estates for immediate occupancy. If NGOs want to compete with the private sector, they have to adapt to the new conditions, such as individual credit schemes, leaving behind alternative approaches, such as community empowerment. Though they might still anticipate such approaches, they will be the easiest to drop if lack of time, staff or resources forces the NGO to "trim down" implementation. As the projects they run are often short- to medium-term, their work is sometimes far from being sustainable. They literally cannot afford to provide constant support to the groups they work with, though most donors try to assure some continuity at least for the NGO itself.

Decision flows for NGO projects

foreign government

local government

Northern NGO

Southern NGOs

projects
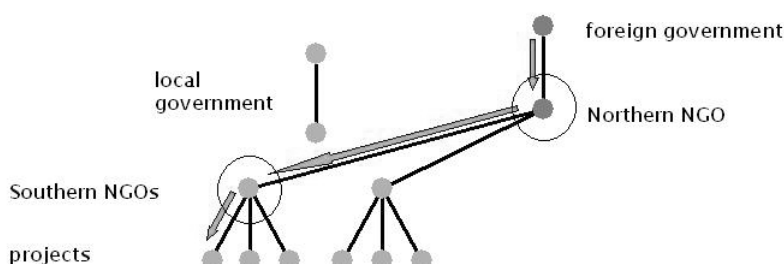
Changing realities?

Development aid has increasingly become a sub-market of state privatisation and the NGOs have become a part of it, as they depend on a constellation of financially weak city departments, the missions of Northern donors, and the conditions of international financial institutions - that all still appreciate their performance for specific reasons.

Contemporary city departments hardly impede voluntary activities for improving urban living conditions such as housing support, no matter how successful they actually are. In terms of costs they also appear attractive to the beneficiaries, who e. g. receive subsidized credits, and the donor, who pays the difference. This way, NGOs can achieve important advantages for their target groups, governmental counterparts and donors. However, the benefits through cost sharing or involvement of many stakeholders do not imply that the project may have an effect on an urban scale or could be extended easily. Reality demonstrates that a significant impact of NGOs on urban development is still an illusion. But what is so convincing even to those donors that expect NGOs to be important change makers?

First, NGO projects are not accountable either to the people concerned or to the local administration entities. Projects underachieving their goals may be transformed into a quasi-success. The failure is thereby less harmful to the donor than to the beneficiary. Second, as some have undoubtedly achieved exceptional results through their work, one might presume that all NGOs have this ability. And the fact that NGOs have had success in a certain locality makes us believe that they could perform well anywhere. But several hundred good and best practices recorded through the last thirty years or so are outnumbered by several thousands running NGO projects today. NGOs are, even within the sub-group of housing and development, far from being one unified group that would have the same abilities anywhere it acts.

This rather negative and exaggerated depiction reveals the possibility for some NGOs to act without any real concern for the intended effect for the poor and still receive funding. However, the NGOs are not to blame for this development, but the sub-market for development aid. As they are dependent on foreign funding, their genuine goals and activities are endangered.

Aspects of the market-like performance

The crucial contribution of NGOs to neo-liberalism, however, is not that they help

establish social injustice in developing countries through alleviating its consequences. This is a disputable argument. The striking indicators for this contribution lie in the support NGDOs provide for development policies that are in line with neo-liberalism and in the market-orientated way they have to act. The latter shall be confirmed here by briefly looking at some aspects of competition.

NGO competition

Market-like structures can be found in their orientation towards competition. The hardest one for NGOs, though, comes from other NGOs. The financing of Southern NGOs is a matter of raising subsidies and donations that Northern NGOs or development agencies may allocate for this purpose.

Not only do Southern NGDOs have to fulfil all bureaucratic requirements set up by a potential donor, they also have to "sell" the project. This is one of the reasons why projects are increasingly mainstreamed and labelled with international development terms, which are adapted sometimes even forcibly to the local context.

And yet another remarkable fact of NGO-funding has to be borne in mind. Criticism of the public performance of service provision focuses frequently on the perceived distance between "the ground level" and the decision taking level, blaming the remote perspective of the decision makers for the ill-fated output of the project. Nonetheless, constellations within the NGO sector, often involving governmental development agencies, force staff to judge on projects thousands of kilometres away, projects in cities they have never been to, in a context they have never experienced.

The other side of competition

But NGOs do not only compete - there are many that compete for them. NGOs can mean an extra endowment for the municipality; they can offer support for a CBO or for an individual person in need. This leads to another crucial criticism: the work of NGOs is exclusive. No matter which way they choose to select the beneficiaries from among the poor, any private organisation can only pursue the well-being of a few.

On the one hand, the aid internationally provided by volunteers contains increasing amounts of international and national subsidies. On the other, nobody has the right to claim NGO support. This is a fatal constellation. But, as a consequence of privatising development aid, the poor will soon have no one to claim support from: not the bankrupt state, nor the NGOs - and still less the private sector.

Business competition

Finally NGOs have to compete with the business sector, which challenges them in areas where subsidies, revenues or loans are attractive. This does not necessarily imply that NGOs are only good for the unprofitable market segments, i. e. the marginalized areas, slums, informal settlements and squatted plots. One can find NGOs also working in "lucrative" areas such as infrastructure or housing provision, where they often operate cost effectively. This combines their exclusiveness with a random choice of action, scope of the project - and target group. In other words, there is no instrument to regulate the distinct aims in a comprehensive and coordinated manner. It is left to the NGO and its donor to decide, what it is right to do, what might receive funding and what will keep the NGO "alive" in a competitive environment.

But what is wrong with market-adapted structures and competition that helps to offer alternatives? Of course, competition is not a synonym to neo-liberalism, but it implies more demand than supply on the ground, and more offer than funds on the project level. Hence, it is socially not justifiable that an instrument to develop alternative methods should persist in excluding vast majorities from basic needs all of the time, subjecting them to competition for limited private programmes.

Urban issues
in the scope of their work

On the urban scale, NGDOs are expected to contribute to a sustainable, socially inclusive development, combating the recent tendency towards quick-profit transactions and segregation. From the dispersed projects loosely spread over the urban texture, it is

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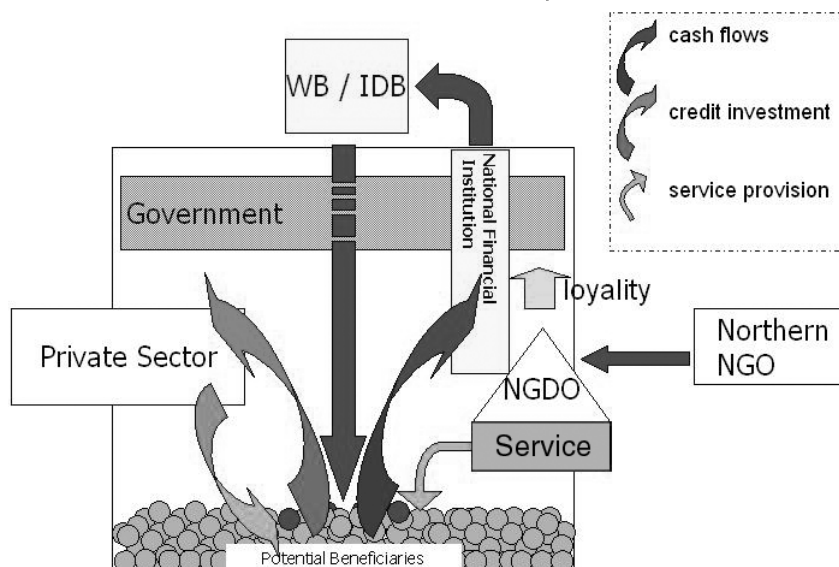
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A Spanish summary of this text
is available under
www.trialog-journal.de

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easy to assess their potential impact on the
city as a whole. However, to tackle the urban
problems on their base is an impossible chal-
lenge for NGOs and it would not be fair to
blame a few hundred badly equipped acade-
mics, kept outside the hierarchic decision sys-
tem, for being unable to change urban reality.
They are forced into a framework that leaves
little to no space for alternative visions.

Another constraint lies in the single-issue
layout of most projects. Though they claim to
work in a comprehensive way and are often
more than willing to do so, it is very difficult for
the funding to combine issues with different
scopes, terms or targets.

The lack of an applicable
urban vision

NGOs have been especially appreciated
for their search for alternative ways. Individu-
ally and through their networks, NGOs have proved
on several occasions to be important indepen-
dent think tanks. Recent development theory
is hardly separable from the contributions and
on-the-ground experience of many NGOs.
Research institutes in North and South oper-
ate with the reliable data, gathered by them.

Since the 1980s, progressive development
agencies have adopted essential parts of the
philosophy of NGO-work, with the consequence
of mainstreaming alternative development
policies. NGOs and CBOs undoubtedly have
an important share in the development of pro-
ject performances that are small-scale, locally
adapted, participative, based on micro-finance
etc. In the end, though, they suffered not the
replacement of their work, but the loss of the
autonomy of their ideas and their approaches.

