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THE ROLE OF A DEVELOPER IN THE
LOW-COST HOUSING PROGRAMMES FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES 1/

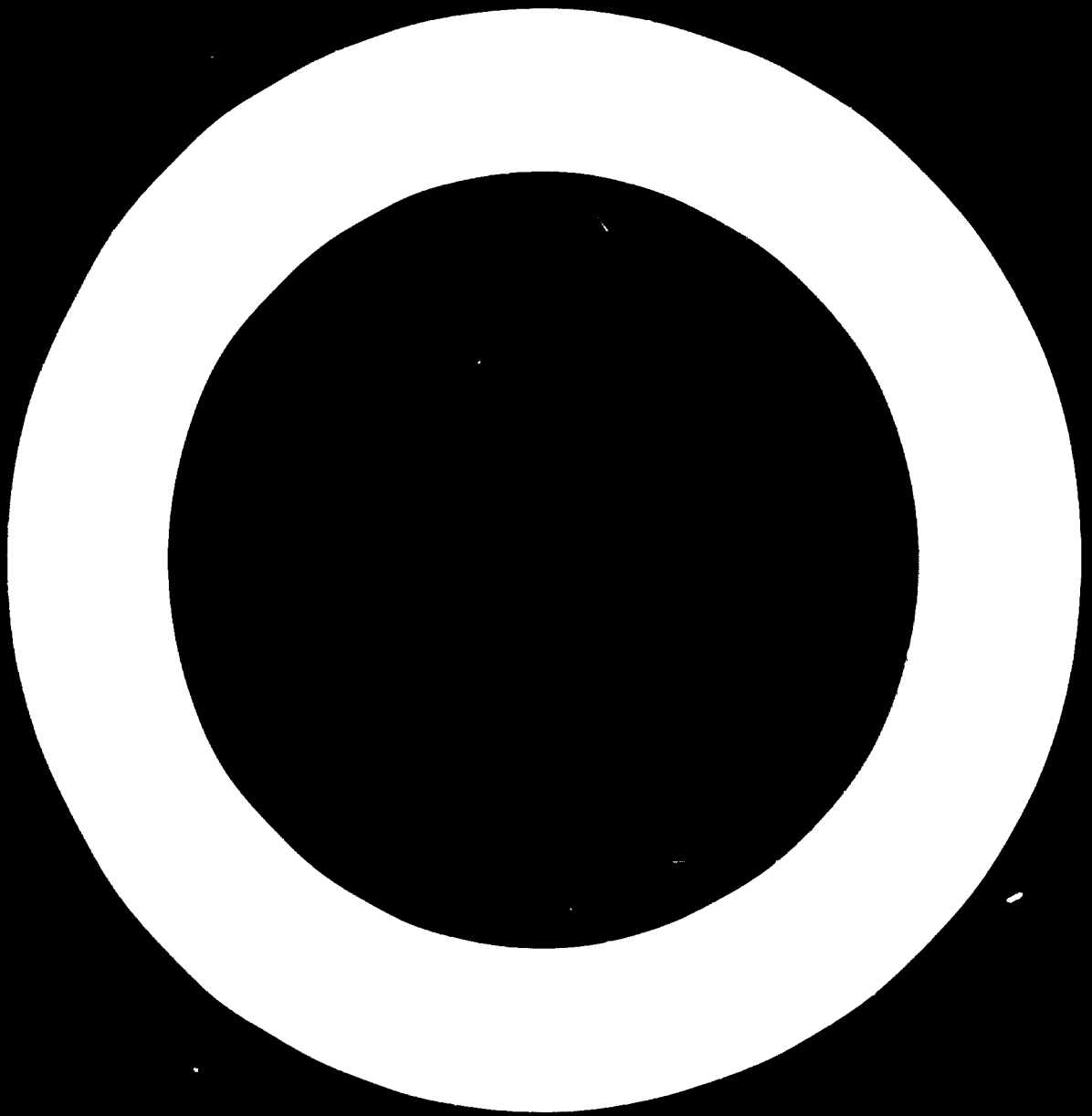
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THE ROLE OF A DEVELOPER IN THE LOW-COST HOUSING PROGRAMMES FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

One can discuss the problems and programmes related to developing countries from different backgrounds.

My own authorization to participate in this workshop seminar is supported by 11 years of field missions in the countries of the Third World.

I have to refer to the role of developer - a developer architect in particular - in programmes of low-cost housing schemes for developing countries.

Therefore the objects of my considerations are focused on:

- /1/ developing countries, which are our territory of action, and where numerous particularities exist,
- /2/ low-cost housing, and
- /3/ developers themselves.

The first two terms, so commonly used, are - as we ascertain now - inadequate and therefore need to be stated precisely.

/1/ Developing countries

So called developing countries, juridically sovereign, are nations characterized by a prolonged process of directional changes during which forms and elements of the inherited structures are transformed into forms and states that are more complex, higher and more perfect in respect to contemporary requirements.

The term itself, certainly not the most correct one, has been changed over the last 20 years, from clearly pejorative "under developed countries", through the ingratiating "less developed countries" to the coquettish "developing countries", defining forced evolution of the mutual relations between developed nations and the developing countries.

