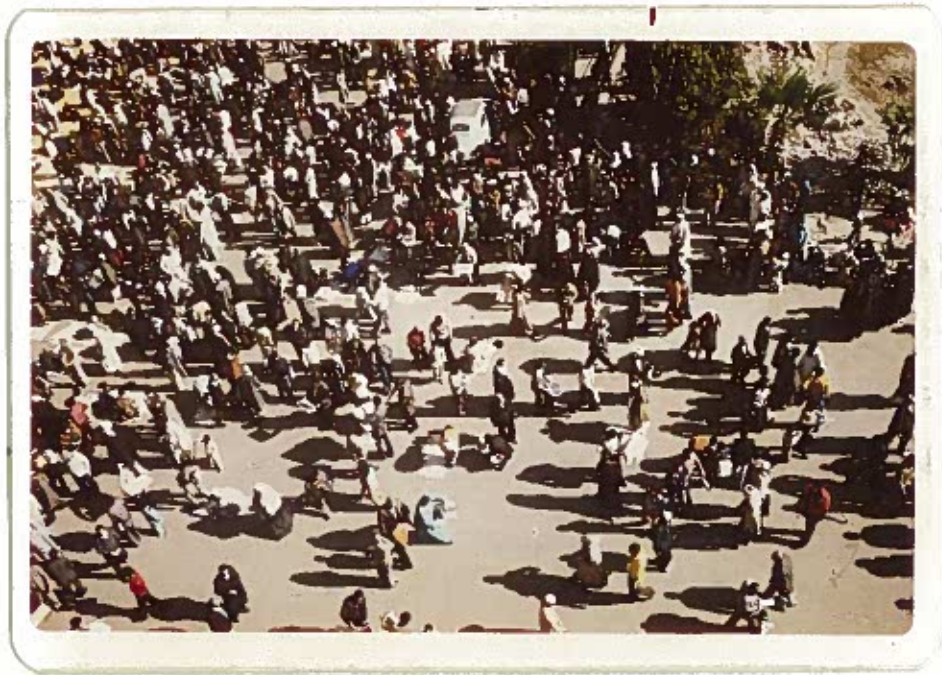


COMPOSITE DIALOGUE ON THIRD WORLD HOUSING

Assembled and Edited

by

Tom Burrows.



CAIRO STREET

COMPOSITE DIALOGUE ON THIRD WORLD HOUSING USING

SPLICES FROM TAPED MONOLOGUES WITH:

J.T. John F.C. Turner - Architect & Planner - London
G.P. Geoffery Payne - Architect & Planner - London
H.F. Hassan Fathy - Architect - Egypt
R.S. Pajeer Sethi - Designer and Community Worker - New Delhi
R.B. Ruma Beneyce - Community Worker - Calcutta

J.T. There are two essentially different ways and means by which housing gets built, managed and maintained. One is through large corporations, large organizations, commercial organizations and public organizations, which supply, rather the way you buy shoes off the peg from a large department store. That's the rather modern way. It was quite rare until fairly late on in the 19th century.

G.P. Since 1950, basically, 25 years - with the break-up with the empires, the development of the international world economy since the last war. Rural areas have been opened up to development and instead of resources going to the rural areas they've been concentrated in the cities. Where you get that.....If the money doesn't go, the resources don't go to the people in the villages. The people in the villages have no choice but to go where the money is and where the jobs are.

J.T. During the past 30 years the populations have trebled or quadrupled and so the proportion of public housing built has not been more than a small drop in a very large bucket.



NUBIAN VILLAGE

G.P.

People coming to the city from a very rural background where these things still apply now. They're used to being able to just claim land. They don't think they are doing anything illegal. This is how they have always operated. They come and they build their own house. Why should they do something in a village which is accepted, come to a city, claim a piece of land and build a nice house and suddenly find that they are breaking the law? In Cairo, for example there's not a hope in hell that the government will be able to provide housing of that scale at the cost that conventional reinforced concrete requires.

H.F.

Here, I think, there was a house from Egypt. A house from lower Egypt. A house from the desert and a house from the coastline. When the peasants were masters, their own owners and masters, they produced a very nice architecture which is very, I mean to say, efficient and good. The design concept you like... What is the environment for modern man? Streets, automobiles, asphalt, glass walls, nonsense and so on. Where is nature? Where are the trees?