While in recent years some NGOs in the
South have made the missions postulated by

the International Development Community
their own, they have done little to contribute
alternatives by experimenting on the ground
with non-conformist approaches. Another cru-
cial aspect of the neo-liberal market, as the
contemporary political and social regime, is its
anti-utopian belief in "process and self -regula-
tion". There is no vision behind it.

Urban visions such as the socially inclu-
sive city can hardly be a major concern of the
everyday work of small NGDOs, in view of the
constraints they have to face on the ground.
However, public and private research institu-
tions, and, among the latter, some NGOs have
of late been contributing to alternative
approaches for urban development.

Conclusions

Many NGOs are right in taking offence if it
is insinuated that they have been instrumen-
talized by neo-liberal policies. As they try hard
to contribute to a significant impact on poverty
alleviation, they deserve more respect for their
efforts. NGOs are indispensable for compre-
hensive development policies, though they are
forced to compete for the resources allocated
to improve urban living conditions for all, while
public capital for this purpose is privatised,
globalised and diminished. At the local level,
NGOs too experience the insufficiency of
resources and the unjust terms of distribution.
Though governments are more than willing to
sub-contract political and aid work to NGOs,
they only do so on a project-by-project basis.
But only the guarantee of long-term indepen-
dence would create a significant counter-
weight to the current neo-liberal tendencies in
urban development.

If we do not want our future cities to be
shaped through the interests of a few, we
have to look to combine the efforts of civil
society in its broad sense with the strengthen-
ing of accountable public entities. The required
shift in urban policies demands not more "par-
ticipation" but the strengthening of social
responsibilities. NGOs should be accountable
to the groups they serve and they must get
the opportunity to serve them on the long run.

Finally, housing and service provisioning
cannot be left to those who voluntarily con-
tribute to the improvement of urban conditions
or just make money out of it. Urban policies
demand a comprehensive, long-term institu-
tion for urban management which NGDOs
have to be part of, as they represent the best
basis for pluralistic and experimental
approaches to develop alternatives. And plu-
rality is not a matter of many organisations,
but of having the means to search for compre-
hensive solutions for the whole urban society.

Neue Bücher / Book reviews

Architektur

Dominique Gauzin-Müller. Nachhaltigkeit in Architektur und Städtebau. 256 S. ISBN 3-7643-6658-3. 2002. Birkhäuser Verlag, Basel.

Jedes neue Buch zum Thema Nachhaltigkeit muß sich dem Verdacht aussetzen, dieses Modewort als verkaufsfördernde Mogelpackung für die Replikation von Standardwissen zu verwenden. Die hier vorliegende Publikation besteht den Test mühelos und erweist sich sowohl in dem abgehandelten Spektrum der Einzelaspekte wie auch in der Vermittlung neuer Information als kompetent und interessant.

In der Struktur ist das Werk in drei Abschnitte geteilt. Zu Beginn steht die Auseinandersetzung mit den Rahmenbedingungen und Tendenzen der Ökobewegung im Bausektor, wobei ein Kapitel speziell über Holz und Holzbau etwas aus der Reihe tanzt. Im Mittelpunkt stehen jedoch die verschiedenen nationalen und internationalen Beschlüsse, Strategien, Kontroll- und Förderinstrumente für den Bausektor. Es folgt eine Serie von Kapiteln über stadtplanerische Überlegungen aus der Sicht der Ökologie – im Wesentlichen eine Auseinandersetzung mit den bekannten Sektoren wie Flächennutzung, Grünflächen, Luft, Verkehr, Energie, Wasser, Abwasser und Müll. Hervorzuheben sind sechs Fallstudien von stadtökologischen Programmen in Mäder (Österreich), Stuttgart, Freiburg, Amsterdam, Helsinki und Rennes. Teil Drei des Buches wendet sich dann der Architektur zu - mit grundsätzlichen Kapiteln zu Energieeinsparung und den dazugehörigen Verordnungen, alternative Energiequellen und Baustoffe, (noch einmal:) Holzbau und verschiedene ‚weiche‘ Faktoren wie: die optimale Abwägung bzw. Kombination verschiedener umweltrelevanter Maßnahmen, das grüne Baustellen- und Gebäudemanagement und Finanzierungsfragen. Den Abschluss - mit fast der Hälfte der Druckseiten - bilden 23 Fallstudien ökologisch innovativer Wohnbauten, öffentlicher Einrichtungen und gewerblicher Bauwerke.

Wie schon die vielen gut dokumentierten Architekturbeispiele (auch in den ‚stadtplanerischen‘ Kapiteln) zeigen, ist das Buch für Architekten gemacht. Bei der hohen Zahl von rund 300 Kapiteln ist deren Umfang notgedrungen stark reduziert, worunter aber die Informationstiefe löblicherweise nicht leidet. Ganz besonders hervorgehoben werden muß jedoch die Vielschichtigkeit des Untersuchungsansatzes mit den sich daraus ergebenden und dargestellten Lösungen des nachhaltigen Bauens.

Kosta Mathéy

Udo Kultermann. Die Architektur des 20. Jahrhunderts. 355 S. ISBN 3-211-83887-2, 2003 (6. erweiterte Auflage). EUR 30,-. Springer Verlag, Wien (www.springer.at).

Bei der zunehmenden Gleichzeitigkeit von mehreren parallelen Architektur-Richtungen fällt es schwer, einen Überblick bzw. eine schlüssige Einordnung von Einzelbauwerken in die Gesamtentwicklung zu finden. Neben vertiefenden Spezialpublikationen haben auch Globalbände wie dieser ihre Berechtigung.

Der Autor gliedert das 20. Jahrhundert in vier Epochen mit den ungefähren Zäsuren 1930, 1950 und 1970. Die erste Zeitspanne wird mit Purismus assoziiert, darauf folgt ‚organische Architektur und Technik‘, später ‚synkretistische Tendenzen‘ und schließlich ‚Autonome Architektur‘ - gekennzeichnet durch regionale Identität und die Wiedergewinnung von Tradition. Es mag dahingestellt bleiben, ob diese Richtungen als repräsentativ bezeichnet werden können, aber das war wohl auch nicht das Anliegen des Autors. Vielmehr scheint das Gewicht darin zu liegen, Architektur als Ausdruck eines epochal dominanten Lebensgefühls vorzustellen, und ‚Gefühl‘ zeigt sich nun einmal direkter in freien Formen als in den Kästen, die unsere gebaute Umwelt mehrheitlich in der Realität zu bestimmen scheinen. Eine solche Sicht macht die zusammenfassende Rezeption des Buches selbst zu einem Erlebnis, auch wenn der Text selbst sich im Wesentlichen auf das Faktische beschränkt und somit naturgemäß sehr trocken bleibt.

Kosta Mathéy

Gauzin-Müller /
Nachhaltigkeit in Architektur und Städtebau

Stadtentwicklung

Quentin Wilbaux. La Médina de Marrakech. 381 Seiten, ISBN 2-7475-2388-8. 2001. 30 EUR. L'Harmattan, 5 rue de l'Ecole Polytechnique, F-75005 Paris (www.harmat@worldnet.com).

Das umfangreiche Werk basiert auf der Dissertation des Autors zu dem Thema 'Ordnung oder Unordnung' – bezogen auf die Stadtgestalt von Marrakech. Die Morphologie dieser Stadt wird in ihre einzelnen Bestandteile zerlegt, die Elemente auf ihre Ursprünge zurückverfolgt und in ihrer vor Ort festzustellenden Vielfältigkeit aufgefächert. Hier erscheinen das Verhältnis der Stadt zu ihrem Umland, die Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung und ihre Wohngebäude, die Stadtviertel, städtischen Einrichtungen, religiöse Zentren, das Wasser und die ehemaligen

Stadtmauern. Ein weiterer Abschnitt des Buches verfolgt die Entstehung und Wandlung der Gesamtstadt über die vier maßgeblichen Dynastien hinweg, bis sich das zentrale Thema der ‚verschlüsselten Ordnung‘ offenbart: eine durchgängige Folge von Wasseradern und damit gespeisten Gärten, und die (Markt-) Plätze als Lebensspendende Organe der islamischen Stadt Marrakech.

Die Arbeit geht weit über den zu erwartenden Rahmen einer Dissertation hinaus – erklärbar sicherlich durch eine Zeitspanne von über 15 Jahren, die der Verfasser in Marakech gelebt und geforscht hat. Als Morphologie der islamischen Stadt setzt sich das Werk von anderen Büchern über das gleiche Thema dadurch ab, daß ganz konkret die Komposition einer einzigen Stadt analysiert wurde, wodurch der Gefahr unpräziser Verallgemeinerungen aus dem Weg gegangen wird. Denn die ‚islamische Stadt schlechthin‘ existiert wahrscheinlich nur als Gedankengerüst, aber als fassbares, versteinertes Abbild sicherlich nirgends – abgesehen vielleicht vom Sonderfall Mekka. Aus dieser Sicht und in ihrer Gründlichkeit kann die Veröffentlichung nicht hoch genug gelobt werden. Schade nur, daß die Abbildungen so winzig sind und die Druckqualität zu wünschen übrig lässt.

