



School of Architecture
& the Built Environment

Are architects and planners obstacles to slum upgrading?

Papers from a seminar in Barcelona in April 2008



Dick Urban Vestbro (editor)



Arquitectos
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Responsibility

Cover photo: Experiment with construction of houses in stabilised earth, Kampala, Uganda

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Keywords: *Enabling strategies, Housing, Role of Professionals, Slum upgrading, Urban Planning*

Foreword

This publication is a result of a seminar arranged in Barcelona on the 18th of April 2008, arranged by three cooperating organisations, namely a) ARC•PEACE International Architects Designers Planners for Social Responsibility; b) Arquitectos Sin Fronteras-España, and c) Architecture Sans Frontières-Sweden (ASF-Sweden). The seminar was held in connection with the bi-annual meeting of ARC•PEACE, and with the General Assembly meeting of Architecture Sans Frontières-International (ASF-Int). It attracted about 50 participants from 15 countries.

One of the goals of ARC•PEACE is *“to exercise our professional expertise in helping to design, improve and preserve a socially responsible built environment”*. With this goal as a basis several of the member organisations work with local communities to improve living conditions in slum areas. It is important for ARC•PEACE to promote professional commitment to enabling housing strategies. The seminar is a reflection of these ambitions.

One of the main aims of ASF-Int is to work *“for fair and sustainable development initiatives in active collaboration with disadvantaged people or communities”*. Another important aim is to *“foster the socially responsible role of built environment professionals by stimulating social modes of practice before speculative economic profitability”*. For these reasons it is critical for this new international network to focus on a deeper understanding of what is required from architects and planners with respect to the improvement of housing conditions of the poor, especially in low-income countries. Thus it was logical to choose a theme such as the present one for the seminar.

Nowadays the United Nations Habitat organisation, the World Bank and other international bodies concerned with human settlement issues, agree to a large extent that past housing policies, following the top-down provider model, have to be replaced by what is frequently called the *Enabling Strategy*, in order to address the problem of expanding slums in low-income countries. This policy usually includes active community participation, gradual slum upgrading (instead of slum-clearance), self-help construction techniques, relaxed space standards, and formalisation of informal settlements.

While the enabling strategy is advocated in public speeches and official documents, little is done to implement the new policies. Sadly enough architects and planners are often among those that are most reluctant to understand and implement enabling strategies. Our professions belong to the élite in society, and the élite often detaches itself from the poor.

If one lives under affluent conditions it is hard to understand what it means to live from \$ 1 or 2 a day. This is what the majority of slum dwellers do. With such low incomes survival strategies become necessary. Food and distance to job opportunities become priorities, while infrastructural services and housing rank second or third. Affordability is more important than minimum standards.

Enabling strategies imply that local communities play the major role in improving their own living conditions. This does not mean, however, that professional guidance is not required. On the contrary, creative engineering, design and planning efforts are needed in order to find new affordable solutions. For professionals to work with local communities new talents are required, talents such as educational skills, respect for women, and flexibility with respect to land tenure, plot sizes and space standards. Housing must be seen as a continuous incremental process, and not as a physical artefact designed and built at one moment in time.

This is what this publication is about. It is hoped that the book will reach many professionals and other decision-makers, and that it will contribute to a better understanding of what is required to improve the living conditions of the poor. The publication will be available for downloading through the websites of our three organisations. We hope that our network will make a difference, even if our organisations are small.

Stockholm October 2008



Dick Urban Vestbro

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What are enabling housing strategies?

Dick Urban Vestbro¹

The birth of the enabling strategy

One of the first persons to develop ideas that later became known as the enabling strategy was the British architect John Turner. Around 1960 he worked as an advisor on housing to the Peruvian government. During this time he observed a number of land invasions carried out by homeless people in Peru's capital Lima. He noted that the homeless were well organized and skilled enough to build their own houses. Often they prepared their invasions well in advance. They sometimes even consulted land surveyors and planners to make secret layouts of the areas to be invaded. These plans could include land for plots, roads and land reserves for schools and even water towers. The invaders knew that the law stated that no resident could be evicted from an illegal shack without being offered a new house, if the house has a roof. Therefore they prepared themselves by making simple wall and roofing materials that could be transported on backs and bicycles and built quickly during the night of the invasion. Furthermore, the invaders had secured support from priests and a selected number of politicians, whom they promised to vote for, if their parties would support the venture.²

The ventures of the Lima homeless challenged the dominant thinking about slums and squatters at the time. Politicians and planners regarded slums as devoid of any type of physical or social qualities. Slum dwellers were usually described as unproductive, criminal, indecent and dirty. The official policy was that these informal settlements (as they are called today) should be pulled down and replaced with mass produced minimum-standard housing units in 'permanent' building materials and built according to strictly regulated urban plans. This modernist 'provider model' was applied with a certain success in some of the industrialized countries, and it was exported uncritically to the developing countries, where the model did not work.³

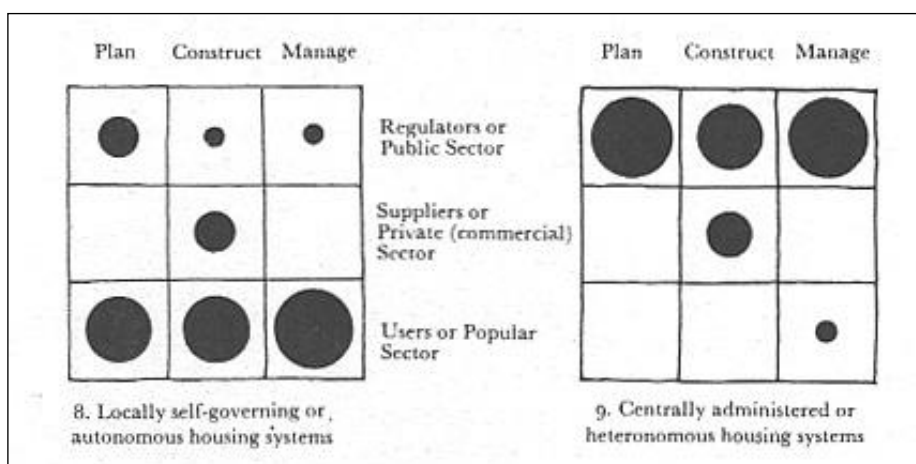


Figure 1. Diagram showing the difference between the housing system of the invaders in Lima and the conventional provider model. (Source: Turner, John: *Housing by People. Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, London: Marion Boyars 1976).

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² Dietz, Henry (1969): "Urban Squatter Settlements in Peru. A Case History and Analysis", p 353-370 in *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (July 1969).

³ Vestbro, Dick Urban (2001): *The role of design and planning professionals for solving the global housing problem*, Report from a Workshop at the Conference 'Challenges for Science and Engineering in the 21st Century', Stockholm, June 2000, ARC•PEACE and Built Environment Analysis, KTH.

Based on what he observed in Lima around 1960 John Turner started to write articles and books, arguing that poor squatters have sufficient skills to construct their own houses. With examples from developing countries he showed that so called slums are actually improving both physically and socially, which contradicted the prevailing understanding of slums (based on observations of inner city deterioration in Western Europe and North America). Turner also noted that public authorities usually played a negative role in housing since they refused to recognize the existence of informal settlements, since they defended outdated planning regulations, and since they clung to the provider model even when it became obvious that it could not solve the problem of the urban poor.

Figure 1 shows how Turner analysed the difference between the housing system of the Lima self-help builders compared to the modernist provider model advocated by most governments in both rich and poor countries. One may note that Turner recognises that homeless people actually plan their housing areas. In the model of 'autonomous housing' the public sector plays an insignificant role. Sometimes the private commercial sector gets involved, but only in construction. This model stands in stark contrast to the modernist provider model (which Turner calls 'heteronomous'), in which the public sector is supposed to plan as well as construct and manage housing. In practice this took place only within a very small sector in developing countries.⁴

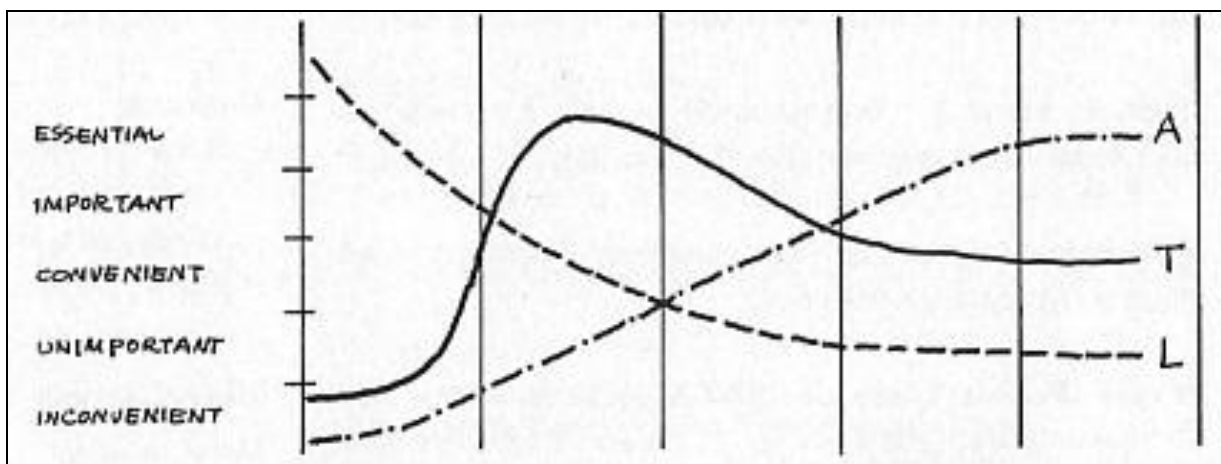


Figure 2. Diagram showing Turner's theory on the priorities of the poor with respect to housing. A = amenities; T =tenure; L =location. On the left side are those who are without any income at all. For them localization near job opportunities are absolutely most important for survival, while security of tenure and amenities such as infrastructure and the house are less important. In the middle we find those who have a regular but limited income. For them land tenure becomes more important than distance to job opportunities, while the house itself has lower priority. On the right we find those with higher incomes. They can afford transport cost. When they have secured land tenure they can start giving priority to amenities such as water, hard-surface streets, drainage and the house itself (Source: Caminos, Horacio; John F. C. & Turner and John A. Steffian: *Urban Dwelling Environments. An elementary survey for the study of design determinants*, Cambridge & London: MIT press 1969)

One of the contributions that Turner made to the understanding of the housing conditions of the poor was the theory described in figure 2. Turner found that for the urban dweller without an income the most important thing is to get a job. In a poor country this means to be available where jobs may be offered (wage-earner by the day) or where customers are found for small-scale business. Since the poor person cannot afford transport costs he/she must live within walking distance from job opportunities. Thus he/she pays less attention to acquiring a plot or a house. When the poor gets a regular income priorities change. Then it becomes meaningful to find a better place to stay and incomes may allow certain travel costs. This means that the low-income earner can look for a plot at a certain distance from the city. Security of tenure is still more important than the house, however. Only when incomes increase further the house itself starts to become a priority. The low-income earner can usually not afford standards such as several rooms, durable building materials, drainage, paved roads or clean water. The elite in most countries (to which the architects and planners belong) usually do not want to recognize the truth of this theory.

⁴ Turner, John (1976): *Housing by People. Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, London: Marion Boyars.

Although Turner's ideas spread to key persons in academic institutions and international organizations, it took a long time for them to influence housing policies. At the first Habitat conference in Vancouver 1976 (15 years after the Lima invasion) the enabling strategy was vividly discussed at the parallel NGO conference, but it was met by moderate interest at the official conference. Although many decision-makers started to see that the provider model did not work, they were not prepared to embark on a policy that meant legalization and upgrading of slums. It was not until Habitat II in Istanbul 1996 that Turner's ideas became integral parts of the vocabulary of official documents.⁵ The fact that decision-makers agreed about the general principles of the enabling strategy did not mean that such policies started to be implemented, however.

Two contradictory models

The essence of the enabling strategy has been very well described by Prof. Nabeel Hamdi of Oxford Brookes University. In one of his clarifying illustrations he summarizes the two contradictory models as shown in figure 3. The modernist provider model is characterized by the idea that ready-made, standardized housing units for the masses – assumed to have equal basic needs – are provided through a centralized production, based on a consolidated building industry. Hamdi argues that this model has failed virtually everywhere, not only in developing countries.⁶

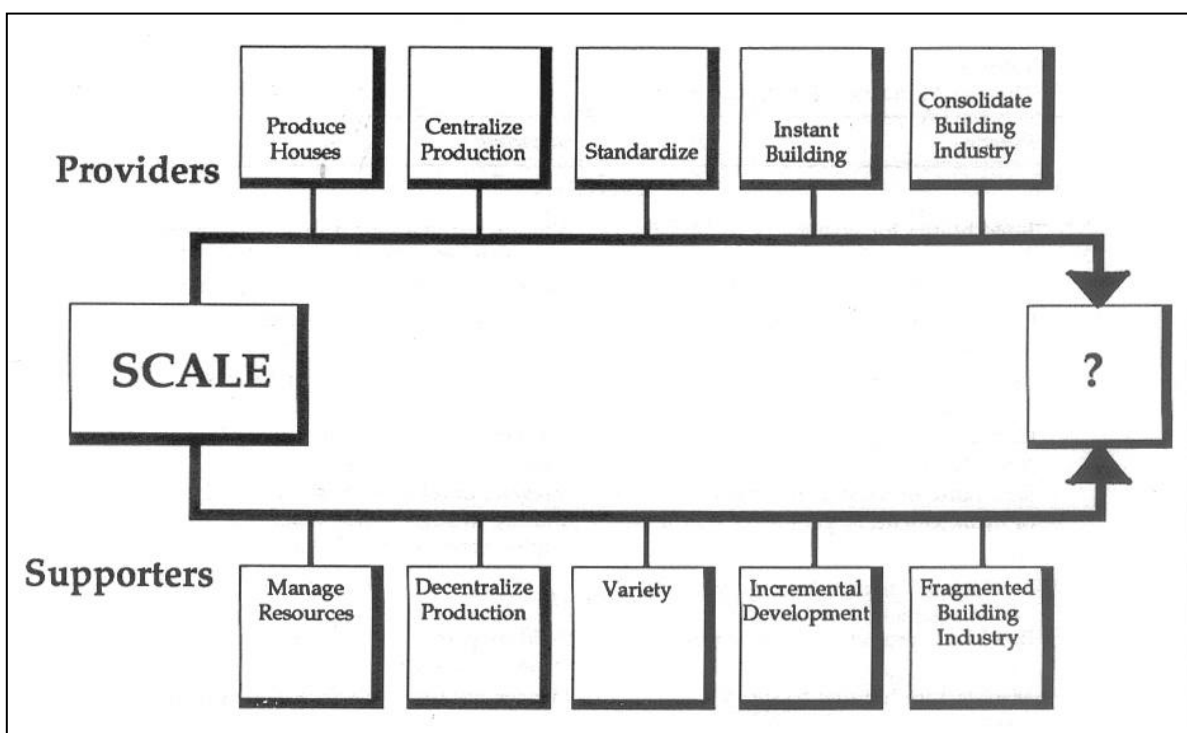


Figure 3. The main elements of the Provider and Supporter models, as conceived by Nabeel Hamdi. The question mark indicates that elements from the two models may be combined. (Source: Hamdi,; *Housing without Houses – Participation, Flexibility, Enablement*, Intermediate Technology Publications 1991).