Irrespective of this, various suppositions may be drawn, as to the theory that every country - provided it is not in the state of complete

economic and social structure is somewhat "developing", since something new is being done for general individual benefit. Neither training nor by labor and ability, aimed at replacing an effective term, can be a bridge for reality of socio-economical backwardness, nor change the state of things as they are now. When talking about these countries, one can mention either India with its 600 000 000 inhabitants, or China with a population of 900 000 000 only, either Malta with population density of 1000 inh per one square kilometer, or Luxembourg where this index amounts to 2 inh only, either Libya and Saudi Arabia with their great wealth of oil fields, or Chad and Western Sahara, practically bare of any natural raw materials. Advanced industry and agriculture of economically developed nations, permit 1.4 billion inhabitants the luxury of worrying about reducing diets instead of diet deficiencies.

2.5 billion citizens of the underdeveloped world, are nearly ill-fed: at least 60% are malnourished, and 20% more are starving.

Today, famine is rampant in Ethiopia, the African nations of the Sahel: Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Niger Central and Upper Volta - Gambia and the areas of Tanzania and Kenya.

In two Asian nations the popular faces chronic food shortages. Among them Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, the Philippines and Haiti.

In all developing countries - except probably the "oil rich countries" - called the countries of the 1st and 2nd World - the explosive rate of population and urbanization growth, have created crisis which is extremely difficult to cope with in face of outdistanced available economic resources, underutilization of natural and human resources, and frequent inefficiency of local administration and governmental structures, sensitive to political changes.

Although these increases are nationwide, they are more pronounced in the cities, where the sheer scale of growth is unprecedented in the history of mankind.

2 A special significance may be attached to the oil revenues of "The Fourth World Countries" in the years between 1970 - 1974: expressed in 000 000 US Dollars

| | | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1974 |
|--------------|---------------|------|------|------|--------|
| Kuwait | 900 000 inh | 897 | 1335 | 1530 | 6500 |
| Saudi Arabia | 5500 000 inh | 1200 | 2160 | 2700 | 300000 |
| Iran | 22000 000 inh | 1093 | 1870 | 2635 | |
| Libya | 1740 000 inh | 1204 | 1766 | 2337 | |
| Algeria | 12300 000 inh | 325 | 320 | 300 | |
| Abu Dhabi | 25 000 inh | 233 | 431 | 650 | 3000 |

According to U.S. News and World Report, May 27 1974 Saudi Arabia is expected to have unspent currency reserves of over 100 billion dollars by the end of 1977, and of as much as 300 billions by 1980. Abu Dhabi oil income alone if shared equally would mean 240 000 US Dollars per head.

In the great majority of urbanised areas of the developing world, there are extensive areas of despoiled landscape that provide one of the worst human environment that has ever created.

Poverty, and lack of prospects are creating unique, homogenous micro-environment, which in turn are significantly shaping the total environments of cities, their social structures and urban landscapes.

Transitory areas in forms of squatters, slums, barrisales, kampeongs, favelas, callanpas, huestes or others uncontrolled settlements, now constitute about 40-50% and more percents of urban populations.

The recent figures indicate 30% squatter's dwellers in Dakar and Bar El Salem, 35% in Calcutta, Karachi and Manila, 44% in Colombo, 46-50% in Recife, Quezacoatl, Mexico City and Caracas, and 50% in Bugnaventura.

The man-made environment in which these individuals vegetate, is degrading to them and because the people in these areas lack the economic mobility to escape, this micro-environment becomes their life-long harbor, scattered indiscriminately over the urban landscape.

Within these urban poor communities exist a way of life, which could be characterized as " culture of poverty " which is both, a state of disorganization and economic deprivation.

The lack of effective participation of the poor in the major institution of the larger scale, strong feeling of marginality, of helplessness of dependance and of inferiority, are most characteristic of such culture. It is mostly due to poor housing conditions, crowding, unemployment, low wages, absence of savings and food reserves, unskilled occupation, a chronic shortage of cash and the constant struggle for survival.

It is true, that they can be hardly one country in the world, that is now coping adequately with the problem of basic housing programmes³. Most developing countries have failed to establish an efficient system supporting such programmes to control the physical development and natural environment, to prevent land speculation and uncontrolled growth of their cities, causing social tension.

We observe, in both developed and developing countries the crisis of social, economic and physical planning and the permanent failures of prevailing numbers of housing schemes.

The participants of this seminar are familiar with the status quo

3 The housing needs of USA were defined by the Kaiser Commission for 2.6 mln new housing units to be built over the next years. There are perhaps 10-12 mln households that are considered inadequately housed, even though only 6 mln dwellings would be classified as " substandards " by the official definition of US Bureau of the Census. In 1973 the American building industry produced 2 mln housing units a year.

in low-grade settlements are as differentiated enclaves, and are aware of the density of 10.1 persons per room as in Western Samoa, 3.2 per per room as in Tuzioken Medina, or 3.8 per per room as in El Salvador.

Few facets of the human environment influence man's health and well-being more directly than the dwelling in which he seeks privacy, shelter, security, comfort and dignity for himself and his family.

The poor and deprived from low-grade settlements, have strong potentialities. Their arguments must be met by much stronger and true awareness among decision-makers, because the poverty, deprivation and desperation, combined with a feeling of social rejection and uselessness, are among the most dangerous forms of social dissatisfaction, which can not be ignored for a long period.

One of the basic civil rights, is the right of the public and individuals to participate in all decisions that affect directly and indirectly their existence.