Kosta Mathéy

Hans-Dieter Evers; Rüdiger Korff. Southeast Asian Urbanism. 268 Seiten, ISBN 3-8258-4021-2, 2. Auflage 2003. LIT Verlag Münster (www.lit-verlag.de).

Die ‚Bielefelder Schule‘ und ihre beiden Vertreter Evers und Korff, seit über 20 Jahren in der Entwicklungsländer-Forschung tätig, zählen im deutschsprachigen Raum zu den renommiertesten Wissenschaftlern zum Thema Stadtentwicklung in Südost Asien. In diesem Band ziehen sie sozusagen das Resümee aus ihren bisherigen Arbeiten zu diesem Thema. Die empirische Basis stellen Forschungen in Thailand, Sri Lanka, Indonesien, Malaysia, den Philippinen und Singapore dar, während sich der theoretische Ansatz in der Linie von Marx, Weber, Habermas, Bourdieu und Castells versteht.

Der theoretische Rahmen zu der Arbeit wird gleich im ersten Kapitel entwickelt, wobei die jüngsten gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen im Spannungsfeld ökonomischer, kultureller und ideologischer Kräfte interpretiert werden. Kapitel Zwei beschäftigt sich mit der speziell asiatischen Variante von Urbanisierung im Wandel von Tradition, Kolonialismus und modernem Wirtschaftsboom, was dann mit einer Fallstudie zu Malaysia exemplarisch vertieft wird. Unter der Überschrift, Meaning and Power in the Construction of Urban Space‘ werden nicht-materiale Faktoren der Stadtentwicklung, wie Religion, Tradition und Kultur anhand von Fallstudien aus Sri Lanka, Thailand und Indonesien analysiert. Die ökonomische Komponente wird im Kontext der Über-

lebensstrategien der armen Mehrheit der Bevölkerung vertieft, wobei die Relation zwischen Subsistenzproduktion, informellem Sektor und Markt im Zentrum steht. Den Abschluss bildet die Frage nach Zugang zu Land, was mit Fallstudien zu Padang und Bangkok illustriert wird.

Die Publikation synthetisiert richtungweisende Forschungsergebnisse aus den letzten Jahren, ist in sich kohärent und sollte Pflichtlektüre sein für alle, die sich auf theoretischer Ebene mit Urbanisierungsfragen in Asien auseinander setzen wollen. Hilfreich hierbei sind auch die Zusammenfassungen, die am Ende vieler (aber nicht aller) Kapitel angehängt wurden.

Kosta Mathéy

Smaniotto da Costa / Stadtrand
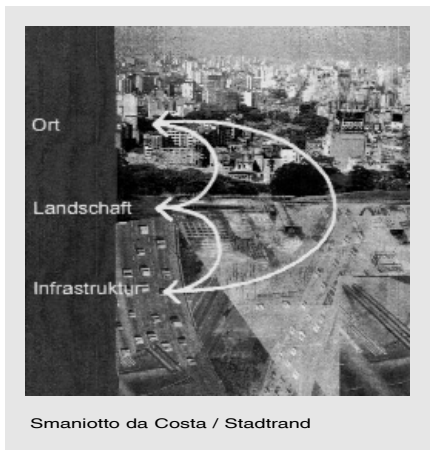
Paul Chatterton; Robert Hollands (eds). Urban Nightscapes: Youth Cultures, Pleasure Spaces and Corporate Power. 285 Seiten, ISBN 0-415-28346-9. 2003. Routhledge, London.

Eine aufeinander abgestimmte Serie von Aufsätzen analysieren die strukturellen Veränderungen, die das nächtliche Entertainment und ihre räumliche Verortung in den letzten Jahrzehnten global durchlaufen haben. So ist nicht von der Hand zu weisen, daß das Angebot an Orten ‚zum Ausgehen' sowohl in der Menge wie in der thematischen Bandbreite zugenommen hat. Doch gleichzeitig - so paradox das erscheinen mag - sind die Wahlmöglichkeiten für die Konsumenten geschrumpft. Dies hängt natürlich u.a. mit der internationalen Konzentration von Unternehmen zusammen, die ihre Verwertungsinteressen und damit verbundenen Konsummuster global durchzusetzen verstehen. Daran ändert auch die optische Diversifizierung durch einen geschickt gefächerten Klischeereigen nichts (irisches Pub, argentinisches Steakhaus, amerikanische Ranch, bayrisches Bierzelt, etc) oder die Integration kleiner Lokalbrauereien durch eine der vier oder fünf weltweit führenden Bierkonzerne. Was bestenfalls als Vielfalt interpretiert werden könnte ist eine stärkere Segregation und Bedienung spezieller Zielgruppen, wie Yuppies, Gays, Frauen, etc., womit sich dann aber wieder echte und unkontrollierte Freiräume reduzieren.

Die Arbeit analysiert einen Aspekt der Organisation des städtischen Raums, der bislang, da als marginal betrachtet, tendenziell übersehen wurde. Die neue Aufmerksamkeit für das Thema erklärt sich nicht zuletzt durch das Bemühen der Städte, ihre Freizeit und ‚Entertainment' Potentiale als Kapital in den Städtewettbewerb einzubringen und - auch als wichtige Einnahmequelle für Steuern - zu fördern. Interessant ist in diesem Zusammenhang der interne Interessenskonflikt

in den Gemeinden, die es einerseits als ihre Aufgabe verstehen, die wie auch immer definierte ‚öffentliche Ordnung' im Interesse der Wirtschaft und deren Entscheidungsträger zu schützen (z.B. klassisch durch Beschränkung der Ausschankzeiten um ausgeschlafene Arbeitskräfte bereitzuhalten oder um den Wert von Wohnimmobilien durch das Verbot anrüchiger Beschäftigungen zu bewahren), und andererseits unter dem massiven Druck der Vergnügungsindustrie nach weitergehender Liberalisierung stehen. Wie gesagt: ein spannendes Thema.

Kosta Mathéy

Carlos Smaniotto da Costa. Stadtrand – Ökologisch fundierte Stadtplanung in brasilianischen Mittelstädten. Beiträge zur räumlichen Planung Band 62. 289 Seiten, ISBN 3-923517-49-1, 2001. Institut für Grünplanung und Gartenarchitektur, Universität, Herrenhäuser Straße 21, 30419 Hannover.

Der ansehnliche Band enthält die Veröffentlichung der Dissertation des Autors mit dem Untertitel ‚*Planungsmethodische Ansätze zur Steuerung der Stadtentwicklung in Randbereichen nach freiraumplanerischen Grundlagen*'. Die Arbeit ist übersichtlich gegliedert und fasst im Wesentlichen die Erkenntnisse aus der Sekundärliteratur zusammen: Das Weltphänomen Verstädterung; Merkmale ökologischer Stadtentwicklung; Merkmale von Stadtrandgebieten, Stadtplanung(sgeschichte) in Brasilien, Landschaft als Moment der Stadtrandgestaltung und eine Fallstudie der nordbrasilianische Stadt Macapa. Der Leser wird verschont von komplizierten wissenschaftlichen Fragestellungen, Arbeitshypothesen oder gar Überlegungen zu wissenschaftlich bewährten Forschungsmethoden. Die eigentlich neue Information, die die Arbeit beiträgt, sind die planungsrelevanten Konsequenzen, die am Ende jeden Kapitels extrahiert werden und die spezifische Beschreibung der Stadt Macapa (am Amazonas gelegen), zu der in Europa kaum Informationen auffindbar sein dürften - vielleicht auch noch die ansatzweise Entwicklung eines entwicklungsplanerischen Leitbildes für den Stadtrand dieser Gemeinde. Schade, dass für diese weiterführenden Überlegungen nach den umfangreichen Kapiteln zum Hintergrund des Forschungsgegenstandes so wenig Platz mehr übrig war für das zentrale Thema.

Kosta Mathéy

Elisabeth Meyer-Renschhausen, Renate Müller, Petra Becker (eds). Die Gärten der Frauen. Zur sozialen Bedeutung von Kleinstlandwirtschaft in Stadt und Land weltweit. 323 Seiten, ISBN 3-8255-0338-0. Centaurus Verlag, Herbholzheim.

Der Sammelband rankt sich um das Phänomen der Subsistenz-Landwirtschaft, hauptsächlich im städtischen Kontext (wofür sich auch der Begriff ‚*Urban Agriculture*' eingebürgert hat). Dieses Thema wird hier unter den Aspekten der nichtmonetären ökonomischen Versorgungsleistung der Hausarbeit, den sinnlich-gesundheitlichen Qualitäten und im Kontext sozialer Bewegungen präsentiert. Die 24 Einzelbeiträge haben ihren Ursprung teilweise in einer 1990 in Berlin abgehaltenen Konferenz, einzelne Kapitel wurden später speziell für diese Publikation verfasst und hinzugefügt. Bei einem Konferenzband sind die Themenauswahl und Stil der Präsentation naturgemäß nur bedingt steuerbar, doch die Herausgeberinnen haben die Originalbeiträge, wo angeraten, sehr erfolgreich überarbeiten lassen und damit trotzdem eine kohärente Publikation vorlegen können.