In contrast, the enabling strategy is based on the idea that residents produce their own houses in an incremental process through self-help or small-scale, local construction companies. Hamdi calls this model *Supporters* as authorities are expected to support the efforts of the inhabitants. I prefer the concept *Enabling strategy* since the word *Support* gives the impression that public support is the most important aspect of the model, which is not in line with the thinking of John Turner. The most important task of authorities is to remove obstacles when the poor enable themselves to solve their housing problem. In his book from 1991 Hamdi argues that the Support model has not been successful either. Therefore he asks whether we should rather see how to combine the best elements of the two models.

⁵ Habitat (1996): *Habitat Agenda*, Istanbul 1996. (www.unchs.org/en/publicationindex.asp)

⁶ Hamdi, Nabeel (1991): *Housing without Houses – Participation, Flexibility, Enablement*, Intermediate Technology Publications.

For reasons given below I maintain that the enabling strategy has not been seriously implemented except in very few cases. Before exploring those reasons I will try to answer the question which the preconditions are for the provider model to be successful.

Preconditions for the provider model to be successful

Sweden is one of the very few countries where the modernist provider model has reached its aims. i.e. meet the demands for housing at good standards during a period of rapid urbanization. The Swedish model would not have been successful without high growth rates. The labour movement applied a Keynesian policy to strengthen the public sector and use taxes for housing subsidies. Housing was one of the top priorities from 1945 to 1985. To achieve the aims a legal framework and new institutions were set up. In contrast to other industrialized countries – where modernism was also high fashion – Swedish modernist architects became leading members of the Labour party, reaching positions as government advisors, directors of housing companies, chief town planners and professors at schools of architecture. These professionals had a strong social commitment. It became high status to engage in good design for the working class.⁷

From my own research – and that of my master and PhD students focusing on developing countries – it is obvious that virtually none of the preconditions fulfilled by Sweden, are at hand in low-income countries. For instance, in Tanzania the modernist model was the favoured policy after independence 1961. It was not until the middle of the 1980s that politicians started to realize that this model had to be abandoned. Only recently a change towards the enabling strategy has been noticed. In academic circles competence is available to develop new housing policies, but the élite seems to have a vested interest in status quo. In practice a kind of enabling strategy is implemented at the grass-root level, as has been well described by Prof. Willibard Kombe at the Ardhi University.⁸

Preconditions	Sweden	Tanzania
Industrialisation, high productive forces	Yes	NO
GDP per capita 2005⁹	\$ 42-49,000	\$ 324-415
Consolidated building industry	Not from start	No
Good tax base, to be used for subsidies	Yes	NO
Strong state, will to prioritise housing	YES	No, but...
Efficient administration, low corruption	Yes	NO
Appropriate legislation & inst. set-up	Was created	No
Professional competence	Yes	No, but...
Socially committed professionals	YES	A minority
Research support	Yes	Available
New planning education	Was created	On its way?

Figure 4. Table showing the preconditions for the provider model to be successful, comparing an industrialized country with a low-income country.

⁷ Vestbro, D. U. (1998): *Housing Development and Research - with or without Modernism? The Relevance of the Swedish Model to Countries in Transformation*, paper for the Conference "Cultural Values and Sustainable Urban Development", Warsaw, December 1998.

⁸ Kombe, Wilbard & Volker Kreibich: *Governance of Informal Urbanisation in Tanzania*, Mkuki no Nyota Publishers, Dar es Salaam 2006.

⁹ [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_GDP_\(nominal\)_per_capita](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_GDP_(nominal)_per_capita). The list includes assessments by International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and CIA.

Figure 4 shows that most of the criteria listed as preconditions for success are not at hand in the case of Tanzania. The GDP per capita is less than 1 per cent of that for Sweden. Tanzania does not have a big enough construction industry, which can build high-standard modern houses even if resources would be available. The state does not have such resources because the main part of the production is carried out by the informal sector, which is not formalised enough to be taxed. In Tanzania there is a big gap between what politicians say they want to do and what they actually do. This was not the case in Sweden when the welfare state was built after the Second World War.¹⁰ Because authorities in low-income countries do not understand the enabling strategy, or are not interested in this model, the informal settlements continue to grow. The number of architects and planners, who understand what needs to be done, are a small minority.

Urgent need for new housing policies

Although lip-service is paid to the enabling strategy the old planning legislation is still in place in Tanzania. A typical example of a legal land allocation process is given in figure 5. It shows that it takes four years to get a piece of land to build a house if legal procedures are followed. After land has been acquired an equally long and bureaucratic process follows to acquire a building permit. Towards this background it is easy to understand why people also from the middle class occupy land and build informally. The more planners and politicians cling to the provider model the faster slums grow.

Step	Action	Duration
1.	Fill in application forms	
2.	Submit application forms to an urban authority	
3.	Documentation by the urban authority	3 months
4.	Consideration of applications by the Land Allocation Cttee	1 month
5.	Advertising of successful applicants	1 month
6.	Submission of 4 passport size photographs	
7.	Letter of offer issued	1 month
8.	Acceptance of offer	1 month
9.	Payment for offer and submission of receipts to Land Office	
10.	Advice of payment prepared for Ministry of Lands	3 months
11.	Deed Plan prepared and approved	2 years
12.	Draft Certificate of Title prepared in duplicate	3 months
13.	Signatures of owner affixed to draft certificates	
14.	Submission of draft certificate to Commissioner for Lands	1 month
15.	Commissioner signs and seals the draft certificate	1 year
16.	Submission of certificates to Registrar of Titles	
17.	Certificate of Title registered	6 months
18.	Notification of owner to collect certificate	1 month

Figure 5. Typical land allocation process in Tanzania. To get a piece of land for constructing a house it often takes four years, if normal procedures are followed.¹¹

¹⁰ Vestbro, Dick Urban (2007): 'Enabling Housing Strategies', Keynote lecture at the International Conference "Towards Low-Cost Housing", Cairo, Egypt, 29-31 May, 2007.

¹¹ Kironde, Lusugga (2006): Presentation of results from a research project at a seminar in Stockholm, February 2006.

The United Nations Habitat organization estimates that more than one billion people today live in urban settlements without security of tenure, sanitary facilities or infrastructural services such as drainage, clean water and roads. This figure is estimated to increase to two billion in the year 2030. In Sub-Saharan Africa 72 per cent of the urban population live in slums. The equivalent figure for Asian cities is 42 per cent, while it is 32 in Latin America. The UN Millennium Development Goal is to reduce the slums through the construction of 100 million new houses in 15 years. This is only 1/7 of the real requirement.¹² These figures show that there is an urgent need for a drastic change in housing policies, a change towards enabling strategies.

Planners resist the enabling strategy

Botswana is a country which consciously decided to adopt an enabling strategy. This country deviates from other Sub-Saharan countries in that planning regulations are implemented to a high degree. Informal settlements are rare. This means that the introduction of an enabling regulatory legal framework could have real implications on the ground. A new enabling Development Code was put in place in 1996. One of the aims was to reach 'vulnerable groups' such as female-headed households, who should be allowed to use their plots for income-generating activities such as subletting rooms and small-scale business. For this purpose the Code included a 'relaxed capacity', which would allow plot holders to build additional buildings, thereby exceeding the normal land coverage. The intention was also to allow buildings at shorter distance to adjacent plots. In order to benefit from the relaxed capacity one would, however, have to apply to the national planning office. This indicates that the enabling strategy was accepted with strong reservations from the start.

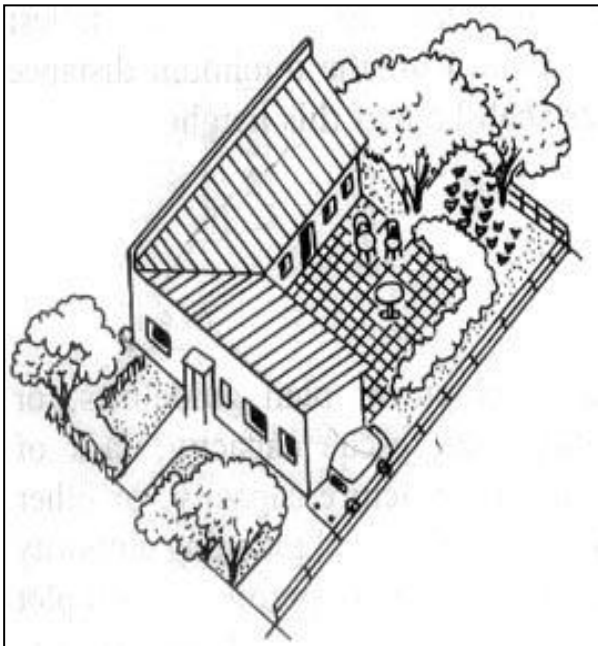


Figure 6. *An example of how the 'relaxed capacity' of the Botswana Development Code could be applied in practice. One may note that the house is built on the border to the adjacent plot and that chickens are raised in the backyard. The fact that a parked car is squeezed into the plot indicates that the law-makers may not have the poorest in mind even if 'vulnerable groups' were the justifying example for the 'relaxed capacity' of the new development code.*

A study from 2004 shows that the new Development Code has virtually not been used at all in its relaxed capacity. None of the residents interviewed said that they were informed about the possibility to relax regulations in order to provide built space for Home-Based Enterprises. The same answer was given by the technical officers in charge of advising the plot-holders. The

planners at municipal and national levels – the ones who had the duty to inform about the new code – said either that they did not know about the relaxed capacity of the code, or that they knew about it, but were uncertain of how to implement it in practice. A well founded suspicion is that the planners did not like the relaxed capacity of the code from the very beginning. Therefore they had a reason to prevent people from getting to know about the possibility to relax conventional planning practices.¹³

Bourennane's study also shows that many plot holders built additional houses with short setbacks and short distance to neighbouring plots without asking for permission. Applying for such building permits would require expensive architect drawings and long waiting for central government decisions. In a couple of cases women appealed successfully to local politicians when technical officers threa-

¹² Habitat (2001): *Cities in a Globalizing World. Global Report on Human Settlements 2001*, United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), London: Earthscan

¹³ Bourennane, Malika (2007): *A Legal Framework for Enabling Low-Income Housing. A Study of Women's Access to Home-Based Enterprises in Botswana*, School of Architecture and the Built Environment, The Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm

tened to intervene against constructions without building permits. The conclusion of this should not be that legal reforms are not required, but that stronger efforts should be made to implement enabling strategies in practice.

Affordable, incremental upgrading

How should the enabling strategy be implemented in practice? An interesting example has been worked out by the Ugandan architect Assumpta Nnaggenda-Musana in her PhD thesis (2008). During her fieldwork in low-income informal settlements in Kampala she found that – contrary to the general understanding among professionals – physical densities were quite low (measured in Floor Area Ratio or number of rooms per hectare). Virtually all houses in poor settlements are one storey self-built detached units, a fact that contributes strongly to urban sprawl.

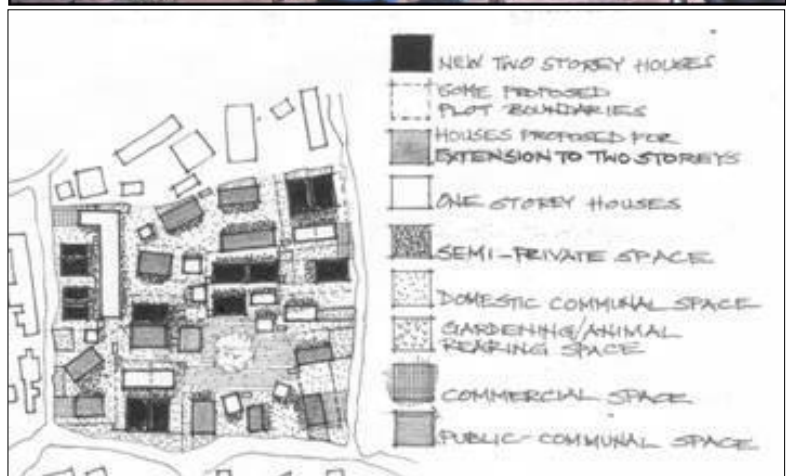
Nnaggenda-Musana shows that the predominant horizontal development of housing in informal settlements leads to long distances to job opportunities and unnecessary and expensive lengths of infrastructure per capita. The author argues that such development can be avoided by building at higher densities. Through systematic sketching she develops house types and plot sizes which increase residential densities while securing basic spatial qualities such as cross-ventilation, daylight in rooms and functional semi-private and communal spaces for multiple use by several neighbouring households. Space can even be made available for urban agriculture, which is a very important factor for the survival of poor households.

