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THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CITY AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF URBAN DESIGN

1970 - 1971

Agreement of post-war housing schemes in a new context. The situation has nearly passed and design and technical aspects have been given more the priority. Social and financial problems are discussed with the knowledge of what has happened in post-war housing schemes in a part of the process of the new context.

POSTER SESSIONS: Problems of Design, Environmental Planning and Climatology

GROUPES DE DISCUSSION: Problèmes touchant à la conception, au cadre de la vie et à la climatologie

DISKUSSIONSGRUPPEN: Entwurfsprobleme, Umweltplanung und Klimatologie

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THE LIMITS OF THE CITY AND THE LIMITATIONS OF URBAN RENEWAL

F.W. van Voorden (NL)

Improvement of post-war housing estates is a new topic. The estates are mostly parts of large and medium-sized towns. That means that the technical, social and financial problems are related with the development of cities. Improvement of post-war housing estates is a part of the process of urban renewal.

Twenty percent of the post-war housing stock in the Netherlands is, more or less, in not a good condition. Added to the stock of old houses in the central areas and the 19th century areas, it must be clear that the changing in building production, renewal instead of building new houses, is final. More than 50% of the building production in the Netherlands will be achieved within the sector of refurbishment and renewal.

Three groups of areas or zones can be distinguished:

- a. the historical centre, established before 1750-1800,
- b. the area developed around the original centre between 1750/1800 and 1900/1920, and
- c. the 20th century expansion outwards the zones a. and b.

Unfortunately there is no overall-view about the development of the city and the development of the building process. Since we know that the c. zones are also beginning to show signs of decline, we should be aware of the interaction between the zone c. and the older, central urban areas.

I come to the following fundamental question: To what extent can the original design and structural character of the city as a whole, including the post-war housing estates, be preserved and improved - or even reconstructed - by the process of urban renewal?

It is necessary to make a start with historic analysis in and outside the traditional conservation areas. An analysis directed to the city as a whole can serve to identify the special link between the urban areas of different ages. This link can be adopted as a frame of reference for the building that needs to be done.

VERBESSERUNG VON GROSSWOHNSIEDLUNGEN DER NACHKRIEGSZEIT
FALLSTUDIE EIPELDAUERSTRASSE - 1200 WIEN

Peter Marchart (A)

Wie in den meisten europäischen Städten war es nach 1945 auch in Wien notwendig ein umfangreiches Aufbauprogramm in die Wege zu leiten.

Bis 1970 beherrscht die Montagebauweise die Architektur des Wiener Wohnbaues. Durch industrielle Serienproduktion sollten die Baukosten gesenkt und die Wohnungsproduktion gesteigert werden.

Die ersten Anlagen der Montagebauära (ab 1962) setzten verstärkt das Prinzip des Zeilenbaues fort. Ausschliesslich vier- oder neugeschossige Bauten werden parallel oder im rechten Winkel zueinander gestellt. Das additive Prinzip herrscht vor (z.B. Fertigteilbauten 1220 Wien, Siebenbürgerstrasse, oder 1210 Wien, Eipeldauerstrasse, Arch. Payer, 1962).

Die vorliegende Planungsstudie von Prof. Gieselmann ist der zweite Teil einer auf drei Baugebiete bezogenen Untersuchung, die sich mit den Möglichkeiten der Verdichtung dieser für die Nachkriegsperiode des Wohnungsbaues typischen Stadtrandsiedlung befasst.

Eine Analyse des Bestandes ergab auch hier hinsichtlich der Wohnungen eine Monostruktur (rund 42% 2-Zimmerwohnungen und 58% 3-Zimmerwohnungen), ein Fehlen gewisser, bei dieser Grösse notwendiger Folgeeinrichtungen (Jugendzentrum) und eine spürbare Belästigung durch Autolärm. Die Weiträumigkeit wird hier als Öde spürbar und die Freiräume sind unanregend und verwechselbar gestaltet.

Zu den Zielen der Planung gehörte daher nicht nur eine numerische Verdichtung, sondern eine allgemeine Anhebung der Umweltqualität. Es wurden Wohneinheiten, davon 30% 4-Zimmerwohnungen, aber auch Kleinwohnungen, geplant, und damit die Zahl der Einwohner von 4.100 auf 6.200, die GFZ von 0,89 auf 1,38 erhöht.

Um den hohen Blocks einen menschlichen Massstab zu geben, wurde ein terrasserter Laubengangtyp mit Maisonettes-Wohnungen geplant, der an die Schmalseiten angebaut wird. Für die 4-geschossigen Blocks, die überwiegend senkrecht zur Strasse stehen, wurden elementierte und variationsreiche Kopplungstypen entwickelt, mit denen gegen die Strasse abgeschlossene, ruhige Höfe gebildet werden. Ein Altenheim in freieren Formen ist zwischen drei 4-geschossige Blocks harmonisch eingefügt. Mittels zwei schmalen Laubengangbauten entsteht ein Hof auch zwischen zwei 9-geschossigen Blocks.

Verschiedene Bautypen des Baugebietes Siebenbürgerstrasse werden auch hier verwendet.

Ein terrassiertes Hochhaus trägt zur Verdichtung der Zentrums-Zone bei. Insgesamt entsteht anstelle der solitär wirkenden Blockbauweise ein auch in der Höhe wechselvolles Baukontinuum.

Dem entspricht auch die Gestaltung der Aussenanlagen. Eine akzentuierte Führung der Längswege (Gartenweg, Seallee, Waldweg) bereichert die verschieden gestalteten Freiräume.

POST-WAR HOUSING SETTLEMENTS OF BEOGRAD: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ENVIRONMENT AND POSSIBILITIES FOR ITS IMPROVEMENT

Milica Jakšić (YU)

The post-war urban development of Beograd has been marked by a large increase of population and by construction of new housing settlements outside the historical inner city. Since 1945 the population of Beograd has increased from 380.000 to over 1.200.000 inhabitants today. During the same period new housing settlements have been built for all inhabitants, of all social groups. So, nearly half of the present Beograd population today lives in new settlements constructed in the course of the last forty years.

New settlements in Beograd have been planned exclusively for housing, according to the principle of neighbourhood units, with all services needed for daily life, and without concentrations of work places. The spatial organization and the physical structure have been mostly shaped according to the principles of the Athens charter. The new settlements have been located either on free areas near the existing city, or as a complete replacement of the previous structures in its suburbs.

The construction of new settlements in Beograd had started by the end of the forties, modestly and with insufficient equipment. It reached its peak by the end of the sixties, with good and comfortable buildings but with a strong dosage of urban monumentalism. It continues even today, providing a high urban standard of living and quiet environment adapted to man and nature.

At this very moment it is extremely important for planners to understand objectively the essential features of the ambience of these new structures, in order to influence their future development in the most suitable way.

Actually, most of the new settlements in Beograd have achieved the basic aim: to ensure the elemental healthy human environment. They include now: comfortable dwelling houses and open spaces with a lot of vegetation; facilities for children - playgrounds and kindergartens; primary schools; facilities for daily shopping, pedestrian areas separated from car traffic.

But, one can find certain shortcomings which may produce negative effects on the total quality of the environment in the new settlements of Beograd.

The new settlements often have been constructed without respect for the logic, shape and size of previous development, so that they do not fit completely into the image and spirit of the existing city.

The buildings in the new settlements are often too large, too tall, so that they lose contact with the human scale and create feelings of desorientation and impersonality. But, in some recently built settlements the buildings are much more modest, natural and pleasant, fit to human scale.

In some new settlements open spaces are often expressively large, undefined, so that people walking there feel loneliness and physical weakness. In some other cases we can see that this shortcoming can be avoided by adequate articulation of the built environment.

Classical local streets do not exist in the majority of new settlements, so that people have not enough possibilities to meet each other, to get acquainted with environment and to create the spirit of a real local community.

Local centers have been planned in every new settlement, but in many cases they have been constructed with changed or diminished contents, or have not been built at all. Some of them, however, form the basis for local social integration.

A lack of job functions in new housing areas produces lifelessness and provokes negative daily migrations.

These are the fundamental environmental shortcomings of the new settlements in Beograd.

What are the measures for their systematic elimination?

I myself think that there are some basic measures which could be applied.

First: to provide full contents of local centers and to include job functions in the structure of new settlements.

Second: to establish a system of local streets with attractive contents in the groundfloor of surrounding buildings.

Third: to change the character of certain parts of apartment buildings by using the groundfloor for public-communicative activities and the upper floors - unpleasant for dwelling - for offices.

Fourth: to articulate open spaces between buildings into smaller units suitable for various forms of everyday recreation and entertainment.

New housing settlements in Beograd provide good possibilities for applying these and other improvement measures. They contain solid buildings, good infrastructure equipment and satisfactory reserves of open space. A purposeful and well-balanced introduction of new elements, which are required for new settlements, may be a creative act, full of inspiration and imagination, with amazing good results. It would provide a new sense, a new quality, a new meaning to the urban life in new settlements.

I think that Beograd deserves such an effort.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC NEEDS IN THE PROCESS OF MODERNIZATION OF HOUSING ESTATES BUILT AFTER WORLD WAR II

M. Buzakashvili (Soviet Union)

presented by E. Fiodorov (Soviet Union)

In the solution of questions of modernization and reconstruction of housing estates built after World War II the most expedient and effective way is the complex approach, including research oriented to show the existing social-demographic conditions, the level of amenities and of cultural-welfare conditions, the characteristic features of type houses, their location, external appearance, etc.

In this aspect with the determination of the composition of the housing stock and its conformity with the modern needs it is necessary:

- to elaborate a programme of new buildings (by types of houses and flats);
- to take rational measures concerning the modernization of houses and the reconstruction of building to ensure the necessary quantity and types of flats;
- to show the results of movement of inhabitants to other flats, the reduction of density of evacuated flats and the creation of more comfortable living conditions.

For the research it is necessary to determine the following tasks:

- to take a census of the population of the housing estate, as regards the perspective period taking into account the annual average growth in 3%;*
- to determine the family structure compared with the total number of families in ‰;
- to determine the age and sex structure of the families;
- to examine the composition of the housing stock of the housing estate as regards the number of dwellings, the number and types of flats;
- to examine the level of the housing supply on the various housing estates;
- to determine the number and proportion of families according to the number of members of the housing stock;
- to determine the setting-up of different households in the families of different numbers and in the flats with different numbers of rooms.

On the basis of the data received we can:

- determine the need for flats with different numbers of rooms, taking into account the socio-demographic structure of the families;
- make a forecast of the structure of the housing stock for the near future up to the end of the century;
- determine those types of houses and block-sections made by the local house-producing factory which, with their architectural and planning fea-

* according to the statistical data of the district and town

tures, can be employed in the realization of our tasks to be solved, also taking into account the improvement of the architectural look of the buildings.

At the same time the intensification of utilization of the city areas on the basis of the data received makes it possible to determine the nomenclature of flat types, their proportions and quantity needed for increasing the comfort of living on the housing estates after the transfer of the inhabitants and also for improving types of buildings where they will be housed.

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SOZIALE UND DEMOGRAPHISCHE BEDÜRFNISSE IM MODERNISIERUNGSPROZESS VON MOHNSIEDLUNGEN DER NACHKRIEGSZEIT

M. Buzakashvili (SU)

präsentiert von E. Fiodorov (SU)

Bei der Lösung der Fragen der Rekonstruktion von Wohnsiedlungen der Nachkriegszeit ist die komplexe Annäherung die wirksamste und brauchbarste Methode einschliesslich der Forschung von bestehenden sozialen und demographischen Verhältnissen, des Komfortsgrades, der kulturellen und Wohlfahrtsbedingungen, der charakteristischen Züge der Gebäudetypen, ihrer Anlage, ihres Äusseren usw.

Die Zusammensetzung des Wohnungsfonds und die Entsprechung für moderne Bedürfnisse muss in dieser Hinsicht bestimmt und folgendes durchgeführt werden:

- Ausarbeitung der Haus- und Wohnungstypen des neuen Bauprogramms;
- rationale Massnahmen zur Erneuerung der Wohnungen und der Bebauung, Sicherung der nötigen Menge und Typen der Wohnungen;
- Ergebnisse der Übersiedlung der Bewohner, Minderung der Wohndichte und Schaffung besserer Lebensbedingungen.

Die Forscher müssen folgende Aufgaben festlegen:

- Einwohnerzählung mit Rücksicht auf die jährliche Bevölkerungszunahme;
- Bestimmung der Familienstruktur im Vergleich mit der Gesamtzahl der Familien;
- Bestimmung der Familienstruktur nach Alter und Geschlecht;
- Untersuchung der Zusammensetzung des Wohnungsfonds, Zahl der Gebäude, Zahl und Typ der Wohnungen;
- Untersuchung des Wohnbestandes in den verschiedenen Wohnsiedlungen;
- Bestimmung der Familiengrössen nach der Zahl der Familienmitglieder;
- Bestimmung der nötigen Wohnungszahl und Wohnungsgrösse für Familien verschiedener Grösse.

Aufgrund der Angaben können wir

- den Wohnungsbedarf für verschiedene Wohnungsgrössen bestimmen, und zwar aufgrund der Familiengrösse und Familienstruktur;
- eine Prognose für die Struktur des Wohnungsfonds bis zum Ende des Jahrhunderts geben;
- die Haustypen und Blocksektionen bestimmen, die örtlich erzeugt und architektonisch geeignet sind zur Durchführung unserer Pläne unter Berücksichtigung des Stadtbildes.

Gleichzeitig ermöglicht die intensive Flächennutzung städtischer Gebiete aufgrund dieser Angaben die Bestimmung der Wohnungstypen, ihre Proportion und Menge, die zur Erhöhung des Wohnkomforts in Wohnsiedlungen nötig ist, sowie die Verbesserung der Wohnungstypen.

POSTER SESSIONS: General
SYMPOSIUMS & DISCUSSIONS: General
WORKSHOPS: General

DEVELOPING LIVABLE WATER CITIES

- Abstract -

Author: [Faint text]

Source: [Faint text]

The general theme of the joint presentation, to be accompanied by visual material (slides) will deal with the possibilities of livable water for tomorrow.

POSTER SESSIONS: General

GROUPES DE DISCUSSION: Général

DISKUSSIONSGRUPPEN: Allgemein

Activities scheduled will deal with physical interventions as well as water quality control and efficient management of existing facilities and infrastructure. In particular, emphasis will be placed on water quality and effluent treatment as heavily-used systems within your countries as well as other practical water control and management.

FOUR SESSIONS: 1964
GROUPS DE DISCUSSION: 1964
DISKUSIONSGRUPPEN: 1964

DEVELOPING LIVABLE WINTER CITIES
- Abstract

Norman Pressman & Xenia Zepic (CDN)

The general theme of the joint presentation, to be accompanied by visual material (slides) will deal with the problématique of *Livable Winter Environments*.

The particular emphasis will be orientated toward *strategic town planning, design and urban policies* as they relate to the explicit factors of climate and social problems falling within the framework of Post-War Housing and Residential Improvements. The context within which our exposition will be discussed is one of "cold-climate conditions" or, "winter cities". An overview of the issues and dilemmas will be conveyed and case-studies will be evaluated from Canada, Sweden and Finland within a broad theoretical framework.

Solutions addressed will deal with physical interventions as well as policies directed toward more efficient management of existing services and infrastructure (e.g. public transportation, use of public open space and climate-protection of heavily-used spaces within town centres as well as within residential housing estates and neighborhoods).

Horst Siegel (D)

EINORDNUNG IN DEN GESAMTGESELLSCHAFTLICHEN ENTWICKLUNGSPROZESS

Die Wohnungen, die in den 50er und 60er Jahren in der DDR neu gebaut worden sind, umfassen etwa 8% des gegenwärtigen Gesamtbestandes. Met dem Neuaufbau der strukturbestimmenden Industriezweige unseres Landes (Roheisen- und Stahlproduktion, Brennstoff- und Energieversorgung sowie Chemieindustrie) entstanden in dieser Zeit drei neue Städte - Eisenhüttenstadt, Hoyerswerda sowie Schwedt; mit einer vierten - Halle-Neustadt - wurde 1963/64 begonnen. Gleichzeitig ist der Wohnungsbau bewusst und planmässig mit genutzt worden, um die im Krieg zerstörten Stadtzentren wieder aufzubauen. Parallel dazu wurden kleinere und grössere neue Wohnsiedlungen errichtet.

Als entscheidende Grundlagen bewährten sich: das "Aufbaugesetz" vom Sept. 1950, welches der Gesellschaft das Verfügungsrecht über Grund und Boden garantierten; die "sechzehn Grundsätze des Städtebaus" vom Juni 1950, die die Gestaltung der Städte als einheitliches Ganzes zum Wohle der Bürger forderten; die Richtlinie "Sozialistischer Wohnkomplex" vom April 1959, die eine komplexe und einheitliche Planung der materiellen und kulturellen Versorgung der Bürger sowie optimale städtebaulich-architektonische und bautechnologische Lösungen anstrebte.

LEIPZIGER WOHNGBIETE DER NACHKRIEGSZEIT

Als erstes grösseres neues Wohngebiet entstand Anfang der 50er Jahre das "Dr.-Hermann-Duncker-Viertel", allerdings noch in traditioneller Bauweise. Durch die verstärkte Industrialisierung des Wohnungsbaus (Vorfertigung von grossen Bauelementen in stationären Anlagen und Montage auf den Baustellen) konnte das Naubauprogramm beachtlich gesteigert werden. In allen Stadtteilen von Leipzig wurden neue Wohngebiete geschaffen, so zum Beispiel in Gohlis, Möckern, Sellerhausen, Grosszschocher und Schönefeld. Diese Siedlungen befinden sich in der Regel fast am Rande der Grossstadt, etwa 3 bis 5 km vom Zentrum entfernt. Sie wurden komplex geplant und realisiert. Die Grösse beträgt jeweils etwa 1.000 bis 1.600 Wohnungen, und sie wurden von Anfang an mit Schulen, Kinderkrippen und Kindergärten, Kaufhallen, Gaststätten und Klubs, Dienstleistungseinrichtungen, Sport- und Spielplätzen sowie Anlagen für die medizinische Betreuung ausgestattet. Die Wohnhäuser sind 4 bis 5 geschossig, teilweise 7 geschossig und in Montagebauweise errichtet worden (Laststufen: 800 kg Grossblock - sowie 2.000 und 5.000 kg - Grossplatte).

SCHLUSSFOLGERUNGEN FÜR UMWELTPLANUNG UND ENTWURFSKONZEPTIONEN

Die komplexe Planung von Wohnsiedlungen auf der Grundlage gesetzlicher Festlegungen und einheitlicher Rahmenrichtlinien hat sich bewährt. Diese

Gebiete werden grundsätzlich auch den heutigen sozialen Anforderungen noch gerecht.
Wichtig dabei ist die zeitgleiche gemeinsame Realisierung des Wohnungsbaues mit der Grundausrüstung von gesellschaftlichen Einrichtungen sowie die alternative Nutzung von Flächen, die für eine erweiterte Ausstattung mit Gemeinschaftseinrichtungen zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt in Frage kommen.

A CASE FOR THE COMMUNITY-BASED IMPROVEMENT OF A HOUSING ESTATE IN JAPAN

Yasuhiro Endoh, Kazuhiko Ishihara (J)

The improvement process at Takemidai public rental housing (360 households) is the most typical case of tenant's full participation concerning improvement of dwelling units and neighbourhood self-management of space around housing blocks.

Takemidai is located at Senri New Town which is the first and successful new town in Japan. Senri New Town (120,000 persons) has 28% of public rental housing which was built rapidly in 1960s and of which dwelling unit size was very small ($35 \text{ m}^2/\text{du}$).

Tenants wanted to settle down in them for the good location and environment of Senri New Town. In 1975 Takemidai Community Association (TCA) began to proposed "one more room expansion" to the local government with other tenants groups of 4 public rental housing estates. Through their enthusiastic action against the national government and the local government, they got the new subsidy for improvement of public middle sized housing.

TCA made consensus for expansion by themselves and construction of 350 dwelling units was made.

By one room expansion, a dwelling unit enlarged from 35 m^2 to 55 m^2 and tenants wished to settle down there more than ever.

After improvement of dwelling units, TCA initiated to make a plan for improving space around the housing blocks. In 1984 they discussed three subjects which were car parking, planting, and children's play space. For example, for integration of cars and children's space the dual use system was proposed. They planted many trees and seeds by themselves on holidays. A sense of community and mutual aid has been risen through this improvement process concerning both dwelling units and immediate environment.

Many active members of TCA wish to make the New Town into their home town in the future.

I suppose this housing estate will mature as a physical and social entity.

DETERIORATION OF RESIDENTIAL AREAS (STAGE I AND II) CAUSED BY INEFFECTUALLY DESIGNED ROADS AND PARKING FACILITIES

B. Bach, G.M.M. Alink (NL)

The mental images and the potential uses of the area outside houses are of great importance for the quality of living.

If improvements only apply to the housing itself and its immediate surroundings, poorly used public space may detract from the value of these improvements.

Simultaneous corrections of housing, traffic systems and the uses of public space in areas of 1-2 km² will produce the best results of these improvements.

The basic problems in the public space of many post-war housing estates are complex and include various elements such as:

1. *EMPTINESS* : a feeling caused by too much unused open space.
2. *SILENCE* : " " " " lack of variety of activities.
3. *DISPERSION*: " " " " dispersal of activities over too large an area.
4. *BARRIERS* : " " " " high car speed or too much riding vehicles in residential streets.

Increasing the number of activities and/or even buildings may reduce *EMPTINESS* and *SILENCE*. *INCREASING THE ACTIVITIES CREATES A CASH-FLOW WHICH CAN BE USED TO REDUCE THE PROBLEMS CAUSED BY DISPERSION AND BARRIERS.*

In most post-war housing estates are overdimensioned, and consequently speeding will occur.

The lay-out of most post-war estates is based on 0,8-1,2 parking place per dwelling, which are situated close to the entrances. When cars are parked so close to dwelling entrances, this encourages unnecessary driving within residential areas.

In the Netherlands we tried till now to solve these problems by traffic safety measures such as humps and bumps spread over the area (e.g. "woonerwen"). The influence of speed reduction in this way only applies to some 25 m on both sides of the measure. For an average speed of 30 km/h bumps would have to be repeated every 50 m, which would be very expensive.

A change in the traffic system (in which more priority is given to pedes-

trians and cyclists) and in combination with the creation of new activities (new dwellings, shops, workshops, offices, etc.) seems to be a more viable way to improve the public space.

Suggestions for such improvements have been subject of a Dutch contest called "WOONWENS-VERKEERSWENS 1985" *

The results of this contest will be shown in a selection of the original exhibition and explained in a lecture with slides.

* This Dutch title refers to balancing the conflicting wishes for a good living situation and convenient transportation facilities.

PLAN OF APPROACH FOR GEEREN-NOORD, BREDA

E.E.F.M. Kalle, H.W.M. van Rooijen (NL)

The neighbourhood Geeren-Noord (2,756 inhabitants) is part of the district Hoge Vucht (23,480 inhabitants), situated in the north of Breda, a town in the southern part of the Netherlands. The district Hoge Vucht is the result of town-planning as seen and carried out in the sixties. At that time the housing problem was thought to be solved by erecting tall flat-buildings on a large scale (cf the Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam).

Problems in Geeren-Noord are becoming pressing in the gallery-flats. On the one hand they relate to the constructional condition of the buildings and the communal facilities, on the other hand to the social atmosphere. Housing policy has resulted in a concentration of problematic groups.

In recent years measures were already taken regarding the physical structure. These measures however, were not very successful, as the social problems were not tackled at the same time.

Upon the request of the city council of Breda, SOAB, in close co-operation with the inhabitants (united in the working group Werkgroep Geeren-Noord) has drawn up a plan of approach that must lead to a closer link of the inhabitants to their neighbourhood and to the acceptance of more responsibility by the inhabitants as to their house, the housing complex, the neighbourhood and the facilities. Eventually the plan must result in a form of neighbourhood control suited for a post-war highrise district.

The plan of approach as drawn up by SOAB is based on an integral approach of the problems. In the next two years this plan will be carried out with the help of SOAB. At this time 128 possibilities for solution have been offered. These solutions deal both with the house, the neighbourhood and facilities, and with liveability, housing policy and 'small-scale' employment.

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DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY
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1971

SPECIAL SESSION I: The Homeless in Industrialised Countries
SEANCE SPECIALISEE I: Les sans-abri dans les pays industrialisés
SONDERSITZUNG I: Obdachlose in Industrieländern

1.1. It is clear that the homeless are a group of people who are in a state of extreme poverty and who are in need of help. The problem of homelessness is a social problem which is closely linked with the economic situation of the country. It is a problem which is of great importance for the social and economic development of the country. It is a problem which is of great importance for the social and economic development of the country.

1.2. It is clear that the homeless are a group of people who are in a state of extreme poverty and who are in need of help. The problem of homelessness is a social problem which is closely linked with the economic situation of the country. It is a problem which is of great importance for the social and economic development of the country. It is a problem which is of great importance for the social and economic development of the country.

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RESEARCH IN THE HISTORY OF INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY
RESEARCH IN THE HISTORY OF INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY
RESEARCH IN THE HISTORY OF INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY

THE HOMELESS IN INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES: A DISCUSSION PAPER

Madeline Drake (GB)

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Homelessness has reached crisis proportions in most of the industrialised countries. Yet there is no internationally concerted policy to deal with it, nor indeed any internationally agreed definition or measure of the homeless.

1.2 The homeless are seen as a marginal group by most governments. They may often be considered to be unemployable or feckless, mobile people - outsiders - who, if housed would be taking accommodation from bona fide residents. So the homeless are often seen as travellers, migrant workers, gypsies, and so on.

1.3 Or they are seen as people who because of illness or other cause of vulnerability cannot cope with the demands of a job and home. Recently there has been growing awareness of the problems of discharges from psychiatric institutions - particularly in the USA and UK. Mr. McKinney in his speech concerning the HUD report on homelessness in the USA spoke passionately of the root causes of homelessness in his country being the de-institutionalisation programme and drug misuse.¹

1.4 It is rare for the homeless to be seen simply as people who cannot afford a home. The assumption is that poverty alone is not enough to explain their accommodation problems. This is despite the facts about the economic crisis facing individuals and societies in the '70s and '80s. These facts in themselves should indicate that the conditions prevail which would make it difficult for quite ordinary people to keep in full employment and housing.

1.5 Because so much in our societies is organised around the home, the homeless can be relatively invisible. The household unit is the basis for much of the contact with the population carried out by central and local governments, commercial agencies, and even research organisations. Not being part of a household unit effectively excludes the homeless. For example it can be difficult for them to register to vote, or to register for

1. HUD Report on Homelessness. Joint Hearing before the Subcommittee on Housing and Community Development of the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, and the Subcommittee on Manpower and Housing of the Committee on Government Operations, House of Representatives. 98th Congress, 2nd session, May 24th, 1984. Banking Committee Serial No. 98-91. pp. 9.

state benefit, or find a doctor, or to take advantage of the many provisions of the welfare state.

1.6 Public and political awareness is, then, focussed on those homeless people who are visible - they are the ones on the streets or in the caravan sites or in the large hostels. These tend to be the most stigmatised people. The travellers, the alcoholics, the exmentally ill, the tramps and so on. The invisible homeless tend to be out of public focus. They tend to be the younger people, women and children, people doubling up with friends and relatives.