Regional thematisieren die Einzelbeiträge internationales Terrain: Bolivien, Kenia, Zimbabwe, Sierra Leone, Bangla Desh, Osteuropa, USA, Japan, die Schweiz und -natürlich- Deutschland. Flächendeckend deutlich wird ein Forschungsbzw. Handlungsbedarf zum Schutz der Artenvielfalt (insbesondere durch Widerstand gegen die Interessen einer global agierenden Agrarindustrie), in der Regulierung der städtischen Flächennutzung, und in der Quantifizierung des Potenzials von *Urban Agriculture* zur Armutsbekämpfung und (körperlichen wie mentalen) Volksgesundheit. Der im Titel betonte *Gender*-Aspekt erklärt primär aus der Tatsache, daß weltweit zwei Drittel der Kleinstfarmerinnen Frauen sind, vielleicht auch aus Förderungsrelevanten Überlegungen, bleibt aber im Übrigen in fast allen Einzel-Beiträgen unberücksichtigt.

Kosta Mathéy

Geoffrey Payne (ed). Land, Rights & Innovation. Improving Tenure Security for the Urban Poor. 336 pages. ISBN 1853395447. 2002. ITDG Publishing, London (www.itdg-publishing.org.uk).

Seit der UN-Habitat Kampagne zum den Schutz vor Räumung informeller Siedlungen und De Sotos The Mystery of Capital ist das Thema der Bodenrechte erneut ins Blickfeld der Diskussion gerückt. Diese von DFID und UN-Habitat geförderte Publikation thematisiert das komplexe Thema der Wohnsicherheit, der Bodenrechte und Bodenbesitzformen im urbanem Raum anhand von diversen Fallstudien aus 17 Ländern ‚des Südens'.

Der Herausgeber möchte unter anderem verdeutlichen, dass Rechtssicherheit eine zentrale Rolle für das Funktionieren eines effizienten Land- and Wohnungsmarktes in den Städten ist. Diese kann jedoch durch unterschiedliche Rechtsformen gewährleistet werden, wie am Beispiel von gleichermaßen praktikablen wie „legitimierten" und auch effizienten Beispielen aus unterschiedlichen Regionen gezeigt wird. Diese Varianten beruhen auf örtlich spezifischen, kulturellen, religiösen, institutionellen und ökonomischen Gegebenheiten und haben sich teils informell entwickelt, teils wurden sie aber auch von Regierungen oder von NROs ins Leben gerufen.

Das Buch, unter anderem mit Beiträgen von Patrick McAuslan, Alain Durand-Lasserve und Lauren Royston, ist in vier Teile strukturiert: Der erste Teil führt in die Zusammenhänge des Themas ein, Teil Zwei zeigt die Grenzen konventioneller Rechtsformen auf, und in den Teilen Drei und Vier werden innovative Rechtssysteme vorgestellt. Somit vermittelt die Artikelsammlung einen sehr guten Überblick über bestehende alternative Bodenrechts- und Bodenbesitzformen und ist allen an der ‚Landfrage' interessierten Lesern sehr zu empfehlen.

Daphne Frank

Volker Kreibich; Washington H.A.Olima (eds). Urban Land Management in Africa. 380 S. ISBN 3-934525-40-7. SPRING Centre, Baroper Straße 201, D-44269 Dortmund. (www.pop.uni-dortmund.de)

Der Sammelband enthält 26 Einzelbeiträge über Land Management in Ostafrika, die ursprünglich im Rahmen von zwei Konferenzen in Tansania 1999 und Kenia 2000 geschrieben wurden. Eine vergleichende Auswertung der vorgelegten Papers von Volker Kreibich steht zum Schluß des Bandes und erleichtert den Lesern bzw. Leserinnen die Orientierung. Dort wird festgestellt, daß in den traditionell starken

und sehr hierarchisch strukturierten staatlichen Institutionen heute, mit fortschreitender Entmachtung des Nationalstaates infolge Finanzschwäche und Globalisierung eine Neuordnung der Bodenregulierung akut ansteht. Die klassischen aus der Kolonialzeit übernommenen Flächennutzungspläne haben heute, wo die Mehrheit auch der städtischen Bevölkerung in illegalen Siedlungen haust, keine praktische Relevanz mehr. Eine Dezentralisierung hin auf Gemeinde- und Stadtteilebene wäre ein erster Schritt, aber die dafür notwendigen Fachressourcen lassen sich in absehbarer Zeit kaum mobilisieren. Als Lösung bleibt eine Einbeziehung der verhältnismäßig besser funktionierenden informellen Instrumente der Bodenregulierung unter Einbeziehung der traditionellen (z.B. Ältestenrat) wie neuen sozialen Figuren (NROs, CBOs). Ergebnis wäre ein hybrides traditionell-informell-legales System unter selektiver Einbeziehung moderner Praktiken (z.B. GIS, Luftphotos).

Kosta Mathéy

Aldo Lupala. Peri-urban Land Management for Rapid Urbanization. The Case of Dar es Salaam. 306 Seiten, ISBN 3-934525-32-6. 2002. SPRING Centre, Dortmund (spring@pop.uni-dortmund.de).

Der Autor stellt sich in dieser seiner Dissertation die Frage, wie die knappen Land Ressourcen im Umland seiner Heimatstadt Dar-es-Salaam sinnvoll verwaltet werden könnten. Die Situation dort ist unter anderem deshalb so kritisch, weil der Staat keine Landreserven unterhält und auch den Bodenmarkt nicht wirklich kontrolliert, der somit dem informellen Sektor anheim fällt. Das Verdienst dieser Arbeit liegt in den reichen, empirisch gesammelten Daten zur gegenwärtigen Praxis des Zugangs zu Boden bzw. die Legalisierung von faktischem Besitz von Grundstücken in der Untersuchungsregion. Die Auswertung dieser Daten bringen den Autor zu der Empfehlung, das formelle Land Management zu dezentralisieren und ‚grass roots land-managing agents' als intermediäre Institution einzubeziehen.

Kosta Mathéy

Ambe J. Njoh. Planning in Contemporary Africa: The State, Town Planning and Society in Cameroon. 312 S. ISBN 0-7546-3346-2. 2003. GBL 50,-. Ashgate, Aldershot (www.ashgate.com).

Cameroon wurde von Deutschland, England und Frankreich kolonialisiert und trägt das politisch-administrative Erbe dieser Geschichte noch immer in sich – obwohl die formale Erlangung der Unabhängigkeit schon über 40 Jahre zurückliegt. Die Autorin stellt sich die Frage, warum es das Land in der Zwischenzeit nicht geschafft hat, tief greifende und notwendige Reformen in der Staatsführung und in der Stadtentwicklung zu realisieren.

Ausgangsthese der Arbeit ist die Feststellung, daß in Cameroon die Kontrolle der Stadt- und Regionalplanung in erster Linie dem Fortbestand des Staates selbst dienen, bevor die Mitglieder einzelner einflussreicher Partialgruppen zum Zuge kommen. Aus einen explizit Neo-Weberianischen Politikverständnis heraus wird zunächst der Aufbau des Staates analysiert und festgestellt, daß die Staatsordnung immer noch von den Interessen einer starken Bürokratie dominiert wird und die Verwertungsinteressen des Kapitals an zweiter Stelle stehen. Die Frage der Landreform wird dahingehend beschrieben, daß auch hier der Staat seine zentrale Kontrollgewalt noch nicht abzugeben bereit ist. Im Wohnungsbereich fällt auf, daß es praktisch keinen

funktionierenden Immobilienmarkt gibt: jede Familie baut das eigene Haus von Grund auf in eigener Initiative. Auch die bisherigen Bemühungen in Richtung Legalisierung und Registrierung von Baugrundstücken haben wenig Erfolg - ein weiteres Anzeichen für die noch schwache Position von Kapitalinteressen. Transport und Infrastruktur beruhen im Wesentlichen auf den Vorgaben, die aus der Kolonialzeit übernommen wurden. Als Besonderheit Cameroons werden schließlich die Namenlosigkeit von Straßen und das Fehlen von Hausnummern genannt, was sicher auch mit den oben erwähnten Schwierigkeiten bei der Durchsetzung von Legalisierungsprogrammen zu tun hat. Im letzten Kapitel werden die besondere Situation von Frauen in der Stadt und die Ignoranz ihrer Bedürfnisse durch die Stadtplanung angesprochen.

Das Forschungsergebnis, erarbeitet an der University of South Florida, ist interessant zunächst wegen des ordnenden theoretischen Überbaus, der dann in der systematischen Abarbeitung der typischen städtischen Planungs-Sektoren etwas in Vergessenheit gerät. Die zentrale Leistung ist jedoch die Analyse und Dokumentation des städtischen Sektors in Cameroon, zu dem bisher kaum Literatur internationalen Standards verfügbar ist. Ein Manko ist das Fehlen graphischer Illustrationen, abgesehen von einer kleinen Landkarte und einer Pyramidenhaften Darstellung der administrativen Hierarchien.