What is needed is the participatory procedure, for basic housing schemes and the power of citizens to protest and effectively complain, at each stage of program, disregarding general development level of the country. Rather than attempting to silence the underprivileged, which in any case would be impossible, or driving them to despair and revolt by a failure to listen, and understand them, we should be prepared to join them in advancing toward a new way of perceiving and organizing the systems and structures, which will respect the laws of life, political savoir faire, diversity of people, and the identity of their aspirations, preferences, needs and desires.

The power of participation cannot be matched by any amount of bureaucratic imperialism, as this power is the sine qua non condition of any development policy.

This is also an inevitable part of the process of democracy, which is only an alternative to political systems controlled by the few.

The goal of democracy is to assure the participation of all segments of a society in the making of a nation, so the a priori exclusion of any group from participation, weakens that society and leaves it open to discontent.

All of which is easier to say than to do.

We ought not to assume too easily, that words, slogans, the terminological novelties or other gimmicks are the same as concrete solutions, as more and more people, are speaking about less and less.

From what has been said above, it is evident that the problem of basic housing unit for all is terrific.

The question then arises whether we, in economically more developed countries, have some secret weapon in the form of universal over-all development plans, blue prints or magic formulas, formulae which can impose on developing countries through technical aid missions or developer's activities?

The answer is no.

The remedy depends on diagnosis and treatment, and all we can come forward with, is our long-years experience of technical know-how combined with repetition of improved and modernized conclusions, transmitted already by our colleagues, who dealt with the problem long-ago. I hardly expect it to yield any prompt result at this late stage of malpractice and neglect, but no stone must be left unturned.

It is beyond the scope of this report to comment ad infinitum on aspects of the developing countries, so let me comment on the importance of local particularities and cultural considerations, as developers and their advices only make sense today, when related to human conditions.

".... if the dynamic forces of human settlements are to be harnessed and full fill human aspirations for a worthy life, a new understanding and a new will are required of world society.

..... The question now before the world community is to harmonize the frontal advance of all fields and to raise the human benefits of change a fuller concern for physical setting of life. "

/ U.N. Secretary General Docu. No. A/8037 /

Importance of local particularities and cultural considerations.

Deep differences between the developing countries cultural patterns, and current cultures of economically developed countries create the necessity for a very sensitive appraisal of goals to be established, as well as the manner in which these goals are to be implemented.

Changes in the life pattern of developing countries, that will result from our activities must facilitate a comfortable transition that

- /1/ maintains the identity with their past, and
- /2/ permits the local communities to see in these changes the unique opportunity for selfrealisation.

It is crucial that the developer free himself from preconceptions, schematism and academism.

He cannot permit any developing country to become a stage to act out his dream of glory, neither field for experimental philosophy, nor the background upon which to paint a fantasy of ideal utopian images.

Our predecessors who have recorded the developing countries communities way of life, show a pattern that are very different from those of the familiar Euro-American pattern.

The etiquette forms, the styles of behaviour, the rearing of the young, the hierarchy of values about possession, about work and duty, sex, and human interrelationships, about behavior and regard, all these approaches vary in concept in major or minor degrees from economically developed countries.

The differences shall and must change the nature, methodology and order of planning and approach from current practices in our countries despite common achievement of the desired end.

From our own experience and work in developing countries we knew that these societies are free from many of our social ills.

We observed the great freedom permitted the adolescent and the availability of basic shelter and food, with relative little effort.

We assumed that the compulsive habits necessary to industry are not yet available in sufficient degree to attempt westernization, nor are they desirable, even if they were.

Many experts frequently recommend, that we should protect the developing nations socio-cultural patterns as it is, and even abandon it to work out its own solution.

And, at the very least, not impose upon them the doubtful advantages of our own mores.

Although many conclusions and opinions made by the experts are centred on an intra-cultural, comparison-defensive level, and are of little value, some have considerable validity and should be heeded in resolving our objectives.

It is obvious that one must retain some reservation about conclusions made by the others, because objectivity is sustained in theory rather than fact, and subjective selectivity is really practiced if only by the omission of areas of observation and comment.

That is to say, if the expert excludes a certain aspect of life in a developing country, this exclusion may represent either a distaste for that aspect, or an exaggerated interest in other sectors of life so the other components, extremely important and vital are overlooked. On the other hand the mere subjective expert tends often to be an apologist, frequently projecting his own value judgement, emotion and enthusiasm, by condoning or praising - with evident bias.

The dangerous aspect of such opinions - were they to be adopted - would be the tendency of oversimplification which establishes people in role types and arrives at questionable "logical" cultural configurations much too simple for the complexity and range of human interrelationship.

On the other side of the coin one may appear to be incontrovertible facts that transition is desirable and is indeed in process.

The vitality of such local, often, cultural patterns and accustomed habits are enervated or lost.

This is grossly evident in self-help or mutual-help systems /f.e. Indonesian gotong-rojong or Samesan fe'a samea etc./, in the poor quality of contemporary art, the lack of investment and skills, vulgarity of new housing schemes and virtually almost all forms of crafts, house-building, utensils, clothing, colouring, etc.

On the social level, the family structure, indigenous educational processes, the structure of the clan or tribe /f.e. Samesan alga/ and the authority of the chiefs / f.e. Samesan ma'adi/ and elders, has long been under dissolution.