1.7 It is difficult to count the homeless or even to give an indicative measure of their numbers. Attempts to do so are usually politically motivated and the arguments centre around the political significance of numbers. For example, the Joint Hearing on the HUD report on homelessness begins with a heated argument over the meaning of numbers quoted in the HUD report and in other reports on the homeless. The top figure quoted was 20 million homeless in the USA on one night, the lowest was 250 to 350,000. Predictably, perhaps, the top figure was quoted by an activist group and the lowest figure by HUD - the government agency concerned with housing and therefore ultimately with homelessness.

1.8 While it would be useful to count the homeless simply for policy purposes, it is not really possible. It is difficult to reach an agreed definition with which to define the people and groups to be counted. Even if this were possible the numbers would fluctuate in response to changing housing and economic conditions. It is therefore more important to identify the types of people who are likely to become homeless, the reasons why they became homeless and what the response should be to their needs.

1.9 There are, then, three main questions we might try to answer:

- Who are the homeless?
- Why are they homeless?
- What should policy and provision be for them?

2. WHO ARE THE HOMELESS?

2.1 First we need to agree a definition of the homeless. The IFHP Workshop might like to consider the definition which we used in an Australian study of homelessness.¹

"People are homeless or inadequately housed if:

1. They have no shelter or facilities, or they have inadequate shelter or facilities, and are not able to obtain such.
2. They have no security of tenure or inadequate security of tenure and are not able to obtain security.

This definition will include people who:

1. have no right to stay where they are living or whose right to do so is dependent upon the goodwill of the owner or head tenant;
2. are suffering from or threatened by violence from the people with whom they live;
3. have to spend an unacceptably high proportion of their income on housing;
4. have an inadequate disposable income for other costs after meeting their housing costs;

1. Homelessness - a capital problem, Drake, Rope and Walmsley. Australian Government Publishing Service, 1984. pp. 1.

5. have no lease; have a short-term, non renewable lease; or are threatened with eviction; and/or
6. are living in places which are unsuitable for residential use at all, or which cause medical or social problems."

2.2 Obviously this definition leaves open important issues such as what is 'adequate shelter' or 'adequate security'. A minimal acceptable standard of accommodation needs to be drawn up which would guide any international investigations into homelessness.

2.3 Perhaps the IFHP Workshop participants might consider what should be a minimal standard. The participants might also consider the adequacy of the above definition for defining homelessness in their own countries.

2.4 In any country it will not be possible to adopt tight definitions of homeless people. The homeless are a heterogeneous federation of different types of people, some simply needing accommodation, some needing social or even medical support. From single parents to hospital discharges, the homeless have in common only their lack of adequate accommodation, their tendency to live in hostels or the poorest of private rental stock, or to shift from one temporary shelter with friends or relatives to another.

2.5 However the IFHP participants might wish to draw up a list of the types of people whom they would consider priorities among the homeless. UK legislation defines these as:
families with dependent children, lone parents, those who are vulnerable because of age or infirmity, the disabled and those living with them, pregnant women and those living with them. Thus single people - except the vulnerable, defined very strictly under the Act - are excluded from the UK definition.

2.6 Nevertheless, the single may be in as dire situations as the family homeless. The IFHP workshop might wish to consider what particular groups among the single should be priorities.

2.7 Among the single one might wish to consider particularly young people who have been discharged from state care, discharges from prison, psychiatric institutions and other types of institutions, migrant workers and the alcohol and drug dependent.

2.8 Other groups which are of major concern are: travellers of all kinds, gypsies, those who are discriminated against for particular reasons such as their ethnic origin, religious persuasion or sexual orientation. In the UK for example, the activist groups estimate that 50% of all people living in bed and breakfast hotels - the most unpleasant form of housing allocated to homeless people - are of ethnic minority origin.

2.9 In different countries different groups will emerge as significant. This is partly in response to the different conditions prevailing in different countries and the different government policies which exist to help the poor. However, there seems to be general concern in all countries at present about the young unemployed. In the USA and the UK there is concern about discharges from psychiatric institutions, in both countries there has been a major deinstitutionalisation programme.

3. WHY ARE PEOPLE HOMELESS

3.1 Since the early to mid-1970s, most industrialised countries have been experiencing economic and social upheavals such that some commentators have called this period a new revolution - the technological revolution. Industrial production is giving way to the new technologies.

3.2 The revolution has entailed major changes in our economy and society. Traditional forms of employment in manufacturing industry are disappearing and with them, associated forms of familial, social and economic organisation. Homelessness is one of the results of these major changes.

3.3 A "scissors crisis" has developed in most industrialised countries. One side of the scissors - the supply of housing accessible to the poor and middle income people - is declining; the other side of the scissors - representing demand from the poor and middle income people - is rising sharply. These conditions will eventually bring about major social disturbances. We are seeing the beginnings of serious social disruption in the UK. The more visible manifestations of this are the Toxteth, Bristol - and now the latest - Handsworth riots. These riots have been located in areas of poverty and concentrations of immigrants and people from ethnic minority groups.

3.4 Figures from the UK show this scissors crisis quite clearly. Table 1 shows the changes in household composition which have taken place over the last twenty years from 1961 to 1981. The proportion of the UK population made up of single person households has doubled, increasing from 11% to 22%. Many of these will be temporarily single. One in three UK marriages break down. Many single people are young people who have not yet formed nuclear relationships but who will no longer live with their parents.

3.5 The proportion of the UK population made up by lone parents has also doubled, increasing from 2% to 4%. Many of these are women who are dependent on state benefit for their income. They would therefore be on a very low income and many of them will have received their accommodation through the homeless persons procedures referred to above.

3.6. The proportion of the UK population made up by married couples with dependent children has decreased from 38% to 32% over the period.

3.7 These simple demographic changes mean an explosion in the demand for separate housing units which is putting strain on the existing housing stock, much of which was built for family units. The information about housing tenure alone shows that the stock is not responding to these demographic changes.

3.8 Table 2 shows that the privately rented sector in the UK has declined from 34% of the stock in 1961, to 13% of the stock in 1981. The sector has traditionally accommodated the single, and mobile. The two sectors which have traditionally accommodated family units have expanded: the local authority sector from 25% to 31%, the owner occupied sector from 40% to 56%. Access to these two sectors is restricted. Access to local authority housing is restricted by eligibility requirements, access to owner occupied housing by cost.

3.9 A similar pattern is repeated throughout the other industrialised countries. The details, of course, differ. Some countries are experiencing the explosion in demand to a lesser degree, others to a greater degree. Housing tenure patterns differ, too, between different countries. But in all industrialised countries access to housing for the smaller households, the poor and the mobile has become more difficult.

3.10 The IFHP participants might contribute similar information about housing supply and demand from their own countries.

3.11 Of course government policies can in themselves cause homelessness. The recent UK change in state benefits paid to homeless people living in bed and breakfast hotels and hostels is an example of this. The government

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introduced ceilings in the amount to be paid to claimants. The ceilings are in some cases below the lowest rent available in specific localities. Thus claimants will not find beds even in the poorest locations.

3.12 In the recent UK reform, the government also introduced time limits for young people staying in bed and breakfast hotels. In London, the time limit was two months, in other areas it was as little as two weeks. The change resulted in a great deal of stress for young people who were already in difficulty. It effectively means the government created a new generation of forced wanderers - compelled to move every two weeks until they reach 25 years of age when they could stay in one area.

3.13 There were many cases of extreme hardship reported resulting from this policy. Several cases of suicide were reported. The government was finally directed by the High Court that it had acted illegally in introducing the time limits. However, the intention is now to introduce the changes through legislative procedures this autumn. The government clearly believes it is on the right course, despite all the evidence of hardship caused.

3.14 In France there is a similar policy operating with regard to the funds available for unemployed homeless people. In each region the length of time a person may claim varies according to the amount of credit left in the fund from which the money is drawn. In some regions they may claim for only a few months and in others they may claim for a good deal longer. After the end of their claim they have to move on to another region.

3.15 The policy of deinstitutionalisation - unless it is properly financed - also causes homelessness. Most of those who have lived for years in psychiatric institutions must be placed in supportive environments if they are to survive. Otherwise they swell the ranks of the homeless. We have already mentioned the concern felt in the USA and UK over this policy.

3.16 The response of housing authorities to rent arrears can also cause homelessness. In the UK, families in rent arrears to public housing authorities will be evicted and picked up by the homeless families procedures. They will then be placed in substandard housing or bed and breakfast hotels. Their rent and living expenses will be paid by the Department of Health and Social Security; eventually the family will be placed in mainstream accommodation and their rent and living expenses covered until such time as their children grow up, or a parent gets work.

3.17 Families which go through this kind of upheaval suffer extreme stress. This is particularly true when the hotel conditions are not conducive to a reasonable family life.

3.18 Overcrowding, harassment of all kinds, extremely unsanitary conditions exist in many hotels. In very few hotels would there be leisure space for the family or - more importantly - their children. Long term exposure to these conditions often causes families to break up.

3.19 And even despite the existence of legislation in the UK to provide a right to help for certain categories of homeless people, there are many loop-holes which mean that people may often not receive the help they need. For example in some local authority areas, battered women who leave home may be declared ineligible for help on the grounds that they have made themselves homeless. They should have stayed at home and got the man evicted. This ruling may be applied despite evidence of repeated violent attacks by the man. Because of a lack of any other alternative, a woman may be forced to stay with her violent husband in order to be with her children; or she may have to leave her children with her husband and go into a battered woman's refuge - if such exists in her area.

3.20 Nevertheless the UK system is more humane than the system which exists in some countries where there is no long term state provision for families with no means of support. In the States, Australia and France where we have looked for such long term provision there has been none. After the contributory benefit runs out there is nothing in its place. In Australia we found cases of very great hardship. In the Canberra area, for example, we interviewed a woman who had nearly died giving birth to her child in a tent in the forest attended only by her husband. She had been ill for some time before the baby was born. She was taken to hospital but the family had to wait some three months to be allocated a flat. This was despite application by the father for help before the baby was born. In a Salvation Army hostel in Lille, France, we met men whose families had been split up because there was no means of paying the rent and no shelter for the family together.

3.21 Poverty is particularly devastating in countries where there is no free health care. Most countries have some form of contributory health service. For employed people it may be a small matter to pay the premium. But for the poor it may be a choice between food and the health care premium. Again in Australia we interviewed a man whose wife had a chronic illness. After he became unemployed he could not afford the premium. In order to pay the hospital bills he had to sell his house, then his van, then his tools. He was a carpenter. Without his tools he could not find work. The family were living in a tent when we interviewed him. They did not know where they were to find the rent for the tent site nor the food for the next meal.

3.22 The causes of homelessness, then, lie in the economic and social structure. Government policies may alleviate it or make it worse. Welfare policies are targetted at particular groups and may therefore act as a safety net for such groups preventing them from slipping through into the very worst situation. However, those not covered by such policies or those whose entitlement to help has run out ultimately become homeless.

4. WHAT SHOULD BE POLICY AND PROVISION FOR THE HOMELESS?

4.1 It would be a simple matter to state simply that the homeless need homes. The problem lies in finding the means to provide them with accommodation.

4.2 Our work in the UK and Australia showed that most homeless people simply need housing. However, a substantial minority need help with other aspects of their life. A comprehensive policy for homeless people would include inputs from housing authorities, health and welfare authorities, voluntary organisations, and organisations concerned with income support and job creation.

4.3 A comprehensive policy for homeless people can be shown as a ladder of provision (see Figure 1). This ladder as well as other aspects of policy for the homeless is discussed fully in "Policy and Provisions for the Single Homeless"¹. The ladder of provision is on the right of the ladder. On the left of the ladder are the proportions of people interviewed in "Single and Homeless"², who would require the different types of provision, taking into account their preferences and needs for different kinds of ac-

1. Drake and Biebuyck. Personal Social Services Council, London, 1977.

2. Drake, O'Brien and Biebuyck, "Single and Homeless", HMSO, London, 1981, pp. 95, Table 94.

accommodation and social or medical support. Those interviewed for "Single and Homeless" were single people. If one put a sample which included homeless families in place of the "Single and Homeless" sample, the proportion requiring supported accommodation would probably be even less.

4.4 Only one in twenty of those we interviewed needed fully staffed residential provision such as hostels, yet 90% were living in hostels. Slightly under one third would have been appropriately accommodated in semi-supported accommodation, ranging from group homes with peripatetic or non-residential special support staff attached to the accommodation, to grouped bed sits relying on visiting support from professionals, such as doctors and social workers, and domiciliary services. Just over a half could have lived happily in normal unsupported public housing stock - if they had some help moving in and if the stock was sensitively managed and allocated. However, changes in public housing design, management and allocation are needed.

4.5 This range of accommodation types is required in any local area so that people can receive the help they need without being referred to distant places for accommodation, and severing their local connections; or so they can move between steps on the ladder as their needs change.

4.6 Within the ladder of provision, emergency or reception accommodation is needed, as well as half-way housing and longer term housing. Normally, reception functions for single people are performed by hostels, or for families by short-life or hard-to-let housing. When housing is scarce it is not surprising that authorities make economies at the reception or temporary accommodation stage, hoping that clients will not have to wait too long before they receive a more permanent tenancy. However, in an ideal world the emergency or reception stage ought to be in purpose - designed and properly serviced accommodation to give people a chance to get over the crises which precipitated their accommodation problems. Adequate intervention at this stage would help prevent peoples' decline into more chronic difficulties and may even help them retain or re-establish their links with the home they left.¹

4.7 A three stage process should exist which allows people to move from emergency accommodation, through supported or half-way housing to more permanent types of accommodation. Some British local authorities or voluntary agencies run these three stages of accommodation, or have developed referral networks to link provisions by different organisations into a coordinated three stage procedure.

4.8 Figure 2 shows schematically how the types of accommodation on the ladder might be serviced. At the bottom of the ladder, in fully staffed accommodation, there will be residential support staff, peripatetic medical staff, and advice and counselling on the premises; at the top end - ordinary unsupported accommodation there will be no support staff at all, but may be some advice and help, with say, debt counselling. At the bottom rung of the ladder, rent collection, maintenance, cleaning, laundry, cooking will be done for residents by residential staff, perhaps assisted by residents. In the middle range - semi-supported accommodation, depending on the degree of support provided, more or less services will be provided, and at the top rung - unsupported accommodation, services will be provided.

1. see Drake, O'Brien and Biebuyck, *op.cit.* pp. 106, on the need for crisis intervention.

4.9 It is not necessary that the full range of accommodation outlined should be provided by one agency, but one agency should ensure that the full range exists and is adequately co-ordinated. The appropriate co-ordinating agency appears to be the local housing agency.

5. LESSONS TO BE LEARNED FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES; GOOD AND BAD PRACTICE; RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 The structure of policy and provision relating to homeless people will vary considerably between different countries. We should be seeking for examples of good practice in the fields of housing, health, welfare, income support and job creation.

5.2 We should also draw up a comprehensive policy for homeless people which, if provided in its entirety, would avoid people sinking into a chronic state of homelessness. Intervention at an early point might enable families and friendship networks to stay together. Adequate policies at a later stage would preserve any possibilities for individuals to continue to function with dignity. In the section above I have outlined what might be a comprehensive policy. The IFHP participants might wish to consider this.

5.3 The IFHP report might draw up an accepted minimum standard of shelter and care. This is a very difficult aim but it is not impossible. The standard would have to be sufficiently broadly drawn to enable it to be adopted by countries with very different levels of affluence.

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TABLE 1: CHANGING HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE AND HOUSING TENURE: 1961-1981

Changing household structure	1961	1981
single person households	11%	22%
lone parents with dependent children	2%	4%
married couple with dependent children	38%	32%

Statistics taken from *Social Trends 1983*, Table 2.2 p. 24.
(published by Central Statistical Office).

TABLE 2: CHANGING STRUCTURE OF HOUSEHOLD TENURE

changing structure of household tenure: households by tenure	1961 %	1981 %
privately rented	34	13
publicly rented	25	31
owner occupied	40	56
All households	100	100

Taken from *Social Trends 1983*, Table 8.6, p. 114.

FIGURE 1: RELATING THE LEVEL OF NEED FOR SUPPORT OF SINGLE HOMELESS PEOPLE TO A LADDER OF PROVISION GRADED IN TERMS OF THE DEGREE OF SUPPORT PROVIDED

<u>Level of need</u>		<u>Ladder of provision</u>
Group A Problems: nil About 1/3 of the group	Type 1 No support other than perhaps caretaker or furniture	I Unsupported accommodation: all tenures, dispersed in the community
Group B Problems: 1 Just under 1/3 of the group		II Grouped bedsits, flats
Group C Problems: 2 to 3 About 1/3 of the group	Type 2 Minimal Support	III Self-managed communal accommodation
		IV Warden controlled schemes
		V Minimal support group home or hostel
Group D Problems: 4+ About 1 in 20 of group	Type 3 Full support	VI Residentially staffed hostel
		VII Institutional

Notes: This is a conceptual diagram and is not intended to be an exact description of the proportions of single homeless people needing different types of accommodation.

The lines between the different steps of the ladder are wavy to indicate that the categories overlap.

FIGURE 2: RESPONSIBILITIES FOR DIFFERENT FUNCTIONS, AND PROVISION OF DIFFERENT SERVICES,
IN A RANGE OF TYPES OF HOSTEL REGIMES

Type of hostel regime	Responsibilities			Services Available				
	Rent Maintenance	Minor Cleaning	Washing	Cooking	Advice	Peripatetic Residential Staff	Residential Staff	Therapeutic Residential Staff
A: Unsupported	0	0	0	0	Y	N	N	N
B: Minimal Support (grouped beds or self-managed communal accomm.)	●	●	0	0	Y	Y	N	N
C: Non-residential support (warden controlled or group homes)	●	●	●	0	Y	Y	N	N
D: Partially staffed hostel	●	●	●	●	Y	Y	Y	Y (part-time) (peripatetic)
E: Fully staffed hostel	●	●	●	●	Y	N	Y	Y

Key: 0 Residents only; ● Staff; ● Either; ● Either; Y Yes; N No.

LES SANS-ABRI DANS LES PAYS INDUSTRIALISES: ETUDE POUR DISCUSSION

Madeline Drake (GB)

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Le problème des sans-abri a pris des proportions de crise dans la plupart des pays industrialisés. Il n'y a pas encore de politique internationale concertée qui s'en occupe et aucune définition ni mesure coordonnées n'existent au niveau international.

1.2 Beaucoup de gouvernements considèrent les sans-abri comme des marginaux. Dans l'opinion publique, ils sont des chômeurs, des gens malhonnêtes, non intégrés, prêts à occuper illégalement des logements et donc associés à des voyageurs, travailleurs migrants, tziganes, etc.

1.3 Il y a aussi ceux qui à cause d'une maladie ou d'un handicap ne peuvent pas trouver un emploi et un foyer décent. Aux Etats-Unis et au Royaume-Uni les problèmes des personnes qui sortent d'institutions psychiatriques sont de plus en plus connus. Dans sa présentation du rapport HUD (Housing and Urban Development Agency) sur les sans-abri aux Etats-Unis, M. McKinney a parlé avec grande conviction des causes du problème des sans-abri dans son pays et allégué le programme de désinstitutionalisation et l'abus de drogues¹.

1.4 Les sans-abri ne sont pas considérés comme des gens qui ne peuvent pas se permettre un logement. Il est entendu que la pauvreté n'est pas une explication suffisante, malgré la crise économique que les individus et la société doivent affronter ces dernières décennies, alors que la situation montre que même pour l'homme de la rue il est difficile de garder son travail et son logement.

1.5 Dans nos sociétés, le logement occupe une position centrale, et le problème des sans-abri peut de ce fait rester assez invisible. L'unité du ménage est la base pour beaucoup de contacts entre la population et les

1. HUD Report on Homelessness. Joint Hearing before the Subcommittee on Housing and Community Development of the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, and the Subcommittee on Manpower and Housing of the Committee on Government Operations, House of Representatives. 98th Congress, 2nd session, May 24th, 1984. Banking Committee Serial No. 98-91. pp. 9.

pouvoirs publics nationaux et locaux, les affaires et les établissements de formation. Comme ils ne font pas partie de l'unité du ménage, les sans-abri sont effectivement exclus. Il leur est difficile de se faire inscrire sur des listes de vote ou de bénéficier de l'aide de la sécurité sociale ou des autres avantages qu'offre l'Etat-Providence.

1.6 L'attention publique et politique se concentre sur les sans-abri visibles, qui se trouvent dans les rues, qui vivent dans des roulottes ou dans des foyers de groupe. Ce sont des voyageurs, des alcooliques, des malades mentaux, des clochards, etc. Les sans-abri invisibles ne veulent pas se faire remarquer. Ce sont des jeunes, des femmes et des enfants qui vivent chez des amis ou des parents.

1.7 Il est difficile de compter les sans-abri même approximativement. Les efforts faits en ce sens ont une composante politique, et les arguments se concentrent sur l'importance politique des nombres. Par exemple, le débat sur le rapport du HUD sur les sans-abri commença avec une discussion âpre sur les nombres mentionnés dans le rapport du HUD et d'autres rapports sur les sans-abri. Le nombre le plus haut était 20 millions de sans-abri dans une nuit aux Etats-Unis et le plus bas, 250-350.000. Comme on pouvait s'y attendre le nombre maximal était donné par un groupe d'activistes et le nombre le plus bas, par le HUD, l'agence gouvernementale qui s'occupe du logement et par conséquent des problèmes des sans-abri.

1.8 Même s'il est très utile de compter les sans-abri à des fins politiques, cela se révèle impossible dans la pratique. Il est très difficile de définir les gens et les groupes, et leur nombre change en fonction des conditions économiques et celles du logement. Par conséquent il est plus important d'identifier les types d'hommes qui risquent de devenir des sans-abri, d'en dégager les raisons et de chercher des solutions.

1.9 Trois questions principales se présentent:

- Qui sont les sans-abri?
- Pourquoi sont-ils des sans-abri?
- Quelle politique faut-il adopter et quels services sont nécessaires?

2. QUI SONT LES SANS-ABRI?

2.1 D'abord nous avons besoin d'être accord sur la définition de "sans-abri". La séance spéciale FIHWAT pourrait adopter la définition utilisée dans une étude de sans-abri en Australie¹.

"Sont considérés comme des sans-abri ou comme des personnes sans logement décent ceux qui:

- n'ont pas de toit ni de moyens ou qui ont un abri ou des moyens inadéquats et sont incapables de se les procurer;
- n'ont pas la sécurité de pouvoir rester dans leur logement ou dont la sécurité est insuffisante et qui sont incapables de l'obtenir.

Cette définition comprendra les gens qui:

1. n'ont pas le droit de rester là où ils habitent ou qui dépendent de la bonne volonté du propriétaire ou du locataire principal;
2. souffrent de la violence des cohabitants ou sont menacés par eux;

1. Homelessness - a capital problem, Drake, Rope and Walmsley. Australian Government Publishing Service, 1984. pp. 1.

3. doivent dépenser une proportion inacceptable de leur revenu pour le logement;
4. manquent de moyens après avoir payé les coûts du logement;
5. n'ont pas de droit de location ou sont menacés d'expulsion; et/ou
6. habitent dans des lieux inappropriés au logement ou causant des problèmes médicaux et sociaux".

2.2 Naturellement cette définition laisse ouverte de questions importantes et ne dit rien sur ce qui est un logement adéquat ou une sécurité adéquate. Il faut déterminer des normes minimales susceptibles d'orienter les recherches internationales en la matière.

2.3 Peut-être les participants de la séance spéciale FIHUAT peuvent-ils définir le niveau minimum et examiner si la définition permet d'identifier les sans-abri dans leur propre pays.

2.4 Il n'est pas possible d'accepter des définitions strictes. Les sans-abri sont un groupe hétérogène, quelques-uns ont besoin d'un logement, d'autres ont besoin d'assistance sociale ou médicale. De personnes seules à des relâchés d'hôpital, les sans-abri ont une chose seulement en commun: leur manque de logement adéquat, leur tendance à vivre dans des pensions, dans des foyers ou dans les bâtiments les plus pauvres du stock privé ou à errer d'un gîte temporaire chez des amis ou parents à l'autre.

2.5 Certainement les participants aimeraient dresser une liste des catégories de sans-abri, avec les priorités à leur donner. La législation du Royaume-Uni les définit comme suit: familles avec enfants dépendants, parents solitaires, groupes vulnérables pour des raisons d'âge ou d'infirmité, handicapés et ceux qui habitent avec eux, femmes enceintes et ceux qui habitent avec elles. Ainsi les personnes seules - à l'exception des vulnérables déterminés très strictement dans les lois - sont exclues de la définition adoptée au Royaume-Uni.

2.6 Les personnes seules peuvent toutefois être dans une situation aussi terrible que les familles. La séance spéciale FIHUAT pourrait étudier quels groupes de personnes seules devraient avoir un traitement prioritaire.

2.7 Il faudrait étudier en particulier la situation des jeunes libérés de prison, d'une clinique psychiatrique ou d'un autre type d'institution, des travailleurs migrants, alcooliques et drogués.

2.8 D'autres groupes dont il faut se préoccuper sont: les voyageurs de toutes sortes, les tziganes, les discriminés pour cause d'origine ethnique, de religion ou d'orientation sexuelle. Au Royaume-Uni, les groupes d'activistes estiment que 50% des personnes habitant dans des garnis - la forme la plus désagréable de logement pour les sans-abris - sont des minorités ethniques.

2.9 Les groupes significatifs diffèrent d'un pays à l'autre, selon les conditions dans les différents pays et les politiques gouvernementales adoptées à l'égard des démunis. Il semble cependant que les jeunes chômeurs sont à présent une préoccupation majeure dans tous les pays. Aux Etats-Unis et au Royaume-Uni le problème des personnes relâchés des institutions psychiatriques dans le cadre d'un grand programme de désinstitutionalisation est particulièrement grave.

3. POURQUOI LES GENS SONT-ILS DES SANS-ABRI?

3.1 Pendant la première moitié des années 70, beaucoup de pays industrialisés avaient une haute conjoncture économique et sociale et quelques commentateurs ont qualifié cette période de nouvelle révolution - la révolution technologique. Dans la production industrielle beaucoup de nouvelles technologies ont en effet vu le jour.

3.2 La révolution a causé de grands changements dans notre économie et notre société. Les formes traditionnelles de l'emploi industriel disparaissent et avec elles les formes associées de l'organisation familiale, sociale et économique. L'une des conséquences de ces changements est l'apparition des sans-abri.

3.3 Une "crise de ciseaux" a développé dans la plupart des pays industrialisés. D'une part, l'offre de logements disponibles pour les pauvres et les personnes à revenus moyens baisse; d'autre part, la demande de la part des pauvres et des personnes à revenus moyens augmente brusquement. Ces conditions peuvent susciter de grands troubles sociaux. Nous voyons le commencement de problèmes sociaux sérieux au Royaume-Uni. Les manifestations les plus éclatantes ont été les émeutes de Toxteth, Bristol et, récemment, Handsworth. Ces émeutes ont eu lieu dans des quartiers pauvres ou se concentrent des immigrants et des minorités ethniques.