Kosta Mathéy

World Bank. Port Reform Tool Kit. Schuber mit 8 Modul-Heften und 1 CD, ISBN 0-82113-5046-3. 2003. The World Bank, 1313 H. Street NW, Washington DC, USA.

Ein hübsches Media Paket widmet sich dem Thema der Hafenmodernisierungen, die heute in allen Ecken des Globus mit Eifer vorangetrieben wird und vermutlich auch hohe Renditen versprechen. Hier geht es allerdings nicht um die Umwandlung in Marinas, Shopping und Erlebniszentren, sondern um die ursprüngliche Funktion des Waren-Umschlags für die Seefahrt. Also neue Eigentums- und Managementmodelle, juristische Aspekte, Finanzierungsmodelle, arbeitsrechtliche Vorkehrungen und dergleichen sind das zentrale Interesse. Eine Informationsquelle für Entwicklungsbüros und Investoren-Berater.

Kosta Mathéy

Wohnungswesen

Vinit Mukhija. Squatters as Developers? 206 S., ISBN 0-7546-1910-0, 2003, GBL 45,-. Ashgate, London (www.ashgate.com).

‘Slum Upgrading' wurde über gut zwei Jahrzehnte als die humanere und erstrebenswerte Politik gegenüber informellen Siedlungen eingeschätzt, und als ein Fortschritt gegenüber den früheren Slum Clearance Interventionen. Diese Dissertation berichtet jetzt über eine möglicherweise attraktivere Option in Form des Slum Redevelopment, die bisher auch von den betroffenen Bewohnern selbst bevorzugt wird. Als Beispiel für die erfolgreiche Anwendung der Strategie dient das Makandeya Projekt in Bombay, in dem die Bewohner mit Interstützung der NGO ‚SPARC' ihre Zustimmung zum Abriß der alten Slumhütten und zur Neubebauung durch einen kommerziellen Developer gegeben haben. Am Ende haben sie kostenlos neuen und meist auch größeren Wohnraum erhalten, Quersubventioniert durch auf dem Markt frei verkaufte Wohnungen auf dem Rest des Grundstücks. Der Preis

für den Deal waren (für die Zielgruppe) eine fast zehn Jahre anhaltende Übergangsphase in Behelfswohnungen und (für die Stadt) die Befreiung von bestimmten zuvor festgelegten und auch wünschenswerten planerischen Vorgaben (wie z.B. Beschränkung der Baudichte).

Wie der Autor auch bemerkt, funktionierte das Modell möglicherweise nur wegen der extrem hohen Bodenwerte im Zentrum Bombays so gut, weil damit die Quersubventionierung leicht zu bewerkstelligen war. Auch wird festgestellt, daß die Bewohner, sobald sie einmal zugestimmt haben, fast keine Einflussmöglichkeiten auf den weiteren Bau- und Planungsprozeß mehr haben und potenziell leicht von dem Developer über den Tisch gezogen werden können. Deshalb fordert er über die in diesem Fall gegebene hohe Flexibilität der Vertreter der Stadt eine stärkere Normen- und Qualitätskontrolle der ggf. involvierten freien Wirtschaft. Ferner wird zu Bedenken gegeben, daß die beschriebene Erfahrung noch sehr jung ist, und eine ‚post-completion' Evaluierung anstünde.

Trotz der nur vorläufigen Erkenntnisse ist die Untersuchung eine wichtige Dokumentation zu einer aktuell beginnenden Trendwende in der Politik gegenüber Squatter-Siedlungen - gekennzeichnet durch Deregulierung und Public-Private Co-operation.

Kosta Mathéy

Gesellschaft und Politik

Barbara Happe. Favela und Politik: Politisches Handeln von Favelados in Brasilien. 292 Seiten, ISBN 3-88559-081-6. 2002. Brasilienkunde Verlag, Postfach 1229, D-49497 Mettingen.

Eine sehr interessante Dissertation zu der Frage nach dem politischen Transformationspotential von Favela-Bewohnern in Brasilien. Die Fragestellung steht vor dem Hintergrund enttäuschter Erwartungen an die Favela Bewohner als Motor einer politischen Erneuerung in oppressiven Gesellschaften in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren. Die Arbeit entstand 1995-98 im Rahmen eines Forschungsverbundes mit ähnlichen Fragestellungen in Chile, der Elfenbeinküste und Kenia.

Die vorbildhaft organisierte Arbeit konzentriert sich, nach Klärung der obligatorischen Literaturrecherche, Fragestellung / Hypothesenbildung und Beschreibung der strukturellen wie administrativen Rahmenbedingungen, auf die Ergebnisse der Feldforschung in den vier untersuchten Favelas in Rio de Janeiro und im Nordosten Brasiliens. Die objektiv festgestellten Wohn-, Arbeits- und Einkommensverhältnisse werden der subjektiv wahrgenommenen Lebenssituation der Favelados gegenübergestellt. Das Protestpotenzial der Zielgruppe ist demzufolge erkennbar aus deren Bewusstsein über ihre benachteiligte Situation in Kombination mit einem mehr oder weniger ausgeprägten Verständnis von Demokratie und Chancengleichheit. Für die ggf. zu beobachtenden Fälle konstatierter sozialer Unzufriedenheit wird dann das politische Handlungsrepertoire analysiert und in Kombination mit kollektiven Formen der Interessensartikulation werden partizipationsfördernde bzw. -hemmende Faktoren herauskristallisiert.

Im Ergebnis der Forschung wird allen Favelados ein grundsätzliches Bewusstsein über die Diskrepanz von Lebensqualität und Zugang zu Ressourcen bescheinigt. Im Nordosten des Landes ist die Bereitschaft groß, diesen Zustand als unabdingbar zu akzeptieren, während in Rio de Janeiro tendenziell ein größeres Interesse besteht, die Situation aktiv zu verändern und sich auf Verhandlungen mit der herrschenden Klasse einzulassen. Unter anderem folgt daraus, daß die Entwicklung des politischen Bewusstseins und Handlungsvermögens nicht primär vom Bildungsstand und Einkommen der Zielgruppe abhängt als vielmehr von den regional unterschiedlichen Erfahrungen mit dem politischen Regime.

Kosta Mathéy

Happe / Favela und Politik

Hans-Peter Bärtschi „Der endliche Fortschritt – unterwegs zur Zerstörung der Industriekultur", 336 Seiten, ISBN 3-280-02680-6, 2002, 34,50 EUR. Orell Füssli Verlag, Zürich

Wie lassen sich 3 Jahrzehnte Erfahrung im Umgang mit dem industriellen Erbe aufbereiten? Der Architekt und Industriehistoriker Hans-Peter Bärtschi aus Winterthur hat sich dazu für 3 Monate auf dem Containerfrachter „Rome" eingeschifft, um seine früheren Reisen, Geschichten und die Geschichte zu reflektieren. Die Route folgt den rund 250 Jahren der Industrialisierung von England über USA nach Asien, Arabien und zurück nach Europa, von der industriellen Revolution zu den Ruinen und Museen der postindustriellen Zeit.

Bärtschi fügt die verschiedenen Informationen zu einem interessant zu lesenden Bilderbogen von Fakten, persönlichen Erlebnissen und zusammenfassenden Einordnungen.

Dabei gibt es auch bei scheinbar wohl vertrauten Objekten immer wieder Neues wie z.B. bei den beiden von Ferdinand Lesseps geplanten Kanälen: dem erfolgreichen von Suez und dem finanziellen Desaster von Panama. Oder die Route führt ihn zu dem verbotenen Gelände am Strand von Pakistan, wo ausrangierte Supertanker unter schaurigen Bedingungen in Handarbeit zu Schrott zerlegt werden.

Die Bedeutung des Werkes liegt vor allem in dem klaren Blick für die Lebens- und Arbeitsverhältnisse unter denen Menschen damals und heute weltweit produzierten. Die heutigen Bedingungen lassen jedoch für Bärtschi nur eine pessimistische Perspektive zu. Scheinbar überholte Verhältnisse von schwerer körperlicher Arbeit werden durch moderne Technik nicht erleichtert, sondern nehmen weltweit durch die Ausbeutung bei Niedrigstlöhnen zu. Ähnliches gilt für die Situation von Arbeits- und Menschenrechten oder dem Schutz der Umwelt (trotz aller abgeschlossenen, aber von den Mächtigen kaum beachteten Verträge).

Das Buch ist interessant für alle, die sich mit Ursachen und Auswirkungen der gegenwärtigen beschleunigten Globalisierung beschäftigen.

Wolfram Schneider

Mark Pelling. The Vulnerability of Cities. Natural Disasters and Social Resilience. 212 Seiten, ISBN 1-85383-830-6, 2003, GBL 18,-. Earthscan, London (www.earthscan.co.uk).