J.T.

If you've got a corporate system, whether those corporations are public or private again doesn't matter - if it's a corporate system, then you are working through agents and the people making decisions are a very considerable distance from you. You never really meet them, you meet their agents or representatives who don't have responsibility and who always pass the buck.



CONSTRUCTION IN INDIA

R.S.

These bureaucrats step into it in their jeeps and cars and make an inspection tour then they take decisions on the basis of what they've popularly called a field trip and that's their culture.

J.T.

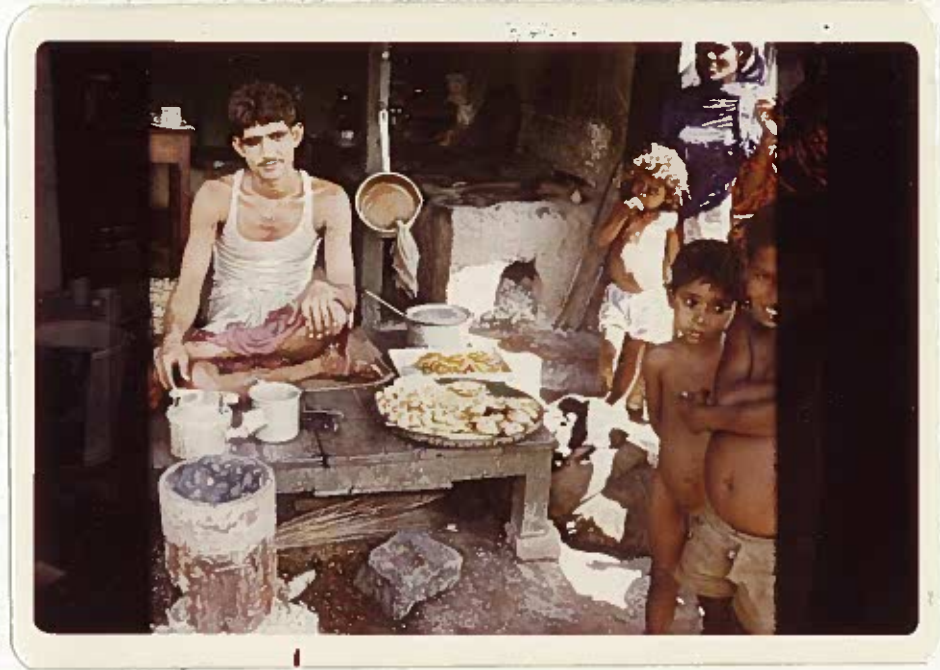
In terms of resources, particularly scarce resources, like energy and land and the limited use of plentiful resources like peoples' imagination, efforts and their energy, the modern systems are anything but productive. People will invest in housing, not just financially, perhaps more importantly or equally importantly the will to look after, to care for it, the incentive to use your imagination and initiative to, as an economist might say, to add value to it. This depends on your satisfaction and expectancies of satisfaction.

H.F.

And I have seen an old woman, a tribeswoman she was...I don't know...I found that she was collecting mud and that they were doing some and they were doing that, etc., etc. In a week's time she built a small shop and roofed it with dry reeds and things and she was already using the shop.

R.S.

Technology is everyone's technology but you have to choose that which is appropriate to our environment and that's the difference between intermediate technology and appropriate technology.



CALCUTTA STREET VENDOR

J.T.

We should have developed from the tradition of local and small business organizations and people providing housing at the local level. But, of course, this is the question, "Well, why didn't that develop, why did this other track, why was the other track taken in the first place?" Well, I hope the socialists have the answer to that one. Where you've got very poor housing conditions, even in circumstances where there are a great many resources around, you will find that the housing-construction-supply system is dominated by large organizations or is simply paralyzed by the failure of government to insure equitable access to resources; so that land, for instance is simply held out of use.