However, its power of influence is certainly still evident in all sort of residual expressions and should be accepted, respected, studied and noted, as it now exists.

It is no doubt the vehicle through which much modification will be understood, legislated and eventually achieved.

The local communities in developing countries view the changes and impending proposals with mixed feeling depending on classes, the particular people belong to.

Many developers-invaders, have come and gone, abandoning the wreckage or unfinished monuments of their stays.

The existing natural environment and social systems provide wherewithal to survive - and it is no wonder, that people cling to this concept as to the must.

However, the people of developing countries, at least those within urbanized areas, have now probably reached a point of no return.

Exposed to the urban style of life, they are not certain of the past and they are immersed in the process of change.

They are keen to adapt to those parts of the new culture, with which they are familiar and find attractive and desirable.

One could sum up these feelings by saying, that they wish many of the comforts and advantages of westernization but wishes to have them in their own way and under their own terms, such as for example indonesianization, sameanization, algerization etc.

Needless to say that they are bewildered as to how they may achieve these ends.

It is a pity that many foreign developers working for developing countries - fascinated by local deviations - are putting so little emphasis on the common similarities between the nations of our divided world

the populace of developing countries seem to about the same virtuous ideals as do most cultures of our Euro-American civilization.

They believe in honesty, reliability, truth, justice, generosity, industry, uprightness, courage and lack of "arrière pensée".

A careful observer will not be taken in, by the myth of inherent laziness, incompetence and inherent passivity, of peoples from developing countries.

Their cultural heritage show impressive order and industry, and workmanship of the highest level of achievement, portraying evidence of devoted and sustained application.

There is proof, that despite great cultural and civilizational shocks withstood by these peoples, the skills and necessary psychological qualities are inherent.

Different styles of living are - like different languages, merely different forms of expressing the same needs: the deep and profound needs of all men.

A developer might be most effective if he were to assume that man has common or universal needs and that, therefore the primary nature of man is identical, or at least very similar.

That all men move along a continuum of growth step-by-step though within the rigid frame of their local or regional circumstances, including cultural circles they belong to.

There is an overall active desire, mainly on the part of the urban population, to improve the shelters in which they live.

At every social level, there is drive and urge to move ahead: the family in the samean or tongan cocconut front called fale or fidjebure, wishes to move into drier, more adequate home.

The family in the galvanized shack wishes to own a wood or concrete tile home with mere facilities.

Information, indoctrination, education, examples of ex-colonial or actual governmental housing gave rise to new desires, which meet a very real wish to become an integral part of the modern world.

This changing pattern of needs is not only expressed as a verbal wish but has become a real goal, urgently pursued and demanded.

Having that in mind, the developer can assume this common core of need can then put his energy and ability to work to provide the solution which will assist and facilitate the societies of developing countries in their change and adoption towards these goals which must be evolved in a manner understood and approved by them.

This will require a sensitive perceptivity on the part of developers and officials to understand and appreciate the giant strides that have already been made in most developing countries in the accomplishment of traditional shifts towards more contemporary structures.

12/ Low-cost housing

The subject of our deep concern is, customarily speaking, the low-cost housing and the people for whom we are supposed to supply these units. The term low-cost housing, although commonly used for years, does not accurately convey the concept of housing that meets man's fundamental shelter needs, whether it is achieved by improving existing housing stock to a standard acceptable in the particular developing country or by providing new housing of suitable design, equipment, fittings and finishes.

Therefore, a new term "basic housing" has been accepted to encompass both the ideas of setting regional standards for adequate housing, where the construction costs were reduced by means of well considered design principles, without lowering basic usability and necessary quality standards, and where the idea of finding low-cost methods of achieving these standards has been found.

The type of housing - which is a truism - should be connected and orientated toward potential dwellers.

The potential dwellers - whose financial patterns make it impossible for the average individual to purchase an adequate dwelling - are people, who create the new type of urban population.

Up to the present we use to distinguish the urban and rural type of population linked with physical location, social behaviour and the type of activities they were engaged in.

In the reality of developing countries the new mass type emerged: the dwellers of transitory areas.

Those who left their villages for cities, ceased to be villagers and did not become full right urban citizens, finding themselves in a position of "rejected people in between" labelled as dwellers of peri-urban areas not treated by all townplanners and developers as a settlement area, which by virtue of their being part of the urban fabric, should be studied as a problem in urban integration and urban landscape.

In the past the primitive and vernacular buildings were erected by the people themselves.

Today, as the prohibiting factor is cost, time and scarcity of urban land, we propose architect-designed buildings for the people.

Even though they no longer build their own houses in urban areas, the dwelling they dream of reflect popular values and goals.

The understanding of the low-income group preferences in respect to dwelling function, art, customs, behaviors, as well as traditional myths can still help us gain an insight into the needs, values and desires

At the same time, the... between culture, form, function and... and avoid the danger in applying Euro-American concepts, which represent only one choice among these many possible concepts.

Planning, in order to be useful, needs a man should have behind him early in life the chance to live in peace and social satisfaction as a responsible and self-respecting individual in society. He will then be able to build a better home than he wants or needs, as long as health and safety and rights of others are not infringed upon.