Mit zunehmenden Urbanisierungsraten werden auch die Schäden durch Naturkatastrophen - bisher eher mit ländlichen Regionen assoziiert - in den Städten häufiger. Die meisten dieser Schäden in Folge von Überschwemmungen, Stürmen, Tsunamis, Erdbeben, Vulkanausbrüche oder Dürreperioden wären vermeidbar. Da die zugrunde liegenden Naturereignisse selbst ja nicht die Katastrophe darstellen, sondern erst ihre Auswirkung auf Populationen, und diese Auswirkungen in den meisten Fällen auch vorhersehbar sind, stellt sich die Frage, warum keine geeignete Vorsorgung zur Schadensbegrenzung oder zumindest zu effizienter Hilfe für die Opfer getroffen wird. Ein wichtiger Grund sind die sozialen und politischen Strukturen in den betroffenen Orten, und hier setzt diese längst überfällige Untersuchung an. Der erste und interessantesten Abschnitt der Publikation geht systematisch den Katastrophen-Risiken in den Städten nach, sowohl in urbanistisch-naturwissenschaftlicher wie auch in sozialer bzw. politischer Hinsicht.

Der zweite Teil der Publikation enthält drei Fallstudien zu Bridgetown (Barbados), Georgetown (Barbados) und Santo Domingo (Dominikanische Republik). Implizit gemeinsam haben diese Orte die Gefährdung durch Wirbelstürme und Überschwemmungen, doch die politischen Rahmenbedingungen sind verschieden. Eine Analyse dieser Randbedingungen führt zu der im abschließenden Abschnitt des Buches vermittelten Erkenntnis, daß zu einer wirksamen Katastrophenvorsorge in *erster* Linie das ‚kognitive' oder ‚latente' Sozialkapital gehört, das in *zweiter* Linie durch geeignete Hilfsorganisationen unterstützt werden kann, während *drittens* die politische Unterstützung auf lokaler wie nationaler Ebene eine Voraussetzung ist.

Das Ausgangsargument des Buches, daß nämlich Katastrophenschutz kein technisches Problem ist, sondern in erster Linie eine geeignete soziale Strategie erfordert, ist absolut richtig. Ob allerdings die Datenbasis der drei ausgewählten karibischen Inselstaaten allgemeingültige Schlüsse zulassen, ist weniger zwingend. Beispielweise ist zu vermuten, daß die Rolle von Hilfsorganisationen nicht überall so zentral ist wie in den untersuchten Staaten mit extrem schwachen Regierungen und ohne wirklich große Städte. Auch nicht ganz befriedigend ist die rein strukturelle Analyse der drei Fallbeispiele, die nicht so hypothetisch hätte bleiben können: wenn der Vergleich an einem konkreten Ernstfall festgemacht worden wäre – wie zum Beispiel den Hurrikanen Joan (1988) und Mitch (1998). Allein der Unterschied der Gefährdung und Hilfe für die Bevölkerung in Cuba, Nicaragua und Honduras hätte in der gleichen Region verwertbare ‚harte Fakten' geliefert. Dennoch leistet die Arbeit Pionierdienste in einem bislang vernachlässigten Feld und verdient entsprechendes Lob.

Kosta Mathéy

Infrastruktur

Peter Harvey, Sohrab Baghri, Bob Reed. Emergency Sanitation. 358 Seiten, ISBN 1 84380 005 5. 2002, WEDC, Loughborough University, Leicestershire LE11 3TU.

Das von der staatlichen Englischen Institution der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (DFID) gesponserte Handbuch ist als ‚erste Planungs-

hilfe' in Katastrophen-Situation gedacht, wenn es darum geht, in Siedlungen schnell und durchgreifend minimale Hygienestandards herzustellen. Das Werk enthält drei gleichermaßen nützliche und komplementäre Abschnitte. Mit etwa zwei Drittel des Buchvolumens steht das eigentliche Handbuch im Vordergrund. Dort wird das faktische Wissen um Zusammenhänge und Lösungen von Hygienefragen in hypothetisch betroffenen Ansiedlungen vermittelt, wie z.B. mittels Entscheidungskriterien über Art und Ausmaß von Interventionen. Teil Zwei, die 'Richtlinien', thematisiert prozessorale Aspekte, also Hinweise über Art, Ausmaß und Sequenz von Interventionen und deren Steuerung. Den Abschluss bildet die Fallstudie zu Kala Camp in Zambia, wo das zuvor gesagte auf einen konkreten Fall appliziert vorgestellt wird.

Das Buch ist in bemerkenswerter Weise gut strukturiert, und viele Aussagen lassen sich auf ganz normale Situationen – also unabhängig vom Kontext der aktuellen Katastrophen anwenden: also ein echtes Grundlagenwerk.

Kosta Mathéy

Horst Valentin Kreutner, Birgit Kundermann, Kiran Mukerji. Handreichung für Baumaßnahmen nach Katastrophen und Konflikten. 176 Seiten, 2003. GTZ; Postfach 5180, D-65726 Eschborn

Bei jährlich über 20 Millionen Vertriebenen und Flüchtlingen auf der Welt und über 200 Millionen indirekten Opfern von Naturkatastrophen wundert man sich, dass die Problematik der baulichen Soforthilfe in den Medien wie in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit einen relativ bescheidenen Platz einnimmt. Um so rühmlicher, dass die GTZ ihre kumulierte Erfahrung aus einem guten Dutzend Projekten der Flüchtlingssiedlungen und des Wiederaufbaus jüngst ausgewertet und - zufälligerweise simultan mit dem Ausbruch des neuen Irak Kriegs - in einer Publikation dokumentiert hat. Das Handbuch bewegt sich simultan auf zwei Ebenen: Ausführlich werden Schritt für Schritt alle Aktivitäten und Risiken beschrieben, die bei einem Notfall-Einsatz in einem fremden Land zu planen bzw. zu berücksichtigen sind. Dazu gehören beispielsweise die konkreten notwendigen Baumaßnahmen, vertragstechnische Schritte, Bedarfsanalysen, unterschiedliche Unternehmermodelle (Umnutzung bestehende Anlagen, Selbsthilfemodelle, Bauhofmodelle, grundsätzliche Planungskriterien) etc. Diese trocken-systematische Abhandlung wird unterbrochen durch Fallstudien aus 13 zurückliegenden Projekten der GTZ, die die Sinnhaftigkeit der vorgeschlagenen Maßnahmen und Formalitäten illustrieren (Aserbaidschan, Bosnien, Kroatien, Indien, Kambodscha, Kolumbien, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Türkei). Natürlich weiß niemand besser als die Autoren selbst, dass im konkreten Ernstfall jeder neue Fall anders ist als der vorhergehende, und dass ein gutes Improvisationsvermögen der Verantwortlichen durch nichts zu ersetzen ist. Umso besser ist dann natürlich, wenn diese Improvisation vor dem Hintergrund des Wissens stattfindet, was im Idealfall zu tun sein sollte.

Kosta Mathéy

Kerry Turner, Ian Bateman. Water Resources and Coastal Management. 527 Seiten, ISBN 1 84064 222 X. Edward Edgar, Cheltenham, 2001. GB 125,-. www.e-elgar.co.uk.

Das dicke Buch sieht aus wie ein Konferenzband, ist es aber nicht: es handelt sich um einen Reader mit 33 zuvor woanders veröffentlichten Beiträgen zum Thema Küstenschutz. Dabei wurden die Texte nicht einmal einheitlich neu gesetzt, sondern die Ursprungsseiten - oft genug aus Zeitschriften - wurden verkleinert und reproduziert. Inhaltlich sind die Beiträge fünf Abschnitten zugeordnet. Der erste Abschnitt ist übertitelt mit *'Marine and Coastal Science'* und als Einleitung gedacht, mit Definitionsklärung und Ähnlichem. Kapitel Zwei unternimmt eine Bestandsaufnahme über die von den Menschen verursachten Schäden und Risiken, worauf als nächstes das Thema 'Küstenmanagement' vertieft wird. Im vierten Abschnitt wird der Versuch einer Quantifizierung von Schäden unternommen und unterschwellig auch die Frage des damit eingehandelten Nutzens in den Raum gestellt. Teil Fünf schließlich ist geographisch ausgerichtet, wobei verschiedene 'regionale Meere' das Leitthema darstellen.

Der teure Band ist für Bibliotheken gemacht - wer sonst könnte sich den Kaufpreis von über 180 Euro leisten? Der Inhalt spiegelt den aktuellen Wissensstand wieder und erspart den Lesern mühsame Detailsuche in zig Zeitschriften. Leider ist die Aufmachung stinklangweilig und Satz wie Druckqualität lassen zu wünschen übrig.

Kosta Mathéy

Umwelt –Ökologie

Dagmar Ridder. Umweltmanagement im urbanen Ghana. 260 Seiten, ISBN 3-934525-39-3. 2002. Spring Centre, Dortmund (spring@pop.uni-dortmund.de).