The author argues that local craftsmen and self-help builders should be trained to construct two-storey houses, which are affordable at the same time as they provide for more effective use of land. In this way the population of Kampala can be doubled or trebled without any encroachment on agricultural land¹⁴.

Figure 7. *Informal settlement in Kampala. Houses are often one-room detached units built of sun-dried or burnt bricks with metal sheet roofs. In the hot climate outdoor space is intensively used for household chores, socialising and other activities* (Photo: Nnaggenda-Musana).



Figure 8. *Proposal for densification of a housing cluster in Mbuya, Kampala, through the construction of new houses, the extension of some houses from one to two storeys, and by modifying plot dimensions. All houses have possibilities for cross-ventilation and daylight* (Source: Nnaggenda-Musana, 2008)



¹⁴ Nnaggenda-Musana, Assumpta (2008): *Housing Clusters for Densification within an Upgrading Strategy. The Case of Kampala, Uganda*, Doctoral thesis, Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm.

A new type of professional is needed

Architects and planners belong to the well educated élite in society. Their élite status is even more pronounced in a country where the majority are extremely poor. Architects usually get their most profitable jobs from rich clients, while planners are close to the political class of rulers (even if their salaries are not that high). It is not surprising that the élite has a negative attitude to poor inhabitants in informal settlements. The rich often regard the squatters as those who bring disorder to the cities, those who do not follow rules and those whose bad sanitary conditions threaten to spread diseases to the residences of the élite. Adopting enabling strategies means that illegal occupation of land is accepted and that the status of those who do not pay taxes is raised. It also means that well established doctrines in housing and planning have to be abandoned and that the power of the planners and architects is reduced. Nevertheless the professionals need to understand the importance of the enabling housing strategy if we are to solve the global housing crisis.

The fact that the modernist model is inappropriate for solving the problem of informal settlements in low-income countries does not mean that modernization should not be a priority. Classical modernism in architecture and planning included strong development components such as care for functional standards, daylight in rooms, cross-ventilation and other health-related aspects. These factors are very relevant, but the modernist model must be revised to meet local needs.

Informal settlements need to be upgraded. To be regularized and provided with basic infrastructure such as clean water and rainwater drainage professional guidance is required. The challenge is to get order without falling into the pitfall of over-centralizing, which will kill individual creativity. A balance needs to be struck between freedom and order. Authorities need to know at what level to stop applying centralizing techniques. In the informal settlements centralized intervention is needed for some infrastructure services and for providing an enabling environment (laws, access to land and credit) so that the residents may build their own neighbourhoods.¹⁵

*

It is my hope that ARC●PEACE and Architecture Sans Frontières shall become strong networks for professional commitments to enabling housing strategies. We must regard the slum dwellers as full citizens and learn from their survival strategies. We must better understand what affordability means and we must abandon outdated professional practices. If we fulfil our tasks as socially responsible professionals we may contribute to a reduction of global slums, instead of doing the opposite!

¹⁵ See further Nawangwe, Barnabas and Dick Urban Vestbro (2003): "Modernism as a Tool for Development", in *Open House International*, Vol 28, No 3, 2003.

Are architects and planners part of the solution or the problem?

The role of professionals in facilitating or constraining access by the urban poor to land and housing in developing countries.

Geoffrey Payne¹⁶

First, the good news...

Large numbers of architects, planners, surveyors, engineers and other professionals have been trying to improve the built environment in ways which seek to help all sections of society, particularly the poor and vulnerable in a world increasingly subject to globalization and the rigour of market forces. Whilst many people are dominated by the need to make a living and maintain businesses and work for themselves or their staff, others work on a voluntary basis offering their skills and experience to the benefit of others less fortunate than themselves.

Members of ARC•PEACE and related groups, such as Architecture Sans Frontière (ASF), Engineers Without Borders, RedR¹⁷ and others have made a significant, if under-reported, contribution to raising awareness and changing attitudes of professional institutes. They are aware of their limitations as well as their strengths and are making a valuable contribution to the development and application of enabling housing strategies.

Particularly noticeable and welcome is the resurgence of interest and involvement of younger professionals. It is a fact that in the UK, there is a missing generation of professionals engaged in international development; these are Thatcher's children, the generation of graduates who were educated under the Thatcher government which encouraged students to pursue careers that maximised personal wealth rather than social idealism. The fact that younger professionals and students are active in development work and pressure groups is a welcome correction to this reactionary approach.

In a world where needs are so great, so diverse and changing, and technological and financial resources so unequally distributed, no single profession can claim a monopoly on wisdom or ability. Some professions are better at supporting progressive and collaborative activity than others. In my experience, the work of planners, surveyors and engineers appear particularly positive. Whilst each is rightly proud of their own areas of competence, they have demonstrated an impressive willingness to work on an equal basis with members of other professions, building an awareness that the issues that we all face are larger than the ability of any single profession to resolve on its own.

... then the bad

As a qualified architect, it pains me to have to acknowledge that at present and in some key respects, the architectural profession tends to be the fly in the ointment. The common claim by architects that they are the leaders of the built environment professions encourage them to see themselves as more influential in creating and managing the built environment. This in turn encourages an arrogance which, for instance, led to a senior World Bank staff member once refusing on principle to employ architects on international development projects involving housing and local development. It has also attracted scathing criticism from a highly influential writer in the UK, who recently declared that "*no British architect ever won a prize for streetscape, let alone for humility in the presence of history. All crave an Olympics cost-plus contract and a mention in Charles Jencks's 'The Iconic Building'*"¹⁸

¹⁶ Consultant, expert on housing in developing countries, author of many books on enabling housing strategies, land tenure and slum upgrading. See further Payne's website: <http://www.gpa.org.uk/>

¹⁷ See <http://www.redr.org/international/index.htm>

¹⁸ The Guardian 12 September 2008.



Figure 1. *Conference Hall in Newcastle, designed by Norman Foster - an example of design without concern for people?* (Photo: D U Vestbro)

Whatever one's views of the merits or otherwise of Jenkins' comments, they strike a chord by showing how arrogance, reinforced by market forces, can isolate architects from both people and context – as well as other professionals. The “I know best” syndrome seems to sit particularly comfortably on the heads of architects and does their professional reputation no favours.

Architects are not, however, the only professionals who need to rethink their relations to their clients and professional peers. Urban design developed out of an awareness (largely by enlightened architects) of architects' preoccupation with individual buildings and planners' emphasis on two-dimensional plans. The discipline of urban design has flourished to the extent that job opportunities for their skills help to fill the job vacancy advertisements of British professional journals.

However, urban designers have failed to capitalise on the need for their services in developing countries, where most people are too poor to employ an architect and are often overlooked by planners. Since urban design focuses on the relationship between public and private space and the way people move within and use these, their attention to cultural aspects is modest in the extreme. For example, the Chinese concept of *Feng Shui*, the Japanese concept of *Ma* ('place') and the Indian concept of *Vastu*, provide rich sources of understanding of how cultural factors influence planning and design which might even be applicable to ethnic minorities living in the UK. Yet no real attention appears to have been devoted to these concepts or issues.

Professionals do not co-operate for the benefit of the poor

A major reason for these problems can be laid at the door of the educational curricula by which professionals are educated. In some respects, these inhibit awareness of related disciplines and divide professionals from each other rather than contribute to collaboration. Similarly, by stressing their unique contribution to the built environment, the professional validation procedures of professional institutes tend to reinforce separation and inhibit multi-disciplinary collaboration. Such procedures also exert a negative influence on other countries, as when British professional institutes validate courses in Commonwealth countries where conditions are fundamentally different and where different skill-sets are needed.

This leads on to a concern regarding the attitudes of all professionals towards the needs of the poor. Many older or more conservative professionals within both public and private sectors can be considered anti-poor in that they do not even accept that the poor have a right to live in urban areas, since they cannot afford the costs of conforming to middle and high income standards and norms. These are some of the people who campaign for increased investments in rural development, not because they want to help the rural poor, but because they don't want people they consider peasants to live near them and spoiling their neighbourhoods and reducing their property values.

This is not to say that rural development is not important, clearly large numbers of poor people are desperate for any help they can get in terms of making ends meet. The point is that for many, rural life does not offer the prospects for them or their children which they consider a basic right and which can more easily be achieved in an urban area. As such, people vote with their feet by moving to towns and cities where the proximity of other people itself provides income generating opportunities, even without external assistance.

Constraints to change

A further concern is that despite the increasing involvement of younger professionals in development work, opportunities for them to gain experience through research or practice are less available or accessible than they were decades ago. Research funds are now routinely outsourced to academic research councils whose advisers and peer reviewers have limited experience of the needs of the urban poor in developing countries. Even in cases where this is not a problem, funding for research has tended to move away from ‘allowing a thousand flowers to bloom’ through the allocation of a large number of small demand-driven research projects in favour of a smaller number of large supply-driven projects requiring the management of large research consortia. The assumption of this approach is that by reducing the amounts spent on administrative costs, a larger proportion of research budgets actually can be allocated to research itself.

However, concentrating funds on a smaller number of larger projects is no guarantee that the *value* of the research outputs in terms of original insights or knowledge to influence policy will be better and certainly the range of issues addressed will be less. Similarly, opportunities for young European professionals to gain practical experience are increasingly hard to obtain. The need to reassure both funding agencies and clients regarding the competence of professional teams militates against employing young and less experienced professionals even though their commitment and energy, not to mention willingness to learn, can make valuable contributions to project outcomes.

There are also a number of substantive constraints to the application of pro-poor land and housing approaches which need to be addressed before significant progress can be made. These include housing and affordability, which is a key issue given the increasing disparity between low and irregular incomes for many urban households and the high and ever-increasing costs of land, housing, services – and credit. The poor have evolved ingenious means of compensating for these barriers by developing innovative and pragmatic means of accessing these essentials, even if some, such as water, actually cost more than the rates paid by higher income groups. Such measures frequently depend upon community based systems of mutual support, so that social solidarity partly compensates for market failures and government policies. Professionals need to give more attention to understanding these systems of support in order to develop ways of building on them.

A second constraint relates to tenure security – or the lack of it. Many professionals in both public and private sectors tend to consider land tenure and property rights in black and white terms such as formal or informal, legal or illegal, authorised or unauthorised. In fact, almost all development within the urban areas of developing countries is within a continuum of rights in that even pavement dwellers in Mumbai enjoy legal protection, whilst those with titles cannot always assume that they are enforceable in law, especially if there is more than one legal system operating in a given location (eg customary and statutory, or religious).

A variety of tenure options are required

It is also important to separate land tenure status and property rights. For example, land tenure can be defined as *the mode by which land is held or owned, or the set of relationships among people concerning land or its product*. Property rights can also be defined as *a recognised interest in land or property vested in an individual or group and can apply separately to land or development on it*. Thus, it is possible to enjoy complete security of tenure, but retain virtually no rights (eg to develop, transfer, sublet or change the use of land), or to suffer low levels of security but enjoy almost unrestricted de facto rights to develop, change or transfer property. More attention is needed to disaggregate these aspects and to develop innovative and practical options that respond to diverse and changing needs. For the urban poor, this is vital. Whilst everyone needs adequate security, for them, this may not necessarily involve a long term commitment.

This raises the issue of whether it is desirable for the urban poor in developing countries to own land or housing. According to claims made by Hernando de Soto¹⁹, it is the lack of formal ownership and land titles which prevents the poor from using their properties as collateral in obtaining credit to start a business and lift themselves out of poverty. This argument has found favour with many international agencies and policy makers and large sums of money have been invested in land titling programmes as a result. The outcomes of these programmes have recently been evaluated to assess the extent to which the evidence supports the claims and on balance, they do not stand scrutiny and a review of the literature and two case studies show that titling can actually do more harm than good – especially for tenants, and owners displaced by market forces, though women benefit in theory. Titling does *not* ‘enliven dead capital’ as de Soto has claimed.

The best approach appears to be to build on practices and traditions that already exist and what people understand and to provide a range of individual and community-based tenure options so that everyone can find something that meets their needs within their resources. Again, this is something to which professionals need to be more sensitive and responsive.



Figure 2. *Favela Santa Martha in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil* (Photo: Linda Björn)

Professionals in both affluent and developing countries are responsible for formulating planning and building standards and regulations which impose costs and uncertainty on all households as well as formal sector developers. In almost every developing country, such regulatory frameworks are based on the interests and prejudices of professional and higher income groups and not on the needs of the lower income majority. Whilst standards are undoubtedly necessary, some standards and regulations impose costs which are impossible for the poor, and even many middle-income, households to afford. As a result, more people are forced into various forms of unauthorised settlements than would be the case under a more appropriate and benign regulatory framework.

Review planning regulations

Since planning and building standards, regulations and administrative procedures are invariably formulated by professionals, the imposition of inappropriate norms can be attributed to professional failings. Whilst de Soto’s claims regarding land tenure have proved to be excessive, his research on the negative impacts of regulatory frameworks on access to legal land, shelter and services²⁰ provided ample empirical evidence from Peru to show that they forced people into unauthorised development.

¹⁹ Author of *The Mystery of Capital: Why capitalism succeeds in the West and Fails Everywhere Else* Basic Books, 2000.