3.4 Les données du Royaume-Uni montrent clairement cette crise de ciseaux. Le tableau 1 montre les changements dans la composition des ménages pendant les 20 dernières années (1961 à 1981). La proportion des ménages d'une personne a augmenté de 11% à 22%, c'est à dire qu'elle a doublé pendant cette période. Beaucoup des ces personnes ne sont que temporairement seules. Un mariage sur trois est résolu au Royaume-Uni. Beaucoup des personnes seules sont des jeunes qui n'ont pas encore formé de ménage mais qui n'habitent plus chez leurs parents.

3.5 La proportion de parents seuls a elle aussi doublé, de 2% à 4% au Royaume-Uni. Il s'agit souvent de femmes qui dépendent d'allocations de l'Etat. Les revenus sont donc très bas et beaucoup d'elles reçoivent un foyer à travers les procédures en faveur des sans-abri, mentionnées plus haut.

3.6 La proportion de couples mariés avec enfants mineurs s'est réduite de 38% à 32% pendant cette période.

3.7 Ces simples changements démographiques signifient une explosion dans la demande d'unités de logement pour personnes seules, ce qui constitue une forte pression sur le marché du logement, qui se compose surtout de logements familiaux. Le stock ne répond pas à ces changements démographiques.

3.8 Le tableau 2 montre que la proportion des logements locatifs privés s'est réduite de 34% en 1961 à 13% en 1981. Ce secteur assurait traditionnellement des foyers pour les personnes seules et les mobiles. Les deux secteurs qui assurent traditionnellement des foyers pour ménages se sont élargis: le secteur de l'autorité locale de 25% à 31%, le secteur de logements occupés par les propriétaires de 40% à 56%. L'accès à ces deux secteurs est restreint. L'accès au logement de l'autorité locale est limité par les exigences d'éligibilité, l'accès au logement occupé par les propriétaires, par les coûts.

3.9 Une structure similaire se manifeste dans les différents pays industrialisés, mais les détails sont différents. Dans quelques pays l'explosion de la demande est moindre, dans les autres, plus forte. La structure de propriété varie aussi selon les pays. Mais dans tous les pays industrialisés, l'accès au logement pour les petits ménages, les pauvres et les mobiles est devenu plus difficile.

3.10 Les membres de la FIHUAT peuvent réunir des informations sur l'offre et la demande dans leurs propres pays.

3.11 Naturellement la politique gouvernementale peut renforcer le phénomène des sans-abri. Le changement récent des subventions payées par l'Etat pour les sans-abri vivant dans des chambres et dans des hospices en est un exemple. Le gouvernement a introduit des plafonds qui dans certains cas sont inférieurs aux loyers les plus bas. Ainsi les intéressés ne trouveront même pas de lits dans les logis les plus pauvres.

3.12 Dans le cadre de cette même réforme, le gouvernement a introduit des limites de temps pour les jeunes vivant dans des garnis. A Londres, la limite de temps a été fixée à deux mois, ailleurs elle n'est que de deux semaines. Ce changement a provoqué beaucoup d'inquiétude parmi les jeunes qui se trouvent déjà en difficulté. En effet, le gouvernement a créé une nouvelle génération des clochards forcés, qui sont obligés de se déplacer toutes les deux semaines jusqu'à ce qu'ils atteignent l'âge de 25 ans. Alors ils peuvent rester dans un seul endroit.

3.13 Cette politique a causé beaucoup de détresse et plusieurs cas de suicide ont été signalés. Entretemps, la Cour Suprême a statué que le gouvernement a pris des mesures illégales en introduisant des limites de temps, mais il est prévu d'introduire ces changements maintenant par voie législative. Le gouvernement clairement croit être sur le bon chemin malgré toute évidence de détresse qu'il cause.

3.14 En France il y a une politique similaire à l'égard des montants mis à la disposition des chômeurs qui n'ont pas de toit. Dans chaque région la durée pendant laquelle une personne peut rester varie en fonction des crédits disponibles. Dans certaines régions ils ne peuvent rester que quelques mois, alors que dans d'autres ils peuvent rester beaucoup plus longtemps. Après, ils doivent s'en aller dans une autre région.

3.15 La politique de désinstitutionnalisation cause elle aussi des sans-abri si elle n'est pas convenablement financée. La majorité de ceux qui habitaient des années durant dans des institutions psychiatriques doivent être placés dans un environnement qui les supporte s'ils doivent survivre. Sinon, ils augmentent le nombre des sans-abri. Nous avons déjà signalé notre inquiétude au sujet de cette politique adoptée aux Etats-Unis et au Royaume-Uni.

3.16 La réponse des autorités aux arriérés de loyer peut aussi influencer sur le nombre des sans-abri. Au Royaume-Uni, les familles vivant dans des logements sociaux qui ont des arriérés seront expulsées et traitées selon les procédures des sans-abri. Elles seront placées dans des logements sous-standards ou dans des hôtels. Le loyer et les dépenses de subsistance seront payés par l'office de santé et de sécurité sociale. Parfois la famille sera placée dans un logement moyen et le loyer et les dépenses de subsistance seront payés jusqu'au moment où leurs enfants seront adultes ou qu'un des parents recevra du travail.

3.17 Les familles qui passent par ces procédures sont exposées à des tensions extrêmes. C'est particulièrement vrai lorsque les conditions d'hôtel s'opposent à une vie familiale raisonnable.

3.18 Beaucoup d'hôtels sont encombrés, les habitants y sont molestés et les conditions sont souvent extrêmement malsaines. Il n'y a que rarement des endroits pour passer le temps libre, et rien n'est prévu pour les enfants. Ces conditions aboutissent à la longue souvent à la dissolution des familles.

3.19 Malgré la législation du Royaume-Uni en faveur de certaines catégories de sans-abri, il y a beaucoup de clauses échappatoires qui font que les gens ne reçoivent souvent pas l'assistance dont ils ont besoin. Par exemple dans quelques communes les femmes maltraitées par leur mari et quittant leur foyer n'entrent pas en considération pour une assistance parce qu'elles auraient elles-mêmes provoqué leur situation. Elles auraient dû rester à la maison et forcer l'homme de partir. Ces règles peuvent même être appliquées s'il est évident que les agressions se répètent. Une femme peut donc être forcée de rester avec son mari violent pour ne pas être séparée de ses enfants; ou bien elle doit laisser ses enfants chez son mari et aller dans un refuge pour femmes battues - si une telle institution existe dans la commune.

3.20 N'empêche que le système du Royaume-Uni est plus humain que le système qui existe dans d'autres pays, où il n'y a pas d'aide d'Etat à long terme pour les ménages sans ressources. Aux Etats-Unis, en Australie et en France nous n'avons pas trouvé de dispositions à long terme pour les indigents. Si les allocations pour lesquelles il faut avoir versé au préalable des contributions s'arrêtent, il n'y a rien qui vient à la place. En Australie nous avons trouvé des cas de très grande misère. Dans la région de Canberra, nous avons parlé avec une femme qui avait failli mourir en accouchant son enfant dans une tente en pleine forêt, en présence de son mari seulement. Elle avait été malade avant la naissance du bébé. Elle avait été hospitalisée, mais la famille a dû attendre trois mois à peu près avant d'obtenir un logement, malgré la demande du père bien avant la naissance du bébé. Dans un foyer de l'Armée du Salut à Lille, France, nous avons rencontré des hommes dont les familles étaient dissoutes parce qu'il n'y avait pas de foyer pour toute la famille.

3.21 La pauvreté est particulièrement néfaste dans les pays où le service médical n'est pas gratuit. Dans la plupart des pays il y a un service médical se basant sur un système de contributions. Pour les gens qui ont du travail, les versements ne pèsent pas lourd, mais les pauvres peuvent se trouver dans la situation de devoir choisir entre la nourriture et un traitement médical. En Australie nous avons parlé avec un homme dont la femme était malade chronique. Devenu chômeur, il ne pouvait plus payer les cotisations. Pour payer l'hôpital il était obligé de vendre sa maison, son camion puis ses outils. Il était charpentier, et sans ses outils il ne pouvait pas trouver de travail. La famille vivait dans une tente quand nous avons eu cette interview. Ils ne savaient pas où trouver les fonds pour payer la place de leur tente et les vivres pour le repas suivant.

3.22 Les causes du problème des sans-abri se trouvent donc dans la structure socio-économique. La politique gouvernementale peut les aggraver ou alléger. Les politiques du bien-être s'occupent tout spécialement des groupes vulnérables et peuvent agir comme soupape de sûreté et éviter le pire. Mais les gens auxquels cette politique ne s'applique pas ou qui n'ont plus droit à une assistance peuvent devenir des sans-abri.

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4. QUELLE POLITIQUE ET QUELLES DISPOSITIONS POUR LES SANS-ABRI?

4.1 Il serait chose facile d'affirmer que les sans-abri ont besoin de logements. Le problème est de trouver les moyens pour les loger décentement.

4.2 Notre travail au Royaume-Uni et en Australie a montré que la majorité des sans-abri ont simplement besoin d'un logement. Une minorité considérable a cependant besoin d'aide dans d'autres domaines. Une politique globale pour les sans-abri devrait comprendre l'assistance des autorités de logement, de santé et de bien-être, des organisations volontaires et des institutions sur le plan de l'emploi.

4.3 Une politique globale pour les sans-abri peut être illustrée comme une échelle de dispositions (voir Figure 1). Cette échelle ainsi que les autres aspects de la politique des sans-abri sont discutés en détail dans "Policy and Provisions for the Single Homeless"¹. L'échelle de dispositions est située à droite. A gauche se trouvent des indications sur le nombre des personnes qui, d'après l'enquête "Single and Homeless"², se situent sur les divers échelons, en tenant compte de leurs préférences et besoins pour les différents types de logement et d'assistance sociale ou médicale. L'enquête porta sur des personnes seules qui n'avaient pas de toit. Si l'enquête s'était élargie aux familles, la proportion nécessitant un foyer avec de l'assistance serait probablement encore moindre.

4.4 Seulement une personne sur vingt avec qui nous avons parlé avait besoin d'aide, alors que 90% vivaient dans des hospices. Un peu moins d'un tiers avait besoin d'un logement et d'une certaine forme d'encadrement professionnel de l'extérieur, comme médecins, assistants sociaux et aides de ménage. Un peu plus de la moitié aurait pu vivre dans le stock normal non subventionné - s'ils recevaient du soutien pour emménager et si le stock était sensiblement géré et attribué. En effet, il faut des changements dans le design, la gestion et l'attribution des logements.

4.5 Les différentes formes d'assistance et d'hébergement doivent être disponibles dans chaque commune pour que les intéressés n'aient pas à se déplacer ni à rompre leurs relations locales; ils peuvent alors, selon leurs besoins, se mouvoir entre les divers échelons de l'échelle des dispositions.

4.6 Dans la vaste gamme des dispositions nécessaires, il faut des logements d'urgence ou de premier accueil tout aussi que des logements transitoires et à plus long terme. Normalement l'accueil des personnes seules se fait dans des hospices et celui des familles, dans des logements transitoires ou difficiles à louer. Quand il y a pénurie de logements il n'est pas surprenant que les autorités raccourcissent la période de premier accueil en espérant que les clients ne devront pas attendre trop longtemps pour recevoir un logement permanent. Dans un monde idéal la phase d'urgence devrait prévoir des logements et un encadrement appropriés pour donner aux intéressés une chance de surpasser les crises qui ont précipité leurs problèmes d'habitation. Une intervention adéquate dans cette phase aiderait à prévenir le déclin ultérieur et permet, dans certains cas, de rétablir les contacts avec le foyer abandonné³.

1. Drake and Biebuyck. Personal Social Services Council, London, 1977.

2. Drake, O'Brien and Biebuyck, "Single and Homeless, HMSO, London, 1981 pp. 95, Table 94.

3. voir Drake, O'Brien and Biebuyck, op.cit. pp. 106, sur la nécessité d'intervention d'urgence.

4.7 Il faut un processus de trois phases pour permettre aux personnes en difficulté de passer d'un logement d'urgence à un logement transitoire avec encadrement approprié à une habitation permanente. Quelques-unes des autorités locales en Grande-Bretagne et organisations volontaires fonctionnent selon ce principe ou ont développé un réseau reliant les diverses dispositions des différentes organisations dans une procédure coordonnée de trois phases.

4.8 La Figure 2 illustre schématiquement quels services devraient être accordés pour les différents types d'habitation. En bas de l'échelle, dans les logements avec différentes sortes de personnel, il faut du personnel d'encadrement, des médecins péripatétiques, des conseillers. En haut de l'échelle (logements ordinaires sans encadrement) il y aura peut-être des consultants pour des questions financières. En bas de l'échelle le personnel permanent organise la collection des loyers, le maintien, le nettoyage, la blanchisserie, la cuisine, assisté éventuellement par les résidents. Dans l'habitat semi-dépendant (milieu de l'échelle) les services sont assurés en fonction des besoins.

4.9 Il n'est pas nécessaire qu'une seule organisation assure la totalité des services nécessaires, mais c'est bien une seule organisation qui doit veiller à ce que toute la gamme de services soit disponible et coordonnée. Cette coordination pourrait en l'occurrence être assurée par l'agence locale du logement.

5. LEÇONS A TIRER DE L'EXPERIENCES DE DIFFERENTS PAYS; BONNES ET MAUVAISES PRATIQUES; RECOMMANDATIONS

5.1 La structure de la politique à l'égard des sans-abri varie considérablement selon les pays. Nous devons repérer les exemples de bonne pratique dans le domaine du logement, du bien-être, de l'assistance dans la gestion des revenus et de la création d'emplois.

5.2 Nous devons aussi élaborer une politique globale pour les sans-abri susceptible d'éviter que leur état se perpétue. L'intervention en amont peut avoir comme résultat que les familles restent ensemble et que les liens d'amitié continuent. Une politique adéquate ultérieure maintiendrait les possibilités pour les individus de continuer à fonctionner avec dignité. Les membres de la FIHUAT pourraient étudier ce que doit être la politique globale esquissée l'égard des sans-abri.

5.3 Le rapport de la FIHUAT pourrait élaborer notamment un standard minimum acceptable d'abri et de soins. C'est un but très difficile mais faisable. Le standard devrait être suffisamment large pour pouvoir être adopté par des pays dont les niveaux d'affluence diffèrent considérablement.

Madeline Drake (GB)

TABLEAU 1. CHANGEMENT DE LA STRUCTURE DES MENAGES: 1961-1981

Structure des ménages	1961	1981
Ménages de personnes seules	11%	22%
Parents uniques avec enfants	2%	4%
Couples mariés avec enfants	38%	32%

Source: "Social Trends 1983, Table 2.2 n. 24
(published by Central Statistical Office)

TABLEAU 2. CHANGEMENT DES MODES D'OCCUPATION

Mode d'occupation	1961	1981
Location, secteur privé	34%	13%
Location, secteur public	25%	31%
Occupation par le propriétaire	40%	56%
Total	100%	100%

Source: Social Trends 1983, Table 8.6, p. 114

FIGURE 1: LE NIVEAU DES BESOINS D'ASSISTANCE DES SANS-ABRI SEULS SELON
UNE ECHELLE DE DISPOSITIONS NECESSAIRES

Groupe A Problèmes: pas près d'un tiers du groupe	Type 1 Assistance seulement sous forme de services de consultance ou de mise à disposition d'un mobilier	I Habitation non en- cadrée, toutes sortes de location, loge- ments dispersés dans la commune
Groupe B Problème: 1 près d'un tiers		
Groupe C Problèmes 2 à 3 près d'un tiers du groupe	Type 2 Assistance minimale	II Dortoirs, apparte- ments III Logements communaux auto-gérés IV Logements contrôlés par des gérants V Foyers ou hospices avec encadrement minimum
Groupe D Problème: 4 une personne sur vingt du groupe	Type 3 Assistance totale	VI Foyers ou hospices avec personnel permanent VII Institutions

Notes: C'est un diagramme conceptuel qui ne veut pas être une description
précise des proportions des sans-abri seuls qui ont besoin de
différents types de logement. Les catégories ne se distinguent pas
nettement et se chevauchent.

FIGURE 2: RESPONSABILITES DES DIFFERENTES FONCTIONS ET DIFFERENTS SERVICES DANS DIFFERENTES FORMES D'HABITATION

Type d'habitation	Responsabilités				Services disponibles				
	Loyer	Petit maintien	Nettoyage	Lavage	Cuisine	Conseil	Personnel permanent et occa- sionnel	Encadre- ment per- manent	Personnel de thérapie permanent
A: Sans assistance	0	0	0	0	0	Y	N	N	N
B: Assistance minimale (dortoirs ou locaux communaux auto- gérés)	●	●	0	0	0	Y	Y	N	N
C: Assistance non résidentielle (foyers pour groupes contrôlés par des gérants)	●	●	●	●	0	Y	Y	N	N
D: Hospices avec per- sonnel partiel	●	●	●	●	●	Y	Y	Y (temps partiel)	Y (occasionnel)
E: Hospices avec per- sonnel complet	●	●	●	●	●	Y	N	Y	Y

Clé: 0 Résidents seulement; ● Personnel; ● ou-Ou; Y oui; N non

OBDACHLOSE IN INDUSTRIALISIERTEN LÄNDERN: DISKUSSION

Madeline Drake (GB)

1. EINLEITUNG

1.1 Die Obdachlosigkeit hat ein kritisches Ausmass in den meisten industrialisierten Ländern erreicht. Dennoch gibt es keine abgestimmte internationale Politik oder eine vereinbarte Definition für das Mass der Obdachlosigkeit.

1.2 Die meisten Regierungen betrachten die Obdachlosen als eine marginale Gruppe. Sie werden oft als unanstellbare oder verantwortungslose, unstete Personen betrachtet - als Aussenstehende - die - in einer Wohnung untergebracht - den Platz von bona fide-Bewohnern wegnehmen. So betrachtet man die Obdachlosen als Reisende, Wandervögel, Zigeuner usw.

1.3 Oder aber sie werden als Personen betrachtet, die wegen Krankheit oder Verwundbarkeit die Erfordernisse der Arbeit und des Hauses nicht bewältigen können. Neuerlich wird man sich stärker der Probleme der von den psychiatrischen Anstalten entlassenen Personen bewusst - besonders in der USA und im UK. Mr. McKinney hat in seiner Rede im Zusammenhang mit dem HUD-Report über Obdachlosigkeit in den USA leidenschaftlich von den Wurzeln der Obdachlosigkeit in seinem Land gesprochen - von dem Deinstitutionalisationsprogramm und vom Drogenmissbrauch¹.

1.4 Obdachlose werden selten als Leute betrachtet, die sich kein Heim leisten können. Man nimmt an, dass Armut allein für die Erklärung ihrer Wohnungsprobleme nicht genügt, trotz der Wirtschaftskrise der die Individuen und die Gesellschaft in den siebziger und achtziger Jahren ins Auge schauen müssen. Diese Tatsachen allein müssten anzeigen, dass es die vorherrschenden Bedingungen auch den gewöhnlichen Personen schwermachen, die Beschäftigung und das Heims beizubehalten.

1. HUD Report on Homelessness. Joint Hearing before the Subcommittee on Housing and Community Development of the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, and the Subcommittee on Manpower and Housing of the Committee on Government Operations, House of Representatives. 98th Congress, 2nd session, May 24th, 1984. Banking Committee Serial No. 98-91 pp. 9.

1.5 Weil sich so vieles in unserer Gesellschaft um das Heim dreht, bleiben die Obdachlosen relativ unsichtbar. Die Haushaltseinheit ist die Basis vieler Kontakte zwischen der Bevölkerung und der lokalen und zentralen Verwaltung, zwischen Handelsagenturen und Forschungsinstituten. Da sie nicht Mitglied einer Haushaltseinheit sind, werden die Obdachlosen wirkungsvoll ausgeschlossen. Zum Beispiel haben sie Schwierigkeiten, sich in die Wahlliste oder Unterstützungsliste einzutragen oder einen Arzt zu finden oder die vielen Versorgungsdienste des Wohlfahrtsstaates auszunutzen.

1.6 Im Brennpunkt des öffentlichen und des politischen Bewusstseins stehen eben die Obdachlosen, die sichtbar sind - auf der Strasse, auf Campingplätzen oder in Herbergen. Diese sind gebrandmarkte Personen, Reisende, Alkoholiker, Vagabunden, Ex-Geisteskranken usw. Die unsichtbaren Obdachlosen wollen nicht im Blickpunkt des Interesses stehen. Es sind meist Jugendliche, Frauen und Kinder, Personen, die sich bei Freunden und Verwandten zurückziehen.

1.7 Es ist schwer, die Obdachlosen zu zählen oder auch nur eine annähernde Zahl anzugeben. Derartige Versuche sind im allgemeinen politisch motiviert, und die Argumente gruppieren sich um die politische Bedeutung der Zahlen. Die gemeinsame Anhörung des HUD-Reports über Dachlosigkeit fing mit einem erhitzten Wortgefecht über die Zahl der Obdachlosen im HUD Report und in anderen Berichten an. Die höchste zitierte Zahl war 20 Millionen Obdachlose in den USA während einer Nacht, die niedrigste 250-300.000. Wie vorauszu-sehen zitierte die höchste Zahl eine Aktivistengruppe und die niedrigste die HUD - die staatliche Stelle, die sich mit dem Wohnungswesen und letzten Endes mit Obdachlosigkeit beschäftigt.

1.8 Während es nützlich wäre, die Obdachlosen einfach für politische Ziele zu zählen, ist dies in der Tat nicht möglich. Es ist schwer, die Personen und die Gruppen zu definieren. Auch wenn das möglich wäre, würden die Zahlen wegen wechselnder Wohn- und Wirtschaftsbedingungen fluktuieren. Deswegen ist es viel wichtiger, die Typen der Personen zu identifizieren, die vermutlich Obdachlose werden und die Ursachen und die Bedürfnisse zu klären.

1.9 Die Hauptfragen, welche wir versuchen zu beantworten, sind folgende:

- Wer sind die Obdachlosen?
- Warum sind sie obdachlos?
- Was für eine Politik und Versorgung ist notwendig?

2. WER SIND DIE OBDACHLOSEN?

2.1 Erstens müssen wir über die Definition der Obdachlosigkeit einig werden. Der IWWSR-Workshop könnte die Definition erwägen, die wir in einer australischen Studie verwendet haben¹.

"Personen sind obdachlos oder unzureichend untergebracht, wenn:

- sie kein Obdach oder keine Mittel haben oder diese nicht adäquat sind und wenn sie nicht fähig sind, sich diese verschaffen;
- sie keine oder unzulängliche Besitzsicherheit haben und nicht fähig sind, sich eine Sicherheit zu verschaffen.

1. Homelessness - a capital problem, Drake, Rope and Walmsley. Australian Government Publishing Service, 1984. p. 1.

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Diese Definition umfasst Personen, die:

1. Kein Recht haben dort zu bleiben, wo sie leben, oder von dem Wohlwollen des Besitzers oder des Hauptmieters abhängig sind;
2. Gewalt oder Drohung seitens der mit ihnen lebenden Personen ausgesetzt sind;
3. eine unannehmbar hohe Proportion ihres Einkommens für die Wohnung verwenden müssen;
4. nach der Bezahlung des Mietzinses ein unzulängliches Einkommen für andere Ausgaben haben;
5. keinen oder einen kurzfristigen nicht verlängerbaren Mietvertrag haben; von Ausquartierung bedroht sind; und/oder
6. an einem Ort leben, der für das Wohnen völlig ungeeignet ist oder soziale und sanitäre Probleme verursacht".

2.2 Offensichtlich lässt diese Definition wichtige Fragen offen: was ist mit "adäquatem Obdach" oder "adäquater Sicherheit" gemeint. Ein minimaler, annehmbarer Wohnungsstandard sollte festgelegt werden, an den sich die internationale Forschungen halten soll.

2.3 Die Teilnehmer des IVWSR-Workshop könnten sich über diesen Minimalstandard Gedanken machen und auch darüber, ob die obige Definition der Obdachlosigkeit in ihren Ländern adäquat ist.

2.4 In vielen Ländern wird es nicht möglich sein, eine strenge Definition für Obdachlose zu geben. Obdachlose sind ein heterogenes Gefüge von Personen verschiedener Typen; einige brauchen einfach nur Unterkunft, andere brauchen soziale oder ärztliche Unterstützung. Von alleinstehenden Eltern bis zu den vom Krankenhaus Entlassenen sind sie sich nur darin ähnlich, dass sie keine adäquate Unterkunft haben, dass sie in Herbergen untergebracht sind oder von einem provisorischen Unterschlupf bei Verwandten oder Freunden zu einem anderen umziehen.

2.5 Die IVWSR-Teilnehmer möchten eine Liste der Prioritäten bezüglich der Obdachlosen aufstellen. Im UK betrachtet das Gesetz als Obdachlose: Familien mit bedürftigen Kindern, einsame Eltern, wegen Alter oder Krankheit verwundbare Leute, körperlich Behinderte und mit ihnen lebenden Personen, schwangere Frauen sowie die mit ihnen lebenden Personen. So sind alleinstehende (unverheiratete) Personen von dieser Definition ausgeschlossen - mit Ausnahme der im Gesetz genau definierten verwundbaren Leute.

2.6 Trotzdem können sich Alleinstehende in einer ebenso bedrängten Lage befinden wie obdachlose Familien. Der IVWSR-Workshop könnte vielleicht erwägen, welche Gruppen der Alleinstehenden Priorität genießen sollten.

2.7 Von der Alleinstehenden könnte man folgende in Betracht ziehen: aus staatlichen Fürsorgestellen Entlassene, sehr junge Leute, aus dem Zuchthaus, Irrenhaus und aus anderen Institutionen Entlassene, Wandervögel, Alkoholiker, Narkotiker.

2.8 Andere Gruppen für die verstärkt Sorge zu tragen sind: Landstraicher Zigeuner, durch verschiedene Ursachen - ethnische Herkunft, religiöse Überzeugung oder sexuelle Orientierung - diskriminierte Leute. Im UK schätzen z. B. Aktivistengruppen, dass 50% der Personen, die in sogenannten Bed and Breakfast-Hotels leben, die schlechteste Wohnform für Obdachlose, zu ethnischen Minderheiten gehören.

2.9 In verschiedenen Ländern gewinnen verschiedene Gruppen an Bedeutung,

und zwar wegen der verschiedenen Umstände und der verschiedenen Formen der staatlichen Unterstützungspolitik. In allen Ländern sind aber eine allgemeine Sorge die jugendlichen Arbeitslosen, in den USA und im UK auch die aus den psychiatrischen Anstalten Entlassenen, da in diesen Ländern ein grösseres Deinstitutionalisierungsprogramm durchgeführt wurde.

3. GRÜNDE FÜR OBDACHLOSIGKEIT

3.1 In den frühen siebziger Jahren haben die industrialisierten Staaten einen wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Wandel erlebt, so dass einige Kommentatoren diese Periode eine neue Revolution - die technologische Revolution - nannten. Neue Technologien dringen in die Industrie ein.

3.2 Die Revolution hat grössere Veränderungen in unserer Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft mit sich gebracht. In der Fertigungsindustrie verschwinden traditionelle Beschäftigungsformen und die mit ihnen verbundenen Formen der sozialen, wirtschaftlichen und Familienstruktur. Obdachlosigkeit ist eine Folge dieser grösseren Veränderungen.