Diese Dissertation hat sich zum Ziel gesetzt, 'mit Hilfe eines integrativen Ansatzes des Abfall und Wassermanagements für Accra Instrumente und dezentrale(re) Maßnahmen zu identifizieren, die dazu beitragen, dem Idealbild geschlossener lokaler Stoffkreisläufe näher zu kommen'. Interessant ist, daß die Autorin auf die klassische Form von Dissertationen mit einer grundsätzlich angelegten 'wissenschaftlichen Forschungsfrage', Abarbeitung des Stands der Forschung und Erläuterungen zur Methodik und Erhebung von Primärdaten verzichtet, sondern ganz direkt und praxisnah strategische Entwicklungskonzepte erarbeitet, die einen aktuellen Notstand beheben könnten.

Sehr treffend stellt die Verfasserin fest, daß der Export z.B. europäischer Ver- und Entsorgungstechnologien nicht den Bedürfnissen in Entwicklungsländern gerecht wird und kleine, übersichtlich zu verwaltende Lösungen angepasster wären. Ihre Sichtung bereits verfügbarer dezentraler Technologien für diesen Zweck zeigt, daß dezentral-integrale Lösungen praktikabel wären. Die Berücksichtigung der anzutreffenden rechtlichen und planerischen Rahmenbedingungen in Ghana lassen eine Umsetzung in den Bereichen Abwasser und Müllentsorgung realistisch erscheinen, während im Sektor der Wasserversorgung die aktuellen Privatisierungsprozesse noch als Hindernis anzusehen sind.

Der Anspruch der Verfasserin, eine Übertragung des Arbeitsansatzes auf andere Länder auf Grund des Verzichtes auf die 'aufwendige' Erhebung von Primärdaten zu ermöglichen, muß als kritisch eingestuft werden: etwas umfangreichere Erfahrungen in verschiedenen Entwicklungsländern zeigen, daß jede Situation eine besondere ist und Lösungskonzepte ohne eine intime Kenntnis der lokalen Rahmenbedingungen wenig Erfolgschancen haben – trotz Globalisierung (oder gerade, weil die typischen Zielgruppen nur sehr beschränkt an der Globalisierung partizipieren können).

Kosta Mathéy

Aktuelles / News

Seminar on Informal Land Markets, Regularization of Land Tenure and Urban Upgrading Programs in Latin America

Over 30 participants from 12 different Latin American countries were invited by the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy in Cambridge, Massachusetts, to participate in the seminar supervised by Edesio Fernandes and Martim Smolka (and supported by Laura Mullahy and Joseph Mc Niff) which took place from November 18 - 22, 2002. The participants came from different backgrounds, but most of them work in public administrations at the local, intermediate or national level. Some political representatives were also present.

The objectives of the seminar was to systematize and consolidate the knowledge and understanding of topics related to informality and land ownership, and to consider this issue from various perspectives based on Latin American and international cases. Both academic and political reviews of different countries were presented, and on the last day representatives from various donor agencies (World Bank, Interamerican Development Bank, UN Habitat, Cities Alliance, HIS, German Technical Coorporation GTZ) provided an overview of the main aspects that international projects focus on in this context. The seminar was successful in encouraging and initiating critical thought and discussion among the participants about the conceptual, methodological, legal, political and social aspects of the subject. This text summarizes some of the lessons and conclusions of the seminar.

Informal (and Formal) Land Markets

Generally speaking, there are two land market systems: the formal and the informal. They have different characteristics but do depend on each other. In Latin America, two different processes of informal land markets can be identified: the first process can be described as "land invasion," the second as "unauthorized land subdivision" (lots are divided into several small plots without municipal permission). It is known that informality is not necessarily a result of poverty, and that it occurs in high-income areas too. Often it has to do with complex market rules and profit opportunities: the informal land market generally generates higher prices than the formal market.

During the seminar, participants focused on the informal land market system of the poor and did not discuss the process of the "rich" system, thus implying that the "rich informal land market system" is often not perceived as a problem. The reasons for this are numerous,

but it is clear that rich land owners benefit from minimizing the impact of informality: they have the financial means to urbanize first and legalize the land afterwards. The legalization and regularization processes here are far quicker than in the low-income areas, which often remain illegal and without infrastructure and city services for years or even decades.

It seems to be widely accepted that the informal method of land "production" has several advantages, such as flexibility and a lower urban land price incomparable with that of the formally serviced land market. As a result, the provision of informal land, both for the high-income as well as the low-income sector, has been recognized as a valid means of getting access to land. Therefore, informality in general should not be avoided; for the poor it is often still the only option to gain access to land. But, while informality itself was not perceived as a problem by the seminars participants, its negative impacts on its poor inhabitants, such as the lack of basic infrastructure and services, were underlined.

Various experiences have shown that the informal system should be recognized as being highly similar to the formal system; even today it often remains the only option to provide cheap land. Of course, conditions must be created to avoid or reduce its negative impacts. For example, basic urbanization standards must be put into effect and inexpensive and fast access to infrastructure made possible. New rules are needed and must be implemented, though it would take a huge effort to do so - especially since such actions must take into account the political way of thinking and decision-making process of policy makers. Cooperation between the two land markets would likewise bring new, unexplored opportunities and would also facilitate the advantages of both systems.

An even more complex issue is the question of international land markets: What happens when property owners migrate or live in another country but own or buy land in their home country? Very little is known about the impact this has on local informal land markets.

Regularization / Upgrading Programs

During the seminar participants also discussed the advantages and drawbacks of legalization and regularization programs. Do these programs cause more problems than they solve?

Besides the provision of infrastructure, the initial aim of such programs is to provide secure tenure by individual land titling. However, evidence has shown that providing individual land titles does not necessarily lead to a socio-spatial integration within the informal settlements. As

land titling often leads to an increase in prices, poor inhabitants are forced to move and new informal settlements arise elsewhere. Individual land titles are not the only option for providing security to inhabitants of informal settlements. There are also other innovative examples of land tenure legalization, such as the "anticretico" tenure system in Bolivia or the community land trusts in Kenya; both were presented and discussed during the seminar. (In the Bolivian anticretico system, the house owner makes a contract with the second party in which the latter agrees to pay a fixed amount in advance for the use of the house for a specified time. At contract end, the owner returns the full amount paid by the second party. In Kenya, the community land trust establishes the community as the owner of the land. (For more information, see Payne 2001)

However, the majority of the participants in the seminar were not convinced that providing new forms of land titles would result in equal opportunities for the inhabitants. Rather, participants believed that this would result in two different kinds of legal property systems: one for the poor and one for the rich. The prevailing view was that the poor have the right to be treated equally in regard to individual land titles. It was also opinionated that the alternative land title system would not necessarily grant the same security as an individual land title, that it would only be a temporary solution. The question still requiring future discussion is: How should secure tenure for poor inhabitants be provided or improved, and what conditions are required to do so?

During the seminar, participants also discussed whether regularization programs overall have been, to date, a success or failure. The general consensus was that it is not yet clear whether the programs help to reduce poverty; particularly it is not yet clear if land titling helps the inhabitants to borrow on mortgages. Participants were in agreement that the roots of poverty lie much deeper and cannot be addressed only through regularization programs. Such programs are "curative politics," and even as they are being implemented, new informal land production may occur elsewhere. The roots of the solution are to be found not only in the availability and affordability of land and housing, but in the political will for change as well. The programs are a learning process and require the participation of different kinds of actors. To date it has been established that for the regularization programs to have a positive impact on poverty reduction, they must be combined with a political process enabling the key actors to influence the frame conditions which currently prevent the integration of informal settlements. A political process is needed to create effective reforms and laws leading to

urban politics that better serve the low-income segments of the population.

The negative impacts of informal settlements have a lot to do with the price of the land, and there is still much to be learned about how prices evolve in informal land markets. A recent study from Brazil has already revealed that the price system of informal land markets follows a different logic than that of formal markets.

Some questions still have incomplete answers: How can affordable housing and access to secure land be provided? How can land be urbanized and equipped with infrastructure and basic services without disproportionably increasing costs? A deeper understanding of the "rules" of the informal game is required.

In conclusion, it can be noted that the informal and formal markets can only work together and not against or in competition with each other. This can be achieved through the participation of the private sector and civil society, and with the support of the local government. The future will show whether or not it is possible to create a dialogue between informal and formal land market systems, and whether this will lead to a political process capable of changing conditions towards a better integration of informal settlements. If this happens, it will be an important step towards good governance. Learning from other experiences is one part of the solution, developing the right local solution for each individual country is the other. The seminar at the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy was successful in initiating further discussion, but both organizers and participants agreed that the difficult part of this process has just begun.