Calcutta

The police, the people, or landlord or anyone cannot come at any moment and throw you out and you don't know where to go with your child, with your sick mother, husband. Your husband is not sure when he will come back from working late whether the house will be there, whether his room will be there or not. It may be demolished at any time. What has to be done in order to re-establish local control, in order to redevelop a reliable system is, of course, the insurance of equitable access to basic resources. Land in the first place.

R.S.

Some bureaucrat whose never been to the village decides one day to close it because he feels that nothing is coming out and he's never been to the village to see what is



INGENUITY ON THE STREET - CALCUTTA

R.S. happening and he's not in any case concerned with the little industries. You know, he doesn't associate with that. He's lived in the culture of amongst industrialists, all his friends are industrialists so he closed it.

G.P. Not many governments faced with say 30 per cent, 50 per cent of its city population being in the low income group is going to encourage projects which encourage anarchy as they see it or initiative as the low income people see it.

R.S. And local self-initiative needs to be chained together with other local movements and there is an energy in that which is so simple, except for somebody sitting in the place the government sits in. Essentially it's true that there is a lot to do, you know, I guess they feel they'll lose their importance which is insane.

G.P. I think the initial problem is government attitude. If governments want to encourage the contribution of low income people providing their own housing for themselves, it does make it easier for them to put the resulting increase in revenue to even more extensive use.

J.T. At the level of intra-structure, the limits are set by the network of roads or major mains, water mains, sewers and so on and it seems to me inevitable and necessary that local, sometimes central authorities, should be con-



A HOME & A LIVING - CALCUTTA

J.T. cerned with the planning of those networks but they should not get involved in detailed design of planning of what goes on in the cells created by those networks. That should be up to the local level of decision making.

G.P. The merit of the local system of housing production is that, providing that there is a wide enough type of supply, people will be able to somehow equate their needs within that supply pattern.

J.T. It is a fact that many of the people who are sleeping in the streets or living on the pavements, prefer to do that than to live in the alternative inappropriate accommodation available to them. Sometimes they have accomodation. But they find that on balance they're better off on the pavement than they are in a shack. Access to work, access to social facilities and amenities - this can be and often is, for poorer people in third world countries, very, very much more important than the quality of the house itself. The important thing is not the type of tenure or particular institution or particular place but the freedom, the options that it gives to people.



S.K. DAS IN HIS BOMBAY OFFICE

BOMBAY

S.K. DAS, ARCHITECT

In the year '49, squatters from various parts of Bombay were thrown out of the city limits and they were made to resettle on a piece of land. And this piece of land was much outside the city limits at that time - in the middle of mango groves and cultivation. And initially about 3,000 families were shifted. At the time the chief minister of the state gave the squatters an assurance that this resettlement is going to be a model one in an independent India.

They put up saving to sort of invest into houses. And over a period of three years as many as 7,5000 families had settled in this area, making it 7,500 families altogether and a population of 70,000 to 72,000 people. Around 1956 the Department of Atomic Energy, the DAE, had bought a stretch of land next to this squatter resettlement. They approached the state government and city government to evict these squatters again. And their contention was that, in time, their residential settlement will grow into a township with a proper density and all facilities and will be up to the standard that is required for scientists and engineers, and that squatter settlement is undesirable in the middle of an atomic energy residential complex.

The appeal was rejected by the court and the court gave a ruling saying that the squatters resettlement constitutes an important purpose in an independent India and that enough land was available for Atomic Energy Commission otherwise. The people living at Janata got the virtual assurance that they were being made permanent and there was nothing else to shift them.



YOUNG SQUATTERS

S.K. Das - continued

And similar issues have been raised over periods, soon after '69 up to '75. In '75 the Municipal Corporation of Bombay, that is the city government, had set up an inquiry committee which gave the ruling that Janata has to be evicted because the Atomic Energy wants the land. And their contention was that the priorities keep on shifting and changing in a new country like India.

In '75, May, a 10,000 strong police force came to the colony and tried to evict the people. The men, women and children mobilized themselves and stopped eviction and they literally threw back the police.

An attempt to evict^c Janata population was repeated in '76, May. By this time the press had lost its freedom and this time the eviction was to take place rather quietly and no one else in the city was aware of this. It came as a surprise. They managed to put up resistance and throw the police back in '75. In 1976 it was otherwise because there was emergency. So people put up some kind of resistance and in May '76 a 10,000 strong police force with sticks and even rifles invaded into the colony and finally took charge of the colony after about three to four hours of massive resistance being put up. And then people were dumped into trucks and moved out from the Janata site.