3.3 In den meisten industrialisierten Ländern entstand eine "Krise auf des Messers Schneide". Die Wohnungsversorgung, zugänglich für arme und mittlere Einkommenschichten, geht zurück; die Nachfrage seitens dieser Personen steigt scharf. Diese Umstände werden schliesslich zu sozialen Unruhen führen. Im UK zeichnen sich die Anfänge einer ernststen sozialen Spaltung ab. Die sichtbaren Zeichen sind die Tumulte in Toxteth, Bristol und neulich in Handworth. Zu diesen Tumulten kam es in Gebieten der Armut und der Konzentration von Immigranten und ethnischen Minderheiten.

3.4 Daten aus dem UK zeigen diese Krise deutlich. Tafel 1. zeigt die Änderungen in der Haushaltzusammensetzung in den letzten zwanzig Jahren, von 1961 bis 1981. Die Proportion der Haushalte mit einer Person hat sich verdoppelt, von 11% auf 22%. Viele werden nur vorübergehend alleinstehend sein. Jede dritte Ehe löst sich im UK auf. Viele Alleinstehende sind junge Leute, die noch keine festen Verbindungen eingegangen sind, aber nicht mehr mit ihren Eltern wohnen wollen.

3.5 Die Proportion einsamer Eltern hat sich auch verdoppelt: von 2% auf 4%. Viele sind Frauen, die staatliche Unterstützung brauchen. Ihr Einkommen ist deswegen sehr gering, und sie leben in einer Unterkunft für Obdachlose des erwähnten Typs.

3.6 Die Proportion der Ehepaare mit versorgungspflichtigen Kindern sank in dieser Periode von 38% auf 32%.

3.7 Diese einfachen demographischen Änderungen bedeuten eine Explosion der Nachfrage nach abgeschlossenen Wohnungen, was der bestehende Wohnungsfonds lastet, da die Wohnungen grösstenteils für Familien gebaut wurden. Informationen über Hausbesitz zeigen, dass der Wohnungsfonds nicht auf diese demographischen Veränderungen reagiert.

3.8 Tafel 2 zeigt, dass die Privatmiete von 34% (1961) auf 13% des Wohnungsfonds (1981) gesunken ist. Dieser Sektor war traditionell alleinstehenden und mobilen Personen vorbehalten. Die zwei Sektoren, die traditionell Familien vorbehalten waren, haben zugenommen, der Sektor der lokalen Behörden ist von 25% auf 31% angewachsen, der private Sektor von 40% auf 56%. Der Zutritt zu diesen Sektoren ist beschränkt: im ersten Fall erfolgt er durch Auswahlanforderungen, im zweiten durch Kosten.

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3.9 Ein ähnliches Modell ist in den anderen industrialisierten Ländern zu beobachten. Die Einzelheiten sind natürlich verschieden. In einigen Ländern ist die Nachfrageexplosion kleiner, in anderen grösser. Die Formen der Miete sind ebenfalls verschieden. In allen industrialisierten Ländern kommen jedoch die armen und mobilen Leute schwerer zu einer Wohnung.

3.10 Die Teilnehmer des IVWSR können ähnliche Informationen aus ihren Ländern vorweisen.

3.11 Die staatliche Politik selbst kann natürlich auch die Ursache der Obdachlosigkeit sein. Die neueste Änderung der staatlichen Beihilfe im UK, welche die in "Bed and Breakfast-Hotels" und Herbergen lebenden Obdachlosen erhalten, ist ein Beispiel dafür. Ein Plafond wurde eingeführt, der in einigen Fällen so niedrig ist, dass er sogar den niedrigsten Mietzins nicht deckt. So können die Betroffenen auch in den armseligsten Herbergen kein Bett finden.

3.12 Im Zuge der neuesten Reform im UK wurde auch ein Zeitlimit für Jugendliche eingeführt. Sie können in London zwei Monate, anderswo zwei Wochen in "Bed and Breakfast-Hotels" bleiben. Diese Änderungen bedeuten einen grossen Stress für Jugendliche, die ohnehin in einer schwierigen Lage waren. Das bedeutet, dass die Regierung eine neue Generation der Wanderer schuf, die verpflichtet sind, jede zweite Woche umzuziehen, bis sie ihr 25. Lebensjahr erreichen; dann können sie in einem Gebiet bleiben.

3.13 Man berichtete von grossen Schwierigkeiten infolge dieser Politik. Mehrere Selbstmorde wurden gemeldet. Schliesslich hat das Oberste Gericht der Regierung mitgeteilt, dass sie dieses Zeitlimit gesetzwidrig eingeführt hat. Die Regierung will aber jetzt diese Änderungen auf dem Wege eines legislativen Verfahrens einleiten und glaubt, dass sie auf dem richtigen Weg ist, trotz der verursachten Schwierigkeiten.

3.14 In Frankreich gibt es eine ähnliche Politik, die auf die Mittel, die für Obdachlose zur Verfügung stehen, Rücksicht nimmt. In jeder Region sind die Zeitlimits in Abhängigkeit von der Grösse des Fonds verschieden; in einigen Regionen beträgt das Limit nur wenige Monate, in anderen ist es viel länger. Nach Ablauf der Frist müssen die Leute in ein anderes Gebiet übersiedeln.

3.15 Die Deinstitutionalisationspolitik - falls sie nicht entsprechend finanziert ist - verursacht auch Obdachlosigkeit. Die Mehrheit der Personen, die jahrelang in psychiatrischen Anstalten lebten, müssen in einer unterstützten Umgebung untergebracht werden, wenn sie leben sollen; denn sonst erhöhen sie die Zahl der Obdachlosen. Wir haben bereits die Sorgen der USA und des UK erwähnt.

3.16 Die Reaktion der Behörden auf Mietzinsrückstände kann ebenfalls zur Obdachlosigkeit führen. Im UK werden Mieter, die mit der Miete in Rückstand sind, ausquartiert und in Substandard-Wohnungen oder in "Bed and Breakfast-Hotels" untergebracht. Ihr Mietzins und ihre Lebenskosten bezahlt die Abteilung für Gesundheitswesen und Sozialversicherung; schliesslich bekommt die Familie eine herkömmliche Unterkunft, deren Kosten bezahlt werden, bis die Kinder aufgewachsen sind oder bis die Eltern eine Arbeit finden.

3.17 Familien, die einen derartigen Wandel durchmachen, untergehen einem schweren Stress. Das trifft besonders zu, wenn die Hotelbedingungen nicht für ein vernünftiges Familienleben geeignet sind.

3.18 Überfüllung, verschiedenste Belästigungen, extreme, ungesunde Bedingungen herrschen in solchen Hotels vor. In sehr wenigen Hotels gibt es Freizeiträume für die Familie oder - was noch wichtiger ist - für die Kinder. Familien, die langfristig solchen Umständen ausgesetzt sind, lösen sich meistens auf.

3.19 Trotz der Gesetze im UK zur Sicherung des Rechts auf Hilfe für bestimmte Kategorien der Obdachlosen gibt es zahlreiche Ausflüchte, so dass Personen oft nicht die notwendige Hilfe bekommen. In einigen lokalen Verwaltungsgebieten können Frauen, die ihr Zuhause verlassen haben, keine Hilfe bekommen, weil sie sich selbst heimatlos machten. Sie sollten zu Hause bleiben und den Mann verjagen. Diese Entscheidung kann trotz wiederholter Gewaltakte des Mannes in die Tat umgesetzt werden. Weil es keine Alternative gibt, kann die Frau gezwungen sein, bei ihrem gewalttätigen Mann zu bleiben, damit sie mit ihren Kindern zusammen sein kann, oder sie kann ihre Kinder und ihren Mann verlassen und in eine Herberge für heruntergekommene Frauen übersiedeln - wenn eine derartige in dem Gebiet vorhanden ist.

3.20 Dennoch ist das System im UK humaner als in anderen Ländern, wo es keine langfristige staatliche Hilfe für unversorgte Familien gibt. In Australien und Frankreich gibt es keine Hilfestellung. Nach Einstellung der Beihilfe gibt es keine Ersatzhilfe. Im Gebiet von Canberra haben wir mit einer Frau gesprochen, die beinahe bei einer Geburt gestorben ist, in einer Zeit, wo nur ihr Mann behilflich war. Sie war schon früher krank. Sie wurde ins Krankenhaus gebracht, aber es verstrichen drei Monate bis sie eine Wohnung erhielten, obwohl der Vater schon vor der Geburt des Kindes um Hilfe angesucht hatte. In Frankreich in der Herberge der Heilsarmee in Lille haben wir Männer getroffen, deren Familienleben deswegen zerbrach, weil sie nicht den Mietzins bezahlen konnten.

3.21 Armut ist besonders schwerwiegend in Ländern, in denen es keine kostenlose Gesundheitsversorgung gibt. Die meisten Länder haben eine Art contributive Versorgung. Angestellte können leicht die Gebühr bezahlen. Arme Leute müssen aber zwischen Nahrung und Gebühr wählen. In Australien haben wir einen Mann gefragt, dessen Frau chronisch krank war. Als er ohne Arbeit blieb, konnte er die Gebühr nicht bezahlen. Er musste sein Haus, dann seinen Lastwagen und schliesslich seine Werkzeuge verkaufen, damit er die Krankenhauskosten bezahlen konnte. Ohne Werkzeuge konnte er keine Arbeit finden. Die Familie wohnte in einem Zelt. Sie wussten nicht, woher sie das Geld für die Rente für den Zeltplatz oder für das Essen für den nächsten Tag hernehmen sollten.

3.22 Obdachlosigkeit ist also die Folge der Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsstruktur. Die staatliche Politik kann die Lage erleichtern oder erschweren. Wohlfahrtspolitik zielt auf bestimmte Gruppen ab und kann für diese Gruppen ein Sicherheitsnetz bieten und verhindern, dass diese in die schlechteste Situation geraten. Personen hingegen, die keine Hilfe bekommen, werden schliesslich obdachlos.

4. WELCHE POLITIK UND VERSORGUNG?

4.1 Es wäre einfach zu sagen, dass die Obdachlosen ein Zuhause brauchen. Das Problem ist, die Mittel zu finden.

4.2 Unsere Arbeit im UK und in Australien hat gezeigt, dass die meisten Obdachlosen einfach eine Wohnung brauchen. Aber eine bedeutende Minderheit braucht auch sonstige Hilfe. Eine umfassende Politik für Obdachlose muss Investitionen der Wohnungsbehörden, der Gesundheits- und Wohlfahrtsbehörden,

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freiwilliger Organisationen und Einkommenbeihilfe und Arbeitsplatzschaffung durch die beteiligten Organisationen beinhalten.

4.3 Eine umfassende Politik für Obdachlose kann als Versorgungsleiter dargestellt werden (Figur 1). Diese Leiter und andere Aspekte der Politik für Obdachlose werden ausführlich in "Policy and Provisions for the Single Homeless" erörtert¹. Die Versorgungsleiter ist rechts von der Leiter dargestellt. Auf der linken Seite ist die Proportion der Befragten Personen ("Single and Homeless") dargestellt², die verschiedene Typen der Versorgung beanspruchen. Die Befragten waren Alleinstehende. Wenn man die Gruppe "Single and Homeless" durch eine Gruppe obdachloser Familien substituiert, ist die Proportion der Wohnungsansprüche vielleicht noch kleiner.

4.4 Nur jeder zwanzigste Befragte hat eine Wohnungsmöglichkeit mit vollem Personal, ein Heim benötigt, doch 90% lebten in Heimen. Fast ein Drittel ist in einer teilweise unterstützten Wohnung entsprechend untergebracht, und zwar von Wohnungsgruppen mit zeitweiligem oder nicht dort wohnendem Hilfspersonal bis zur Einzimmerwohnung mit besuchendem Hilfspersonal wie Ärzte und Sozialfürsorger und mit Haushaltsversorgung. Ein wenig mehr als die Hälfte kann glücklich in einer normalen, nicht unterstützten Wohnung leben - wenn sie eine Hilfe für den Einzug bekommen und wenn die Wohnsiedlung gut verwaltet und angelegt ist. Doch sind Änderungen in der Wohnungsplanung, Verwaltung und bei der Zuweisung nötig.

4.5 Diese Wohnungstypen sind in allen örtlichen Gebieten nötig, damit die Betroffenen die nötige Hilfe vor Ort bekommen, nicht an einem fernen Ort wohnen müssen, ihre örtlichen Beziehungen behalten und sich zwischen den Stufen der Leiter bewegen könnten, wenn ihre Ansprüche sich ändern.

4.6 Innerhalb der Versorgungsleiter sind Notlösungen, Übergangswohnungen und langfristige Wohnungen nötig. Gewöhnlich stehen für Alleinstehende Herbergen, für Familien kurzfristig vermietete oder schwer vermietbare Wohnungen als Unterkunft zur Verfügung. Wenn der Wohnungsfonds unzureichend ist, wollen die Behörden im Bereich der provisorischen Stufe sparen und hoffen, dass die Leute nicht lang auf eine feste Wohnung warten müssen. Im Idealfall müssten aber die Übergangswohnungen einem Zweck dienen: entsprechend geplant und bedient Unterkunft für Personen bieten, damit sie für die Lösung ihrer Krise Zeit gewinnen. Ein adäquates Eingreifen kann verhindern, dass Leute in noch chronischere Schwierigkeiten geraten, und kann dazu helfen, dass sie ihre Kontakte mit ihrem Zuhause aufrecht erhalten können³.

4.7 Ein dreistufiger Prozess wäre nötig, damit die Betroffenen von der Notwohnung durch eine Übergangswohnung in eine bleibende Wohnung umziehen können. Einige britische örtliche Behörden bieten dreistufige Wohnungsmöglichkeiten an oder haben ein Informationsnetz zur Koordinierung der Versorgung durch verschiedene Organisationen aufgebaut.

1. Drake and Biebuyck. Personal Social Services Council, London, 1977.

2. Drake, O'Brien and Biebuyck, "Single and Homeless", HMSO, London, 1981, pp. 95, Table 94.

3. Siehe Drake, O'Brien and Biebuyck, op.cit. pp. 106. über die Notwendigkeit für Intervention in Krisen.

4.8 Figur 2 zeigt schematisch, wie die Unterkunftstypen der Leiter versorgt werden können. Am Grund der Leiter, bei einer Wohnungsmöglichkeit mit vollem Personal, gäbe es ein Hilfspersonal, zeitweiliges Gesundheitspersonal und Beratung vor Ort, an der Spitze gäbe es kein Hilfspersonal, aber Beratung und Hilfe für Schulden z. B. am Grund der Leiter erledigt das Hilfspersonal das Einkassieren der Miete, die Erhaltung, die Reinigung, das Waschen und Kochen, vielleicht mit Hilfe der Mieter. In den Übergangswohnungen wären mehr oder weniger Dienstleistungen vorhanden, in Abhängigkeit vom Unterstützungsgrad, an der Spitze Dienstleistungen.

4.9 Es ist notwendig, dass eine Stelle alle Leistungen erbringt; sie muss aber gewährleisten, dass alle Dienstleistungen vorhanden sind und koordiniert werden. Dafür scheint die lokale Wohnngsstelle geeignet.

5. ERFAHRUNGEN AUS ANDEREN LÄNDERN; GUTE UND SCHLECHTE PRAXIS; EMPFEHLUNGEN

5.1 Die Struktur der Politik und Versorgung für Obdachlose ist deutlich unterschiedlich in den verschiedenen Ländern. Wir müssen gute Beispiele für eine gute Praxis suchen auf dem Gebiet des Wohnungswesens, Gesundheitswesens, Wohlfahrtswesens und in den Bereichen Subvention und Arbeitsbeschaffung.

5.2 Wir müssen auch eine umfassende Politik für Obdachlose ausarbeiten, welche - völlig verwirklicht - verhindern soll, dass Personen in chronischer Obdachlosigkeit leben. Eine rechtzeitige Intervention kann die Familien und Freunde zusammenhalten. Angemessene Politik in einer späteren Stufe kann den Individuen die Möglichkeit sichern, mit Menschenwürde weiter zu leben. Ich habe beschrieben, was eine umfassende Politik sein könnte. Die Teilnehmer des IVWSR werden eingeladen, diese Überlegungen zu berücksichtigen.

5.3 Der Bericht des IVWSR könnte ein annehmbares Minimum des Wohnungsstandards und der Versorgung aufzeigen. Der Standard müsste breit genug sein, dass er von Ländern mit sehr verschiedenem Einflussniveau annehmbar ist.



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TAFEL 1: VERÄNDERUNGEN DER HAUSHALTSSTRUKTUR UND DER MIETE 1961-1981

Veränderungen der Haushaltsstruktur	1961	1981
Alleinstehende	11%	22%
Alleinstehende Eltern mit Kindern	2%	4%
Ehepaare mit Kindern	38%	32%

Aus: *Social Trends 1983, Table 2.2, p. 24.*
(Central Statistical Office).

TAFEL 2: VERÄNDERUNGEN DER MIETERSTRUKTUR

Haushalte, nach Mietform	1961	1981
Privatmiete	34%	13%
Gemeinschaftsmiete	25%	31%
Vom Inhaber besetzt	40%	56%
Gesamt	100%	100%

Aus: *Social Trends 1983, Table 8.6, p. 114.*

FIGUR 1: BEDARFSNIVEAU FÜR VERSORGUNG ALLEINSTEHENDER OBdachloser BEZOGEN AUF EINE VERSORGUNGSLEITER, EINGESTUFT NACH VERSORGUNGSNIVEAU

<u>Bedarfsniveau</u>		<u>Versorgungsleiter</u>
Gruppe A Probleme: keine Zirka 1/3 der Gruppe	Typ 1 Keine Unterstüt- zung, vielleicht nur Verwalter oder Möbel	I Nicht unterstützte Wohnung
Gruppe B Probleme: 1 Weniger als 1/3 der Gruppe		
Gruppe C Probleme: 2-3 Zirka 1/3 der Gruppe	Typ 2 Minimalunter- stützung	II Gruppierete Einzimmer- wohnungen III Selbstverwaltete Gemein- schaftswohnungen IV Vom Inspektor beaufsichtigt V Minimalunterstützte Gruppen- heime oder Herbergen
Gruppe D Probleme: 4 Zirka jeder zwanzigste der Gruppe	Typ 3 Vollunter- stützung	VI Herberge mit Personal vor Ort VII Institution

Vermerk: Schematisches Diagramm, keine exakte Beschreibung der Proportion alleinstehender Obdachloser, die verschiedene Wohnungen brauchen. Die Linien zwischen den verschiedenen Stufen der Leiter sind wellig: dies bedeutet, dass sich die Kategorien überlappen.

FIGUR 2: VERANTWORTUNG FÜR VERSCHIEDENE FUNKTIONEN UND SICHERUNG VERSCHIEDENER DIENSTLEISTUNGEN IN DEN VERSCHIEDENEN UNTERKUNFTSTYPEN

Unterkunftstyp	Aufgaben				Dienstleistungen		
	Mietzins Instandhaltung	Kleinere Reinigung	Waschen Kochen	Beratung	Zeitweiliges Personal	Permanentes Therapeutisches Personal	
A: Keine Unter- stützung	0	0	0	0	J	N	N
B: Minimalunter- stützung (Gruppierte Ein- zimmerwohnungen oder selbstver- waltete Gemein- schaftswohnungen)	0	0	0	0	J	J	N
C: Keine Mietunter- stützung	0	0	0	0	J	J	N
D: Herberge mit partielltem Personal	0	0	0	0	J	J	J (zwischen- zeitlich)
E: Herberge mit vollem Personal	0	0	0	0	J	N	J

Legende: 0 Nur die Bewohner; 0 Personal; 0 Irgendjemand; J Ja; N Nein.

STRATEGIES FOR THE UPGRADING OF DETERIORATED HOUSING AREAS IN LISBON (P)

Paulo Prazeres de Sá (P)

1. INTRODUCTION

The purposes of this paper can basically be grouped in three stages:

- First, as a contribution to the IFHP International Congress, taking place at Budapest, in October 1985, and in particular to the group that will be created within the Housing Permanent Committee (of the IFHP) to elaborate, in the next two years, a major report to the United Nations, concerning the issue of the unsheltered in most urban cities in developing countries.

Due to an evergrowing interest of Portuguese authorities in the development of alternative approaches in squatter upgrading, the Lisbon Municipality is, by all means, willing to participate in the committee and contribute with this paper which reflects, to a great extent, our personal experience in public housing renewal.

- Second, as a reflection on what has been done so far to eradicate squatter settlements and slum areas, or to lessen their growing trend through the improvement of housing conditions.

Due to the limited scope of this paper this second stage will only attempt to suggest basic guidelines for more comprehensive understanding of squatter settlements and their residents' motivations/expectations.

- Strategies for the improvement of low-income housing, based on a detailed inter-disciplinary work, are the objectives of the third and final stage of this paper.

2. BASIC FACTORS AFFECTING THE GENERATION AND SPREADING OF SQUATTER/SLUM SETTLEMENTS IN AND AROUND URBAN CENTERS

As we, urban planners agree, most of the urban centers in the developing countries are now confronted with dramatic situations in the housing sector due to the increase of resident population and the insufficient supply of shelters, on account of deficient governmental housing policies.

Although some circumstances vary from one country to another - to a great extent, as a consequence of their own economic development and sociocultural characteristics - the main causes responsible for the present housing situation in Lisbon can be found in the post World War II period, in the 1950s.

The industrial development that took place after the Second World War (in some countries as a consequence of the war itself) led to significant demographic changes among most nations with reversing dramatic flow of peasants

and rural workers to the urban and more industrialized centers.

The primary reason for this rural/urban migration is, no doubt, economical due to the lack of employment in the countryside, in sharp contrast with the labor offered in the industrialized areas.

The improvement of living status, associated with the move expectation, however, proved to be erroneous. If, on one hand, the city offered a livelihood that was denied in the countryside - labor employment - on the other, the economic system was unable to create the necessary structures to upgrade the newcomer's living standards.

Therefore, these newly arrived residents had to look for the cheapest shelter inasmuch as the economic system would pay substandard wages, thus preventing workers from an upward social mobility. Hence, with a short income, newcomers had to seek for alternative shelters to the so-called "formal" housing market.

This situation is still prevailing nowadays, however, under a much larger and diversified scope.

It bears, nevertheless, a very important difference: our society, not only is unwilling to live with the burden of economic exploitation, it also cannot afford to pay for it, for housing programs (no matter what strategies are undertaken), if supported by the governments, will naturally disregard other needing sectors.

The newcomer motivations and the cultural profile are the direct causes which ultimately dictate slum and squatter settlements basic characteristics.

For a squatter resident, getting a foothold in the city is a significant step in the process of finding employment, which is above all, the main goal. Thus, his behaviour will naturally be based on survival rules; faced with a small wage, even the cheapest low income house will stay beyond his economic budget; he will not be able to afford long distance transportation means, therefore he will have to find location as close as possible to his new job - in most cases in downtown areas or adjacent to the urban center. This provides access (in a short range) to well developed services and infrastructures, all along with the support of his fellow neighbours - a network of information and mutual help.

The location of the squatter within the city limits is often critical to determine its housing characteristics, for in most cases, land tenure is hard to achieve, with direct implication on the physical shelter quality. Also slums are under eminent threat by the private sector development programs, - along with the opening of new roads and thruways under a master circulation plan, - hence, finding a proper location for the shack will obey to no pre-determined planning rules, originating chaotic layouts and increasingly high densities. Building materials will be the cheapest in the market (or some how "available") - usually wood and asbestos - cement, wattle, etc. - and, therefore, with a reduced lifetime.

Regardless of the specific aspects that can naturally be found in each country, the process described hitherto is a typical example of an inner-city squatter settlement.

Peripheral settlements are distinct from the previous case in several aspects:

- First, there is an investment in land tenure. This has proved to be a very important factor, not only because it shows squatters can afford to pay for the plots, but also because they have confidence in better days to

come. The acquisition of a plot is basically a commitment that will work as a motivation to the upgrading of his dwelling.

These plots are bought with no infrastructures, sewage, water supply or power lines, as they result of illegal subdivision of rural land originally ancient farms. Yet, for the squatter this seems to be no handicap not only because he will not have to live under the threat of demolition - the physical gap between his squatter location and the formal urban development will provide security - but also because, in fact, he believes that sooner or later local authorities will supply infrastructures and social services.

- Second, these houses are intended to be much more durable, thus requiring a greater investment in building materials. Units are usually one to two-storey brick and mortar houses. Here we can witness a more careful planning in the layouts when compared with inner-city settlements; density figures in the former will drop as low as on third the ones in the latter.

- Third, the percentage of employment created in the outskirts is insignificant when confronted with the urban offer, so most of these peripheral squatters will flow every day to their inner-city jobs. Expenses on transports are, therefore, an additional burden on the cost of these housing units.

- Fourth, the illegal situation of these plots will deprive their owners from access to formal credit loans which means that land tenure and building expenses will have to be supported by their income and saving capacity along with any support achieved from friendship and kinship networks.

- Fifth, and as an outcome of the previous points we must conclude that peripheral squatter residents do have an average income level higher than that of inner-city settlements.

Some of these residents may come from the inner slums as their incomes progressively upgrade, thus changing their former life standards; yet the great majority of this population will probably be included among the stratum of those who cannot afford to buy a house in the "traditional" market; moreover, due to cultural reasons they find difficulties in living in an urban dwelling.

3. SOCIAL ASPECTS

The problem of squatter settlements should not be analyzed solely from a physical symptoms standpoint. Inasmuch as these are merely the visible façade of a major and more complex web of social elements.

The reasons why slum areas still remain a critical urban issue are surely not of technological nature, but mainly social and cultural.

The attitude towards squatters has changed since the 1950s, from indifference to dramatic concern, but so far we have proved to be unable to cope with the problem. As squatter settlements made their appearance and started an ad-hoc and uncontrolled process of growth, governments based their policies on the improvement of low income housing programs through relocation operations.

Building capacity was however insufficient, thus widening the gap between demand and offer on an exponential basis. Squatters grew to such dimensions that it became clear that cities having up to 40 or 60 percent of its population sheltered in substandard housing would not, in a predictable future, be able to relocate them in a proper social, economical and political manner.

As a result of these strategies such as sites and services and on-site upgrading of squatter settlements then began to take place.

The old saying - *what cannot be cured must be endured* - would express this change of attitude and also the way society presently faces the problem of slums.

From the squatter's point of view, his shack is not only his unique housing alternative, but is close to what he feels it's the bare minimum necessary for a living; when relocated in a "standard" dwelling he acts as we would in an alien environment - a reflection of his "substandard" knowledge and cultural stratum - hence he makes a hennery out of the balcony, grows cabbages in the bathtub, and so forth.

- For an upper or middle-class inhabitant, slum areas are ugly and distressing phenomena in his urban environment, usually perceived as a focus of criminality, promiscuity and insanitary conditions. Hence these strata will tend to segregate slum residents from society, (since they can no longer ignore them); the well known destructive reaction upon relocation buildings, and their rapid deterioration, is of difficult comprehension for the middle-class, partly because their sense of low income priorities and housing characteristics are derived from their own living standards.

This gap in socio-cultural relations is no doubt the fundamental issue in the struggle for the eradication of the urban poor - the upgrading of squatter's income level is directly dependent on national wages policies, but cultural evolution is not.

Unless social services and access to education and information is provided, we cannot expect to have a better approach to the problem; furthermore, this is even more accurate if we consider that the next generation is now in schooling age - this youth has already a closer contact with upper classes in society; they are not deprived from basic needs as their parents were. In short they have the motivation to progressively improve their status.