Daphne Frank

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Smolka, Martim: Informality, Urban Poverty and Land Market Prices, in: Land Lines, Cambridge, January 2003, pages 4-7

Websites:

Lincoln Institute of Land Policy: www.lincolninst.edu/

MIT, Boston, Department of Urban Studies and Planning: http://dusp.mit.edu/

Cities Alliance: www.citiesalliance.org

The Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies: www.ihs.nl/

London School of Economics, Department of Geography: www.lse.ac.uk

Colombia: Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, CIDER (Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios Regionales: http://research.uniandes.edu.co

Mexico: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Azcapotzalco: www.azc.uam.mx/html/directorio.html

Brazil: Universidade do Vale do Ríos dos Sinos, Sao Leopoldo: www.unisinos.br

Universidade Federal do Río de Janeiro, JPPUR: www.ufrj.br

Irglus – International Research Group on Law and Urban Space (no website)

Inter-American Development Bank: www.iadb.org

World Bank: www.worldbank.org

UN-Habitat: www.unhabitat.org

Daphne Frank, Dipl.-Ing., urban planner and international advisor, worked as a project coordinator of GTZ in Quito, research assistant at Technical University of Darmstadt, Germany.
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Veranstaltungen /
Forthcoming events

Sept. 22 - 24, 2003 in Stockholm, Sweden
International Conference: "Methodologies in Housing Research". Organised by The International Association of People-Environment Studies, the European Network for Housing Research and The Royal Institute of Technology (KTH) in Stockholm. Contact: <ingabrit@arch.kth.se> www.iaps-association.org/

September 22 - 26, 2003 in Abuja, Nigeria
29th WEDC International Conference: "Towards the Millennium Development Goals - Actions for Water and Environmental Sanitation." Organised by the Federal Ministry of Water Resources, the Water, Engineering and Development Centre (WEDC) and the Local Committee, led by the National Water Resources Institute. Contact: Mrs. Dot Barnard, WEDC Conference Co-organizer, Loughborough University, Leicestershire LE11 3TU, England. ☎ (44 1509) 223772, fax: 211079; <wedc.conf@lboro.ac.uk> www.lboro.ac.uk/wedc/conferences/29contents.htm

September 22 - 29, 2003 in Puebla, Mexico
Tercer Congreso Internacional: Balance y Perspectivas del Analisis Territorial. Organisación/contacto: Red Nacional de Investigación Urbana, <elsa@siu.buap.mx> www.miu.buap.mx

September 25 - 27, 2003 in Milano, Italy
Challenging Urban Identities. Organised by the International Sociological Association, Research Committee 21 und Urban Europe Project. Contact: Prof. Hartmut Häusermann, Humboldt Univ. Berlin or Enzo Mingione, Univ. of Milano-Bicocca <enzo.mingione@unimib.it> www.urban-europe.net or www.shakti.uniurb.it/rc21

October 1 - 3, 2003 in Skiathos, Greece
International Conference: Sustainable Planning & Development. Contact: <rgreen@wessex.ac.uk> www.essex.ac.uk/conferences/2003/planning03/

October 5 - 8, 2003 in Vienna, Austria
47th IFHP World Congress: "Cities & Markets: Shifts in Urban Development". Organised by the International Federation of Housing and Planning (IFHP). Contact: IFHP Congress Department, 43 Wassenaarseweg, 2596 CG The Hague, The Netherlands. ☎ (31 70) 3281504, fax: 3282085 <congress@IFHP.org> www.ifhp2003.at

October 6 - 9, 2003 in Camagüey, Cuba
Ier Congreso Internacional de Ciudades Históricas / VI Conferencia Internacional de Conservación del Patrimonio Edificado. Organizado por el Centro de Estudios de Conservación CECONS. Contacto: Dr. Oscar Prieto Herrera / Dra. Vivian Más Sarabia, Univ. de Camagüey, Circunvalación Norte km 5 ½, Camagüey, Cuba, CP.74650. ☎ (53 32) 261776, fax. 261126 <congresocecons@yahoo.com>

October 17 - 22, 2003 in Cairo, Egypt
39th International ISoCaRP Planning Congress: "Planning in a more globalized and competitive world". Organised by the International Society of City and Regional Planners in association with The Faculty of Urban & Regional Planning, Cairo Univ. Contact: ISoCaRP, Willem Witsenplein 6, Rm 459a, 2596 BK The Hague - The Netherlands. ☎ (31 70) 3462654, fax: 3617909; <secretariat@isocarp.org> www.isocarp.org/

Nov. 12 - 15, 2003 in Paris/ St. Denis, France
2nd European Social Forum (ESF). Organised by l'Association pour le Forum Social Européen 2003. Contact: Association pour le Forum Social Européen 2003, Boite Postale 6594, 75065 Paris, Cedex 02, Fax: (33 1) 4455 3855; French Organisation Secretariat: <inforum@fse-esf.org> more information: www.fse-esf.org

November 16 - 22, 2003 in Concepción, Chile
XX CLEFA - Conferencia Latinoamericana de Escuelas y Facultades de Arquitectura. Organisado por la Facultad de Arquitectura, Construcción y Diseño, Universidad de Bío-Bío, Concepción, Chile. Contact: Carlos Egídio Alonso, Presidente de UDEFAL, Universidade Mackenzie, Rua Itambé 45, Prédio 9, CEP 01239-902, Sao Paulo, Brasil. ☎ (55 11) 3236 8313, Fax: 3236 8435; <udefal@mackenzie.br> www.ubiobio.cl/xxclefa2003

November 18 - 21, 2003 in La Habana, Cuba
Evento Internacional "Urbanismo 2003: Municipio y Urbanismo". Contacto: Arq. Mirta Hernández González, Instituto de Planificación Física, Lamparilla No. 65 entre San Ignacio y Mercaderes, Habana Vieja, CP:10100, La Habana, Cuba. ☎ (537) 8628525, 8624504, fax: (537) 335581; <ipfvices@ceniai.inf.cu>

> **Nov. 28 - 29, 2003 in Darmstadt, Germany**
> **TRIALOG Annual Conference at the occasion of TRIALOG's 20 Years' Jubilee:** "Private and Intermediate Initiatives in Neighbourhood Development". Contact: Prof. Dr. Kosta Mathey, TH Darmstadt, <KMathey@aol.com>.
> **Conference date might be changed, please see announcement on the website:** www.trialog-journal.de

November 2003 in Vienna, Austria
The Future of Social Housing in Europe: Ecology in Social House Building - principles, methods and best practices. Organised by the City of Vienna, Department of Housing, Housing Construction and Urban Renewal. Contact: Europaforum Wien, Centre for Urban Dialogue and European Policy, Rahlgasse 3/2, 1060 Vienna, Austria. ☎ (43 1) 5858510-24, fax: (43 1) 5858510-30; <lutter@europaforum.or.at> www.europaforum.or.at

December 2 - 4, 2003 in Santiago de Chile
II Seminario Internacional de la Red de Investigación sobre Áreas Metropolitanas de Europa y América Latina (Rideal): Nuevas tecnologías, redes, competitividad, reestructuración metropolitana y gobernabilidad. Organisado por el Instituto de Estudios Urbanos y Territoriales de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile (PUC). Contacto: Gloria Yánez Warner, Fax: (56 2) 232 8805; <gyanez@puc.cl> or: Arturo Orellana Ossandón, Fax: (34 93) 542 2599; <arturo.orellana@ietcat.org> www.rideal.net

December 10 - 12, 2003 in Geneva, Switzerland
World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS). Organised by a High-Level Summit Organising Committee (HLSOC) under the patronage of Kofi Annan. Aims to bring together Heads of State, UN agencies, industry leaders, non-governmental organizations, media representatives and civil society. Contact: Executive Secretariat WSIS, International Telecommunication Union, Place des Nations, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland - for Civil Society Entities: ☎ (41 22) 730 6364, fax: (41 22) 730 6393; <wsis.csd@ties.itu.int>; for general inquiries: ☎ (41 22) 730 6111; <wsis@itu.int> www.itu.int/wsis/basic/about.html

February 2 - 4, 2004 in Hong Kong, China
International Housing Conference "Housing in the 21st Century: Challenges and Commitment". Organised by the Hong Kong Housing Authority. It will be a major event to mark the 50th Anniversary of Public Housing Development in Hong Kong. Contact and more information: www.housingauthority.gov.hk

June 26 - 29, 2004 in Toronto, Canada
ISA International Housing Conference: "Adequate and Affordable Housing for All - Research, Policy, Practice". Organised under the auspices of Housing and the Built Environment Research Committee 43 of the International Sociological Association (ISA). Contact. Philippa Campsie, Housing Conference, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 455 Spadina Avenue, 4th floor, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2G8, Canada. Fax: (1 416) 9787162; <housing.conference@utoronto.ca>; www.inura.org

Mid 2004 in Brisbane, Australia
International Conference on Urban Agriculture: „URBANAG 2004". The conference will outline the future of urban agriculture in the Western Pacific region. Organised by the Urban Agriculture Network - Western Pacific. Contact: Geoff Wilson, PO Box 5151, Mt Gravatt East, Queensland 4122, Australia. ☎ (617) 3349 1422, fax (617) 3343 8287; <fawmpl@powerup.com.au> www.urbanag.info