The scale of human misery is a disaster in developing countries. However, in the "old metropolises" the other problems matter equally. I have in mind, hundreds of thousands of tons of rapidly decaying refuse, contamination of reservoirs by stagnant salaric water, lack of drinking and domestic water, the plague of rats and mice, lack of laundries and community services, electrical power, dark dangerous streets without sidewalks, lack of any recreational grounds, misery of poverty and sickness...

Speaking about mass housing units we should remember, that they make up only 25% of total expenditures for properly designed settlement, so the improvement of living conditions is conditioned by correction of created social relations, the total re-formation of existing urban structures, and general progress of economic, social and political development.

It is certainly true, that a decisive number of recently built low-cost housing units in developing countries, are not models of aesthetics, have not the integrity of form, the beauty and texture of old houses, nor the unity of concept that was so evident in the aboriginal dwellings of Pacific Islands, Indonesia or Algeria.

The problem, is however, not one of aesthetics, but a question of humanization of a man-made environment, and of overcoming these negative factors which resulted from over-urbanization and economic underdevelopment.

4 For example over 1.5 million people live in bustles of Calcutta, and according to G.M. Wallish 700 000 000 US\$ are needed to rehouse them, while - as a piquant detail of this report emphasizes - the cost of this operation would burden the inhabitants of these poorest districts /such as e.g. leaseholders called "thika" who lived in 30 000 mud-huts and barracks/ owing to the taxation system prevailing in this country.

The need to consider many factors of cultural, geographical, physical, and economical determinants is in the final analysis, the main argument against any single determinant and any deterministic view at all.

The job, which is one of the most complex operations, can not be done by teams of clerks, but require professional developers with a very keen and pioneering spirit.

/3/ Developers and their role

The men who are supposed to deal victoriously with the low-income housing in developing countries are called developers, and by definition are the people who want to get something done in a more complete or complex form and who are spiritus movens in advance toward the accomplishment, stage by stage, of a task in order to cause a growth.

Activeness can not, of course, be restricted to professional developers-identifying with foreign experts, or governmental officials only.

By developer we can understand such individuals as scientists, scholars or research workers, architects, townplanners, businessmen, economists and statesmen of the organization, which can be classified in four main types:

- firstly - private industry, enterprises and societies,
- secondly - local authorities such like:
 - townplanning agencies and departments,
 - public works departments,
 - municipal authorities,
 - board of health,
 - housing boards,
 - finance departments and leasing agencies, and
- thirdly - ad hoc public bodies appointed specially for the purpose,
 - non-profit housing cooperatives,
 - civil rights organizations, and pressure groups,
 - mutual-help and self-help teams,
 - action committees of slum dwellers,
 - religious or worldly welfare organizations,
 - social voluntary associations, and
- fourthly - there can be some combination or mixture of these types of actions.

Additionally, there are many other possible variations and combinations, which a Government might consider. Among these are:

- the subsidy on rent, finance or outright grant on the cost of a house in form of long-term repayments at a very low interest,
- the subsidy on building lots, services and building materials,
- the subsidy by way of providing trained and skilled tradesmen,
- the subsidy by way of organization, buying and supplying materials,
- the subsidy by way of free plans, advices and assistance,
- the reduction of costs of building materials for low-income housing, by foregoing any custom duty which might exist, or by importing certain basic building materials for distribution at cost price, and finally
- the government may assist, by providing building lots on long-term, interest-free repayments.

Although various instruments can be used, there is little doubt that the special purpose authority - backed by the financial resources to withstand the strains and stresses of heavy capital demands and slow financial returns, has so far proved the most successful instrument for low-income housing.

Such organization needs to contain within it, the drive, vitality and all-round experience of the normal machinery of local government and the social services; and be alive to the social, as well as physical needs of the population.

As the participation of foreign experts or advisers, in all types of development activities - under bilateral or multilateral assistance programmes - is for the time being indispensable, I presume that a brief characteristic of these individuals, have to be introduced.

Development programmes for low-income housing require simultaneous attention to problems, whose solution must balance and accommodate a number of diverse factors, from different domains.

All these are so intertwined, that it is difficult to isolate a single element for study, analysis, synthesis and application.

Any action, to pursue such a comprehensive programme, need a close collaboration of various experts, and that means a team effort - an effort which is not easy to achieve in practice and in the reality of developing countries in particular.

There are immense difficulties where co-ordination in time and quality of work is required, and where multiple repercussions of the findings of every specialist have to be turned into a workable programme of action.

In most cases, the architect-planners who are the team leaders, are invariably made to act as mediators, between the analytical or research teams and the people concerned with implementation of the programme.

In most cases, the task needs to be completed in very short time, one limited by contract.

This element of urgency is very often ignored by researchers or alienated disciplines, which too often produce information that cannot be translated into practical solution.

Maybe, this is one of the reasons why so many so-called developers are pigeon-holed by the local officials, who rightly would like to see some practical results achieved within the limitation of time, and available funds, and within organizational structures, which are in existence.

In any team effort, the chief conflict lies in differences of approach to the low-income programme and its application, and also in possession of various aims and individual motivations at the foot of arrival with field mission to a developing country.

This leads to the obvious question : what are the primary motives, which are responsible for one's choice to join the developer's team.

These motivations are as many as there are individuals, but it is possible to group them roughly into three groups.