²⁰ *The Other Path* I.B. Tauris, New York 1989.

REQUISITOS (Obra nueva dentro del Centro Histórico no es Monumento Histórico)		Certificado de Parámetros Urbanísticos y Edificatorios	Calificación de Anteproyecto Consulta (Opcional)	Licencia de Obra para Edificación Nueva	Otención de Licencia Ambiental	Certificado de Finalización Zonificación	Declaratoria de Fabrica
1	Carpeta de trámite		X	X			
2	Hoja de Trámite		X	X			
3	FOM, debidamente llenado y firmado por el arquitecto proyectista o el propietario	X	X			X	
4	FUO Parte 1 (3 juegos) firmado por el profesional responsable de la obra, el propietario, el abogado			X			
5	Comprobante de pago de derecho de trámite (CPUE) 5.806 % de la UIT.	X					
6	Comprobante de pago de derecho de trámite (Proy en Consult) 5.068 % de la UIT.		X				
7	Comprobante de de pago por Derecho de Revisión de planos (anteproyecto o cambio de uso) por mt2 de área construida: 0.019% de la UIT. Mínimo: 2.419 % de la UIT (1)		X				
8	Comprobante de pago por Derecho de Revisión de planos (proyecto) por mt2 de área construida: 0.022 % de la UIT. Mínimo: 5.645 % de la UIT (2)			X			
9	Por Licencia de Obra 0.4% del valor de la Obra Mínimo 3.226% de la UIT.			X			
10	Comprobante de pago por Tres controles de Obra 0.1% valor de Obra, c/u. Mínimo 1.513 % de la UIT (opción B)			X			
11	Comprobante de pago por Deterioro de Pistas y Veredas 0.4% del valor de la Obra. Mínimo 3.226% de la UIT.			X			
12	Comprobante de pago de derecho por Certificado de Numeración: 1.613% de la UIT			X			
13	Comprobante de pago de derecho de trámite (Cert Fin obra) 3.871 % de la UIT.					X	
14	Comprobante de pago de derecho de trámite (Dec Fab): 8.064 % de la UIT.						X
15	Título de propiedad y/o copia literal de dominio actualizada		X	X			
16	Plano de ubicación y localización (1 copia)	X	X	X (4)			X
17	Planos de arquitectura (1 copia).		X	X			
18	Planos de Estructuras (1 juego)			X			
19	Planos de instalaciones sanitarias. (1 juego)			X			
20	Planos de instalaciones eléctricas, mecánicas, electromecánicas y especiales. (1 juego)			X			
21	Fotografías a color: para mostrar la relación del inmueble con la volumetría de los inmuebles vecinos		X	X (4)			
22	Memoria justificativa		X	X (4)			
23	Perfil Urbano, información del entorno y elevaciones de las edificaciones vecinas hasta 50 m de los límites del predio y perfil urbano incluyendo la elevación propuesta (3)		X	X			
24	Boleta de Habilitación del arquitecto proyectista.		X	X (4)			
25	Boleta de Habilitación del Ingeniero Calculista			X			
26	Boleta de Habilitación del Ingeniero Electromecánico			X			
27	Boleta de Habilitación del Ingeniero Sanitario			X			
28	Certificado de Parámetros Urbanísticos y Edificatorios Vigente		X	X (4)			
29	Plano de Vías de Evacuación según lo indicado en el Título V del Reglamento Nacional de Construcciones y Señalización según normas de INDECOPI acompañado de Memoria Descriptiva.		X	X			
30	Anteproyecto aprobado				X		
31	Declaración jurada de los proyectistas y del profesional responsable de obra, que el proyecto de arquitectura no presenta cambios con respecto al anteproyecto aprobado, que lo cumplen con la reglamentación vigente y que la obra se ejecutará de conformidad con los planos presentados				X		
32	Anexo D del FUO-Parte 1, debidamente llenado con la autoliquidación correspondiente				X		
33	Copia de la Licencia de Construcción					X	
34	FUO parte 1 (3 juegos) debidamente llenados y firmados por el área competente					X	
35	Declaración Jurada de no existir variación entre la obra ejecutada y los proyectos aprobados					X	
36	Formato de solicitud.						X
37	FUO-Parte 2 por triplicado debidamente llenado y firmado por el propietario y el profesional responsable de obra o constataador, arquitecto ingeniero civil colegiado.						X
38	Hoja de datos estadísticos publicada por MTC.						X
39	Copia simple del certificado literal de dominio en caso de no haberse presentado con el FUO - PARTE 1.						X
40	Planos de planta de arquitectura (distribución) de cada piso, iguales a los del proyecto que obra en el expediente. (dos juegos)						X
41	Disco Compacto con Copia Digitalizada de los planos.						X

Figure 3: Steps involved in obtaining approval for new development in the historical centre of Lima.

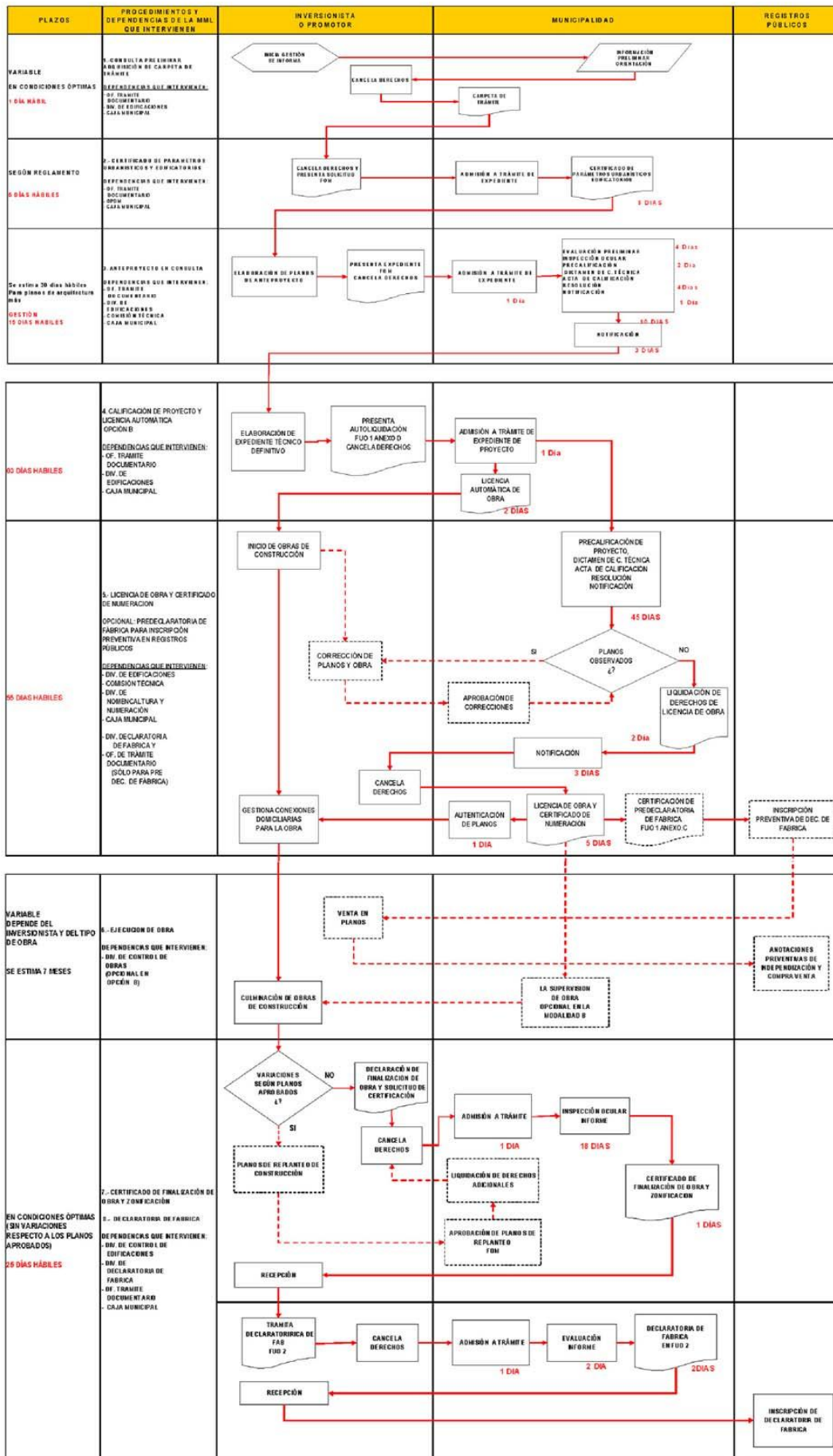


Figure 4: Procedures and agencies involved in planned development in Peru.

Twenty years after his pioneering work, my personal experience on these issues in Peru demonstrated that the number of steps involved in processing applications for building and planning permission had not changed significantly and proposals for change were still only being considered (see figures 3 and 4). It took another major push with international funding for progress to be achieved.

From this and other examples, it is clear that professional intervention by architects and planners in land and housing markets has been broadly negative in terms of helping the urban poor. Urgent attention should be given to reviewing the regulatory frameworks to ensure that they focus only on issues of public health and safety and that these key issues are rigorously enforced. Other aspects, such as plot size and floor area ratios, building materials, etc., should be discretionary and subject to local control since they only affect those living in or adjacent to such developments. Such revisions would enable large swathes of unauthorized settlements to be legalized to the benefit of both the poor and the urban population as a whole.

Figure 5. Women producing concrete blocks and other types of cheap building materials for self-help housing when upgrading poor settlements in Lima, Peru, under the guidance of barefoot architects and engineers within Non-Government Organisations such as Estrategia and ARC•PEACE Peru. (Photo: Luz Maria Sanchez).



Slums grow because of inappropriate policies

The scandal of excessive promotion of home ownership in the USA has provoked an international financial crisis which in turn may lead to a global economic recession. The fundamental failure of mortgage banks involved in 'sub-prime' loans and of de Soto and his supporters in development agencies and national governments is that they fail to ask the first question of potential borrowers – “*can you afford to repay the loan?*” Collateral only becomes relevant if the answer to this is positive. By lending to those unable to meet repayments, banks have brought the entire global financial system near collapse.

The result is that rather than removing poverty, there is a risk that these policies may actually be excluding the poor from the formal land and housing markets in cities throughout Africa, Asia and Latin America and forcing them to the margins of society. This is at a time when the world population has just become more urban than rural and when about one billion people globally is presently living in slums or squatter settlements. The UN's projection is that this figure will double to 2 billion people by 2030 unless concrete action is taken²¹. Many of these households are tenants who risk being evicted as a result of titling programs²², or squatters vulnerable to market-driven displacement²³. With populations of some developing country cities already far larger than London, the risk to social and economic stability is potentially even more serious than the problems facing the West.

Sadly, leading international and bi-lateral development agencies, such as the World Bank and UK's Department for International Development (DFID) are reducing their overt support to urban issues in

²¹ United Nations (2003) *The Challenge of Slums: Global Report of Human Settlements 2003* United Nations Human Settlements Programme, Nairobi.

²² UN-HABITAT (2006) *State of the world's cities 2006/7* Earthscan, London. (page 95).

²³ Durand-Lasserve, A. (2006) 'Market-driven evictions and displacements: Implications for the perpetuation of informal settlements in developing cities'. In: Huchzermeyer, M., and Karam, A. (editors). *Informal settlements. A perpetual challenge?* University of Cape Town Press.

developing countries at a time when it has never been more urgently needed. Some are presumably hoping that by maintaining their focus on rural development, the flow of migrants into urban areas can be stemmed. However, experience suggests that this approach is doomed to failure as a combination of pressure on land in rural areas, the effects of climate change and internal conflicts, force more people off the land and into the cities, where opportunities for alternative sources of livelihood are greater, despite the squalor. Even without rural-urban migration, urban populations will continue to increase from indigenous growth.

The middle class may learn from the poor

The real challenge for developing countries is to focus on the social and economic practices that work for the poor and modify official systems of regulations, standards and procedures to incorporate these, rather than expecting the poor to adapt to the middle class perspectives of bureaucrats and professionals. This involves governments, the international community and, above all, professionals examining, and building on, systems of local finance and livelihood strategies the poor themselves have developed out of necessity to improve their lives. This will help to build the necessary levels of confidence and security needed for the poor to invest incrementally in improved housing and infrastructure.

The present crisis could therefore easily prove to be a foretaste of what is in store for the world as a whole unless policy makers - whether environmental professionals, such as planners, or senior administrators in land administration - stop placing so much emphasis on existing approaches and instead encourage a wide range of options which serve the needs of the poor as well as more affluent groups. These should build on and adapt what people in different countries are familiar with and which already enjoy social legitimacy.

Ironically, the urban poor in developing countries are better placed to face the future than middle income groups in the West. This is because they have learned to live within their means and are not dependent on the easy availability of resources and services on which the rich have come to depend. They make full use of every square centimetre of land, recycle wastes (sometimes as a living), use public transport, walk or cycle, work when possible from home and have often generated systems of local governance and resource management to protect them from external threats.

Architects and planners need to change attitudes

When the oil finally runs out, or becomes unaffordable even to higher income groups, it is the poor who will inherit the earth. If architects, planners and other professionals want to be part of the future, they will have to learn more about the survival strategies of the poor and how they can build on them. To do this will require more than a change of technology, however, but something even more challenging – a change of attitude and a degree of humility.



Figure 6: *Making good use of scarce land in an Indonesian kampung* (sketch by author).