The eviction that took place between 17th May and end of June was during the middle monsoon and it was pouring and people had to go and put up their shacks at the alternate site. And this alternate site, called Cheeta Camp was about five to seven kilometres further down the road, again on the periphery of the city and next to a marshy piece of land.



PUBLIC BATHING FACILITIES

S.K. Das - continued

At Janata the residents had 54 acres of land on which they had settled and in comparison at Cheeta Camp, they got only about 40 acres for 72,000 people. So even so much so that even the size of houses reduced.

Today they have one latrine for every 350 families or so. All the families have not been able to acquire plots. Some families have been dispersed in the process of eviction because there were not enough plots and no one knows where they went.

At Janata the municipal facilities were minimal in the sense there was one latrine for every 220 families and about one water tap for 200 families.

In contrast to the municipal amenities, if you look at the amenities people had created themselves, like save a space for a playground, or a mosque, or a temple and little open spaces for recreation and community meetings, were all very respectfully kept open and clean.

If you look at any residential settlement, you'll find that the employment within such settlements is more or less zero in case of formal housing situation. And in case of squatter settlements it's really massive. And in a country where unemployment situation is acute. If you look at the extent of economic activities and the extent to which people have invested money to make it some kind of a township live in Bombay, goes to show that the investment into Janata had been really massive.

Most of the economic activities suffered because



YOUNG HAWKER DRESSED - DOWNTOWN

S.K. Das - continued

of lack of space and lack of services at Cheeta. Some of them even lost their own contacts in terms of supplies and products being sold at some places because of the distance involved.

At Janata as many as 2,500 people were employed in various small activities like petty commodity production, trading and retailing.

Other things that have been produced within the colony were handicraft toys and edibles, which are sold by hawkers in the central areas of the city. You find that every day the police chases the hawkers out of the streets and they're back on the streets the next day after paying a little bit of bribe or fine and this kind of event has become almost a daily event. The hawkers being chased at a certain time and back in the morning, the next day.

There was a printing press inside Janata and because services were cheaper, since establishment cost was low, people from within a radius of about six to eight kilometres preferred to come to this printing press than to go elsewhere.

In the '60's the silk saris became extremely popular and even found their way to export markets in the Middle East. As a result, these 260 families really prospered in business and they realized that the middleman made a lot of profit, so they got together and formed an industrial co-operative of embroidery workers and they started marketing their own products. Their products were directly exported out, also.



MOVIES ADVERTIZED IN THE SLUM

S.K. Das - continued

There used to be even people who used to come from outside to work inside Janata.

The population consisted of Hindus, Moslems and Christians in equal proportions. And it's amazing that there's not a single incidence where there has been any fight on the basis of religion.

There were about 17 communal and social organizations within the colony. Some of them had a religious bent. Some of them were on the basis of people living together in one area withing Janata. And others were on the basis of people working at one place. And when the issue of eviction became alive, these 17 organizations got together to form what they called an All-Party Association. The All-Party was formed to co-ordinate activities.

About 1,200 people from Janata were employed in all kinds of menial jobs in the Atomic Energy Complex itself. Jobs such as gardening, sweeping and driving atomic energy vehicles and so on. And another 300 to 400 men and women were employed inside the DAE residential settlement as domestic servants.

The Atomic Energy residents found it profitable to go to Janata to buy their daily food and other requirements because it was cheaper in Janata than in their own shopping complex, which was a well built, plush shopping market.

When the issue of eviction had come up, these people had raised this point - that you are evicting 72,000 people. Out of that, about 1,600 families directly surviving on the Atomic Energy Complex and as many as 1,200 employed by them - to provide houses for only 300 Atomic Energy families



INTERFACE OF TWO REALITIES

S.K. Das - continued
of the upper class.

Today the population in Bombay is a little over 7 million and 25 - 30 per cent of the population live in squatter settlements.