The attitude of the first group, who are no longer very effective force in newly developing countries, can be epitomised by the well-known " islanders " in the Southern Pacific, or " pieds noirs " in Algeria. These developers had, at the beginning of XIX-th century the enterprising spirit, skill and understanding of the land and its people, and were the part of local environment.

Unfortunately the understanding of local people was not based on civilised setting, as it had the overtones of paternalism and feeling of superiority.

The survivors from the first group are no longer effective as developers and rightly or wrongly - except for a bit of nostalgia on the part of some - it is doubtful if there are many who are likely to miss their departure from the scene.

The second attitude is reflected by the type known as the "do-gooders". Their attitude is often suspect in the eyes of local communities in developing countries.

The type of do-gooder is determined to bring "civilisation" to the people of underdeveloped countries, and feel a desperate need and urge

to get things right and make everything perfect.

This urge, caused by positive motivation, often blinds him to the real issues and he sees, in fact, very little which is good and constructive in other civilizations and cultures.

His motivation is based on the assumption that his own culture is superior to that of the people he is working temporarily for, and this is one reason why he is anxious to change it.

The third attitude is known, by what may be termed as the "mercenary" type. He is a self-confident professional, who makes no bones about his intention, that he is there to earn money.

He is usually a developer of great competency and withdrawn personality who does not pretend to love the locals, but is prepared to do a job, puts a price on it, and does it efficiently without any emotional attachment.

Such a man, as I have observed, gets surprisingly the best reception in developing countries, which do not have - for time being - the facilities to train professionals of equal caliber from within their own ranks.

The mercenary aspect of developer's job cannot be denied, but what is badly needed is to recognize, that the essential purpose of all activities - whatever their nature - is to benefit the local people.

Perhaps, the greatest need is for developers of the mercenary types, who are able to temper their professional approach sufficiently, to include some positive aspects of missionary work, with regard to the needs of people from developing countries.

So the key problem are the individual developers.

The developer with a great personality, human qualities and technical competence in his own field, able to make necessary contacts with officials and fellow workers and those he is supposed to be training.

He should have, despite his cross-cultural position, the kind of adaptability that makes him feel, that he belongs in a way, to the country, where his mission takes him, so that its problems become his problems and failures are much more than technical miscalculations.

In addition he should possess the international outlook and exhibit a racial, religious and political tolerance and a sympathetic understanding for peoples of all classes and standings.

He should also have - being neither a saint or martyr - the ability to teach and to impart his knowledge to others.

There are always erudite experts who talk about low-income housing, those who write about it and those who do the job.

I believe in the necessity to study profoundly a problem, but I do not believe that we can readily replace the value of crack development ad-hoc team, by any concept of bureaucratic organization, or any so-called elaborated organizational structure which recall the paper empire.

The situation in developing countries calls for pragmatism rather than dogma; it calls for skill, drive, stubbornness but not for academism and ideas out of textbooks and schools.

The time is not on the side of the developing countries.

In the important tasks, which lie ahead in solving the low-income housing, there are four key factors:

- funds,
- management,
- manpower and materials, and
- political and human understanding.

If we are to succeed in the major changes in low-income housing, the organization and management must be drastically changed.

The approach must be a question of teamwork, and not the isolated activities of each bureaucracy and sector of spontaneous community activity.

The developers who prepare the strategy and outline programme cannot stop at plans themselves.

They must understand and follow through the process of persuasion, negotiation, review and direct implementation.

The housing problems call for the maximum use of existing experience in developing countries, if the success is to be had, and for the very careful recruitment of foreign developers and experts, whose term of reference in due course should not be fuzzy.

Some programmes for low-income housing in developing countries are cardinal examples of the poverty of ideas, especially in a strange context where some developers - frequently on short term contracts - go forth to export flaring worthless know-how and import valuable currency.

Their reports have normally little impact, as they have tended to be repetitive and general and cannot therefore leave a lasting mark on the mental constitution of local counterparts and decision-makers.

Concluding remarks.

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One must agree, that planning for low-income housing in developing countries is an "intuitional futurism" and we have no miracullous medicine available, which would guarantee at the end of this planning, the real progress desired by the people of these countries.

Doubts are already arising more and more frequently, as for example with Gunnar Myrdal who, in his book of 1968 "Asia Drama? An Inquiry into Poverty of Nations" expressed fundamental doubts as to the interferences of specialists from developed countries, seeing an actual retrogression at the end of exaggerated participation of foreign experts in the process

... on local internal...
... position of developing countries, there
... "... and ...", that, in spite of the entire potential
... knowledge and experience, the task we are facing in developing
... goes, frequently quite beyond our possibilities.

... sound and ... principles can be completely degenerated
... of ... or wrong or wrongly adapted methodology of plan...

... agree with the opinion, that a condition for the expansion of dev-
... countries does not pose the matter of adapting blindly economic or
... patterns of developed countries, but perceives in the deve-
... of their own social structures.

... to emphasize the necessity for an integration of planning and acti-
... to plan the action in view of:

- providing for ... events,
- promoting the accomplishment of things we want to happen, and
- preventing or averting the changes we wish to avoid.

... we should not lose sight of a realistic appraisal of the growth
... of a given developing country and should take into appreciable
... the social characteristics of present and future inhabitants
... of low-income housing.

... we are at a stage, where we are creating a pattern, or a habit of
... rather, than achieving spectacular, substantial physical result.