If such an attitudinal and behavioural change can be effected, and this is where the younger professionals have a key role to play, then progress can be made by encouraging more holistic educational programs from secondary schools to postgraduate research. Campaigns are also needed to emphasise the right of the poor to live in and benefit from the urban areas to which they already make a significant contribution. Those individuals,

groups or organisations, which oppose the interests of the poor, should be named and shamed and ‘Champions of Change’ should be identified and supported. This would certainly help architects, planners and other professionals to be part of the solution to building sustainable settlements. □

Enabling Strategies and Social Housing in Delhi: Search for a Workable Model

Bijayanand Misra²⁴

The paper is a brief review of why the enabling strategies, followed for long with reasonable success in Delhi, have not been able to reduce the growth of slums. There is an attempt to focus on what was lacking with the strategies and how an alternative workable model could be found for the 2021 Master Plan. Since the early 70s, as a response to growth of urban slums throughout the developing world, the ‘enabling strategies’ that would help the poor to live better, has gained strength both among the academicians and the practitioners. After three decades we still ask what can be made to prepare professionals to understand and apply enabling housing strategies in low-income countries.

We know about the bleak global picture that nearly 1 billion people live in makeshift housing or unplanned communities. In many low-income countries the number is growing fast. This puts us back to ponder whether the problem lies in the lack of understanding about the enabling strategies or the way urban planning is done, or both.

We know about Curitiba where the Mayor – Jaime Lerner, an architect with a creative vision – could transform a slum-infected city of 2 million into a green and functioning model of urban planning. What was the key to the success? I think the key was a meaningful perspective or vision for the city within which the slums were transformed. Maybe our problem is not being able to define clear enough specifications to make use of the creativity of the poor and their capacity to address the problem. Often the use of enabling strategies for the benefit of the poor remains isolated slum improvement exercises not supported by the city development process that would prevent creation of slums in a proactive manner.

This paper mentions some insights gained referring to Delhi’s effort in improving housing for the poor and adopting enabling strategies.

Need for a broader perspective on enabling strategies

Enabling housing strategies for the poor has to be seen within a broader perspective than what is usually taken by architects and planners. Let us understand what we mean by broader perspective.

Enabling strategies, designed by architects and planners, normally relate only to physical aspects, namely plot size, density, spatial norms, building code, mix use. Recently flexibility in tenure has become accepted as one important part of the enabling strategy. But not much is debated or discussed about the related financial and related legal aspects which are equally important for ‘enabling strategies’ to be fully effective. Tax breaks, soft interest loans, mortgage facility, collective ownership of property through cooperatives, community mortgage facility etc. are particularly the aspects meant here. These aspects, and the related legal and institutional support, are often side-tracked or, at best, not adequately addressed by architects and planners. It is for this reason that one does not find so encouraging implementation of the enabling strategies in the developing countries.

Another problem is in implementing the general perception of many architects and planners that each strategy is ubiquitous and would be applicable in every socio-economic and political situation. What is crucial is not the relevance or potential of each strategy in isolation but how best the strategies are intertwined into an effective package for implementation relevant to a specific socio-economic, demographic and political environment. In other words, the success of enabling strategies would largely depend on how effectively the package is planned and implemented.

In addition to the financial and related legal support it is important that adequate supply of serviced land or built housing affordable to the poor is maintained as required. Failure in this invariably pushes the new migrants into new slums, as seen in the case of rapidly growing cities like Delhi.

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Relative strength of the two models

Since its emergence in the late 1980s the concept of enabling strategies has been more widely accepted than ever as a desirable alternative to the conventional housing strategies for the poor. The ‘providers’ and ‘supporters’ models in housing, as underlined by Nabeel Hamdi and others, refer to operation of two processes, strikingly opposite to each other. The challenge is how the elements of the two processes can be intertwined into a coherent process that can be implemented. It may seem theoretically easy but in actual practice it is extremely difficult because what really matters is who takes the policy decision and who has the power to assert. It is in this game of politics and power that often pro-poor policies and enabling strategies fail to achieve.

Normally the group that advocates ‘supporter’ model for the poor is invariably weak in power. The group that advocates ‘providers’ process is strong with economic power boosted by the cartel of real-estate developers and the interest seeking nexus between the politicians-bureaucrats- developers. The planners and architects, who work for the city government, are often forced to become subservient to the later group. This division between the two groups is more pronounced in cities in fast growing economies with rapid urbanization. The question is, in this sort of fast growth scenario how effectively the elements of both the processes can be combined to form a strategy that would enhance access of the poor to reasonable housing.



Figure 1. *Slum residents building home in a resettlement colony.*

The two models have been reviewed and debated widely but the impact of the enablers model on official policies of cities has not yet been very encouraging. The reasons for this are perhaps, first, that there is no clear method available yet as to how such strategies could be inte-

grated into the main-stream housing strategy, and, second, that the available field experience provides limited knowledge on what of the enabling strategies would work where and in what manner. Reduced plot size and flexible building code and spatial standards may not be meaningful the same way in every situation

How a feasible balance can be obtained between conventional PSBO (plan, service, build & occupy) process and OBSP (occupy, build, service & plan) process that the poor generally follow invariably leads to development of slums, because of lack of planning, illegality and lack of government support.

OBSP process is followed by the poor in situations where planning is totally ineffective. But in Delhi, which has had three decades of planned development sensitivity to enabling strategies, OBSP has been a common process for the poor migrant families. Most of this comes through grabbing or squatting on public land. At the same time there are many successful projects using enabling strategies such as reduced plot size, flexible building codes and lowered spatial standards for housing the poor. Delhi has quite successfully implemented such projects, large and small, over two decades.

The discussion relates to the point about the need for an effective package of enabling strategies in a given urban scenario and its integration with the land management and overall housing strategies for the city. Delhi’s case, details of which follow, shows a lapse in this regard.

A gross inadequacy is the supply of serviced land for residential use in general and particularly for the poor. Due to the scarce supply of serviced land to the market and with no adequate ‘safety net’ ensuring access of the poor to the supplied land, as is seen in Delhi, the new migrants, which keep coming in great number, find shelter by creating new slums either by squatting on public land or going into the new unplanned colonies of small developers. Slums continue to grow.

Lessons from Delhi

Adoption of enabling strategies

Even before the 1976 Habitat conference, which for the first time put the enabling strategies to the forefront of housing for the poor, Delhi had quite successfully implemented large-scale slum relocation projects, benefiting about 300,000 poor families. The relocation projects showed that the ‘provider’ model when sensitively combined with the enabling strategies, can help the poor and also help develop reasonably planned habitats for them. The enabling strategies used were reduced plot size to 15 m², 100% plot coverage and vertical incremental expansion of the house. The use of building material was, however, conventional brick and mortar, and the use of the premises was restricted to only residential. Several evaluations in later years showed that the poor not only lived in a much better housing environment than their earlier dwelling in slums, but they also improved their income and expanded step by step their house vertically when affordable. The relocation projects providing a blend of providing and enabling strategies present a reasonable success story.

During the early 80s we in the School of Planning and Architecture therefore did not think that the ‘provider’ model was totally unfit and obsolete to address the realities of the poor. Delhi’s relocation success story was before us.

Relocation projects & the reality

It was quickly realized that mass scale relocation covering 1.4 million people was done during an emergency period when the democratic systems were abolished and the projects were implemented as heavy top-down dictates, and therefore, large scale land could easily be acquired, serviced and settled. What is important to note is that though the projects were designed with a provider stance they significantly and successfully incorporated enabling strategies. This situation changed totally when the political administration returned to the earlier democratic ways after 1978. NGOs revived, slum eviction became difficult and also the capacity of city to quickly assemble serviced land for relocation sites reduced.

Economic reforms, rapid growth and enabling strategies

India’s economic reform started in 1992 and soon the liberalized policies pushed growth of business and population in Delhi even higher. Land values soared and the whole environment for urban growth and housing came under great pressure. The enabling strategies, however, continued to remain and, in fact, were improved incorporating flexibility in construction step by step using affordable materials, and also permission to use part house for house business for slum relocation and in-situ slum up-gradation projects. In some cases family toilets were arranged with success around the common space for four families with collective maintenance of the toilets, access to houses and even garbage dumping facilities.

Settlement Category	Population in million	% of Total Population
Squatter slums	2.07	14.82
Officially designated slums	2.66	19.04
Quasi-legal settlements	0.74	5.30
Up-graded quasi-legal settlements	1.78	12.74
Resettlement/relocation colonies	1.78	12.74
Rural villages annexed to Delhi	0.74	5.30
Villages in Delhi designated as urban	0.89	6.35
Planned settlements	3.31	23.71
ALL	13.96	100.00

Table 1. *Types of settlement in Delhi distributed by population, 2002.*

In order to improve the supply of housing including the poor, DDA in the Master Plan 1981-2001, permitted only group housing instead of plotted housing and encouraged the involvement of the private sector in housing delivery with mandatory requirement to provide 35% of the

covered space as dwellings of 30 m² for the poor. The plan, for more intensive use of land, also provided for increase in the overall floor area ratio from 133 to 167 with appropriate adjustments in the coverage.

But all these measures did not help improve the situation and during the 90s fast growth of slums continued, while some successful, although small scale relocation and in-situ up-gradation projects using enabling strategies also continued. By 2002 nearly 2 million people lived in squatter slums. Another 2.6 million lived in officially designated slums. In total over 33 % of the total population lived in such areas as seen in table 1. Population grew very fast, adding 60-70 thousands more every month.

The major reason for this situation is not failure in the adoption of enabling strategies for the poor. It is the failure of the authorities to provide adequate serviced land for low-income housing for over three decades while the demand for it has been growing fast.

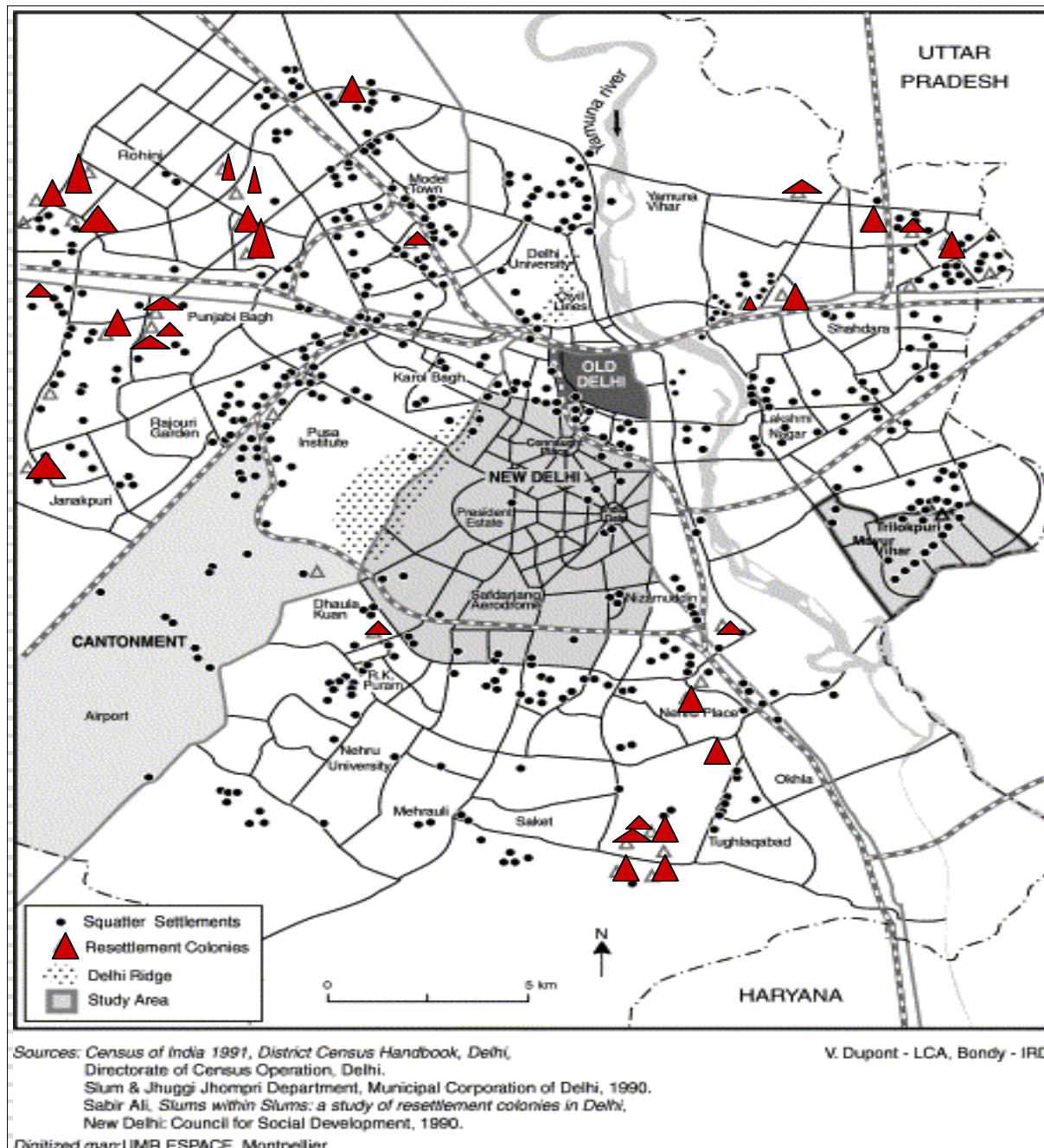


Figure 2. Distribution of slums and relocation projects, Delhi.

The failure has been largely due to the authority's dependence only on conventional land acquisition method in Delhi under the Land Acquisition Act while acquisition as a process has become increasingly difficult, time-consuming and expensive. The government was unable to pay the compensation

money as per the law. Because of rapid growth of population and fast economic growth of the country the nature of demand on urban land in Delhi has also become complex with high boost in land values. Farm land owners who hold the land for future urban expansion have well realized the potential of making profit in a rapid urban growth process. They demanded much higher compensation in acquisition, partnership in development and even rallied against acquisition. All this made acquisition of land extremely difficult.