Sites and services, on-site self-help sponsored projects, cooperative, sweat-equity associations or formal housing programs may all be very good solutions, but none of them will effectively work unless we have a clear picture of the neighborhood we are dealing with. Otherwise we will be supplying a plot for someone who will either sell it or rent it, lodging in a dwelling someone who has learned to live in a ground level dwelling, and probably doing the best of our efforts to help someone else who is not at all interested in our "helping hand" - *What's worth doing is worth doing well.*

The improvement of squatter settlements by means of the provision of sewage, water distribution, garbage collection and disposal, electricity and social equipment, as well as sites and services policies, can in some cases bring about negative results by creating attractive conditions for rural-to-urban migration. But even if this is not the case, we can only expect to eradicate slum areas when national policies regarding the redistribution of resources and regional decentralized development, show any improvement, thus stunting the migration from the countryside.

Until then, policies must be based on a number of strategies as broad and flexible as possible to cope with the various situations mentioned before.

Budget shortness is not a primary obstacle; our attitude towards the problems is - *where there is a will, there is a way.*

4. A SPECTRUM OF LISBON'S DEGRADED AREAS

Before focusing on Lisbon's specific problems a general look at national demographic asymmetries, with emphasis on Lisbon's surrounding councils seems appropriated to fully perceive the situation.

Paulo Prazeres de Sá (P)

As most of the lately developed nations, Portugal has experienced migration flow from the countryside to urban centers, which led according to the last census, to an estimate of 2/3 of the country's population living in the coast line.

Furthermore, 4/5 of the G.N.P. and 9/10 of the processing industries are located in this geographically restricted area - about 1/4 of the country.

The demographic ratio of metropolitan Lisbon, in 1950, was 14 percent of the national population; 1981 census indicates a higher value - 21 percent.

The deep economic crisis into which the country has recently merged, aggravated the results of this demographic increase, mostly because the administration was unable to introduce flexibility into the incredible complex and bureaucratic process of urban development and building requirements.

Present estimates indicate a deficit of about 700,000 dwelling units in the country, Lisbon and Oporto being the major urban centers responsible for this evergrowing number.

This deficit in housing demand, although dramatic, must be seen within proper parameters:

- First, it does not make much sense to examine these numbers as a whole because of the particular and specific needs for a given location. In other words, a housing settlement in the district of Castelo Branco, will not help the deficit in metropolitan Lisbon, and vice-versa.
- Second, housing priorities must be related to socio-cultural standards. A high-income family will not live in a public housing settlement, in the same manner that a low income family will be unable to afford the cheapest house in the formal market.
- Third, unofficial estimates indicate that more than 45,000 dwellings recently built for the free-market, remain unsold. This fact is no doubt of keen importance to understand the extent to which government policies have led the housing sector.

The inflexible structure upon which national urban planning criteria and zoning theories are based, along with negative and powerful lobby of private developers, led to severe speculation with the cost of land abutting the urban centers. Urban development is not planned to grow on a regular fashion around the center, but in intentionally determined places; this leaves vast "gaps" of under-developed areas that will then wait for a speculative increase of land prices. Other reasons could be added to explain high prices in the housing market: low productivity on the building sector; unbearable increase of prices on building materials, and a credit system (surely) intended to stunt investment on housing rather than encourage it.

This last aspect is, to my knowledge, the major evidence of a negative approach to the housing problem. The final report of the National colloquium held in 1969 under the subject of national policies for housing, refers that:

- 10 percent of families can support with no economic problem, the actual cost of market houses.
- about 25 percent of families are economically unable to support the burden of housing, even if it responds only to minimum standards.
- 65 percent of families can cope with housing expenses up to a certain limit, above which policies such as easy access to credit, subsidized loans, long-term mortgages have to be created.

Since 1969, and after 10 years of economic crisis, a similar survey would surely indicate a new redistribution of the aforementioned percentual figures.

Administration and local authorities were apparently unable to predict, the sort of housing alternatives set up by the urban poor (those who could not endure the costs of a traditional dwelling) to, in due time, set forward appropriate housing and economic programs. As a result of this, illegal construction went on around the major urban centers, creating a complex and unforeseeable situation.

In 1978 illegal lodgements in Metropolitan Lisbon were estimated on 63,910. A recent work by Bruno Soares (Urbanização Clandestina na Área Metropolitana de Lisboa) indicates that 270,000 inhabitants live in clandestine settlements in Metropolitan Lisbon - 11% of the population of this area. In the adjacent city of Loures, 1/3 of the population is living in illegal houses, and Brandoa, with more than 10,000 inhabitants, is in fact an illegal town.

Unlike most of Latin America squatter settlements, these illegal units are not built with temporary materials; a large number of them are two-storey brick and mortar houses with inner spaces above average rate.

We also find those who join illegal construction because this can cut prices up to 50% of market value. Nowadays we can find a kind of investment in illegal construction with speculative purposes. This includes second home settlements (some with large areas, representing a considerable investment) which gives us a clear picture of the degree of permissivity those settlements reached, (changing an illegal procedure into an usual and commonly accepted one).

A survey dating from 1978, and carried out by the Ministry of Housing and Public Works (M.H.O.P.) indicated around 15,000 illegal shacks (masonry houses included); according to our files this number has fallen to 9,500, hence, we can assume that after the inflow of squatter residents, which took place after the 1974 revolution, this population shows a decreasing tendency as a consequence of redodgment efforts, together with illegal construction on the city boundaries.

General policies of Lisbon's authorities were (for the last two decades) based on severe control to inhibit illegal construction. Redodgment has been dependent on formal housing programs and relocations due to floods or fire emergencies.

In 1982, 5,462 dwelling units were built in Lisbon; only 22 percent of these were supported by City Hall or governmental sponsorship, and cooperative participation was even smaller - 2,4%.

Fof an overall picture of Lisbon's substandard housing scenario we can find different situations as follows:

1. Municipal land with spontaneous shack build-up.

This usually older type (previously described) can be found within very restricted areas due to their inner-city location.

Ex.: Curraleira, Embrechados, Casal do Pinto, Bairro Chinês, etc.

2. Municipal land occupied by squatter settlements.

This type is acknowledged or even supported by the Municipality as most of the emergency shelter settlements. These are provided with individual water and sewage supply, along with electricity. Original constructive materials, in a process of continuous deterioration - due to their age - are now being replaced by more durable ones such as brick and mortar.

Social services such as schools, nurseries and centers for the elderly, along with recreation facilities are also provided in some cases, with different levels of implementation.

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Ex.: Musgueira Norte, Musgueira Sul, Bairro da Boavista, Bairro do Relógio, Pailepa, etc.

3. Municipal land with an illegal development of houses.
Dwellings in this category will vary from a simple single-space unit to a larger, incredibly elaborated and expensive two-storey *moradias*.
Ex.: Calvanas.
4. Private land with unauthorised construction (no building permit available).
Usually very old constructions under a quasi-legal status, with an increasingly deteriorated housing stock.
Physical appearance will naturally encourage the proliferation of shacks with similar degraded characteristics.
Usually located on sites with topographic obstacles to housing development - hillside areas with difficult access.
Ex.: Casal Ventoso, Bairro da Liberdade, etc.
5. Historical areas.
Some dating from the birth of Portugal (12th century), are now in very bad conditions.
Renovation programs are now being set forward in order to preserve (while it is not too late) these priceless urban spaces, and architectural landmarks.

5. PRESENT STRATEGIES FOR THE UPGRADING OF SUBSTANDARD HOUSING AND IMPROVEMENT OF SHELTER SUPPLY

The considerable increase in low income housing in Lisbon during the 60s in the area of Olivais (sponsored by social welfare funds and planned by the City Hall) along with the ineffective experience on cooperatives and self-help projects attempted from 1975 to 1978, are the major efforts of the pale governmental attempts so far to improve low income housing in Lisbon.

The issue is no doubt, far from being solved. Nonetheless there is nowadays a broader consciousness and more careful approach to settlement rehabilitation, bearing in mind that the shortage of economical means is a permanent drawback in developing countries which face an exponential deficit - thus alternative strategies must be as wide as possible and interested participation of private enterprises must be emphasized.

Some areas demand a proper land tenure policy - the basic premise in urban upgrading - as in the case of the historically older settlements in downtown Lisbon. Others require economic/financial strategies which will enable outskirt squatters to improve their living status. While the former is mainly dependent on by-laws and policy decisions, the latter has to do with the close dialog between government authorities and local residents, through building cooperatives, technical assistance, subsidized materials, etc.

THE JOINT VENTURE SYSTEM

In general, the widely accepted uprooting - with - relocation procedure in settlement rehabilitation only tends to worsen the country's housing deficit, for local municipalities face severe economic recesses which make the provision of new dwellings prohibitive, thus, widening the gap between demand and offer.

At present, we face the following scenario:

1. The municipality of Lisbon is the owner of large sections of land that are potentially good for the provision of public housing, yet, lacks the economic and technical means to carry out such programs.

2. The private sector, namely the construction industry, has the technical capability, and can mobilize large amounts of capital to cover such costs, yet, has no available land to implement the programs.

In order to outline a housing program which can be feasible on both social and economical grounds, one has to establish a link between points 1 and 2, or, in other words, between the public and private sectors. Public housing should be undertaken on a joint venture with a suitable degree of social and political acceptance, not to mention the economic factor.

The City Hall provides the land, whether vacant, or illegally occupied, to be developed by contractors. Each program is launched through the opening of public tenders. At present, the City Hall has defined three major areas where programs are to be implemented: the *Alto do Lumiar*, which we are about to explain; the *Chelas Valley (Vale de Chelas)*, on the Eastern Section of the municipality; and the *Alcântara Valley (Vale de Alcântara)*, beginning at the edge of the bridge over the Tagus, and developing northwards all the way up to Lisbon's aqueduct.

Potential candidates to this type of project will have to meet the City Hall's pre-requisites:

- A. All illegal settlers in each area, or those living in substandard dwelling accommodations must be re-lodged at the contractor's expense. Squatters final housing, remain however, property of the City Hall. In a few cases, residents will be allowed to purchase the homes through long-term mortgages, or subsidized bank loans.
- B. Re-lodging must be part of a general plan for the area under study, e.g. they will represent a percentage rate in the total housing stock to be built. In the case of the *Alto do Lumiar* project, that rate is approximately 15% (85% housing for sale + 15% housing for re-accommodation).
- C. Each tending contractor has to provide the area with basic infrastructure, services and equipment (schools, sports, police, firemen, markets, etc.)

Aside from that expense, and the re-lodging operation, they will also have to propose a cash retribution to the City Hall, in exchange for the land made available.

Finally, it must be said that the degree of success in such a joint enterprise will ultimately depend on the balanced ratio between free-marked housing and re-lodgement housing, whereby the former is the economic lever for the latter.

THE ALTO DO LUMIAR

This project was launched in 1982, the first in the series of three distinctive areas mentioned hitherto.

It covers an area of 294,50 hectares, just west from the city airport on the northern-section of Lisbon. At present, there are approximately 3500 families on the site, living in either substandard or illegal dwellings, accounting for a gross density of 46 people per hectare. The land is mostly public (85%) with a small percentage of private owners who will have to make way to the general plan.

A few services which already serve the area will remain, such as a primary school and public housing built in the mid 70's.

Substandard housing in *Alto do Lumiar* is spread throughout the whole area, divided in seven groups, each with different physical and social characteristics:

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1. The *Calvanas* and *Quinta das Pedreiras* group, with 330 families.
From a physical standpoint, this is the best neighbourhood in dwelling construction.
2. The *Musgueira Sul* group, with 930 families.
3. The *Musgueira Norte* group, with 1,070 families.
4. The *Cruz Vermelha*, with 200 families.
5. The *Quinta Grande*, with 550 families.
6. The *Quinta do Louro*, with 450 families.
7. The *Pailepa* group with 300 families.

Several proposals were presented to upgrade the Alto do Lumiar based on a preliminary zoning plan issued by the municipality. Criteria for selection were based upon the following premises:

- a) The widespread distribution of re-lodgment units, so that they would be well integrated in the general plan for the area.
- b) Avoidance of concentrated re-lodgment neighborhoods which tend to isolate local residents from the general context.
- d) Timing for re-lodgment, as compared with that of construction for sale.
- e) Average number of storeys in re-lodgment units.
- f) Equipment proposed.
- g) Total compensation in cash to the Municipality at the end of the enterprise.

The winning tender, PRECONSTROI, later formed a consortium with other contractors, to carry out the project, inasmuch as it demanded an economic effort only possible with the association of several firms. That consortium named SGAL - SOCIEDADE GESTORA DO ALTO DO LUMIAR - has, hence, taken charge of all the making of the general and detailed plans for the site. Work will commence at the southern end of the area, and will develop northwards. Although the construction of free market dwellings and equipment is expected to go on until the 15th year, housing for re-lodgment will be completed by the 10th year, when all the local population will have been accommodated.

Economic-wise, this project has come to a balanced percentual ratio between housing for sale and housing for re-lodgment, where the former accounts for 85% of the total number of units, and the latter, 15%. More than 17.000 dwellings will be built for free market purposes, sold along the 15 year period. Revenues from apartment sales must cover all costs for re-lodgment units, services and equipment.

The average area of unit for re-lodgment is 94.00 square meters. Moreover, from a physical standpoint these dwellings will display a similar building façade to the abutting free-market ones, so as to be integrated in the whole architectural concept. The number of storeys, however, will differ in either cases, inasmuch as re-lodgment building will strive to keep to a maximum of six storeys, with the exception of a high-rise unit on the southern end of the site.

6. CONCLUSION

It is now clear that joint venture system can only be used in specific cases and location, and will not solve the total array of situations.

Therefore sites and services, on-site self-help programs, and other possible alternatives must be encouraged, to enable the City Hall with an effective capacity of response.

As I initially pointed out, a major and closer understanding of the problem

is required as a primary step to the successful implementation of any strategy. First and foremost we must search specific answers to the present social behaviour of squatter residents. How can we improve socio-cultural standards of squatters with no destructive side-effects?

A better approach between residents and planners - through appropriate association - is necessary for the development of any renovation program; yet these are bound to fail if residents have no economic participation in the programs. How can we encourage them to invest on the improvement of their housing condition?

Further development of this paper and the search for correct answers can prove to be precious tools in the eradication of slum areas in Lisbon.

CHANGES IN THE HUNGARIAN HOUSING FINANCING SYSTEM -
Some theoretical remarks

Fritz KISS (HU)

It would be good to be able to supply the substance of the
presentation of the ideas contained in the paper, Dr. Kiss, I con-
sider myself to have general problems of financing the housing sector. In the
case of construction not to have as long identical, in another way, however,

SPECIAL SESSION II: New Systems of Housing Finance in Hungary

SEANCE SPECIALISEE II: Nouveaux systèmes de financement de l'habitat
en Hongrie

SONDERSITZUNG II: Neue Systeme der Wohnungsbaufinanzierung in Ungarn

It is about the relationship between financing and production.
Generally, I would like to draw the attention to three aspects of the fi-
nancing system. First I mention the very specific importance of the
financing of the housing sector, after that I suggest to dwell upon the
three requirements for an optimal financing structure from a purely and
strictly economic point of view and to mention I shall mention a number
of theoretical and practical aspects, within the last part of the
session, I shall try to evaluate the Hungarian housing-financing
system and suggest a theoretical system.

First, this does imply's problem is that the principle of capitalization
does not exist in Hungary, we have a bank and the resources that have to
be used for financing and services they have to pay their costs, that is
the reason why to pay for construction and services they are not prepared
to be paid for out of ordinary income but they had to pay them out of
it will be clear that I have been investments that involve great expenses,
and they especially investments in technical goods and not in industrial
equipment we shall deal with special services.

Secondly, for the housing sector the principle of the capitalization of invest-
ment does not exist either, that is longer that the possibility of the
own capital and that's why the housing sector is financed by the state
income, in case of a mortgage, an advance with a short life-time and high
price, for example an advance with an increasing rate of interest or a short
life-time mortgage with a high interest rate, we talk about an increas-
ing mortgage and we have to be aware that there are three specific special cases,
one, that in case of a mortgage or advance with a long life-time and a low
price rate, that is a mortgage with an increasing rate of interest, we have
to be aware.

Thirdly, the category of the long life-time and increasing mortgage, a devel-
oping property is the agreement with the long life-time and the interest.

CHANGES IN THE HUNGARIAN HOUSING FINANCING SYSTEM -
Some theoretical remarks

Frits IJmkers (NL)

Because it proved to be impossible to supply me with the substance of the contribution of the first introducer to the subject, Mr. Székely, I confine myself to some general problems of financing the housing sector. In one way my contribution may be seen as very theoretical, in another way, however, it should also be seen as very superficial. I certainly do not pretend to include all the modern opinions on the subject and secondly, I shall not pay attention to all aspects of the financing problem. So, I shall not discuss the subject of financing modalities, instead I refer to the proceedings of the 1981-IFHP congress at Liege, where the subject was thoroughly dealt with. And further I shall try to resist the temptation to make many remarks about the relationship between financing and subsidizing.

Actually, I would like to draw the attention to three aspects of the financing problem. First I mention the very specific circumstances of the financing of the housing sector. After that I suppose to dwell upon the ideal circumstances for an optimal financing situation from a purely and strictly economic point of view and to conclude I shall mention a number of drawbacks of this theoretical optimal situation. Within the limitations mentioned before I shall try to evaluate the Hungarian housing-financing system only against a theoretical background.

Apart from many people's problem to find and maintain an equilibrium between their periodical, say monthly, income and the payments they have to make for commodities and services they have to buy every month, there is the problem how to pay for commodities and services that are too expensive to be paid for out of monthly incomes and that last longer than one month. It will be clear that I here mean investments that involve great expenses, and then especially investments in consumer goods and not in industrial equipment and that kind of goods and services.

Essential for the problem under discussion is the combination of investment (and thus a life-time that is longer than the periodicity of the income-cycle) and such a high price that this cannot be covered by current income. In case of a commodity or service with a short life-time and a high price (for example an extensive meal in an exclusive restaurant or a ticket for a performance by Frank Sinatra at Amsterdam), we talk about an expensive consumer good or service that does not cause a specific (social) problem. And in case of a commodity or service with a long-life time and a low price (for example a ballpoint pen) we do talk about an investment but there is no problem.

Within the category of the long life-time and expensive commodities, a dwelling probably is the investment with the longest life-time and the highest

price. As a consequence the financing problems in the housing sector are the most serious ones and they come down to:

1. services that will be used in a period of, let us say, 75 or 100 years, have to be paid for in one payment at the beginning of the period,
2. such a payment is only possible if savings are available and this will only be the case if the compensation for the saver, who must diminish his consumption, is attractive enough,
3. the necessity to save and to pay interest to the saver causes a surcharge on the cost-price per period of time,
4. dwellings have a very long life-time, but whether it will be 75, 102 or 127 years is difficult (impossible) to predict; as a result it is difficult to spread the initial costs over the life-time,
5. the long life-time also means that the money-capital invested is tied up for a long period of time and that causes extra uncertainty for the saver who will ask for an extra surcharge on the rate of interest,
6. changes in the value of money, because of inflationary or deflationary tendencies, causes changes in the money-value of a dwelling but not in the capital-debt attached to it; discrepancies between the value of a dwelling and the rent it brings in may occur and this may lead to speculation and that will never be a social benefit for the housing sector.

It will be clear that if payments have to be made in advance for the satisfaction of needs over a period of 75 or 100 years, a huge quantity of savings-capital and, because of the very specific problems in the housing sector, a well developed banking system are both a *condicio sine qua non* for a housing situation in which each family has a decent place to live. In fact this situation only exists in relatively rich countries and since in these countries much capital has also been invested in other sectors the savings-capacity of these countries has to be even greater. And in addition to this I would like to say that all these savings problems do not only exist in a western market economy but also in an eastern, centrally directed, economy.

Given the very important role of savings-capital in the aspiration for a higher level of welfare, it will be clear that scarce savings-capital must be used in an economical way. It goes without saying that no capital should be wasted, but it is also of importance that all the capital available will be used in such a way that it yields the highest return. And here we meet the second aspect of the housing financing problem, which belongs to the domain of price theory and welfare economics. What will be the price of capital and how will capital be distributed over all the demanding people and institutions, belonging to all sectors of society. And that includes a number of public authorities that want to invest, especially in non-profit public facilities.

According to the universally known Pareto-theorema, which was further studied and developed by a long row of theoretical economists, an optimal distribution of scarce savings-capital will follow from a capital market working under the conditions of perfect competition, such as a great number of participants, free entry to the market, perfect information for all participants and complete mobility of capital. This beautiful and elegant theorema, however, can only serve as a kind of a starting point. All economists agree that from a purely and strictly economic point of view, the conditions of the Pareto-theorema causes an optimal result, that at the same time however, is unacceptable. Even the most liberal economists will admit that all the necessary conditions of a perfect market will not always, or perhaps never, be found, that the existing income-distribution will cause an unfair distribution of welfare, that the production of collective goods and services will become impossible and that the production of goods and services with an individual and a collective character as well, and housing is an

example of this category, will severely lag behind. And on top of these serious drawbacks of a perfect competition market, there is nowadays the very strong influence of speculative transactions on the capital market. The very lively movements of the rates of exchange and the often changing types of monetary policy in different countries, mean an effective stimulus for speculators in foreign money and capital with, as a result, a rate of interest that jumps up and down, but mostly up. And here we should not forget that this speculation is possible because money-capital is very fluid, even more fluid than water, and it runs over the world with the speed of electricity.

To create an optimal use of the resources available and, at the same time, a situation in which the drawbacks I mentioned do not exist, interference in the free market is generally accepted. Politicians, however, will continue to quarrel about the amount of interference. The Dutch economists Tinbergen and Van den Doel, many years ago, formulated five conditions under which public interference in the free market should be seen as necessary; these conditions are:

1. if the consumption of a product is more valuable or more harmful for a consumer than he himself thinks,
2. if the production or consumption has positive or negative external effects,
3. if the production or consumption has an unfavourable effect on the income distribution of future generations,
4. if the production shows heavy fluctuations and a stable equilibrium will never occur,
5. if, for technical reasons, the production must be concentrated in the hands of a monopolist.

As four of these conditions certainly apply to the housing sector, public interference in the housing market and its conditions, such as the capital market, ought to be considered as justified behaviour by the public authorities. Difference of opinion, of course, may exist about the amount of interference. Theoretically this amount of interference can be measured as the difference between the market rate of interest and the average nett (or effective) rate of interest (after subsidies) in the housing sector. In my opinion the amount of interference should be related to the actual housing situation in a country; if in a country the housing conditions are poor, a higher amount of interference is acceptable than in a country with better housing conditions. It will be clear that from this opinion no clear-cut judgements, not to mention judgements in exact quantitative terms, about de facto situations follow. I, nevertheless, express as my opinion that in many modern, industrialized, western countries, state interference in the housing market should be diminished, not at a stroke but very gradually. And I base this on the conviction that an extensive amount of state interference is no longer necessary to reach an acceptable housing situation. Exceptions must be made for specific groups in society, especially families with very low incomes. But in the countries I am talking about, it looks as if the need for a comprehensive housing policy will be coming to an end by now. The market, inclusive the capital market, should be allowed to play a more important role.

If I understand the developments in the Hungarian society well, market influences are going to play a more important role here too. In the housing sector, however, and then especially in the field of housing-financing, the deviations from what I prefer to call a market-equilibrium, are still enormous. From a 1983-publication from the Hungarian Ministry of Finance about the financial conditions of housing, I understand that the capital for flats owned by the local councils, is made available as a lump-sum and this im-

plies that no interest is paid at all. In case of the construction of private housing, capital is made available at a rate of interest of 3%, but the total amount of social policy allowances, in fact lump-sum subsidies, may climb to a level of no less than 45% of the total construction costs. And on top of this a prospective owner-occupier may benefit from so-called employer's assistance. Normally he has to contribute 30% (for a flat) or 40% (for a house) of the total construction costs (or purchase price in case of an existing dwelling), but these percentages can be lowered by the employer's assistance, which is given free of interest. Unfortunately I have not at my disposal exact figures about the average percentage of interest-free loans of the total construction costs in the private sector; nevertheless it looks acceptable to state that an important part of the capital need in the private housing sector is made available at a 0% rate of interest. And for the whole housing sector we may say that the capital is made available at a very low average rate of interest.

It will be clear that in an economic system that, on ideological considerations, tries to minimize the influence of the free market, the use of the Pareto-theorema theoretically is meaningless. However, if we make the heroic assumption that the rate of interest in Hungary, if in Hungary an economic system of the western model would exist, would be about the same as in the modern, industrialized, western countries, we have to conclude that the amount of state interference in Hungary (measured as the interest-difference mentioned before) is still very great. And if this amount of state interference in the housing market matches the existing housing conditions in Hungary remains an interesting question to discuss.

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IMPROVEMENTS IN PUBLIC HOUSING IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

John D. Byrne (AUS)

The South Australian Housing Trust is a state public housing authority.

Over almost 50 years, it has developed or acquired some 100,000 dwellings of which it has sold about half. It has built houses, bought houses, converted ex-commercial buildings into residential use, leased houses, assisted cooperatives, and helped private tenants and private purchasers of homes. Along the way it has developed a new town, entrepreneured another regional centre, built and run shopping centres and developed industrial estates. It is both the landlord to 10% of households and the largest developer of land and housing in the state.

It operates in the context of:

- a "private enterprise" society,
- a high level of private ownership (and expectation of ownership) of housing,
- record levels of need for public housing assistance,
- largely low-density low-rise urban environments,
- Government objectives for urban consolidation and controlled growth,
- selective community resistance,
- local statutory planning controls,
- architecturally conservative community tastes, and
- generally increasing housing standards.

Bakhta Tarhouni (TUN)

P L A N

I - APERCU GENERAL DU PROBLEME DE L'HABITAT

1. *Données de l'évolution*

- Population
- Logement

II - LE LOGEMENT EN TUNISIE: QUELLE POLITIQUE

1. *Les options et objectifs des plans*

2. *Les promoteurs immobiliers*

- S.N.I.T.
- Autres promoteurs

3. *Le financement*

- C.N.E.L.
- FOPROLOS

CONCLUSION

I - APERCU GENERAL DU PROBLEME DE L'HABITAT

Depuis 1956, date de l'indépendance, les pouvoirs publics ont mobilisé tous leurs efforts pour améliorer les conditions d'habitat; c'est ainsi que le logement est considéré comme base du développement économique et social.

1. DONNEES DE L'EVOLUTION

La superficie de la Tunisie est estimée à 160.000 km².

- *La population* recensée en mars 84 est de l'ordre de 7 millions d'habitants. A la veille de l'indépendance, la population était de l'ordre de 3,8 millions; en 1966 elle était de 4,5 millions; en 1975 elle était de 5,6 millions.

Le taux de l'urbanisation est passé de 28,7% en 1956 à 52,5% en 1984.

- *Le parc logement*

Les logements sont classés en types: villa, appartement, "maisons arabes", gourbis.

Au recensement de 1975, 1.005.670 logements ont été dénombrés, dont 456.150 en milieu urbain, 549.520 en milieu rural.

En avril 1984, 1.313.100 unités d'habitation ont été recensées, dont 725,8 en milieu urbain et 587,3 en milieu rural.