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... commonly, the foreign developers bring with them "clinically clean"
... of developed countries, and according to these pictures build pro-
... for the local actualities.

... the entirely different cross-cultural reality of developing coun-
... a commonly for often fact is that in order to introduce such con-
... there must be an institutional system, whose assumption and organiza-
... itself, would become the state problem number one.

... consciousness of the range of matters, awaiting solution, and the mea-
... of the material means for their implementation should be the deci-
... factor correcting every euphoric intention, confronting developers in
... developing countries.

... physical design is essentially a sociological technique as important
... as any other in the achievement of human life.

... in our development programmes, the social goals must be set ahead
... of physical goals, as the urban integration must discourage any form of
... segregation, particular those of low-income.

... Here we should remember that the higher social class, which considers
... itself society's backbone, and have long-term goals which are community

wide and civic spirited, in contrast to the aspirations of the poor, which are short-term, neighborhood-oriented and private.

The absence of a determined pattern of socio-economic formation, the permanency of political and ecological snags, manifested in the weakness of the numerous administrative authorities of developing countries, are just like the absence of stability and confidence in society, the greatest opponents to an effective long-range planning, which is the only base for successful low-income current housing programmes.

The engagement of the authorities and administration in problems of internal and external security is generally so large, that it leaves no margin for any kind of effective action in the numerous domains of internal life. There is an astronomical distance between policy making and the reality of symptoms of deprivation, breakdown of tradition and appearance of "the Them and Us syndrome".

Developers activity in such conditions are extremely difficult.

Especially, since developers are not allowed to speak in matters of fundamental decisions, which strengthens their uncompromising attitude and more or less drives them to take up extreme attitudes in defence of their ideas and the resulting solution.

Actually predominating in the technical know-how, they are radical and inelastic, which is frequently understood as political opposition, or at least a burdensome partnership, causing clashes with authorities, who have political supervision over the country.

The endearing and flattering developers too frequently are getting the highest mark, while the rough manners of the rough speakers, though objectively motivated are in the position of "giving a dog a bad name and hanging him", as nobody trust them any longer.

As the permanency of such incorrectnesses is striking, the problem requires supreme attention, because too many valuable people are set aside in this manner.

Therefore it is especially important to create a climate of opinion, which will not tolerate any violation and injustice toward the people with creative minds, who by the nature of their selfconfidence and the long-years of experience seem to be a little arrogant towards decision-makers.

This is so, because in administrative no-man's land such people with innovative and restless minds create a threat for local power, of certain privileged groups and a threat to administrative apathy, defeatism, routine and wishy-washy work.

The more innovative the advocacy of the developers, the less able they are to relate to local departmentalised management structures, which by their nature are nonradical, non-militant and inclined to disturb any status-quo

of its of this... part of low-income projects, from... the bottom of the scale rather, than... in their systems.

Besides, the... of technology, some are facing the technical limitations of professional advocacy for developing countries and we remain advocates who treat the symptoms rather than the disease. In a while, the... of developers is restricted by technical, administrative and political limitations.

Technical - because we use artifacts, statutory measures and arbitrary standards of doubtful relevance to problems of social mobility,

Administrative - because invention and drive rarely relate to any beauty,

Political - because as developers we are not always trusted in our motivation, and because we are pushing forward schemes of unknown consequences.

As we can foresee relations for microscale, no effective macroscale low-income housing policy exists to alleviate the misery and reverse the social disintegration of most cities of ^{the} developing countries.

The limitation of our role, is a measure of the force of current socio-economic and political trends, which the positively inspired developers should not, as a whole accept.

/3/

One of the most sensitive problems of all development programmes is how to permanently retain the public engagement, which is relatively easy in initial mobilization and short term activities, but has the tendency of rapid discouragement, resulting from a lack of quick materialistic effects. The justifiable fascination of the achievements, taking place in economically developed countries, should not induce the blind, unrealistic and adventurous activities, which are all regarding the existing level of economic basis and their superstructure.

The consciousness of developers and their personal sense of responsibility in the achievement of the superior goals, are the corner stones of all programmes, which are implemented.

The consciousness of developers and the moral standing they are representing, should however meet, the same consciousness and awareness of local decision-makers.

Unfortunately, in most cases, the administration of developing countries, or rather their bureaucracy, represent the inclination toward very routine and not inventive operations, causing severe obstacles and unconquerable barriers, which can be overcome only by patience, sympathy understanding and very stubborn and consequent pressure.

One of the most complicated problems is the one concerning the activities of many co-developers dealing with the same programme, and minding - despite paper coordination - their own sectorial business.

One may say, that too great interference and control, suppress the initiative.

For this reason, the particular developer should be left relatively free, to act in his established competence, as it is extremely easy to kill the initiative and create an atmosphere of apathy, passivity and expectation "for someone else to come and do the job".

Needless to say, that admission of such a state of things and attitude, can mean only a total disaster for any creative activity, and for any more ambitious programs.

In every basic scheme for developer's action, the *à priori* list of goals, hierarchy and definition of superior, basic and particular goals, have to be presented.

By the superior goals, we should understand the integrity of functional and physical man-created environment and the satisfaction of people's needs and aspirations, and by the basic goals, we should understand, the effective steering, the efficient and effective organization, the complexity and the coordination of all activities and also particular terms of references between developers and the given administration.

The determination of competences and responsibilities of co-partners and definition of system information belongs to the particular goals.