Table 2. *Land acquisition and disposal: Planned and actually achieved.*

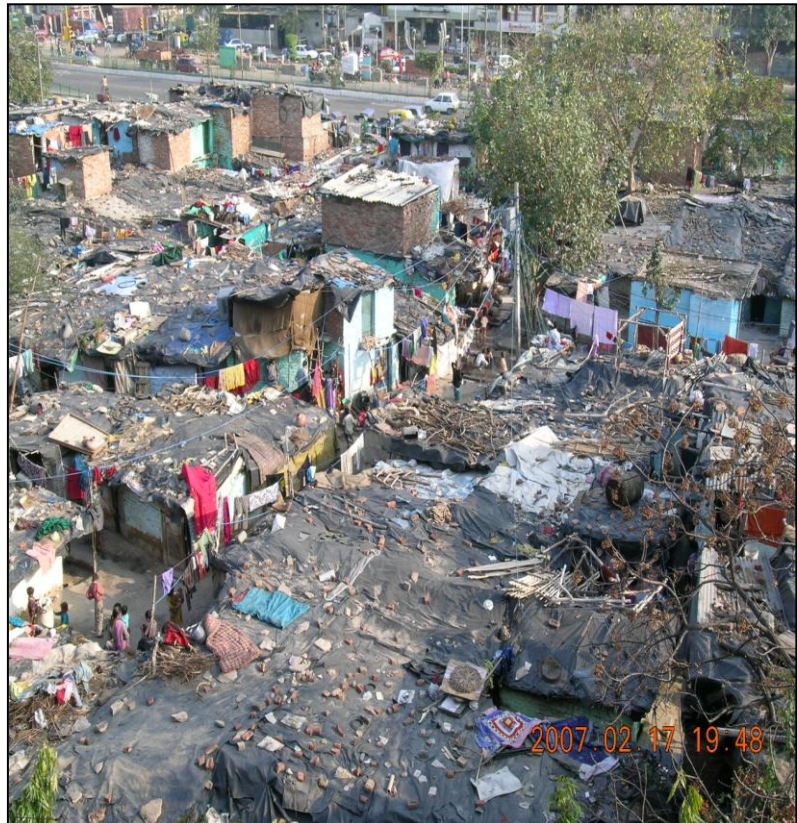
End Year of Master Plan	Total area notified for planned acquisition	Actual land acquired	Annual average acquisition difference between planned and actual	Planned target of serviced land for residential use	Actual service land supplied for residential use
1981	27, 487	15,540	- 43.37%	14, 479	7,316 (-49.1%)
2001 Six major urban extensions projects including 3 new sub-cities of 1 million each	24, 001	9,508	- 60.38%	Planned total urban extension area 17, 493	Area actually developed 8,388 (- 52.05)
Total of Period 1962-2001	51, 488	25, 048	- 51.4%		

Review of a squatter slum case

I draw upon the experience of our group, a non-profit NGO of planners and architects, ‘Yojnakar’, which have been assisting a group of about 500 poor families in a squatter slum cluster, named as Shalimarbagh A/O block cluster, for their legitimacy and rights. The cluster is located in the north-west of the city on about 0.6 hectare of public land along the main inner arterial road of Delhi. Strategic location, very high land value and patronage by politicians are the main characteristics of the slum. The residents have lived there with the threat of eviction. However, political patronage and inability of DDA to find land for relocation gave them a sort of ‘perceived tenure’, which enabled them to have access to electric power and municipal water. Women of the slum work as house help in the nearby planned housing complexes and the men work in the nearby industrial area across the street.

Figure 3. *A squatter settlement in Delhi.*

The ‘perceived tenure’ helps families improve temporarily the shacks with bricks and even with another floor. Because of no legality of tenure, no further improvement is officially possible. The city wants the site to be vacated because of its very high land value and also the site is planned for an essential city facility. Confusion and uncertainty force the residents to continue living in an extremely congested, risk prone condition. Planned relocation based on the enabling strategies is practically the best solution for the residents and they know it well. Yojanakar survey found that all families wanted to be relocated being frustrated over living long with uncertainty.



DDA, however, cannot take an expeditious decision because of political patronage and also the fact that land for such relocation is not available. One million people continue to live in this sort of slums with perceived tenure but still with a high degree of uncertainty. Enabling strategies have not helped the squatter slums while the city's inability to augment residential land supply has prevented planned relocation using the enabling strategies.

New effort to integrate enabling strategies in the 2021 Plan

Under a commissioned consultancy project Yojanakar recommended a new workable alternative model for land assembly called 'Barter cum Pooling Model' to ensure supply of adequate land for residential use as required in general and particularly for the poor. We in Yojanakar realize that enabling strategies in themselves will not provide a solution to the slum problem in a rapidly growing city. It must be supported by an appropriate land management strategy, particularly ensuring supply of residential land as required. The recommended model has been accepted by top decision-maker, DDA, farmland owners and the developers.

The Master Plan 2021 for Delhi has continued with the policy of blending providing and enabling strategies for the poor in relocation sites and has also adopted a broader perspective linking those with the land management strategies while promoting collective ownership and mortgage by the poor.

Concluding Observations

The following is highlighted in order to make the enabling housing strategies for the poor achieve better and perceptible results particularly in a rapid growth situation as seen in Delhi.

- It is necessary to take a broader perspective on the enabling strategies than normally is taken by the architects and planners.
- For a fast growing city a proper blend between the providing and enabling strategies in housing delivery for the poor should be helpful.
- The enabling strategies should be integrated with the overall housing strategy and land management strategy so as to ensure supply of adequate land for residential use in general and for the poor in particular



Figure 4. *Happy over own home with land title.*

□

Upgrading slums in Serbia

The Case of Roma Communities in Belgrade

Branislava Saveljic-Balac²⁵

As always human conditions are determined by space and time. The city of Belgrade is blessed by location and cursed by history. Situated at the confluence of the Danube and Sava rivers, two large European waterways, and midway between East and West, it was an outpost of conquest vied over by expansionary powers throughout much of its existence. The oriental decadence of the Ottomans and the neglect of other invaders shaped the social and economic landscape of the city and the country through most of the time of foreign occupation. Even as a free country, Serbia and its capital were not always blessed with progressive political regimes and propulsive economic policies.

Old and new Roma communities

The Roma first came to Serbia with the Turks. Their influx waxed and waned over the centuries and was affected by social movements. In recent times they came in larger numbers as refugees in the wake of the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, fleeing the ethnic cleansing in some parts of that country. Many of them came from Kosovo. They were considered pro-Serb during the conflict over the province and, as a consequence, were ethnically cleansed by Albanian separatists when the Serbian rule collapsed



Figure 1. *Most of the Roma living in the slum under a Gazela bridge access road in downtown Belgrade are refugees from parts of the former Yugoslavia, including Kosovo.*

The number of Roma in Serbia has swelled also though their semi-imposed return from Western Europe as Serbia signed readmission treaties with the countries of that region. This is a particularly galling problem. Many of them spent decades abroad and are now returning with meager resources, often only with token severance pay

to support themselves and their families. Their children, born in receiving countries, are now of school age and many of them do not speak the language of instruction, and they do not go to school. Their resettlement is often hampered by a sluggish bureaucracy as well. In 2007, 87 bungalows were dispatched from the German city of Essen, intended as accommodation for Belgrade's neediest (Roma) slums. However, the delivery of the bungalows was held up by administrative hitches and they got stuck in the city harbour.

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There is no reliable data on how many Roma live in Serbia. According to some earlier censuses, 140,000 lived in Belgrade alone. More recent sources put the number at between 700,000 and 900,000, while demographers suggest a more conservative estimate of between 400,000 and 600,000. Most of the Roma are Orthodox Christians or Muslims and usually live on the outskirts or in inner city enclaves known as gypsy mahalas (*ciganmale* in Serbian). The most notorious is *Little London*, one hundred years old, located some 20 kilometres north-northeast of the satellite town of Pancevo. One of the newer Roma settlements is the slum under the access road to the *Gazela* bridge in downtown Belgrade, practically in the shadow of glitzy new high-rise hotel and apartment buildings (see figure 1).

Two Roma settlements

The *Little London* and *Gazel Bridge* Roma communities are highly deprived social groups. This is evidenced in particular by their bad housing conditions, pervasive unemployment, almost total exclusion of their children from the school system and poor hygiene and health situation. The average dimension of the housing lots in the *Little London/Gazela Bridge* settlements is about 400 m². Usually, a house consists of only one room 12-16 m² large with many beds.



Figure 2 (left). *Squalor and splendour living side by side.*

Figure 3 (left below). *Reuse of building materials. Outdoor space is utilised frequently.*

Figure 4 (below). *Valiant efforts to keep precipitations out.*

The roof, made of cardboard, plastic or tin laths, is often covered with tyres to prevent it from being blown off and is always leaky. The floor is earthen and continually moist, often masked with an old rug, so that sleeping directly on the floor is avoided. In the summer, the dwellers of these two communities cook, sit and even sleep outside. The furniture is a collection of discarded items, including old car seats. Most often, Roma houses have no auxiliary buildings, especially those of the most indigent families. An average Roma household has 5 members.

The participation of the Roma communities in the formal economy is estimated to amount to 13 per cent. Most of its members have no specific profession and are chronically unemployed. When they hold a job, it is in the city sanitation or in construction or as low-paid physical workers. Most of them, however, earn their income in the informal economy. The most extensive economic activity, 79 per in the case of the *Little London* Roma community, is the collection of secondary raw materials, such as scrap metal, for instance. The collection is done all over the Belgrade metropolitan area and all members of the household, including children, take part. Children add on to the household income by begging.

Illiteracy is rampant: 80 per cent of the *Little London* residents have never completed elementary education. Even if the Roma children do frequent school, they are disadvantaged due to the patchy knowledge of the language of instruction, penury, lack of parental attention and ambition and frequent non-acceptance by fellow-students, sometimes even by the teachers. Girls drop out sooner than boys and, as a consequence, Roma women are less educated than men.

Figure 5, 6 and 7. *Eking out a living in the modern world.*

Not a single *Little London/Gazela Bridge* child attends pre-school, while children from these communities are sent to special (remedial) schools more often than children from other social groups.

Clean water and power, if they exist at all, are in short supply, while alley streams formed after torrential rains substitute for sewerage and sanitation systems. A tub beside an outdoor well is an average household bathroom and the use of collective latrines is a norm rather than an exception.

No paved roads exist within the two slums and none of them is connected to the city road network. Not surprisingly, these communities are breeding grounds of various types of diseases, especially contagious and parasitic diseases. The health situation is not alleviated by the fact that the majority of births take place at home and that most children are not vaccinated, which accounts for a high incidence of dystrophy and paralysis. Mortality rates are high and reduce Roma life expectancy by 10 years.



Time for Roma inclusion?

Rarely has any government ever argued that it is not financially strapped. Serbian governments of almost any political stripe and persuasion have not been an exception. However, it does not excuse them for the lack of enthusiasm and action to address the problems of slums on a lasting and consistent basis. That being told, it must be said that in 2003 and 2005, Serbia adopted 3 documents that may yet prove of crucial importance for improving the life of the Roma and other disadvantaged communities in Serbia: *Strategy for the Reduction of Poverty*; *the New Master Plan for Belgrade* with the goal of eliminating the slums and unhygienic settlements or improving living conditions in them; and four *National Action Plans* within the *Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005-2015)* that Serbia joined in 2005, specifying goals and indicators in the areas of Roma and other disadvantaged communities' housing, health, employment and education. The achievement of these goals has been set back by the difficult economic situation of the country.

However, it must also be said that a number of apartments in Belgrade financed by the city have recently been given to the most needy, primarily sanitation workers, many of whom are Roma. It is to

be hoped that these positive trends will continue and that an ever greater number of Roma and other slum dwellers will benefit in the process.

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Farming in the City

Learning from Kampala

Jonas Jernberg²⁶

The project I present is based on a master thesis called *'it's there - farming in the city'*²⁷. It was carried out at the interface between architecture, planning and urban design. In short the project consists of an urban strategy for Kampala. In this the green structure is at the core of urban development. The project visualizes an idea how urban agriculture processes can be used as a generator for upgrading and development of informal settlements. Our thesis was completed in 2003 at The Royal Institute of Technology (Stockholm) and Chalmers University of Technology (Gothenburg), Sweden. For the fieldwork two months were spent in Uganda's capital Kampala and one month in Kenya and Tanzania.

The project focuses on the potential of urban agricultural processes and activities in Uganda's capital Kampala. It investigates whether processes connected to urban agriculture can work as an overall principle to organise and develop a city, and if such processes could work as design and planning devices to generate spatial, economical, ecological and recreational values over time.