Le taux d'accroissement annuel du parc logement est de 3%; comparé aux taux d'accroissement des ménages, de l'ordre de 2,6%, lors de la même période, l'accroissement des logements a été largement plus important.

En milieu urbain, le parc logement s'est accru de 5,3% alors que le taux d'accroissement des ménages n'a été que de 3,5%, ce qui prouve l'amélioration des conditions d'habitat.

Les indicateurs attestant cette amélioration portent sur le branchement aux réseaux d'eau potable et à l'électricité.

A titre d'exemple: en 1966, 14,9% des ménages disposaient d'un logement pourvu d'eau courante

- en 1975 : 29,3%

- en 1984 : 49,9%

soit près de la moitié des ménages à travers toute la république.

II - LE LOGEMENT EN TUNISIE: QUELLE POLITIQUE

Entre 1956 et 1970, 900 hectares de lotissements ont été aménagés, alors que 550 hectares ont été lotis durant 1882-1956.

Depuis 1960 la construction a été fortement encouragée (réformes de législation foncière - octroi de prêts bancaires importants). Aussi un plan bi-décennal devait aboutir à résoudre les questions du logement, en réalisant 16.000 logements par an.

1. LES OPTIONS ET OBJECTIFS DES PLANS

L'effort des pouvoirs publics était essentiellement porté sur certains types de construction: les logements ruraux, suburbains et économiques.

Le Vème Plan 1977-1981 prévoyait:

SECTEUR ASSISTE	%	TOTAL		ANNUEL	
		Nombre	Coût en D	Nombre	Coût en D
Logements ruraux	32%	40.000	52,0	8.000	1.300 D
Logements suburbains	20%	25.000	90,0	5.000	3.600 D
Logements économiques	45%	55.900	379	3.000	7.000 D
Secteur non assisté	3%	4.100	79	9.000	7.800 D
T O T A L		125.000	600,000		

L'investissement engagé s'élève à 600 millions Dinars*, soit 14% de l'enveloppe globale fixée par le plan.

Ces programmes de logements à moyen, court et long terme devaient être mis au point pour satisfaire les besoins réels en logement pour une tranche de salariés.

2. LES PROMOTEURS IMMOBILIERS

Les réalisations du Vème plan ont largement dépassé les prévisions: pour 25.000 prévus par an, 35.300 ont été réalisés.

Plus de 50% des logements de type populaire et économique ont été réalisés par la Société Nationale Immobilière de Tunisie (S.N.I.T.).

a) Un organisme national de promotion immobilière: S.N.I.T.

De par son activité, elle est considérée comme le premier responsable de l'Habitat: l'acquisition des terrains, les dossiers de lotissement, l'élaboration des plans d'architecture, les lancements des appels d'offres, ainsi que le contrôle des logements construits.

b) Les autres promoteurs sont des organismes sociaux:

- la Caisse Nationale de Sécurité Sociale (C.N.S.S.), dont la filiale immobilière est la SPROLS, a réalisé 1.460 logements, soit près de 0,9%.
- la Caisse Nationale de Retraite et de Prévoyance Sociale a réalisé 2.035 logements, soit 1,2%.

Les promoteurs privés agréés ont réalisé 3.558 unités, soit 2% du total. Les logements réalisés par la S.N.I.T. sont du type:

- logements ruraux 44.713 unités soit 51,5%
- logements suburbains 19.952 unités soit 23,0%
- logements économiques 19.745 unités soit 22,8%
- logements de standing 2.355 unités soit 2,7%.

*1 US\$ = 0,833 D

3. LE FINANCEMENT

Outre des organismes de promotion immobilière l'Etat a décidé de diversifier les ressources et de mobiliser tous les organismes financiers et sociaux en vue de contribuer à la réalisation des projets.

a) *La Caisse Nationale d'Épargne Logement (C.N.E.L.)*

Créée en 1974, elle a suscité beaucoup d'intérêt et attiré de petits épargnants aussi bien que des épargnants aux revenus considérables. Ce compte d'Épargne Logement est ouvert pour une période de 4 ou 5 ans; à son échéance, le titulaire obtient un prêt pour le financement des dépenses de construction ou d'extension, aussi bien que pour l'acquisition de logements neufs construits par des promoteurs immobiliers agréés par le Ministère des Travaux Publics et de l'Habitat.

La C.N.E.L. reçoit annuellement de l'Etat pour le compte de chaque épargnant et pendant la période d'épargne une prime d'Épargne Logement dont le montant global est égal à 2% pour les comptes alimentés en dinars et 3% pour l'épargne alimentée en devises.

De 1974 à 1984, le nombre d'épargnants a atteint 143.864, y compris ceux résidant à l'étranger, et 29.847 crédits ont été accordés.

De 1985 à 1989, 90.120 contrats viendraient à maturité, dont 52.286, soit 58,2%, des catégories à moyen revenu (A,B,C,D,E).

- Pour le préfinancement des logements S.N.I.T., la C.N.E.L. a consacré 202.100 millions Dinars pour 41.830 logements (45,3% de type économique et 54,7% de type suburbain).
- Le préfinancement des programmes de logements des promoteurs privés a porté sur 3.150 logements, dont 3.074 de type économique, le reste étant de type suburbain.

b) *Le Fonds de Promotion du Logement pour les Salariés (FOPROLOS)*

Ce fonds spécial bénéficie à tous les salariés affiliés auprès d'un organisme de retraite, et dont le salaire mensuel de base est compris entre 1 et 3 fois le SMIG.

2 types de crédit sont servis par ce fonds:

- le crédit direct.
- le crédit pour parfaire l'épargne logement.

Tout salarié peut utiliser le crédit soit pour:

- la construction d'un logement suburbain à usage d'habitation principale et dont la surface couverte ne dépasse pas les 50m².
- l'acquisition d'un logement de type suburbain à usage d'habitation principale auprès d'un promoteur agréé à condition qu'il ne dépasse pas les 50m².

a) *Le crédit direct*

Le montant maximum de ce crédit représente 80% du coût du logement remboursable sur 15 ans, avec un taux d'intérêt de 3% l'an, les 20% étant un autofinancement minimum.

b) *Le crédit pour parfaire l'épargne logement*

Ce crédit peut-être utilisé pour compléter l'épargne du salarié auprès de la C.N.E.L., afin de financer:

Bakhta Tarhouni (TUN)

- l'acquisition ou la construction d'un logement économique à usage d'habitation principale (90m²).
- l'extension d'un logement (1/3 de la surface bâtie).

Le montant maximum du crédit est de 528 D, soit un aide mensuelle à l'épargne de 11 D.

Le remboursement de ce prêt se fait après avoir réglé le crédit normal d'épargne logement, soit après 10 ou 15 ans et au taux d'intérêt de 4,5% l'an.

Ce fonds, géré par la C.N.E.L. a entamé son activité en août 1978 et à ce jour accordé 16.538 crédits dont le montant s'élève à 38.189.040 D.

Le préfinancement des programmes de logement S.N.I.T. par le FOPROLOS a porté sur 25.733 unités d'habitation, correspondant à 39.403.722 D.

CONCLUSION

C'est au logement, en tant que facteur de promotion sociale, que les pouvoirs publics ont porté une attention particulière. Outre les organismes de financement créés à cet effet (C.N.E.L. et FOPROLOS), d'autres organismes publics contribuent au financement du logement en accordant des crédits à moyen terme (CNRPS - C.N.S.S.).

L'épargne des ménages, à travers la Caisse Nationale d'Epargne Logement, a contribué de plus à régulariser le marché du logement et à réduire le déséquilibre offre-demande.

C'est grâce à la jonction des organismes de crédit et de la Société Nationale Immobilière, en tant que promoteur, que les pouvoirs publics ont pu faire face au problème du logement.

DECAY OF DUTCH SOCIAL HOUSING - STRATEGIES FOR MANAGEMENT

George de Kam (NL)

In the Netherlands the eighties bring an end to a period during which social housing has been a major factor in the process of extension and renewal of our cities. In consequence social housing also has been an item of great political interest, mainly connected with social-democracy.

A number of post-war public housing estates now belong to the least attractive part of the housing stock for reasons of quality, price, environment and site. Year by year a higher proportion of the tenants of these estates is being formed by the urban poor, largely depending on social benefits.

The priority given to social housing has also strengthened the position of the housing corporations, but under the given circumstances their increasing activity at the same time created the conditions for present-day decay. During the first two or three decades after the war a large number of dwellings has been constructed by housing corporations in medium or high-rise, being part of monotonous extension-schemes, segregated from the areas for work, recreation or commerce.

From the beginning of the seventies increasing pressure of the tenants made housing corporations also engage themselves in urban renewal, which in many of our cities at least partly stopped the "natural" process of urban decay. But as a result of this - and coinciding with a drop in demand due to the economic crisis - a number of relatively young post-war estates have become the slums of today.

In reaction to economic crisis the government reduces its financial support to social housing, thus compelling housing corporations to operate more and more under market conditions.

Under these conditions an adequate reaction to the management problems mentioned above is either to invest in improvement or to sell or demolish the inflected estates. This however is in contradiction with one of the main goals of housing corporations, i.e. "to house those people who are not able to procure housing for themselves".

Two other strategies for the housing corporation would be either to devote itself to housing the urban poor, or to assume an experimenting attitude in changing the way of administration of estates which can no longer be let in the "normal" way. Such a change should preferably be attended by an attempt to break the functional division of today's cities.

Each of these possibilities should be viewed against the background of future developments in society, in which social housing and - consequently - housing corporations will most probably be put into a more and more margin-

al position in the political arena. Only one thing is certain: each in its own way the three developments mentioned above mark the end of the role which housing corporations have played in the years since World War II.

THE AGING RESIDENTIAL AREA

Tadeusz Chmielewski (PL)

The subject of my presentation is the problem of preserving the utility value of the post-war housing resources in Poland, presented on the model of the Adam Mickiewicz residential area of the Lublin Housing Cooperative.

This residential area, built in the sixties, was designed for about nine thousand inhabitants. This is a complex of multifamily housing units, composed mainly of 4-6 storey buildings, complemented by a few higher ones. The construction of this residential area initiated the implementation of a new town district, now estimated for over 50 thousand inhabitants.

As a result of the lucky selection of organizers, a good development project, and pioneer character of the whole endeavour which was literally started in the field, as well as many other circumstances, the residential area was developed in a model fashion and soon became widely known. Due to careful maintenance, considerable input of work by the inhabitants, and numerous forms of cultural and social activities, this residential area was for many years recognized as the best in the country.

Therefore, it seemed odd that sociological research conducted during the years 1978-1979 revealed quite a number of critical remarks about this residential area despite the well known emotional attachment of its inhabitants to their place of residence.

The analysis of this material conducted by town planners along with the observation of the area led to an essentially simple diagnosis: the residential area was aging.

Comparison with the situation in other residential areas has become the basis of the conclusion, that the whole country is facing a steadily increasing problem of conserving its housing resources implemented during the first two post-war decades. The utility value of housing units customarily regarded as new increasingly departs from the present-day demands and needs of the people.

The method of simultaneous implementation of larger and larger new housing units, typical of the post-war period, resulted in specific social, technical and economic processes.

As the general housing situation in the residential area under discussion was improving, the number of inhabitants decreased, and, at the same time, profound changes in the household structure took place. Changes in the age structure of the inhabitants were several times larger than similar changes in the whole society.

Young people, starting their own families, were moving out to other new residential areas. Facilities for children such as storage places for baby carriages near stairwells, playgrounds, etc., once overcrowded, are now only partially utilized, and, on the other hand, there is a shortage of facilities for a rapidly growing number of old people, especially women. The ratio between women and men has reached 125 to 100. There are many disabled people and others who need care. The youngest children of the first members of the cooperative, entering marriage, are starting a new demographic wave. It has also been observed that grandchildren turning into adults come back to apartments occupied by their grandmothers who more and more often live alone. These young people constitute a new group of inhabitants, not evidenced yet, but potentially strong.

Moreover, substantial cultural changes have taken place. (Among the first inhabitants a considerable number of people were immigrants from villages).

It is clear that the changed community has different needs. These needs have also changed due to social and economic development which had taken place since the residential area was built.

The most evident problem is the lack of parking space for the growing number of cars. Cars parked along the streets, on pavements and crossings, frequently close to apartment windows, have become a burden. They limit the passability of the roads and interfere with other functions of the residential area.

Although at the time when the residential area was built it was estimated to have a wide range of accompanying facilities, today the structure of services and service facilities does not meet the present needs.

Greenery, which has always been the subject of pride for the inhabitants, is now the subject of controversy because the growth of trees limits the access of light to many dwellings.

Due to continuous efforts of the inhabitants over the years, the quality of facilities in the apartments has been considerably improved. The buildings, however, show more and more signs of wear. Current repairs and conservation efforts are no longer sufficient. General renewal of the entire residential area will soon be necessary.

Successive meetings of members of the housing cooperative show that defects of various kinds multiply rapidly and threaten the whole residential area to recede to a substandard level.

It has been estimated that traditional methods will not suffice to cope with the problem. In residential area terms, the meaning of "home" includes not only the dwelling and apartment building, but also its immediate environment and accompanying facilities which are supposed to satisfy everyday needs of the residents. Thus, in order to improve the situation it is not enough to remodel particular buildings; it is necessary to adjust the whole residential area to present-day needs.

Since the problem is characteristic throughout the country, it was considered worth while to develop an adequate method of resolution by way of an experiment carried out on the above mentioned residential area.

Undertaking this initiative, the Branch Office of the Polish Town Planners' Society in Lublin adopted the following initial assumptions:

1. Each residential area, after a 10 to 20 year period of use should undergo a comprehensive analysis and evaluation of its functioning;
2. A project of renewal of the residential area should be developed on the basis of the results of such an analysis. The project should comprise the

following program:

- adaptation of the residential area to the present-day norms and standards of facilities;
- elimination of possible mistakes and irregularities made in the course of designing and building the residential area;
- systematic performance of the necessary repairs, adjustments, overhauls, etc.

3. The renewal project should also lead to conclusions concerning the perfection of designing principles for new housing units in light of exploitation experiences.

The work on the project was started by collecting remarks and proposals of the residents, concerning their own apartment, building, its environment and the whole residential area.

The questionnaire distributed for this purpose was received with great interest. From twenty seven hundred dwellings over a thousand answers were collected.

This is the present day situation. Further work on the renewal project is intended to be accompanied by two courses of action:

- a) The Lublin Housing Cooperative is conducting negotiations with the local authorities and the Central Union of Housing Cooperatives in order to secure financial means to carry out, in the form of an experiment, the complex renewal project of the Adam Mickiewicz residential area.
- b) The Polish Town Planners' Society is going to organize a nation-wide conference, the conclusions from which will be used to define proper methods of action which would make it possible to maintain the utility value of housing units built after the war.

This project is in accordance with the assumptions of the National Socio-Economic Plan for the years 1986-1990, which announce a considerable increase of funds for the reconditioning and conservation of existing housing resources.

Aleksander Noworól (PL)

La réhabilitation des grands ensembles d'après-guerre reflète des idéologies architecturales d'aujourd'hui. Un regard sur les outils conceptuels de la réhabilitation découvre 4 champs de réflexion:

La *diversité* - comme une recherche d'un espace riche en références et en géométries - pose des questions sur l'hétérogénéité, sur la complexité et même sur la contradiction des formes et des significations.

La *continuité fragmentaire* engendre des relations nouvelles entre structures en opposant la logique continue d'ensemble à la diversité d'actions ponctuelles.

Le travail sur l'échelle met en question le problème des dimensions des formes et la taille de l'opération.

La *conception inversée* remplace la démarche traditionnelle de conception par une attitude de composition de la totalité par une série d'actions séparées et réduites.

Sur ce fond intellectuel on observe les doctrines de transformation des grands ensembles. Derrière les notions les plus générales de la nature, de la culture et de la sécurité, les architectes se réfèrent aux catégories suivantes:

L'*urbanité* - c'est une recherche de la ville en ville. Pour la trouver - comme telle - on travaille sur la signification des formes anciennes, sur les typologies urbaines et surtout sur la sédimentation comme le moyen de la production de la ville.

L'*impétuosité vernaculaire* met en scène les valeurs locales et l'expression de la population. C'est là qu'on essaye de résoudre des problèmes par la programmation participative et concertée.

Les nouvelles stratégies urbaines, comme l'idée de *développement* et la notion du *projet urbain*, constituent des outils méthodologiques pour la mise en relation des attitudes précédentes.

Là où ce processus conscient n'a pas encore surgi, c'est la sédimentation spontanée de la ville qui fait apparaître les formes nouvelles. Un grand ensemble change quand même.

June 1961

CLOSING SESSION
SEANCE DE CLOTURE
SCHLUSSSITZUNG

For the closing session we should speak rather than "sit" together
related to perceptions. The notion of perception is rather a dynamic in
relation to the present. It is a process in the sense of perception
of things and not in the sense that with the past and the present, but
not necessarily could not contain the future.

However, the general impression of this program suggests the process of
being in the present, which is not in the past and each phase being
not necessarily in a linear fashion.
There is a certain amount of time in a sense of continuity in the flow of "the
continuity of the present", which is not necessarily, and not in a
linear fashion, "continuous" although it is a process, as the - of process
operation - essential characteristic nature of the present and situation.
For the present is being a continuous operation.
The operation, development and maintenance of the present of the present
which has not yet been achieved. The question is of this nature, but
but we are looking for the will of those who are working in the present
toward the change in thinking.

We have to believe that within the notion of perception, in the present
operation it is necessary to establish the present and operation of the
present level of the present process as a total process and not just as
relevant nature, the language of becoming a language - total process and
of change.

Operational levels of perception of present are not just those of the
past and the future of operations, we are looking for the present and
future as an operation in itself, and the will of the present being
developed in the present and towards the operational level, and not
in itself, as a process in itself, it is not understood by the present, the
operational and operation, towards the present, the "total" and
total operation the individual's operation for the present and future operation.
The - is the operational requirement of the present, but not a
"total" operation of the present of the past and the future.

PERSONAL CONCLUSIONS

János Csuti (H)

Mr. President, Distinguished Participants,

Let me tell you first of all that this congress was very interesting for me even if many of the factors of the decay spiral demonstrated here have not existed in Hungary, or not to such an extent. Certainly you remember that the housing estate of Landerhegy in Zalaegerszeg is the product of the last two decades: buildings were constructed here even in the last 5 years and the oldest part is less than 25 years old.

For our housing estates we cannot speak either about "old" historical estates or perspectives. The notion of perspective in today's dynamism is restricted to the present day, i.e. 10-20 years in the system of mass building of flats can mean at the same time both the past and the present, but its evaluation could not exclude the future.

However, the general experience of this congress shows that the process of decay is present everywhere more or less in the same way with phase delay and motivated by different factors.

Among current phenomena there is a wave of nostalgia in the face of "urbanization illnesses", noise, air pollution, overcrowding and traffic nuisance, "estrangement", distortions of behaviour, as the - at present spontaneous - endeavour interpretable behind the openness and closedness for the creation of higher human standards of coexistence.

The structure, intellectual and existential composition of our housing estates has not yet been suitable for the generalization of this endeavour, but we are looking for the will to shape our surrounding in our own image based on the changes in thinking.

We have to believe that within the notion of reconstruction in any human environment it is necessary to reevaluate the social and urbanization processes even if the endeavour conceals in itself extremes and could have irrelevant matters or - because of becoming a campaign - could create a kind of jargon.

Urbanization morals or moderation at present are not yet laws; at the very most they are forms of behaviour. We can imagine that our plans and rules could be as constructive as harmful, that the will of the city dweller formulated in his instincts and behaviour for environmental freedom can be at least as sincere as brutal if it is not accompanied by the highest intellectuality and behaviour. It could be that precisely the "rules" render impossible the individual's endeavour for freer and more human surroundings, i.e. the stereotyped employment of our prescriptions can become a "grave-digger" of the notion of the city in the good sense.

In our town planning practice, besides regional aspects, broad and detailed plans have consequently to orientate the process. The interpretation of dialectics of possibilities and changes in the practice of building of Zalaegerszeg - in this case Landorhegy - housing estates also has its contradictions.

I am thinking here of the adaptation to the environment and the technological possibilities of mass building of flats, the timing of the implementation cycles, the not always correct interpretation of cost-saving, the not always complete balance of the shaping of the environment and of nature, and so on.

Thus there are general tendencies which can be taken into account in time - learning from the examples of the congress - and in that case we can avoid the bad experiences on the housing estates built after World War Two.

I should like to mention three fields here:

In my opinion, the flat construction programme is perhaps more critical than any other development conception. Its results are the critical aspects of flat function as the framework of human life. The general feeling as a result of it could be the basis for analysis of the improvement process of the housing estate.

The programme of the Landorhegy housing estate, besides the reconstruction of the town centre and the mixed building of the garden city (formerly only single-family houses with gardens), was realized gradually.

After the technology of blocks of bricks, at present the cast concrete with tunnel-type moulding technology - the Outinord system - is characteristic; it is based on the ground-plan of the previous technology and completed with new elements. This technology makes it possible to construct more plastic, colourful and different forms of building than the previous technologies, and it is more modern. Tunnel-type moulding technology calls for a new type of flat culture and increases the role of sound and heat insulation, and also changes the system of assembly and fitting-out work and materials and maintenance.

In the organization of flats in the framework of this system the lack of flexibility emerges - first of all regarding the mountable mobile dividing walls. I mean the problems of the coexistence of generation or change within the housing estate. We must develop the variety of internal systems resulting from the characteristic features of the technology.

It is very interesting that the Landorhegy housing estate is an accomplished programme but not a finished theme regarding the town planning, in spite of the good comfort and organizational or communal services.

It was very interesting for me to hear and to see the conditions and problems which emerged in the mass and number of levels of the buildings. Let me tell you that on our housing estate the largest building has only 100 residents, and we did not build higher than ten-storey buildings. In our opinion the ideal situation is when the mother can communicate from the window of the flat with her child playing in the playground.

Regarding the improvement of the existing flats, the discussions during the congress also underlined the role of the environment: the creation, maintenance and development of the environmental culture.

In the Hungarian practice of the housing estate people who have newly moved into a new flat are concerned in the first years with the possibly maximum satisfaction of their different needs inside the flat, and they pay less attention to the external environment. As time passes, the families pay more attention to their environment. On our housing estates this process can be easily observed. This tendency is helped by the fact that

János Csuti (H)

the trees planted after completion of the buildings became bigger with dense foliage, bringing the atmosphere of a small wood among the buildings of the housing estate, which could give a start to initiatives by the tenants concerning their environment.

We assist this process by planting trees and flowers, yet we organize competitions of embellishment of the housing estate's environment. This process will be helped by extending the democracy among the tenants. As part of this, one type of obligatory tax will be abolished; instead the councils can ask for a contribution to the development of the settlements from the tenants and the tenants themselves can decide how and for what purposes to use these amounts. On the Landorhegy housing estate, for example, there is a need to establish two public parks that would offer room for every generation: children can play while their mothers can meet and talk, elderly people can walk, play chess and cards.

The structure of Zalaegerszeg - and within it that of the housing estates - was influenced to a great extent by natural environment. The waves of the hills go across the county, town, housing estate. The housing estate became an integral part of the landscape and between them there is no rigid dividing line. The town is also rich in green spaces and this is even more so for the housing estate, because the system of building took into account nature as the element of the architecture.

An interesting feature to be mentioned is that the housing estate is completed by a micro-environment of closed gardens which is in conformity with the landscape.

The citizens spend their free time and weekends in the little cottages built in small orchards and vineyards around the town, and they have rest and recreation by working in these gardens, particularly middle-aged and elderly people. This is a healthy social movement and it must be taken into account in the planning, maintenance and reconstruction of the housing estate. The environment of the Landorhegy housing estate plays an important role in the life of the people living there.

At the same time the weekend house became an element of the landscape, which is why it must be controlled as regards its form, size and adaptation into the environment.

In the end I reaffirm - what others have already said - that it is very important from the point of view of social coexistence, social life, that the tenants feel they own not only the flat but the housing estate, too.

Parks and land for play and recreation are part of the environmental culture and require special analysis. The planning is not always well prepared and based, and as a result of this there are various contradictions in the urbanization process.

At the same time, the Landorhegy housing estate is more than a satellite town: it is a living fresh town with different problems in the details.

We know too that mass production technology in housebuilding is not flexible enough to adapt to the actual and changing conditions.

We know that the generation questions, coexistence in the flat, are not solved by the present structure of housing building.

We know too that it is very difficult to follow fashions, changes in thinking, the extreme phenomena of dynamism in a constant building or row of buildings, but a housing estate can also change according to the requirements of the modern programmes of the modern era with good planning, willing and understanding tenants and necessary changes.

Thank you for your attention.

CONCLUSIONS PERSONNELLES

János Csuti (H)

Monsieur le Président, Participants distingués,

Permettez-moi de commencer avec la constatation que ce congrès était une grande expérience pour moi, même si beaucoup des facteurs du procès de détérioration présentés ici n'existent pas en Hongrie ou, s'ils existent, se manifestent sous d'autres formes et dans d'autres conditions. Vous vous souvenez vraisemblablement que le grand ensemble de Landorhegy à Zalaegerszeg est le produit des deux dernières décennies: même ces cinq dernières années les travaux se sont poursuivis, alors que la partie la plus vieille du grand ensemble a seulement 25 ans.

Nous ne pouvons parler ni d'ensemble historique ni de perspectives. La notion de perspective dans le dynamisme de nos jours se limite au présent. Une période de 10-20 ans signifie en matière de construction de logements de masse en même temps le passé et le présent, mais l'évaluation ne peut pas exclure le futur.

En général, je peux dire que la plus grande expérience de ce congrès est pour moi la constatation que le procès de détérioration est omniprésent de la même manière ou presque, avec parfois un retard de phase causé par des facteurs différents. Parmi les phénomènes actuels il y a une vague de nostalgie qui s'attaque aux "maladies d'urbanisme", comme le bruit, la pollution de l'air, l'encombrement et les accidents de la circulation, le "détachement", la déformation du comportement. C'est une aspiration - actuellement spontanée - à la création de plus hautes normes pour la co-existence humaine. La structure, la composition intellectuelle et existentielle de nos grands ensembles ne sont pas encore appropriées à la généralisation de cette aspiration, mais nous cherchons le désir de former notre environnement à notre image sur la base du changement de tournure de pensée.

Nous devons croire que dans la notion de reconstruction d'un environnement humain il est nécessaire de réévaluer les procès sociaux et d'urbanisme, même dans le cas où l'ambition recèle des tendances extrêmes.

La morale d'urbanisme ou la tempérance ne sont pas codifiées, seules existent quelques formes de comportement. Nous pouvons imaginer que nos plans d'aménagement et nos règles peuvent être aussi constructifs que nocifs, que la volonté de l'habitant de ville, exprimée dans ses instincts et son comportement à l'égard de la liberté d'environnement, peut être au moins aussi sincère que brutale si elle n'est pas accompagnée d'une haute intel-

lectualité et d'un comportement adéquat. Il se peut que les règles mêmes rendent impossibles l'aspiration de l'individu à un environnement plus libre et plus humain, c'est à dire que l'emploi stéréotype des prescriptions peut être le "fossoyeur" de la notion de ville au bon sens.