The very concept of peaceful use of atomic energy and dependence on foreign money and expertise to develop these kinds of methods and so on, may appear legitimate in itself but, if the perception of the scientists and engineers - who supposedly work in the best interests of the people, the common and the poor man, and for which all the scientific and technological research, such as that in atomic energy is diverted towards -- if one looks at the real situation, these people, their aspirations, their life-style and their life situation has pushed them into a state where they are not prepared to accept the fact that they have to live next to squatters or live next to poverty stricken people -- if this is the price of development, then one should ask the questionhow valid is this kind of development.



REJEEVE SETHI AT WORK

NEW DELHI

REJEEVE SETHI, DESIGNER

A community of acrobats and puppeteers and balancing girls and dancers and musicians, magicians and jugglers and what have you - this settlement of theirs was like a village itself, you know. They had slowly built it over about fifteen years and there were mud huts and everything that you see in an urban slum. Because they couldn't afford even scrap and things like that so they used mud and there was a lot of empty area to take mud from nearby. So, suddenly, in the middle of this Delhi, in the midst of all this traffic and hustle and bustle, under this bridge you found this new village, town, almost, and just as suddenly the bulldozers came and sort of swept them off and everyone scrambled with the little bit of things they had, dispersed all over Delhi.

They were united for perhaps the first time in their lives because they were reduced to the same situation, all of them. They were all equals in their despair and somehow that had an effect. And they used to call little singing parties, religious singing parties because, in emergency, you were not supposed to meet in large numbers and we used to get this petition to sent to the government that we should instead be housed in a place where we can be of more positive help.

Most of them said that we will give up our land, which you have given us in these new settlement colonies, which are far away, where nobody knows where they are. They've got to come into the city and by the time they are finished their work in the night they can't get back. It's ridiculous.



PRACTICE SESSION AT THE COMMUNAL STUDIO



YOUNG ENTERTAINER ON THE STREET

Rejeeve Sethi - continued

They said we have those small plots of land that you've given us and instead we'd like to have a place of our own.

The Co-operative really came together because of a hardship that they all experienced together and in their togetherness they discovered, I think, the joy or just the difference that unity brings.

They are totally illiterate. For you and me we could easily slip into ideologies and go into lengthy discussions of what will happen to us and what has been happening and analyze it. But to them you know, it's now and somehow the action is ideology and it's a continuous action.

Suddenly, they began drawing equations and you know, when it hit them so personally, even at a national level, they became politically aware..

I feel that these people will build the village on their own with a little bit of technical help to lay the intra-structure for example, some of it, water, etc - they'll build themselves. I have no reason to doubt that they will do an excellent job because they have been building their villages for centuries and they'll have courtyard theatres, they'll have their work sheds, each according to his need.

Indigenous technologies - a lot of them have been forgotten by this community because they have been living too long in the city. That's why master masons from different parts of india, you know, will be brought back to demonstrate certain things and to help the householder build his house.



THE SLUM



THE REMOVAL

BANGKOK

A fire - very often it will occur in the lower-income communities and you can see that the housing pattern and housing density in these low income communities is very, very dangerous, so if you can go in and ask in any low-income community, so-called slum, one of the most problem will be answered by the residents with fire, so we choose also this fire protection as a means in order to organize the community.

This fire and another thing the landlords usually made use as a means in order to chase the people out of their own land, you know, also. If they cannot ask the people to go out or to leave the land, they set fire and it will chase the people out. So this has quite commonly happened here in this city.



THE TOOL FOR PROTECTION



THE FOUNTAIN OF COMMUNITY DECISION

Bangkok - Continued

Normally, before, we thought of buying very expensive Japanese fire pump or fire engine - the people they are so fascinated with the colors that's painted in the engine - but after that we ask the people whether we can handle it and the people felt reluctant to answer that they can, so we carry on asking them that - Okay, we have to maintain ourselves. We have to know how to repair that if it is broken down. So they agree that no we are going to build ourselves, you know, the fire engine. So we, together with the people developed this engine by making use of second hand, you know, motors and engine, Toyota parts and after that we couple with this pump that we bought, that it was made from Australia. So all the fixing of the engine and the fixing on the water lines have been done by the people themselves.