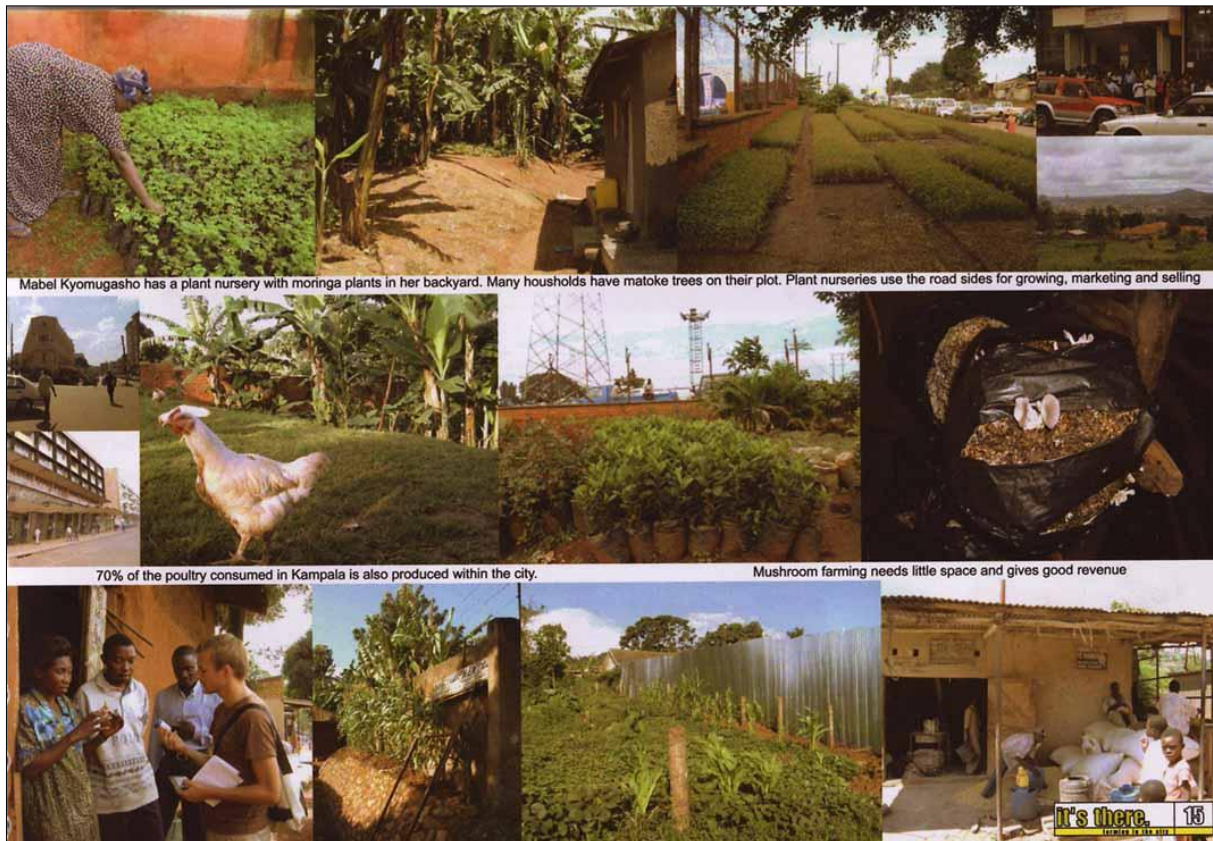


Figure 1. Examples of farming activities in Kampala, Uganda.

²⁶ Architect, chairman of Architecture Sans Frontières-Sweden. His master thesis was carried out together with architect Andreas Huss. The thesis work was supervised by Prof. Dick Urban Vestbro, lecturer Per Kraft and lecturer Bertil Malmström. During the fieldwork support was given by Mr Stephen Mukiibi and Dr Barnabas Nawangwe at Makerere University, Kampala. The study was facilitated by a grant by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). The thesis has been compiled into a book of 150 pages, including drawings and 3D models.

²⁷ Huss, Andreas & Jonas Jernberg: *It's there. A master thesis in architecture*, Stockholm: Royal Institute of Technology, 2003.

In a globalising and rapidly urbanising world an increasing number people leave the countryside to look for a better life in the cities. People leave hard conditions looking for work and the service provided in urbanised areas. This phenomenon of urbanisation gives people opportunities, but is also leading to congestion, urban sprawl, environmental and sanitation problems. Today many people live without shelter or in informal settlements without functioning infrastructure for water, sewage or sanitation. In many low income countries, cities are growing in an uncontrolled way.

An urban strategy for Kampala

To form physical facilities and demarcated areas where these processes and activities can be carried out is a way of securing existing spatial and environmental qualities while still being able to upgrade existing condition in the informal settlements of Kampala. When a re-disposition within a certain area takes place, it should be around these revitalized and protected green spaces. Hopefully the project can be used as material for a discussion about human settlements, urban agriculture and a sustainable urban development.

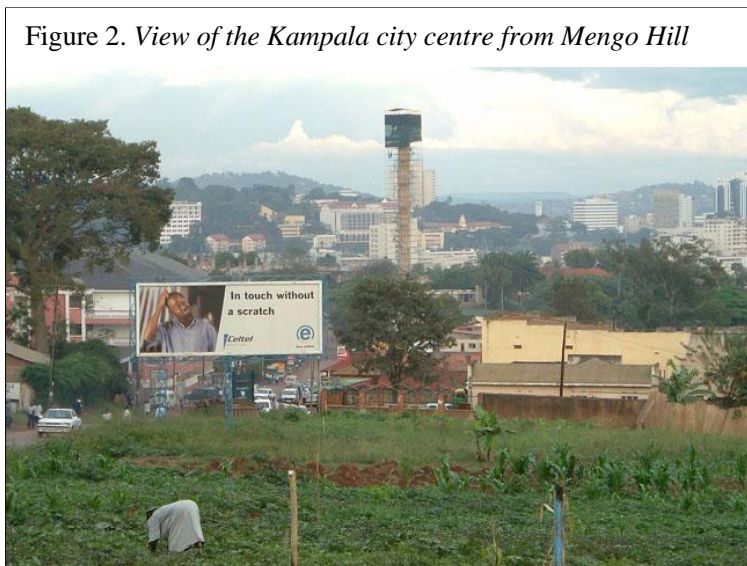


Figure 2. View of the Kampala city centre from Mengo Hill

The thesis argues that an activation of spaces for urban agriculture in the informal settlements may be a tool for managing urban growth in Kampala. These green spaces should become structuring elements around which the new neighbourhood develops. The openness created will be needed in a future heavily populated urban context.

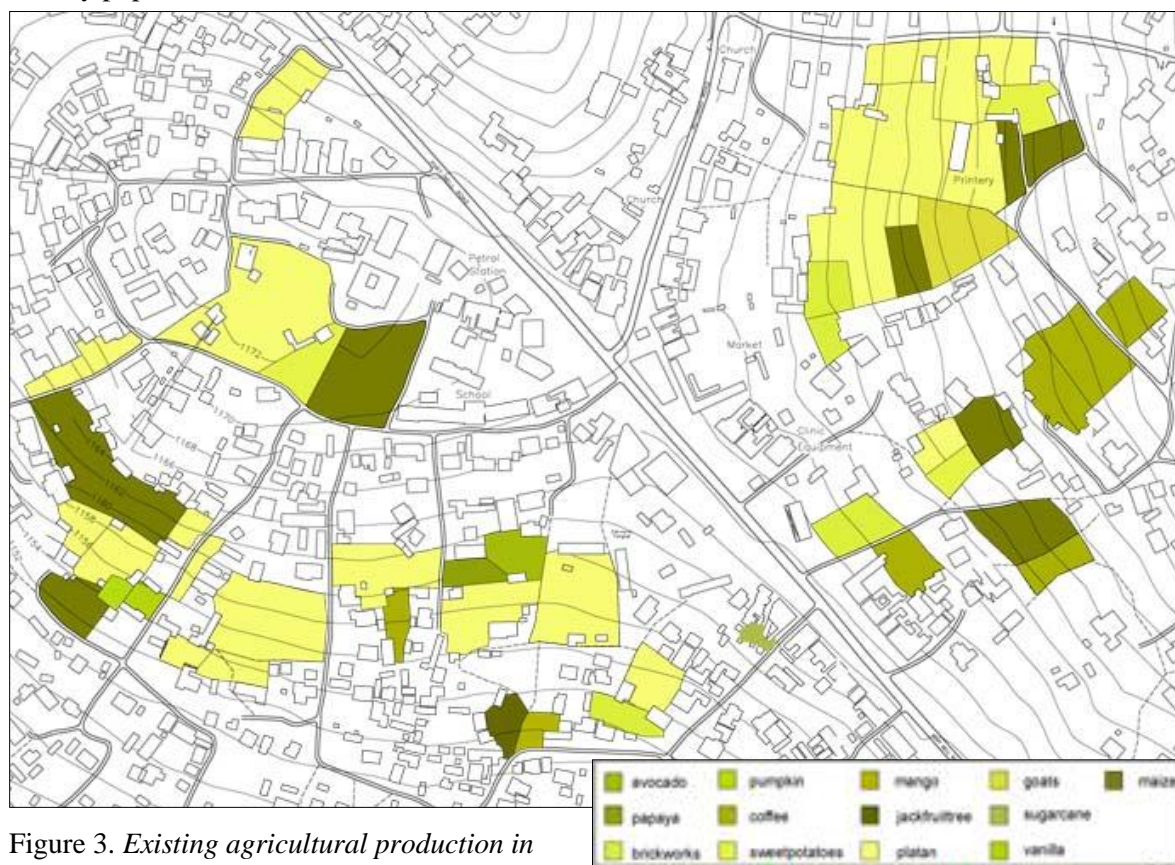


Figure 3. Existing agricultural production in the informal settlement of Kitintale.

Kampala is an example of this global phenomenon, but it is also a city where urbanisation is in its initial phase. There is a considerable influx of poor people, who settle in informal areas where infrastructure and services are lacking. In these areas urban farming is commonly practised. In the informal settlements planning bylaws are not implemented. In fact planning is not functioning well in Uganda in general. Planning for urban agriculture activities did not exist at all at the time when we carried out our fieldwork.



Figure 4. *Typical example of the cultivation of matooke, the main staple food in Uganda.*

This project is focusing on the informal settlements of Kampala. Our way to treat the subjects was to study activities and processes connected to urban agriculture. The activities and processes are closely related to normal life including spatial, economical and ecological functions. In the design project we wanted to investigate if urban agriculture could be used as generators for planning the uncontrollable. In the project we use information collected to create a system of places and flows.



Figure 5. *Proposed green structure connecting existing green areas.*

Project master plan

We decided to create a structure that is founded in the landscape, the topography, the settlements morphology and the processes connected to urban agriculture practised in that landscape. Existing open spaces, and new ones, are to be connected to each other. The design of artefacts and demarcation of spaces are to be seen as articulations, securing values when the area grows. The articulations are made of a drainage system, water tanks, ponds, a recycling plant, gas plant, water infiltration beds, animal keeping, educational spaces, plantations, sun and shade, rain harvesting, storing and of refining existing spaces. The settlement adjoining will grow according to the shapes of the articulations, leav-

ing the protected spaces as means of open space saviours, income generators and ecological services. We focus on the use of land instead of buildings. We introduce a new scale in the area that gives structure and provide nodes that are missing today. The result is a mixture between formal and informal systems that interact; a planning that generates new spatial concepts.



Figure 6. *Proposed green structures with specific functions.*

An essential part in the project is how the land is utilised. We define spaces to be protected in their use, and leave surrounding areas for free growth and utilisation. Thus we accept to a certain extent that implementation of planning and building regulations is difficult in the informal settlements. The aim has been to explore how the processes connected to urban agriculture could be used as generators to vitalize, shape and improve the physical environment within an informal settlement. Hence, the task is to create a system that is founded in the landscape, the topography, the morphology of the settlements, and in activities related to urban agriculture. We have tried to conceptualise a project with a focus on the potential of urban agricultural processes and activities in Kampala based on observations about what is already there.

The overall design element is the definition of green spaces and their connections. The green spaces within the settlement are unified into a system that could be further connected in a network of green structures supplying the city with leisure, production and service space (ecological services). These open and green fields, spots and spaces could be used in many different ways and be developed over time according to changing needs. The green structure created can for example be practically used for new infrastructure that is necessary, such as water supply, irrigation, infiltration, animal and plant habitat, and for communications.

There are a number of processes and activities that shape the spatial environment of Kampala, for example the production, refining, transportation, storage, selling, consuming, recycling of agricultural products. These activities are interrelated. They depend on factors such as place, technique, facilities provided, density and space available, farming system, infrastructure, soil fertility and water supply in its location. Some of the processes are practiced to its outmost potential. Other processes are not practiced in a conscious manner. They could be carried out in a more efficient and generative way if stimulated and vitalized.

Recycling

A good example of an activity that could be vitalized is recycling of organic waste. This is sometimes carried out within local resource efficient systems, but could still be improved. In Kampala over 1000 metric tonnes of urban waste/garbage are collected daily, which is 30-40% of the total waste. Most of this comes from food markets and is degradable. However, much of it is mixed with non-degradable material such as polythene, metal, plastic, glass and concrete. The collection and transportation of waste cost too much for the city. The revenue collection is not sufficient to address the requirements. If organised systematically into small- and middle scale systems, the ecological and economical potential in recycling these large amounts of organic waste could be developed to its full extent.

Water

Water harvesting for different purposes as irrigation, storage, and infiltration is a process that is not used to a large extent. In Kampala there is no lack of water. Instead there is plenty of water from natural wells on the hillsides, fresh water in Lake Victoria and from the heavy rainfalls during the rainy seasons. The challenge is how to store the water from the ample rainfalls for dryer season and to keep the wells and streams free from contamination. Another challenge is how to prevent soil erosion caused by the heavy loads of water during the rainy seasons. The erosion results in soil degradation and destruction of houses, and polluted and unhealthy flooding when the drainage system is blocked with garbage. The use of plantations and green structure for water infiltration in a conscious way to prevent soil erosion and soil degradation, is a potential that could be further developed. Water harvesting for washing and cleaning, irrigation of plantations, infiltration and purification of grey water, are also possible.