Dans notre pratique d'urbanisme les plans d'aménagement globaux et détaillés orientent le processus aussi bien que les aspects régionaux. L'interprétation de la dialectique des possibilités et des changements dans la pratique de la construction du grand ensemble de Landorhegy à Zalaegerszeg a aussi ses contradictions.

Je pense à l'adaptation à l'environnement et aux possibilités de la construction de logements en masse, au temps des cycles de réalisation, à l'interprétation pas toujours juste de l'économie et à la balance pas toujours en équilibre entre la formation de l'environnement et le cadre naturel, etc.

Il faut donc tenir compte des conclusions générales du congrès pour éviter la mauvaise expérience faite avec les grands ensembles construits après la deuxième guerre mondiale.

Je voudrais mentionner ici trois choses:

Selon moi, le programme de construction de logements est plus critique que n'importe quelle autre conception de développement. Ses résultats déterminent largement le cadre de la vie humaine. Le sentiment général comme le résultat peuvent être la base de l'analyse du procès d'amélioration des grands ensembles.

Le programme du grand ensemble de Landorhegy a été réalisé graduellement, sauf la reconstruction de la cité et l'utilisation mixte pour les différentes constructions de la partie "ville-jardins" (auparavant seulement maisons familiales avec jardins).

Après la construction en briques, le béton prévaît actuellement, sans que les plans de la technologie précédente soient abandonnés. La technologie du béton donne la possibilité de construire des bâtiments plus plastiques, colorés, modernes et différenciés.

La technologie du coffrage du béton exige de nouveaux types d'appartements, une meilleure isolation thermique et sonore et d'autres travaux et matériaux de montage et de maintien.

Les nouvelles techniques permettent une plus grande souplesse, avec des murs de séparation mobiles et démontables, ce qui à une incidence sur les modes de coexistence des générations et sur les changements que nous vivons à présent. Nous devons développer la variabilité des systèmes internes sur la base de cette nouvelle technologie.

Il est intéressant de constater que le grand ensemble de Landorhegy est fini en substance, mais n'est pas fini du point de vue urbanistique, malgré les bonnes conditions de confort et les services organisationnels et communaux.

Il était très intéressant pour moi de voir les circonstances et les problèmes qui ont apparu dans les volumes et la hauteur des bâtiments. Permettez-moi de vous dire que dans le plus grand immeuble ne vivent que 100 habitants, et nous ne construisons pas des immeubles de plus de dix étages. Selon nous la mère doit pouvoir communiquer de la fenêtre de l'appartement avec son enfant jouant sur le terrain de jeu.

Les discussions pendant le congrès ont elles aussi souligné le rôle de l'environnement: la création, le maintien et le développement de la culture d'environnement.

Dans la pratique hongroise les locataires nouvellement emménagés dans un grand ensemble s'occupent les premières années de la satisfaction des différentes nécessités à l'intérieur de l'appartement et paient peu d'attention à l'environnement. Avec le temps les exigences à l'égard de l'environnement augmentent chez les locataires. Dans notre grand ensemble, ce procès peut être facilement observé. Cette tendance est aidée par le fait que les arbres plantés après l'achèvement des bâtiments sont déjà assez grands et assurent avec leur feuillages denses une atmosphère de bois susceptible d'encourager des initiatives des locataires concernant leur environnement.

Nous soutenons ce procès en donnant des arbres et des fleurs à planter, nous organisons même des compétitions d'embellissement de l'environnement. Ce procès sera accéléré par l'élargissement des principes démocratiques parmi les locataires. Dans le cadre de ce procès, une taxe obligatoire sera éliminée et remplacée par une contribution pour le développement de l'agglomération que les locataires peuvent utiliser comme ils l'entendent. Dans le grand ensemble de Landorhegy par exemple il y aura deux parcs publics qui donnent de la place aux différentes générations: les enfants pourront y jouer, leurs mamans s'y rencontrer et bavarder et les personnes âgées se promener, jouer aux échecs et aux cartes.

La structure de Zalaegerszeg subit l'empreinte de l'environnement naturel. Les ondulations des collines passent à travers le comitat, la ville, les grands ensembles. Le grand ensemble de Landorhegy est bien intégré dans le paysage, sans frontières rigides. La ville est riche en espaces verts, et c'est encore plus vrai pour le grand ensemble parce que l'utilisation du territoire a utilisé la nature comme élément architectural.

Mentionnons encore que le grand ensemble est complété par un micro-environnement de jardins clos, harmonisant avec le paysage. Les citoyens passent leur temps libre pendant la journée et en fin de semaine dans des bungalows construits dans les petits vignobles et vergers autour de la ville, où ils peuvent se reposer et se recréer en travaillant dans ces jardins. Ce sont en premier lieu les gens d'âge moyen et âgés. C'est un mouvement social très sain, qui doit être pris en considération dans les projets de maintien et de reconstruction du grand ensemble. L'environnement du grand ensemble de Landorhegy joue un rôle important dans la vie des locataires.

Les bungalows deviennent eux aussi des éléments du paysage et doivent être contrôlés concernant leur formes, leurs mesures et leur adaptation à l'environnement.

A la fin je réaffirme ce que les autres rapporteurs ont déjà souligné: il est très important du point de vue de la coexistence sociale et de la vie sociale que les locataires se sentent chez eux, non seulement dans leurs appartements, mais aussi dans le grand ensemble et l'environnement.

Les parcs et les terrains de jeu et de récréation font partie de la culture locale et exigent une analyse spéciale. Les projets ne sont pas toujours bien préparés, ce qui aboutit à des contradictions urbanistiques.

Le grand ensemble de Landorhegy est plus qu'une ville dortoire, il est vivant et frais, avec des problèmes partiels de différentes natures.

Nous savons que la technique de production de masse dans la construction n'est pas assez flexible pour s'adapter aux conditions actuelles et changeantes. Nous savons que les problèmes de génération et la coexistence dans les

appartements ne sont pas encore résolus dans la structure actuelle. Nous savons aussi qu'il est très difficile de suivre la mode, les changements de la pensée, les phénomènes extrêmes de dynamisme dans un bâtiment ou une série de bâtiments, mais un grand ensemble peut changer selon les exigences de l'époque moderne, avec de bons projets des programmes modernes et des locataires compréhensifs de bonne volonté.

Merci pour votre attention.

PERSONAL CONCLUSIONS

A.W. Oskam (NL)

Owing to some mysterious circumstances there are quite some misunderstandings about the Bijlmer nowadays.

First of all the scale.

Bijlmermeer can in no way be compared with the other projects, neither in size nor - as for the British and Cochran examples - in level of deterioration.

Bijlmermeer itself has a surface area of 636 hectare, containing more than 18,000 dwelling units in which more than 33,000 people live. It is about half of the total south-western extension of Amsterdam, apart from the 500 hectare business area adjacent to it.

So we are talking about an area of more than 17,000 hectares in which 65,000 people live, of whom maybe 30,000 in highrise blocks. In the same area several tens of thousands of people find employment.

You might feel disappointed about the rough nature of the information I gave you the other day¹⁾ but it had to be, because the high-rise part of the Bijlmer can - for instance - be divided into 30 separate Traneberg projects or some 24 Cochran Gardens.

But it is *not* only a matter of physical size but also a matter of the size of social distress. The crime rate in the Bijlmermeer does *not* exceed the average of the whole of Amsterdam and that is a fact which is in contradiction to the image that it has.

This - still relatively moderate - amount of insecurity and nuisance has - of course - its effect on the level of organisation of the inhabitants, and this is very important in the comparison with for instance the Cochran case.

In Cochran, I learned, people in the utmost despair were practically forced to arrive at this high standard of organisation simply because they *had* to take their fate in their own hands, simply to survive!

You should not forget that social conditions in the U.S. mean that if you are on the very lowest rung of the social ladder you simply cannot afford to drop or be kicked off. You drop out of existence.

In Holland there is always some social amenity to catch you and offer you a new chance.

Perhaps that is why we never succeeded in finding a structural, stable and long-lasting principal or even counterpart in the population, although we have quite a tradition of citizen participation in planning.

True, we did have some quite violent reactions, mostly when urban renewal, infrastructure and such things were involved, but they always vanished again whenever a solution or even the promise of a solution was presented. We do not like that at all, because that rather limited activity on the part of the population obliges us professionals to think in models and simulations.

And although we always discuss the result of this thinking with the population, we get only a rather vague response most of the time.

There could be an explanation for this.

You might assume that the inhabitants - who are very well emancipated indeed - are of the opinion that they hired us professionals to do the job and, as long as we do so not too arrogantly and dissatisfactorily, they feel no need to take over from us.

But there is no doubt that they are willing and able to do so at any moment they think necessary.

If you have read my paper, you will have seen that a decentralisation of municipal authority is planned for 1987. Then Bijlmermeer will elect its own board and get its own budget and its own administrative staff.

It is expected that the shortening of the distance between citizen and the public authority will be profitable for both parties. For the citizens because they could gain direct interest and participation in political decision-making and for the politicians because they gain interest in the everyday problems of the people.

The latter is of crucial importance, since Bijlmermeer for years and years suffered severely from a lack of interest from the political side, as their attention was fully concentrated on urban renewal.

Well, let us get to the physical circumstances:

When I heard Prof. Wiggerts quote me²⁾ I thought I could not have said that. But when I looked it up in the congress book I had to admit that I had better be more specific about my opinion, so let me try again.

I do not agree with Kramer when he said that the structure of the Bijlmermeer is to blame for so many problems that have to do with identification, well-being and safety³⁾.

I said that in my opinion the different structural items like land use, accessibility, traffic circulation, public transport etc. are of a very high quality giving excellent chances for the development or possible redevelopment of the whole area.

I also mentioned the highly strategic allocation which can be compared - I learned - with the way Cochran Gardens was blessed by the immediate adjacency of the CBD.

If we look at things at a somewhat higher level of abstraction we find an excellent location and a canvas of different facilities with strong potency. When we zoom in on that canvas we see a remarkable thing.

Although that structure gives plenty of possibilities for a great variety of solutions that can be implemented in that canvas, we ignored that totally and opted for a very rigid and nowadays unbelievable uniformity: not only do the housing blocks all look alike but even the landscaping does.

And in doing so we deprived the different neighbourhoods of a possible identity of their own.

I shall come back to that later, for not everything is lost yet.

The second mistake we made - but we are not to blame, for nobody really knew - lies in the fact that we produced a type of housing that nobody seems to want any more.

The 25% vacancy of course is a very big problem but the solution Kramer gives: reducing the supply by building less new housing⁴⁾, is of a somewhat irresponsible simplicity.

Because in that situation we force people to stay in an expensive home they do not like by depriving them of an available alternative. This vacancy is - as Priemus stated⁵⁾ - a simple matter of quality/price ratio, and Umrath has already pointed out⁶⁾ that the Bijlmer blocks were constructed in a period when building prices were at their absolute peak.

That creates the strange situation that nowadays we can offer the tenant in the Bijlmer a brand-new, low-rise unit in one of the densification projects for a rent of Dfl. 450 a month or a 10-to 12-year old flat in a high-rise block for Dfl. 700 a month.

These strange differences are caused by the financing system, and Mr. George de Kam made some very interesting remarks on that matter only yesterday⁷⁾.

So, what can we do to prevent the Bijlmer from going downhill?

Several measures have been or are being taken.

I have already mentioned the political and administrative reorganisation which is basic to the creation of a greater involvement and to the injection of some passion into the whole process. We were all confronted in the Cochran case with what passion can do for creativity.

And creativity we need, because what we learned these days is that we are all desperately looking for the one solution that will solve the problem for us.

- In Bijlmermeer we have a specially created organisation with much authority, just like the French had in their banlieux.⁸⁾
- We are trying to influence the price/quality ratio on both sides, by topping off the prices and by improving the quality. Mr. Van Kempen described the Gliphoeve action for you.⁹⁾
- We are trying to generate a more attractive atmosphere by creating possibilities for small-scale workshops, offices, pubs and shops as well as markets, as has been done in Nancy for instance.¹⁰⁾
- We built a mosque.
- Somebody spontaneously started a farm. His neighbours were enthusiastic, so we support him strongly. We even stole fences for him.
- Since 1978 we have been densifying by building several hundred dwelling units.
- But, most of all, we are reconsidering the articulation of the environment in a way that we are trying to get an articulated identity for every spot on the map. We are doing so in a way that challenges people to take over, take possession and set their stamp on it.
- We have already created very many gardens which people can use to grow vegetables, or flowers, just as they like, or maybe even weeds.
- We discussed building in the hexagonal green areas between the blocks and allowing cars at ground level with direct access to the blocks. In some areas that was accepted, but to our surprise we created opposition in most of the areas, where people fiercely protested against measures that would make the Bijlmer - as they said - into an ordinary neighbourhood.

MY CONCLUSION:

1. We have not yet come to an end in creatively investigating the possibilities for the high-rise blocks.
The range goes from homesteading, as we first learned from Baltimore some years ago¹¹⁾, to real gentrification. But also experiments that we were shown in the Oslo¹²⁾ congress are to be considered.
If, after this investigation, we end up with the conclusion that it is hopeless - which I do not believe - we must demolish as soon as possible.
2. We have to set up the replanning for the whole environment of the Bijlmer. We should not do that by making detailed lay-outs but by just giving inviting and challenging units, so that the users will react and give shape to the Bijlmer.
3. We must absolutely forget that we shall ever reach a final solution, but we must never stop trying.

- 1) plenary session II 8.10.1985
- 2) plenary session IV 9.10.1985
- 3) plenary session II 8.10.1985
- 4) ibid
- 5) poster session general I, 9.10.1985; plenary session VI, 10.10.1985
- 6) plenary session II, 8.10.1985
- 7) poster session general III, 10.10.1985
- 8) plenary session V, 7.10.1985
- 9) poster session soc. problems Econ. environment 9.10.1985
- 10) plenary session V, 9.10.1985
- 11) IFHP-Congress 1978 Hamburg, William D. Schaefer et al., papers and proceedings p. 29 et seq.
- 12) IFHP-Congress 1982, Oslo, Kerstin Kärnekull, papers & proceedings p. 453 et seq.

CONCLUSIONS PERSONNELLES

A.W. Oskam (NL)

Toute une ambiance émotionnelle a provoqué ces derniers temps de nombreux malentendus à propos du Bijlmermeer.

En premier lieu, l'échelle.

Le Bijlmermeer ne peut en aucune façon être comparé aux autres grandes réalisations, ni par ses dimensions ni, comme c'est le cas pour l'exemple britannique et pour Cochran Gardens, par son niveau de dégradation.

En soi, le Bijlmermeer couvre une surface de 636 ha et comporte plus de 18.000 unités d'habitation où vivent plus de 33.000 personnes. Il constitue environ la moitié de toute l'expansion d'Amsterdam vers le sud-ouest, sans prendre en compte les 500 ha du quartier d'affaires adjacent.

Nous parlons en fait d'une zone de plus de 17.000 ha, où vivent 65.000 personnes, dont peut-être 30.000 habitent les immeubles de grands ensembles. Dans la même région plusieurs dizaines de milliers de personnes trouvent un emploi.

Vous avez peut-être été déçus de la globalité des informations que je vous ai fournies l'autre jour¹⁾, mais il le fallait bien, puisqu'on peut trouver dans les grands ensembles du Bijlmermeer l'équivalent de 30 ensembles Traneberg, par exemple, ou quelque 24 Cochran Gardens.

Mais il ne s'agit pas seulement du problème de l'échelle physique, mais aussi du niveau de détresse sociale. Le taux de criminalité dans le Bijlmermeer n'exède pas la moyenne totale d'Amsterdam, et ce fait contredit la mauvaise réputation du projet.

Le niveau d'insécurité et de nuisances - encore modéré - exerce bien entendu une influence sur le degré d'organisation des habitants, et c'est un élément très important pour une comparaison avec, par exemple, Cochran Gardens.

A Cochran - d'après ce que j'ai entendu - les gens, dans le plus extrême dénuement, sont pratiquement forcés de parvenir à un très haut niveau d'organisation, justement parce qu'ils doivent prendre en main leur propre destinée, simplement pour survivre!

Il ne faut pas oublier que les conditions sociales aux Etats-Unis sont telles que si vous vous trouvez à l'échelon le plus bas de l'échelle sociale, vous ne pouvez tout simplement pas vous permettre d'abandonner.

Ce serait renoncer à l'existence. Aux Pays-Bas, il y a toujours l'une ou l'autre instance sociale pour vous accueillir et vous offrir une nouvelle chance.

C'est peut-être la raison pour laquelle nous ne réussissons jamais à trouver dans la population un responsable ou même un partenaire structurel, stable et durable, même si nous avons en urbanisme une bonne tradition de participation du public.

Bien sûr, nous avons connu quelques réactions assez violentes, surtout lorsque les problèmes concernaient la rénovation urbaine, l'infrastructure, etc., mais elles se sont toujours évaporées devant une proposition, voire une promesse de solution.

Nous n'aimons pas cela du tout, parce que cette très faible dose d'activité chez les habitants oblige les professionnels à penser en termes de modèles et de simulations. Et bien que nous discutons toujours le résultat de nos réflexions avec les habitants, nous n'obtenons la plupart du temps que des réactions assez vagues.

Cherchons une explication.

On peut supposer que les habitants, parfaitement émancipés, estiment qu'ils nous paient, comme professionnels, pour faire le travail et n'éprouvent pas le besoin de le faire à notre place tant que nous ne nous montrons pas trop arrogants ou décevants.

Mais il est absolument certain qu'ils peuvent le faire et qu'ils le feront dès l'instant où ils le jugeront nécessaire.

Si vous avez lu ma communication, vous avez pu voir qu'une décentralisation du pouvoir municipal est prévue pour 1987. A cette date, le Bijlmermeer élira son propre conseil, disposera d'un budget propre et de son personnel administratif. On attend de ce rapprochement du pouvoir public et des habitants des résultats profitables pour les deux parties. Pour les habitants parce qu'ils pourront intervenir directement dans la prise de décisions et pour les politiciens parce qu'ils connaîtront mieux les problèmes quotidiens de la population.

Ce dernier point est d'importance cruciale, car le Bijlmermeer souffre gravement, depuis des années, du manque d'intérêt des responsables politiques, dont toute l'attention s'est concentrée sur la rénovation urbaine.

Abordons maintenant les conditions physiques:

Quand j'ai entendu le professeur Wiggerts me citer²⁾, je me suis dit que je ne pouvais pas avoir dit cela. J'ai cherché dans les documents de congrès et j'ai dû admettre que j'aurai mieux fait d'exposer mon point de vue avec plus de précision. Essayons. Je ne suis pas d'accord avec Kramer lorsqu'il dit que c'est la structure du Bijlmermeer qui est responsable des problèmes rencontrés sur le plan de l'identification, du bien-être et de la sécurité³⁾.

J'ai dit que, selon moi, les divers aspects structureaux, comme l'affectation des sols, l'accessibilité, la circulation, les transports collectifs, etc. y sont de très haute qualité et donnent d'excellentes chances pour l'aménagement ou, éventuellement, le réaménagement de toute la région.

J'ai signalé également la localisation très stratégique, comparable à celle de Cochran Gardens qui profite, d'après ce que j'ai entendu, de la proximité immédiate du CBD.

A.W. Oskam (NL)

Si nous considérons les choses d'un point de vue plus abstrait, nous trouvons une localisation excellente et un canevas d'équipements divers à haut potentiel. Lorsque nous faisons un zoom sur ce canevas, nous voyons un fait assez surprenant.

Bien que la structure offre une grande variété de solutions à réaliser sur ce canevas, nous avons négligé complètement cette possibilité et opté pour une uniformité très raide, inconcevable de nos jours: non seulement tous les immeubles se ressemblent mais tous les espaces verts aussi!

Nous avons privé ainsi les différents quartiers de toute possibilité d'identité propre.

J'y reviendrai, car tout n'est pas encore perdu.

La seconde erreur que nous avons commise - mais personne ne peut nous en blâmer parce que personne ne le savait vraiment - vient du fait que nous avons fourni un type de logement dont plus personne ne semble encore vouloir.

Une inoccupation de 25% est bien sûr un problème très sérieux, mais la solution que propose Kramer - diminuer l'offre en construisant moins de logements neufs - est quand même d'une simplicité vaguement irresponsable, parce que nous forçons alors les gens à rester dans une habitation coûteuse qui ne leur plaît pas, en leur enlevant toute alternative.

Cette inoccupation des locaux est - comme l'a montré Priemus⁵⁾ - une simple question de rapport qualité/prix, et Umrath a déjà souligné⁶⁾ que les immeubles du Bijlmermeer ont été construits à une époque où les coûts de construction atteignaient un sommet absolu.

Nous voici dans la situation paradoxale de pouvoir offrir à un locataire dans le Bijlmermeer un logement tout neuf de construction basse, dans un des projets de densification, pour un loyer de 450 Hfl. par mois ou un appartement vieux de 10 à 12 ans dans un immeuble-barre pour 700 Hfl. par mois.

Ces différences étonnantes sont causées par le système de financement, et George de Kam a fait hier à ce propos plusieurs remarques très intéressantes⁷⁾.

Que pouvons-nous faire pour empêcher la dégradation du Bijlmermeer?

Plusieurs mesures ont déjà été prises ou vont l'être. J'ai déjà signalé la réorganisation administrative et politique, fondamentale pour susciter un engagement et insuffler un peu de passion dans tout le processus. Nous avons pu constater dans le cas de Cochran que la passion peut donner une impulsion à la créativité.

Et nous avons besoin de créativité puisque nous avons appris ces jours-ci que nous cherchons tous désespérément des solutions pour résoudre le problème.

- Dans le Bijlmermeer, nous avons créé une organisation disposant d'un pouvoir plus étendu, tout comme les Français l'ont fait dans leurs banlieues.
 - Nous nous efforçons d'influencer le rapport qualité/prix des deux côtés, en diminuant les prix *et* en améliorant la qualité.
- Van Kempen vous a décrit l'action Gliphoeve⁹⁾.

- Nous essayons de créer une ambiance plus attrayante en offrant la possibilité de petits ateliers, de bureaux, de cafés, de boutiques et de marchés, comme cela a été fait à Nancy, par exemple¹⁰⁾.
- Nous avons construit une mosquée.
- Un type a commencé spontanément une ferme. Ses voisins réagirent avec enthousiasme, et nous l'encourageons fortement. Nous avons même volé pour lui des clôtures.
- Nous avons mené depuis '78 une politique de densification en construisant plusieurs centaines d'unités d'habitation.
- Mais voici le plus important: nous réexaminons toute l'articulation de l'environnement en essayant de trouver une identité structurée pour chaque endroit. Nous incitons les habitants à prendre les choses en main, à s'approprier leur environnement, à le marquer de leur empreinte.
- Nous avons déjà créé un grand nombre de petits jardins où les gens peuvent cultiver des légumes ou des fleurs ou, s'ils préfèrent, laisser pousser des mauvaises herbes.
- Nous avons envisagé de construire dans les espaces verts hexagonaux entre les immeubles et d'autoriser les automobiles en surface avec accès direct aux immeubles. Ces modifications ont été acceptées à certains endroits, mais à notre grande surprise nous avons provoqué une réaction violente dans la plupart des voisinages où les gens ont protesté farouchement contre des mesures qui transformeraient le Bijlmermeer en un quartier ordinaire.

MA CONCLUSION:

1. Nous n'en avons pas encore terminé avec l'analyse inventive des possibilités des grands ensembles.
La gamme va du "homesteading" que nous avons appris de Baltimore, il y a quelques années¹¹⁾, à l'embourgeoisement effectif. Mais il nous faut aussi prendre en considération les expériences présentées au congrès d'Oslo¹²⁾.
Si après cette analyse nous en arrivons à la conclusion que la situation est sans espoir - ce que je ne crois pas - nous devons démolir le plus vite possible.
2. Il faut repenser l'environnement du Bijlmermeer dans son ensemble. Nous n'y parviendrons pas en faisant des plans détaillés mais en fournissant des éléments stimulants et provocants pour que les usagers réagissent et leur donnent forme.
3. Nous devons abandonner complètement l'illusion de pouvoir atteindre une solution finale, mais nous ne devons jamais cesser d'essayer.

1) séance plénière II 8.10.1985

2) séance plénière IV 9.10.1985

3) séance plénière II 8.10.1985

4) idem

5) séance de discussion I 9.10.1985; séance plénière VI 10.10.1985

6) séance plénière II 8.10.1985

7) séance de discussion III 10.10.1985

8) séance plénière V 7.10.1985

A.W. Oskam (NL)

- 9) séance de discussion problèmes sociaux, environnement, 9.10.1985
- 10) séance plénière V 9.10.1985
- 11) Congrès FIHUAT Hambourg 1978, William D. Schaefer e.a., Papers and Proceedings pp. 29 et suivantes.
- 12) Congrès FIHUAT Oslo 1982, Kerstin Kärnekull, Papers and Proceedings pp. 453 et suivantes.

"PERSÖNLICHE SCHLUSSFOLGERUNGEN"

A.W. Oskam (NL)

Aufgrund einiger mysteriöser Umstände entstanden in letzter Zeit beträchtliche Mißverständnisse betreffend das Amsterdamer Stadtviertel Bijlmer.

Größenordnung:

Bijlmermeer kann mit anderen Vorhaben weder von der Größe her - etwa mit dem britischen Beispiel oder den Cochran Gardens -, noch vom Ausmaß des Verfalls her verglichen werden.

Bijlmermeer ist ein Viertel mit einer Fläche von 636 ha und über 18 000 Wohnungen, in denen über 33 000 Personen leben. Es umfaßt etwa die Hälfte der gesamten Erweiterung im südwestlichen Stadtgebiet, wenn man von den 500 ha des angrenzenden Industriegebietes absieht.

Es handelt sich also um ein Gebiet mit einer Fläche von über 17 000 ha, in dem 65 000 Einwohner, davon etwa 30 000 in Hochhäusern. In dem Gebiet sind einige zehntausend Personen beschäftigt.

Vielleicht sind Sie über den globalen Charakter der Angaben enttäuscht, die ich aus einem anderen Anlaß gegeben habe. Diese mußten aber allgemein gehalten werden, da der Teil von Bijlmer, in dem sich Hochhäuser befinden, zum Beispiel in 30 getrennte Vorhaben wie Traneberg oder 24 Vorhaben wie die Cochran Gardens unterteilt werden kann.

Im vorliegenden Fall bezieht sich das Problem aber nicht nur auf die räumliche Größe, sondern auch auf das Ausmaß der sozialen Notsituation. Die Verbrechenzziffer in Bijlmermeer liegt nicht über dem Durchschnitt für ganz Amsterdam; diese steht in Widerspruch zu dem Image, das dieses Viertel hat.

Die Bewohner des Viertels organisieren sich natürlich entsprechend dieser - immer noch relativ begrenzten - Unsicherheit und Belästigung. Dies ist ein Faktor, der bei einem Vergleich - zum Beispiel mit den Cochran Gardens - wichtig ist.

Wie ich erfahren habe, waren die Bewohner der Cochran Gardens in ihrer Verzweiflung gezwungen, sich so stark zu organisieren, weil sie ihr Schicksal in die Hand nehmen mußten, um zu überleben!

Es darf nicht vergessen werden, daß man es sich in den USA angesichts der sozialen Verhältnisse nicht leisten kann, abzusinken oder abgedängt zu werden, wenn man sich auf der untersten Sprosse der sozialen Leiter be-

findet. Dies wäre das Ende der eigenen Existenz.