The fire protection system - this is only one and the first project - this is a test for them that they can co-operate together and be really expecting many, many more projects to be carried on in future.

This is a most important problem - that we have to improve the environmental condition in the slums here.



GEF & RITA PAYNE WITH DAUGHTER & NANNY
IN ISMALIA

CASE STUDY OF ANKARA - AN INDIGENOUS SOLUTION

GEF PAYNE - ARCHITECT & PLANNER

Somehow a system was evolved in Ankara which has enabled 75 per cent of the population, all of which are in the low income category, to obtain a decent form of house.

Legislation that had been passed in 1924 was invoked by squatters and this said that no house which was habitable and had a roof on it could be demolished by the police. Now this meant that if you wanted your house to be secure from the police, you had to build it over night and when the police drove past the next morning the wife had to be inside putting the kettle on and there had to be a roof on the building.

*in migration situation
(Rural rather than Urban)*

What you would do is go to an area where people from your village were already living or people from your place of work were already living and you'd ask them if there was a piece of land near them where you could build your house. You'd store materials in the gardens of the people who were already there and then, on an agreed night, you'd work all the way through the night with your friends so that, by the next morning, you'd then cover the building with mud so that it looked as if it had been there for ten or twenty years.

There're many examples of people coming home from work and finding out the only thing intact in their house was the lock on the door. The police, on their rounds, if the walls had been filled in with cardboard or tin and they could lean against it and demolish the house, then they would.

Ankara - Gef Payne - Continued

What they did was to go to an area where the houses were of different qualities and they'd demolish the one that was the easiest to demolish. There were a lot of occasions where people had to rebuild their houses five, six sometimes eight times before they actually got them accepted.

So there was a sort of locally regulated form of building standards. The good thing about it is that people from local agencies therefore did not apply an arbitrary set of standards as you get in a building code. And, by enabling those to stay that were in fact reasonable, you gave them confidence to improve the house continually... to expand it, to give rooms for rental accomodation to other people who were still establishing themselves in the city. So you enabled a local system of housing production to make a contribution at the whole city scale.

One of the other reasons for having good housing in Ankara is because of the climatic extremes. In winter, temperatures can go as low as -15 degrees centigrade and you get snow there for very long periods. In summer, temperatures go up to 35 to 40 degrees centigrade. So that, in order to get protection from the elements, you do need, whatever your income, to have a decent roof over you head before long.

Now the lesson of Ankara is that of the people - government has not attempted to build mass housing for the poor. At the most they have attempted to provide housing for about 6 per cent. And I think that no more than 8 per cent of its total housing budget goes on actual housing construction. And that is restricted to housing for people displaced

Ankara - Gef Payne - continued

by land slides or other disasters or people who are displaced from squatter housing areas.

In the city, the same system is exploited when you get people in squatter areas wanting a road or a sewerage system or a water supply and they'll apply to the government. In local access roads to a neighbourhood, you would get local people, where possible, helping to dig the foundations and working behind the major earth moving plant and so on, providing support. It helps get that road quicker. The same thing applies to ⁱⁿ sewerage or to water networks, you get people who'll go under the supervision of a municipal engineer who has laid out the trenches and knows what the subsoil conditions are. He's a technician. He will supervise the work which local people will actually implement.

Now this obviously does mean that you're getting communal self-help rather than just the individual self-help. And, since that's a well established tradition in Ankara, or Turkey, it's very easy for government to exploit that for beneficial purposes and for local people to exploit it for their own purpose.

The mere fact that government accepts the tax shows that they accept you. Therefore, people are very anxious to pay taxes. In most urban areas of very poor countries, governments are so reluctant to recognize squatting, to acknowledge its existence, that they refuse any form of diplomatic or economic recognition. But, in Ankara, they have accepted this as the form of housing for the majority

Lakshmi - Del... continued

by land slides or other disasters or people who are displaced

have suffered certain losses

in the area, the area under is provided with



GOING HOME AFTER A WORKDAY

vice the work area local people will generally find it

the area is a well-served area in terms of

concerned with both individual and

here - and since people's well-being is a

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Ankara - Gef Payne, continued
of people. And they have a tax for urban services, like schools, as most western countries have, which isn't excessive. But, when you multiply it by 75 per cent of the population, it does become a major element in a small municipal budget.