While speaking, about the complexity we should keep in mind, that the low-income housing schemes do not belong exclusively to the administrative and bureaucratic and welfare kingdoms, but should be supplemented by emerging social organization and action committees, whose terms of references should include the principle of "participatory pluralism" and also "participatory responsibilities and duties", for all those included in the process. Many past errors, have alerted many citizens to the vital effects of government actions, causing them to organize in opposition to any proposal or decision in which they have not participated or at least about which they have not been kept fully informed and convinced.

Government procedure to allow for the maximum of local participation in decisions affecting low-income housing, are therefore becoming a matter of standard procedure in developed countries, and should be used as an example by developing countries.

People-disregarding their status-should not regard their role as a passive one, in which they merely receive proposals and about which they make useless comments.

They also have to be able to draw attention to the creation of opportunities to publicize and draw to the attention of the people, the proposals that will condition a future development, and help others give expression to their views, when programmes are being formulated.

Mobilization of public support - including educational measures - and the active participation of all the members of the deprived communities, seems to be a very important factor to be expected.

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Considerable emphasis is being placed at the present time, on the need for research for local home housing.

It is clear and evident that research, investigation and studies of all kinds - free from any preconceptions - are also very necessary.

But the most pressing problem we are facing in the developing countries - is how to secure a more acceptable and more effective system of administration, in order to ensure, that planning proposals can be put into effect.

There are too many big problems and too many of small caliber decision-makers, who are unnecessarily interfering with professional activities of developers.

However, we must not expect any support from the administration, which support can only be obtained by work of sympathetic co-developers, trained townplanners and architects, adequate research and sound philosophy. We can also depend upon education of the public and gradual improvement of experience of the bodies they elect to represent them.

The foreign developers, very competent and self-assured, as trained in economically developed countries and famous universities, often gain the professional knowledge, which is frequently of little use - or is even completely useless - in the difficult and complicated conditions, of developing countries.

Moreover, the gap between theory and practice is a familiar problem of contemporary professional training.

Developers, spend much of their time making decisions of one kind or another. But how many of them are familiar with decision-making theory, perceptual psychology, cost analysis, engineering value or the economy of housing estates?

The up-to-date relation between analysis and synthesis are incorrect in the majority of schemes.

The non-complex and static housing schemes, and overgrowth claims of particular disciplines and branch specialists make the complex synthesis very difficult and some time completely impossible.

The multidisciplinary approach too often means the abandonment of responsibility and lack of identity between developers and their work. Therefore, the participation of capable and creative architects in low-income housing schemes are of great importance.

As an architect myself, I am very well aware of many weaknesses, inefficiencies and the vanity of this professional clan, to which I belong. However, I can state with a sense of responsibility, that it is precisely the architects who tend to participate more and more in community affairs, because this involvement is increasingly related to their professional roles.

It is perhaps this character, of personal and dynamic involvement, that places the architects in the key role of team leaders, who prosperously implement the attractive low-income housing programmes.

I can not find any substitute, for the type of engagement and sense of responsibility, which is represented by the talented creators and conceptual authors.

Whatever the motivation may be, all these considerations lead to the belief that only the activities of developers expressed in moral commitment, may help more speedily, to eradicate human misery and achieve relative social justice, which nowadays, are not the favour, but the political compulsion for all decision-makers in developing countries, and in other countries as well.

In conclusion, I must say that I do realize, that what I have written has been no novelty to the members of this seminar, but that it may be of some value to bring these ideas together in one paper.

I realize also, that it is not easy to bring someone round to our way of thinking, as any argument cuts both ways.

The effort was to be general and objective, but I know that many of the suggestions and ideas are necessarily coloured by my experience in developing countries.

My field missions to Tunisia, Algeria, Indonesia and Western Samoa on the Pacific Ocean, has taught me very many other things in gross and detail about socio-spatial patterns, but this is all I can tell in the compass of one short report.

This pragmatic and theoretical knowledge, based on my recent research on urbanization process in developing countries, have authorized me to present some opinions on this seminar.

Despite, the differences of opinions, which are common to each seminar, we should remember that our attitude, should be not to work for the people, but needs an approach, which involves working with the people who were not born with a silver spoon in their mouths.

It is true that, in this context, this paper will be of help to the participants in continuing research and discussion and coming closer to solution to the low income housing in developing countries, through developers activities and schemes.

In our activities, however, there is no answer without A priori question, and the formulation of the question is often the most difficult part of our activity in developing countries.

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- In 1961-1962 he worked as a technical expert on the low-cost experimental housing in Tanzania.
- From 1962 up to 1969, he was a United Nations Advisor to the Ministry of Public Works in Jakarta/Indonesia.
- In capacity of a United Nations advisor-chief architect planner and head of the international UNO and USA IC team, he worked in Western Samoa on Southern Pacific from 1965 till 1968.
- As a team leader he was assigned to the Councils of Ministries in Alger/Algeria, where he worked in the years 1970 - 1972 on the General Master Development plan for the capital agglomeration.
- Mr Wolak, is an author of the numerous publication on architectural, environmental and physical planning problems of the Third world.
- His doctor dissertation concerned : "The principles for design of low-cost one family houses in the developing countries of the humid-wet tropical zone".
- Following, is his book related to the "Urbanization process in the newly developed countries".
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