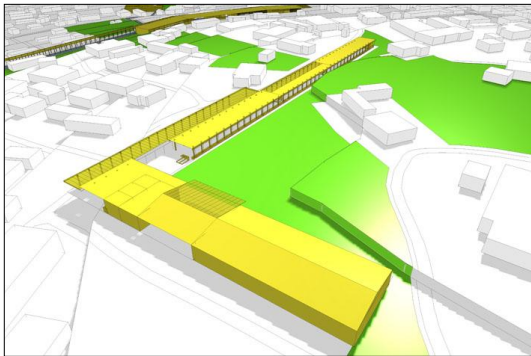


Figure 7. *Proposed market and exhibition of agricultural products.*



Figure 8. *Proposed plant nursery.*

Food production

Another activity is the selling of fruits and vegetables that are produced within and in the vicinity of the city. Selling of such products is widely practised. Formal and informal markets are situated all over the city. In addition to a formal market there are often informal markets, street and roadside vendors. This system supplies the inhabitants with fresh food of high quality. Lack of appropriate facilities for vending as well as for storage, refining and processing produces hygienic problems. There are great challenges in development of short distance production and supply system.

The combination of different processes could create synergy effects with new spatial relations as a consequence. To form physical facilities and demarcated areas where these processes and activities can be carried out could be a way of preserving existing spatial and environmental qualities while still being able to upgrade the settlements of Kampala.

Buildings

According to our plan the buildings are put into a system of processes and flows. They form part of an organisation of land in constant change. They need to be flexible and adapt to the use of the green structure. With the connections of communications and green spaces they launch a new scale in the area. They create new nodes for activities. Buildings are designed and located according to characteristics of the area.

Thus the topography is used to facilitate activities such as cleaning, storing, recycling etc. The constructions are made of concrete and/or metal beams and pillars. To close spaces, local materials as papyrus, cane, wood or bricks are used depending on security, aesthetical and sun shading factors.



Figure 9. *Poultry building.*



Figure 10. *Marketplace/restaurants.*

Communications

Communication paths follow the height curves and green spaces to create better circulation in the area. Today there is a lack of cross-communication between the roads leading down to the wetlands. Parts of the communications are to be shaded. Most of the paths are proposed to be dressed with gravel and the edges should be made of concrete and/or stone. When necessary the paths are asphalted for heavier transport. Drainage is adjoined to the paths to stop water to flush into the wetlands. The drainage and water system are connected to water infiltration beds and fishponds.

Land tenure

This project interferes with the existing land tenure system. Our designs cut across plots with different conditions of ownership. It is still important to make clear who owns and uses the land. For example, the choice of crop depends on the time that is possible for growing. Insecurity of land tenure tends to destroy soil and the use of destructive farming systems. The city needs to redesign properties. In this case agreements between landowners, users, new stakeholders and the city need to be made in order to achieve new plots for the project.

In the designated places for urban agriculture there is a span from cooperative to privately owned functions. Also NGOs and donor organisations could be working in the area. The inhabitants could for example manage general facilities as water and recycling. This would mean some kind of cooperative organisation. Other parts could be managed by private initiatives, such as farming, plant nursery, poultry breeding etc. It is important that the project is structure owned, used and managed by the inhabitants in its overall structure. Implementation should be made in steps, connecting parts when possible and unifying them into the system. One part may not be dependent on the other, but will support each other when operational.

A note on methods

This thesis is made as a generative project using what already exists in Kampala. The proposal is situated in Kitintale (zone 7) and in Mtungo Parish (zone 12). Kitintale is a relatively new settlement in the peri-urban fringe. It contains a mixture of commercial, farming and domestic activities. In the core of the settlement there is a trading centre connected to the regional road. The green structure with farming activities is extensive and still fairly continuous.

By comparing the two types of settlements we acquired knowledge about where, how and to what extent urban agriculture is practiced. Observations were supplemented with mapping using camera and sketching. We carried out observations of built structure and its relation to urban agriculture and other open spaces in the areas. The dialogue with residents and city farmers during documentation informed us how the spaces in between the buildings are used and defined, about assets in green spaces, land utilisation, density in population and in functions. These interviews were non-structured and performed during visits. In order to understand both areas we were helped by local residents.

Act Adaptively and Continuously Enhance Social Resiliency

A Rural Town of Chizu's Two-decade-long Challenge in Japan

Norio Okada²⁸

Since 1985 the author has been involved in field observations and studies in the town of Chizu, Tottori, Japan. This area has been going through a series of grass-root vitalizations and social innovations under the initiatives of a local catalyst-led resident group (originally called CCPT and later practically dissolved into a more invisible social network of motivated individuals). This paper briefly describes the history and evidences the author has witnessed, and discusses what it means to us “outsider professionals” for helping rural communities enhance social capacity.

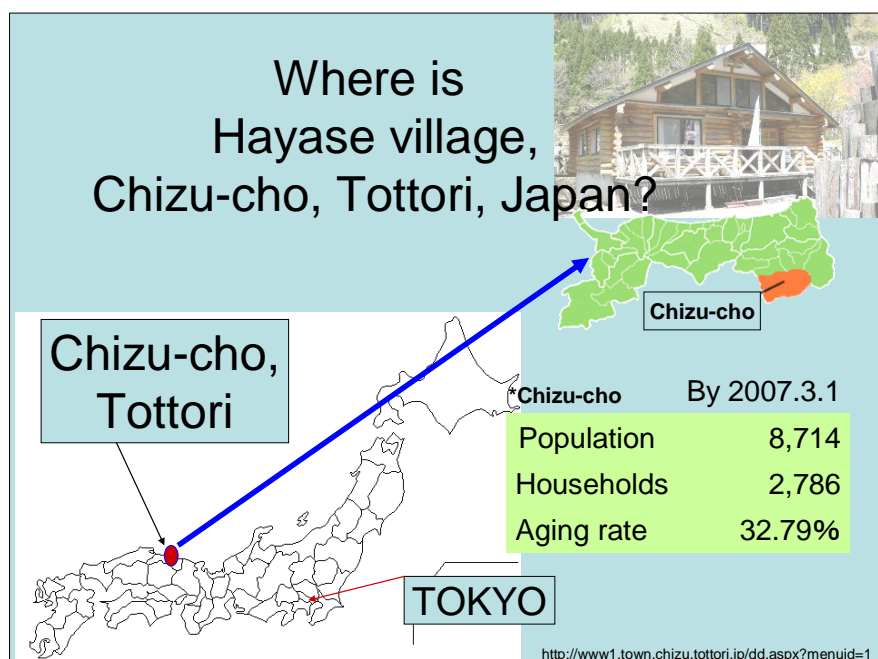
The Town of Chizu and Zero-to-One Movements

The municipal government of Chizu is a typical mountain community in the western part of Japan. It is located in the south-eastern region of the prefecture of Tottori which faces the Sea of Japan. The town has a population of less than 9,000, yet facing the continuous decrease in population year by year. It has now become a challenge to develop a viable model for coping with a rural decline syndrome called “kaso mondai” or “excessive social delusion problems” (see figure 1).

The first decade (roughly 1987-1998) of the author's field observations was the period when the local catalyst-led vitalization movements practically started and gained public recognition, although very limitedly, after a series of small-scale piecemeal success stories, which had been adaptively launched and managed through the processes of taking always a high risk in the challenge of a social venture. Obviously this kind of social venture risk was never taken by the municipal office of Chizu. Here was a niche to fill in missing gaps in community governance. Of course there were always critical moments when they were faced by near-failure threats. All of this, however, gave them chances to empower themselves, and to learn how to make their community more socially resilient.

Figure 1. Location of and basic information on Chizu Town.

The next decade (1997-2007) has seen an impact-making village renewal (social innovation) venture called “zero-to-one” village renewal movement (“zero-bunnoichi Muraokoshi Undo”). This decade-long social venture practically ended in 2007 with a success for some of the selected village communities in the town, shining in hope for



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a better quality of life. The remaining ones were not doing so well. This was a challenging social experiment first proposed by the catalyst group and adopted by the municipal office of Chizu. The target villages were fundamental units of neighborhood communities which currently consist of the municipality of Chizu and most of which have long been existent even since (some points of time in) the Tokugawa Shogunate government period (1603-1867).

What was this all about? In the author's view the major objective of this zero-to-one movement was such a unique challenge taken by some village communities which volunteered to be selected, and motivated to take a first step towards the process of recovering their coping capacity at their neighborhood level. An expected jump for challenging selected communities was very tough but modest in scale, shifting from the state of practically vanished to a modest but substantial extent, that is, from near to zero-level (symbolized by "0") to a level of small but substantial identity (symbolized by "1"), which is exactly the reason the name of "zero-to-one" was coined for. It also connotes that it addresses a change in quality rather than in quantity, demanding a creative knowledge-to-action leverage to move an "infinite" load with "almost nothing".

Interestingly, special knowledge-to-action is also needed to find out and actually set an appropriate fulcrum for this knowledge-to-action leverage. More often than not, such expertise first belongs to a special local catalyst who has trained his/her five senses to act locally and think globally.

The Second Decade for the Zero to One Movement

In the beginning of 2008 the second decade version of this social venture-support small grant program was proposed by the municipal office of Chizu. In the preceding process a local leader, Atsushi Teratani, had greatly contributed to the framework for the revision of the program. As was the case for the first version of this zero-to-one program, the author as a field-based scientist also joined in advising the town officials as to how they could characterize and substantiate the program. The other researcher, Toshio Sugiman, a social scientist who has also long collaborated with the author and Teratani, in this town, gave them his advice.

How different is the second decade challenge from the first one? In essence the first one focused merely on traditional neighborhood village communities which are considered as "points" in the town. In the second phase a focus is shifted towards "a collection of points" located along a valley. In fact this broader unit of valley communities was the one which had long functioned as an independent solid municipality after the modernization process of administrative reshufflings came to be settled in the Meiji Period (1868-1912). This seemingly "renaissance social venture" has such a strategic significance, if actually achieved. In ten years, if things go without no actions taken, most of village communities (as points) will virtually vanish either in the form of excessive aging or abandonment of living. There is no uncertainty about it. So the challenge to this "deterministic future reality", to share the awareness, to plan out "actable solutions", to act piecemeal-adaptively from now on, and to check

and adjust. This is precisely what the PDCA adaptive management cycle process is actually operated about (see figure 2). (Note that in this figure "Action" means "adjustment for planning" and "Do" means "action" in the above terminology.)

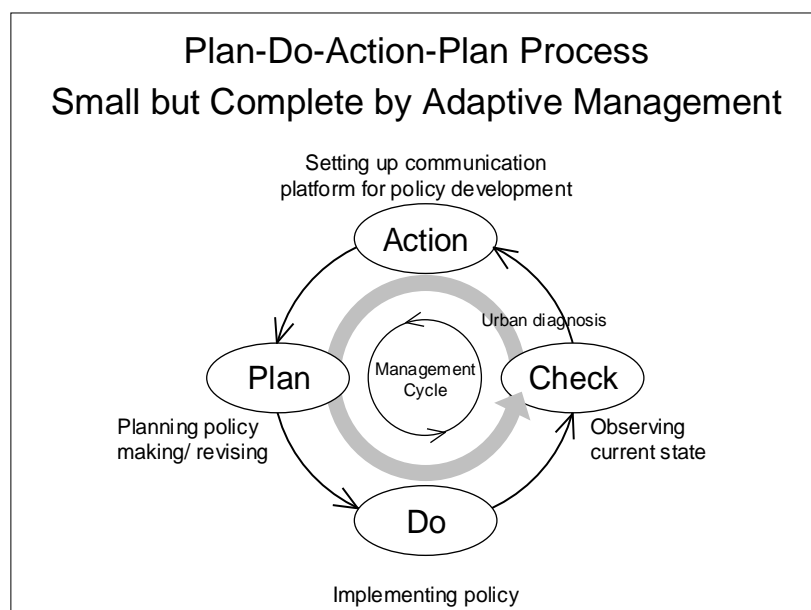


Figure 2. Adaptive Management by PDCA Cycle Process.

Conclusion

Chizu has been accumulating evidences that scientists and experts who have also volunteered to provide their external knowledge, have taken a substantial role in helping local champions to train themselves into such an expert of inside-out/outside-in inversion. The zero-to-one village renewal movement (the first decade) has paved the way for promoting further resident's initiatives to actualize multi-stakeholder knowledge-action developments in different communities which have participated in this decade-long movement.

Evidences obtained from Chizu suggest that a declining community may well be activated by a challenger constantly and intentionally undergoing inside-out/outside-in inversion processes. Ideally such a special local catalyst can develop his/her capacity if he/she lives in a (more) open society where synergy is continuously developed through collaborations between insiders and outsiders. In fact in many areas of Japan there are (at least potentially) some local champions who (would) volunteer to take long-enduring challenges and keep changing the local society into a more open environment.

Through the author's experiences of Chizu-based enduring field works scientist can take an important role as an outsider to bring in the community and help local catalysts as well as motivated community people to be empowered by inside-out/outside-in inversion. The same goes for scientists who can learn how to see our academic community more refreshingly open. More generally different types of experts or professionals who are interested in and professionally committed to town/community management are strongly encouraged to experience such an inside-out/outside-in inversion processes.

Therefore, it is more scientists and other professional who could be empowered through field-based persistent engagement, rather than community people.

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Nowadays there is fairly wide agreement that past housing policies have to be replaced by *enabling strategies* in order to cope with the problem of expanding urban slums in low-income countries. This strategy includes community participation, gradual slum upgrading, self-help construction techniques, relaxed space standards, and formalisation of informal settlements.

While lip-service is paid to the enabling housing strategy little is done to implement it in practice. Sadly enough architects and planners are often among those that are most reluctant to understand and implement these strategies. Creative engineering, design and planning efforts are, however, needed in order to find new affordable solutions. For professionals to work with local communities new talents are required, talents such as educational skills, respect for women's abilities, and flexibility with respect to land tenure, plot sizes and space standards.

This is what this booklet is about. It is hoped that it will reach many professionals and other decision-makers, and that it will contribute to a better understanding of how architects and planners can assist in improving the living conditions of the poor.

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