The self-help system has changed over the years from being one in which government is hostile and, therefore, people are forced to work together to provide any sort of house which they then improve as they can over the years, to one in which government now accepts this form of housing production and says that it's policy is to support it and improve it. This is, I think, one of the most progressive policies that could be adopted under these conditions.

Ankara has got a lot to offer other cities which are restricted in their budgets and trying to operate under virtually impossible conditions, if they're trying to take away the initiative of housing people from the people.



MAKING USE OF SPACE

GEF PAYNE ON THE CONCEPT OF SELF-HELP HOUSING

You can't afford to provide houses for everybody. There're far too many people. There're too limited government resources. So self-help is the way out for a lot of governments wanting to resolve the political threat to their stability and the social slur that slums and so on represent.

International agencies like the World Bank and the U.N. now go in for site and service schemes in combination with squatter upgrading - the upgrading and improvement of existing settlements. But, of course, if you are upgrading an already dense and informally planned settlement to get roads through, to get sewers through, you need to start doing a bit of demolition. So where do you put the people that you're displacing. You put them into the site and service scheme next door. So that this way you combine the two things. You improve and rationalize the facilities for the existing population and provide better facilities for the next population. So these are now the twin policies which are advocated by most agencies. The interesting thing is that the agencies which were ordained have been criticized for some years for being rather colonial in their attitude, I suppose, in that sense of being more radical, more progressive than a lot of the governments that they're trying to influence.

In Delhi, before the 1975 emergency laws came in, when the government forcibly removed 1/2 million people to the city outskirts in camps, work camps, except that there was no work, people were living in small little areas behind



FITTING IN WHERE YOU CAN

Gef Payne on the Concept of Self-Help Housing - continued

large houses. One area that I've been familiar with had two thousand people on two acres. That's just less than one hectare. That's two thousand people an hectare. Now, these were built, all of them, behind a high brick wall that faced onto the railway line and behind some very nice houses which faced onto the road next to it. So the passerby would never know that there were 2,000 people living there.

The danger with a lot of the self-help policies which were being advocated, I think, is that governments can regard them as a panacea. They can see well there's a piece of land ten miles from the city. They'll put sewers on it in a couple of years time and they'll displace people forcibly from existing settlements in the city and take them in lorries ten miles into the countryside and say there's a self-help housing scheme, get on and build your own houses. It's a very nice way of getting rid of a problem. You don't get rid of the problem, you get rid of the people that are causing it. You move the problem off. That's all you're doing. And inevitably, if the location is wrong, people who are dependent on jobs in the inner city, can't cope with the transport costs of getting in and out of the city each day. They will sell off that plot, as happens in many countries, and go back and squat in the inner city areas in another substandard house and take the capital that they've made out of selling that plot. The result of which is that middle income people benefit from the housing and the squatter problem re-occurs somewhere else.



INTERFACE

Gef Payne on the Concept of Self-Help Housing - continued

In a country with a developed land market economy; self-help policies are very, very restricted in their scope because the government can't afford to buy expensive land in an inner city location on which to build cheap housing for low income families. It's forced into using that land for what, in economic terms, is called "higher use", such as department stores, hotels, conference centres.

The problem is how do you provide self-help housing projects under conditions where they don't represent, in their success, a threat to the system. In other words, how, in, say, a very large city would you build low income housing, self-help schemes on expensive urban land because the poor, the very poor, need access to central location.

The main problem of housing for the poor is poverty, not housing. And if you don't use housing to improve the wealth of people through their own resources and develop their autonomy, their own independence, then self-help housing is not achieving its purpose.

Self-help either has to accept those constraints and do what it can within them or it has to challenge the system at a structural level in society if it's going to succeed.



ISMALIA

ISMALIA - AN ATTEMPT AT PLANNING THE UNPLANNED- Gef Payne

If government is attempting to regulate a system of community self-help, it is in a sense applying, a top down - as John Turner would call it - approach. It is attempting to control the nature and the extent of self-help patterns. It's in fact supplying plots at a level and of a type that the planners hope and think is appropriate but which may not be.

The types of plot that we're providing range from the very small to the very large. Services range from virtually nothing to full provision of everything, with obvious cost variations. Now what people actually will pay for and will want will then be possible to identify fairly easily.

For phase two, we know that we must provide more plots of that size and more utilities of that level. But there's a danger of regarding that as the standard solution and it may well be that in future phases or in other parts of the city demand may be very different.

The planning problem is to create a framework in which the majority of people can get what they want at a level they can afford with a chance of developing something over time that they want, basically.

The way that we've approached it in Ismalia is by diversifying as far as possible.

I mean, how do you plan the unplanned. Here is the obvious problem.



~~Walla~~ - Gef Payne ~~revised~~ & John Turner

GP I've always found it slightly ironic that low income households in a poor country, in a poor city, like Ankara, had more choice and more control over their housing than me as a relatively affluent person in a relatively affluent city in a relatively affluent society, like London, England.

JT I suppose what I am mainly concerned with now is the issue in development change, as such - as a result of this increasing interest in the complementarities between the rich world and the poor world.



TURNER IN FRONT OF HIS EAST LONDON HOME

JOHN TURNER ON LONDON AND THE CONCEPT OF TENANT INVOLVEMENT

The complement to security of tenure is transferability, is the freedom to move. Now the ridiculous thing that's happened in London... The average duration of a tenancy in public housing in London, which is rented housing, mind you, and one would expect not so very secure tenure, the average duration is 30 years. So that most public housing tenants, in fact, pass it to a second generation. So there's an extremely long and a very high degree of security of tenure by and large in public housing. It's not associated necessarily with their occupation. But, in fact, their problem is just the opposite. Many people in public housing can't move, they're stuck. The duration of tenure ~~is~~, in the ~~owner~~^{owner}-occupied sector in London, is seven years. So people move on the average maybe three or four times in their working life-times.

Investment in the housing system depends to a very large extent on the motive of the people who are housed, ~~then~~, the importance of matching people's situations, their priorities with the housing they get is of enormous importance.

The major reason why public housing built in the 1930's is in such poor condition, whereas the private housing built at the same time was in very good condition, it has nothing to do with being public or private, it has to do with this kind of nature of system. And now we've got a tragic-comic situation with housing built in the 1950's



TENANT ACTION

John Turner - Tenant Involvement - continued

already being torn down. It is useless in London because it is so disliked, it's been so totally rejected by people living in it that it's been vandalized to such an extent that it's cheaper to pull it down than to rehabilitate. There's no effective demand for it. Now this has happened in the United States, it's happening here. I've been told, and on good authority, that in the Netherlands 25 per cent of the housing that's been built by public agencies, since the end of world war two is already scheduled to be demolished. It's obsolete. It may not be in terribly bad condition but, unlike private housing, it is no longer acceptable for the people for whom it's designed. People don't want it any more. It's going to have to be replaced.

People taking a more active part, are beginning to realize that the escalating costs of management and maintenance of public housing is going to price it out of existence. So the question is, how can we bring the system under local control.

I, myself, am not in favour of a general sale of public housing to the private sector because I think that would throw out the baby with the bath water - because the public housing system has got one very big potential virtue in that the property is basically social and that if it is kept out of the speculative market, this would keep prices down.



FROM A SQUAT ON TOP OF ROMAN RUINS

TO LUXURY FLATS - ROME

John Turner - Tenant Involvement - continued

The formation of tenant groups which can take over in a co-operative way the management and maintenance of their own estates, because when the management or the maintenance is done by the people themselves it can often cost, well the difference in cost, in repairing a window when you're doing it yourself, is maybe a tenth of what it costs the agency to do it for you. They send around a van with a couple of men to first of all look at it, see whether in fact it is broken and take the measurements and then go away and get the glass, then come back and put it in. All the time they clock in and so on and, of course, it costs enormously more than if you go and do it yourself and get the glass at the corner. So this is now beginning to be understood and so that if people can take over control of their own housing, then the costs of running it will drop and, undoubtedly, the amount of care and investment that people will put into it will increase.

So this, I think, is the trend for the future.