In Holland findet sich immer eine soziale Einrichtung, die in die Bresche springt und eine neue Chance anbietet.

Vielleicht ist dies der Grund, warum es uns niemals gelungen ist, in der Bevölkerung einen strukturellen Haupt- oder sogar Gegenspieler zu finden, der stabilen und dauerhaft ist, obwohl die Bürgerbeteiligung an der Planung bei uns eine lange Tradition nachweisen kann.

Gewiß, es hat bei uns ziemlich heftige Auseinandersetzungen gegeben, meist wenn es um städtische Erneuerung, Infrastruktur und ähnliche Fragen ging, diese wurden aber immer beigelegt, wenn eine Lösung vorgeschlagen oder versprochen wurde, eine Lösung zu finden.

Dies ist uns Experten alles andere als angenehm, da uns die bescheidene Beteiligung der Bevölkerung immer zwingt, in Modellen und simulierten Situationen zu denken. Darüber hinaus ist die Reaktion der Bevölkerung ziemlich vage, obwohl wir die Ergebnisse unserer Denkweise immer mit ihr erörtern.

Dieser Umstand läßt sich vielleicht erklären.

Vielleicht denken Sie, daß nach Ansicht der - sehr stark emanzipierten Bewohner wir als beauftragte Experten für diese Aufgabe zuständig sind, und daß sie die Weiterführung dieser Aufgabe nicht als notwendig erachten, so lange wir diese ohne übermäßige Arroganz und auf nicht allzu unbefriedigende Weise erfüllen. Es besteht jedoch kein Zweifel darüber, daß sich die Bevölkerung veranlaßt sieht, zu reagieren und auch reagieren wird, wenn sie es für notwendig hält.

Bei der Lektüre dieses Referates werden sie feststellen, daß für das Jahr 1987 eine Dezentralisierung der Stadtbehörde geplant ist. Bijlmermeer wird 1987 selbst den Gemeinderat wählen und einen eigenen Haushalt und ein eigenes Verwaltungspersonal bekommen.

Man rechnet damit, daß die Verkürzung der Distanz zwischen den Bürgern und der öffentlichen Behörde für beide Parteien vorteilhaft ist. Für die Bürger insofern, als sie vielleicht wieder direktes Interesse am politischen Entscheidungsprozeß finden und sich daran beteiligen und für die Politiker insofern, als sie wieder für die Alltagsprobleme der Bürger interessieren.

Der letztgenannte Aspekt ist von grundlegender Bedeutung, da sich die Politiker jahrelang voll auf die Städterneuerung konzentriert und daher Bijlmermeer sehr stark vernachlässigt haben.

Wenden wir uns jetzt den materiellen Gegebenheiten zu:

Als ich Prof. Wiggerts eine Äußerung von mir zitieren hörte², dachte ich, daß ich das nicht gesagt haben kann. Als ich aber in der Kongreßakte nachsah, mußte ich zugeben, daß ich meine Meinung vielleicht klarer zum Ausdruck bringen sollte, und ich möchte daher einen neuen Anlauf nehmen. Ich stimme nicht mit Kramer überein, wenn er behauptet, daß für die vielen Probleme, die mit Identifikations, Wohlergehen und Sicherheit³ zu tun haben, die Struktur von Bijlmermeer verantwortlich gemacht werden kann.

Ich sagte, daß meiner Meinung nach die verschiedenen strukturellen Komponenten wie Bodennutzung, Zugänglichkeit, Verkehr, öffentliches Verkehrswesen usw. qualitativ hochwertig sind, so daß das gesamte Gebiet

sehr gute Chancen für die Erschließung oder für eine eventuelle Sanierung hat.

Ich erwähnte auch, daß die strategische Zuweisung, die - wie ich erfahren habe - mit der Zuweisung in den Cochran Gardens vergleichbar ist, die Zustimmung des unmittelbar angrenzenden CBD hatte.

Betrachtet man die Dinge von einer abstrakteren Ebene aus, so stellt man eine hervorragende Standortstruktur und eine breite Palette von Einrichtungen mit einem starken Potential fest. Betrachtet man das Gebiet im Detail, so stellt man eine bemerkenswerte Eigenheit fest:

Obwohl die Struktur zahlreiche und mannigfaltige Lösungsmöglichkeiten zuläßt, haben wir diese vollkommen vernachlässigt und uns für eine starre und heute unglaubliche Einheitlichkeit entschieden: Nicht nur die Häuserblocks, sondern auch die Landschaften gleichen wie ein Ei dem anderen.

Dadurch haben wir die verschiedenen Gemeinschaften der Möglichkeit beraubt, eine eigene Identität zu finden. Auf diesen Aspekt werde ich weiter unten eingehen. Denn das Gebiet ist noch nicht hoffnungslos verloren.

Unser zweiter Irrtum war, daß wir einen Wohnungs- und Häusertyp geschaffen haben, den niemand mehr zu wollen scheint. Dafür können wir aber nicht verantwortlich gemacht werden, da dies niemand voraussehen konnte.

Die 25% an leerstehenden Wohnungen sind natürlich ein großes Problem, doch liegt dem Lösungsvorschlag von Kramer⁴ - Reduzierung des Wohnungsangebots durch Einschränkung der Neubauten⁴ - bis zu einem bestimmten Grad eine verantwortungslose Einfachheit zugrunde. Denn damit zwingen wir die Betroffenen, in einer teuren Wohnung zu bleiben, in der sie sich nicht wohlfühlen, und enthalten ihnen eine verfügbare Alternativen vor. Die leerstehenden Wohnung sind - wie Primus festgestellt hat⁵ - auf das Qualitäts-/Preisverhältnis zurückzuführen; Umrath hat bereits darauf hingewiesen⁶, daß die Wohnblocks in Bijlmer in einer Zeit gebaut wurden, in der die Baupreise einen absoluten Höchststand erreicht hatten.

Dies hat zu der eigenartigen Situation geführt, daß wir den Bewohnern im Bijlmer-Viertel heute eine völlig neue Wohnung in einem der im Rahmen des Verdichtungsvorhabens errichteten Flachbauten für eine Monatsmiete von 450 hfl oder eine 10-12 Jahre alte Wohnung in einem Hochhaus für eine Monatsmiete von 700 hfl anbieten können.

Diese eigenartigen Unterschiede ergeben sich durch das Finanzierungssystem, zu dem George de Kam einige interessante Bemerkungen gemacht hat⁷.

Was kann also getan werden, um die Talfahrt von Bijlmer aufzuhalten?

Mehrere Maßnahmen wurden eingeleitet oder sind derzeit in Gang. Auf die politische und verwaltungstechnische Neuorganisation, welche die Grundlage für ein stärkeres Engagement und für die Erweckung einer Passion in dem gesamten Prozeß erforderlich ist, habe ich bereits hingewiesen. Am Beispiel Cochran Gardens ist ersichtlich, zu welcher Kreativität eine erweckte Passion führen kann. Kreativität ist hier bitter nötig. Denn wir haben die Erfahrung gemacht, daß wir alle eine Patentlösung suchen, die für uns den Knoten löst.

- Für Bijlmermeer wurde ähnlich wie in Frankreich für die Banlieux⁸ eine eigene Gesellschaft mit starkem Durchsetzungsvermögen gegründet.
- Wir versuchen, durch Festlegung von Höchstpreisen und durch Verbesserung der Qualität das Preis-/Qualitätsverhältnis zu beeinflussen. In diesem Zusammenhang hat Herr Van Kempen die Aktion Gliphoeve beschrieben.
- Wir versuchen, durch Schaffung der Möglichkeiten für die Einrichtungen von kleinen Werkstätten, Büros, Geschäften und Märkten eine attraktive Atmosphäre zu schaffen, wie dies zum Beispiel auch in Nancy¹⁰ geschieht.
- Wir haben eine Moschee gebaut.
- Eine Person begann spontan mit einem Bauernhof. Die Nachbarn waren begeistert, so daß wir unsere volle Unterstützung gewährten. Wir haben dafür sogar Zäune gestohlen.
- Seit 1978 haben wir die Belegungsdichte durch den Bau von hunderten von Wohneinheiten angehoben.
- Vor allem aber überdenken wir erneut die Ausgestaltung der Umgebung. Dabei versuchen wir, jedem Punkt auf der Karte eine ausgeprägte Identität zu geben. Dabei gehen wir so vor, daß Bevölkerung herausgefordert wird, selbst fortzusetzen, mit der Umgebung zu verwachsen und ihr ein eigenes Gepräge zu geben.
- Wir haben zahlreiche Gärten angelegt, in denen die Bewohner nach Belieben ihr eigenes Gemüse, Blumen oder auch Unkraut pflanzen können.
- Wir haben Bebauungsvorhaben in den sechseckigen Grünflächen zwischen den Wohnblöcken erörtert und uns mit der Frage befaßt, ob es gestattet werden soll, Fahrzeuge zwecks direkten Zugangs zu den Wohnblocks im Freien zu lassen.
In einigen Siedlungen wurde dies genehmigt. Zu unserer großen Überraschung lehnten sich die Bewohner der meisten Siedlungen dagegen auf. Sie protestierten vehement gegen Maßnahmen, durch die - wie sie geltend machten - Bijlmer zu einem gewöhnlichen Wohnviertel würde.

Schlußfolgerungen:

1. Wir sind noch nicht am Ende unserer kreativen Untersuchung der Möglichkeiten im Bereich des Wohnungsbaus angelangt. Das Spektrum der Möglichkeiten reicht vom Eigenheim, einem System, das uns vor einigen Jahren zum ersten Mal Baltimore vorstellte¹¹, bis zur echten "Aufwertung" (gentrification). Auch die auf dem Kongreß in Oslo¹² aufgezeigten Versuche sind zu berücksichtigen.
Sollten wir am Ende unserer Untersuchung zu dem Schluß gelangen, daß unsere Bemühungen hoffnungslos sind - was ich nicht glaube -, so müssen wir möglich schnell mit dem Abreißen beginnen.
2. Die gesamte Umgebung des Bijlmer-Viertels muß neu geplant werden. Für diesen Zweck sind jedoch keine Detailentwürfe zu erstellen, sondern vielmehr Einheiten zu bauen, die eine stimulierende und herausfordernde Wirkung haben und die Bewohner zur Reaktionen und zu eigener Ausgestaltung anregen.
3. Wir müssen uns aus dem Kopf schlagen, daß wir zu einer endgültigen Lösung gelangen, und uns weiterhin bemühen.

- 1) Plenarsitzung II vom 8.10. 1985
- 2) Plenarsitzung IV vom 9.10. 1985
- 3) Plenarsitzung II vom 8.10. 1985
- 4) ibid.
- 5) Poster-Session über allgemeine Themen vom 9.10.1985; Plenarsitzung VI vom 10.10. 1985.
- 6) Plenarsitzung II vom 8.10. 1985.
- 7) Poster-Session III über allgemeine Themen vom 7.10. 1985.
- 8) Plenarsitzung V vom 7.10.1985
- 9) Poster-Session "Soziale Probleme & Wirtschaftliche Umgebung" vom 9.10. 1985.
- 10) Plenarsitzung V vom 9.10. 1985
- 11) IVWSR-Kongreß 1978, Hamburg, D. Schaefer et al., Papers and Proceedings, S. 29 ff.
- 12) IVWSR-Kongreß 1982, Oslo, Kerstin Kärnekull, Papers & Proceedings, S. 453 ff.

CLOSING SPEECH

Ranko Radović, President of the International Federation for Housing and Planning (IFHP)

We are getting, as you see, to the end of this exceptional congress. Five days passed in a particular and - in my view and impressions - perfectly productive atmosphere. The number of participants in excess of 1200 persons, the number and quality of contributions from the floor and the meetings, the activity of our committees and working groups, as well as the other events around our meetings, will make this congress an important date in the history of the IFHP.

As you know, for a long time we have not prepared conclusions or recommendations after our congresses. This would be a very difficult task and perhaps full of risks. Don't be afraid, your president does not have this ambition either, even in a more modest scale. But I would ask your permission to underline some points which seem to catch the eye after this Budapest congress.

We came here to elaborate a general approach to the problems of the post-war housing estates, an approach aware of the differences but the similarities, too. The radical and strictly negative criticism of the housing estates was not present here. Instead of dynamite this congress examined the means of urbanism for all forms of change and transformation; to change programmes; to introduce a functional and spatial pluralism in the housing estates; to improve the structures; to respect the conditions and the context, but to be inspired also by the traditional and historic values of the city and of urban planning; to pay attention to the changes of first sight and of details, to the questions of urban atmosphere and environment; to work with full energy together with the inhabitants who on the housing estates are generally accustomed to collective life and to the solidarity of groups.

It is clear that this theme of the housing estates built after World War II now becomes a legal and very important field of the theory and practice of urban development and contemporary planning. As the presentations and speeches and the results of our student competition dating back to Lisbon show, we have become habituated to, we accept today, understanding the post-war housing estates as urban fabric (*fabrica urbana*) at the same level as the buildings of the 19th century or the twenties.

The necessary revision of doctrines of modern classical urbanism (Athens Chartas) new towns, four function keys of the city, separation, domination of the private car, unity of neighbourhood, technologies of production of (pre)dominant buildings as factors of urban planning and form, free buildings in space, greenery, etc., perhaps made by research and intellec-

tual effort, but also by the work at site, in the space produced during the forties, fifties and sixties and by the doctrines of those times. By the results of this Budapest congress we enter into the field of revitalisation of our present thoughts on planning. I am very satisfied that the IFHP will deal with these themes and I suppose that a working group would be established in the near future to give us more information and ideas on the problem.

Concerning the most strikingly marked aspects of our general theme, I should like to permit myself to underline four ones:

- it is clear that to improve the housing estates it is necessary to introduce a whole series of entirely new and richer activity, programmes, content, work, environment, architectural views. The theme of strict and rigid norms has departed and the development of the technologies and the socio-economic content allows us research and new and wider views;
- the population at the housing estates, by their dynamism and social feeling, in spite of the problems and the difficulties, is a very important factor which was so well demonstrated here in Budapest by our friends from the USA, the Cochran team. The vital forces and the urban energy seen in this example and in many others have become a proof and an image;
- the questions of social space and the form, the morphology, of the city may not be underestimated. We are not for false aesthetics, we must meet the legal necessity of the value and quality of urban life itself;
- finally, the techniques of production and construction now give us the means of improving housing estates to a remarkable extent. Wood as a material, the colours, the parts at ground level, the first floors, the details, the new added and integrated constructions etc, etc, give urban planners major means for change that are not false "cosmetics" but a reality and necessity of the users and the citizens. Adding other dimensions (work, functioning, communication), we are witnesses to a considerable change in our profession.

In conclusion, allow me to thank once again our Hungarian friends for the impressive work they did for this congress and for the IFHP, for their hospitality and their indefatigable kindness. I should also like to mention the valuable work of the IFHP Secretariat and the interpreters.

Now dear friends, dear participants and speakers - this is your congress, your "intellectual city" that you have planned and built during these five days: I congratulate you and I would ask you to see each other again in Malmö in May next year and in Adelaide in October of the same year 1986.

I wish you a safe trip home to your families, your cities, your work, and I declare this 1985 congress in Budapest closed.

ALLOCUTION DE CLOTURE

Ranko Radović, président de la Fédération Internationale pour l'Habitation, l'Urbanisme et l'Aménagement des Territoires (FIHUAT)

Chers amis et collègues, chers participants,

Nous touchons, comme vous le voyez, à la fin de ce Congrès exceptionnel. Cinq jours se sont écoulés dans une ambiance particulière et, selon mes vues et impressions, tout à fait productive. Le nombre des participants qui dépasse 1200 personnes, le nombre et la qualité des interventions et des réunions, les activités de nos Comités et de nos Groupes de travail, ainsi que tous les autres événements autour de nos réunions, feront de ce Congrès une date dans l'histoire de la FIHUAT.

Comme vous le savez depuis longue date, nous ne préparons pas des conclusions ni des recommandations après nos Congrès. Ce serait une tâche trop difficile et peut-être pleine de risques. N'ayez pas peur - votre Président n'a pas, lui non plus, cette ambition peu modeste. Mais je vous demande la permission de souligner quelques points qui me paraissent sauter aux yeux après ce Congrès de Budapest.

Nous sommes venus ici pour bâtir une approche générale aux problèmes des grands ensembles d'après-guerre, approche consciente des différences, mais des similarités aussi. La critique radicale et strictement négative des grands ensembles n'était pas présente. Au lieu de la dynamite, ce Congrès a pensé les moyens d'urbanisme pour tout changement et toute transformation: changer les programmes; améliorer les structures; introduire un pluralisme fonctionnel et spatial dans les grands ensembles; respecter les conditions et le contexte, mais s'inspirer aussi des valeurs traditionnelles et historiques de la ville et de l'urbanisme; payer attention aux changements à première vue mineurs, aux détails, aux questions d'ambiance et de l'environnement urbain; travailler de toute énergie avec les habitants qui, dans les grands ensembles, sont généralement des gens habitués à la vie collective et à la solidarité des groupes.

Il est clair que ce thème des grands ensembles bâtis après la guerre devient maintenant un champs légitime et très important de la théorie et de la pratique de l'urbanisme et de la planification contemporains. Comme l'illustrent les discours entendus, et les résultats de notre compétition depuis Lisbonne, traditionnelle, des étudiants - nous nos habituons, nous nous adaptons aujourd'hui à comprendre les ensembles d'après la guerre comme l'urbain (*la fabrica urbana, urban fabric*) au même niveau que les constructions du XIXe siècle ou des années vingt.

La révision, par ailleurs nécessaire, des doctrines de l'urbanisme moderne classique (Charte d'Athènes, villes nouvelles, quatre clés fonctionnelles de la ville, séparation, domination de la voiture individuelle, unité de voisinage, technologies de production du bâti (pré)dominantes comme facteurs de l'aménagement urbain et de la forme urbaine, bâtiments libres dans l'espace, verdure etc.) peut-être faite par les recherches et les efforts intellectuels, mais aussi par le travail, sur place, dans les espaces produits au fil des années 40-50-60 et par les doctrines d'urbanisme en cours. Nous entrons, par les résultats de ce Congrès de Budapest, dans le domaine de la *revitalisation de notre pensée urbanistique* actuelle. Je suis personnellement très heureux que la FIHUAT se penche sur ces thèmes et je suppose que, un groupe de travail sera installé dans le proche avenir pour nous donner plus d'informations et plus d'idées sur le problème.

En ce qui concerne les thèmes les plus marquants de notre thème général, je me permets d'en souligner quatre: a) il est clair que dans les grands ensembles, pour les améliorer, il faut introduire une gamme toute nouvelle, et beaucoup plus riche, d'activités, de programmes, de contenus, de travail, d'ambiances, voir d'architectures. Le temps des normes strictes et, rigides est passé, et les développements des technologies et du contenu socio-économique nous permettent des recherches et des vues nouvelles et plus larges; b) la population dans les grands ensembles, par son dynamisme et son sens du social, malgré les problèmes et les difficultés, est un facteur majeur, ce qui a été tellement bien démontré, ici, à Budapest, par nos amis de l'USA, le Cochran team. Les forces vitales et l'énergie urbaine qui jaillissent de cet exemple et de bien d'autres deviennent une preuve et une image; c) il ne faut pas sousestimer les questions de l'espace social et de la forme de la ville, de sa morphologie. Nous ne sommes pas là devant l'esthétique fausse, nullement. Nous nous trouvons devant la nécessité légitime de la valeur et de la qualité de la vie urbaine elle-même; d) enfin, les techniques de production et de construction nous donnent, actuellement, les outils pour améliorer considérablement les grands ensembles. Le bois comme matériaux, les couleurs, les parties au niveau de la terre, les premiers étages, les détails; les nouvelles constructions ajoutées et intégrées, etc. etc. donnent aux urbanistes des moyens importants pour changer, qui ne sont pas "la cosmétique" fausse, mais la réalité et la nécessité des usagers et des citoyens. En ajoutant d'autres dimensions (travail, fonctionnement, communication) nous sommes en présence d'un changement important dans notre profession.

Finalement, permettez-moi de remercier, encore une fois, nos amis hongrois pour ce travail impressionnant qu'ils ont fourni pour ce Congrès et pour la FIHUAT, pour leur hospitalité et leur aimabilité infatigable! Je tiens à mettre en relief le travail du Secrétariat de la FIHUAT aussi, ainsi que le travail des traducteurs. Enfin, chers amis, chers participants, et chers orateurs - c'est votre Congrès, votre "ville intellectuelle" que vous avez planifiée et bâtie pendant ces cinq jours: je vous en félicite et je vous demande de nous revoir à Malmö, en mai de l'année prochaine, et à Adelaïde en octobre de cette même année 1986.

Je vous souhaite le bon voyage vers vos familles, vos villes et votre travail, et je déclare ce Congrès 1985 à Budapest terminé.

SCHLUSSREDE

Ranko Radović, Präsident des Internationalen Verbandes für Wohnungswesen, Städtebau und Raumordnung (IVWSR)

Dieser aussergewöhnliche Kongress nähert sich seinem Ende. Fünf Tage sind in einer eigentümlichen und - meiner Meinung nach - durchaus produktiven Atmosphäre verstrichen. Die Zahl der Teilnehmer, - mehr als 1200 Personen -, die Zahl und das Niveau der Beiträge und Zusammenkünfte, die Aktivität unserer Komitees und Arbeitsgruppen und auch die anderen Geschehnisse machen diesen Kongress zu einem wichtigen Datum in der Geschichte des IVWSR.

Wie Sie wissen, pflegten wir lange Zeit keine Folgerungen aus unseren Kongressen zu ziehen oder Empfehlungen zu machen. Das wäre eine sehr schwere Aufgabe und vielleicht gewagt. Seien Sie nicht besorgt, Ihr Präsident hat keine derartige Ambition. Ich möchte aber um ihre Erlaubnis bitten, einige Punkte zu betonen, die nach diesem Budapest Kongress in die Augen stechen.

Wir sind hierhergekommen, um einen allgemeinen Lösungsansatz für die Probleme der Wohnsiedlungen der Nachkriegszeit auszuarbeiten, ein Ansatz, der die Unterschiede, aber auch die Ähnlichkeiten berücksichtigt. Eine radikale und streng negative Kritik wurde nicht gemacht. Statt Sprengung hat dieser Kongress die städtebaulichen Mittel für Wechsel und Umgestaltung gesucht: Programme wechseln: eine funktionelle und räumliche Vielfältigkeit in die Wohnsiedlungen einführen; die Strukturen verbessern: die Bedingungen und Zusammenhänge respektieren, aber sich auch von den traditionellen und historischen Werten der Stadt und des Städtebaus inspirieren lassen; die Wechsel im allgemeinen und im einzelnen, die Fragen der städtischen Atmosphäre und Umgebung berücksichtigen: mit voller Energie mit den Bewohnern zusammenarbeiten, die in den Wohnsiedlungen an Gemeinschaftsleben und Gruppensolidarität gewöhnt sind. Es ist klar, dass dieses Thema der Wohnsiedlungen der Nachkriegszeit ein berechtigtes und wichtiges Feld in der Theorie und Praxis der Stadtentwicklung und Planung werden wird. Wie die Referate, Beschreibungen und Resultate unseres (seit Lissabon bereits traditionellen) Studentenwettbewerbes zeigen, gewöhnen wir uns an die Idee, dass die Wohnsiedlungen der Nachkriegszeit ebenso Teil des städtischen Gefüges sind wie die Bauten des 19. Jahrhunderts oder der zwanziger Jahre.

Die Doktrinen der modernen klassischen Urbanistik (Charte d'Athènes, neue Städte, die vier Hauptfunktionen der Stadt, Trennung, Dominanz des Fahrzeugs, Nachbarschaftseinheiten, Produktionstechnologie als prädominierender Faktor der Stadtplanung, Grünflächen usw.), die sich aus Forschung und Spekulation, aber auch aus der Praxis der vierziger, fünfziger und sechziger Jahre und aus den Doktrinen dieser Zeit hervorgegangen sind, müssen revidiert werden.

Durch die Ereignisse des Budapester Kongresses erreichen wir jetzt die Phase der Revitalisierung unseres urbanistischen Denkens. Ich bin sehr zufrieden, dass sich der IVWSR mit diesen Themen beschäftigen wird und nehme an, dass eine Arbeitsgruppe in der nahen Zukunft eingesetzt wird, um mehr Informationen und Ideen auf diesem Gebiet zu sammeln.

Von den wichtigsten Themen möchte ich vier betonen:

- Wenn wir die Wohnsiedlungen verbessern wollen, müssen wir völlig neue und reichere Aktivitäten einführen, Programme, Zufriedenheit, Arbeit, Umwelt, Architektur. Die Zeit der starren Normen ist vorbei, und die Entwicklung der Technologie und der sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Inhalte bietet uns Forschern neue und weitere Perspektiven.

- Die Dynamik und das gesellschaftliche Verhalten der Bevölkerung der Wohnsiedlungen sind trotz der Probleme und Schwierigkeiten wichtige Faktoren, wie von unseren Freunden aus den USA, dem Cochran-Team, hier in Budapest so gut demonstriert wurde. Die Lebenskraft und die städtischen Energien in diesem und in anderen Fällen beweisen dies und dienen als Vorbild.

- Die Frage der Form und des Gesellschaftsraumes, die Morphologie der Stadt dürfen nicht unterschätzt werden. Wir sind nicht Befürworter falscher Ästhetik. Wir müssen die wahren Werte und die Qualität des Stadtlebens erschliessen.

- Die Produktions- und Bautechnik bieten uns die Möglichkeiten, die Wohnsiedlungen bedeutend zu verbessern. Das Holz als Material, die Farben, das Erdgeschoss, die Details, die Neu- und Zubauten usw., bieten dem Planer neue Mittel für den Wechsel, die für die Bewohner keine falsche "Kosmetik", sondern Realitäten und Bedürfnisse sind. In bezug auf neu hinzugekommene Dimensionen (Arbeit, Funktion, Kommunikation) können wir Zeugen einer wichtigen Wendung in unserem Berufsstand sein.

Schliesslich möchte ich noch einmal unseren ungarischen Freunden meinen Dank aussprechen für die beachtliche Arbeit für den Kongress und für den IVWSR, für ihre Gastfreundschaft und ihre unermüdliche Freundlichkeit. Ich möchte auch die wertvolle Arbeit des Sekretariats des IVWSR und der Dolmetscher erwähnen.

Schliesslich, liebe Freunde, liebe Teilnehmer und Referenten, ist es Ihr Kongress, Ihre "geistige Stadt", die Sie in diesen fünf Tagen geplant und gebaut haben: ich gratuliere Ihnen und bitte Sie, nächstes Jahr in Mai nach Malmö, und im Oktober 1986 nach Adelaide zu kommen.

Ich wünsche Ihnen eine angenehme Reise und Rückkehr zu ihren Familien, zu ihrer Stadt, zu ihrer Arbeit. Hiermit erkläre ich diesen Kongress in Budapest 1985 für geschlossen.

Die Entwicklung der menschlichen Gesellschaft ist ein
fortwährender Prozess, der durch die Arbeit und die
Kämpfe der Menschen bestimmt wird. Die Geschichte ist
das Ergebnis der menschlichen Tätigkeit.

Die Wissenschaft ist die systematische Erforschung der
Gesetze der Natur und der menschlichen Gesellschaft.
Sie ist die Grundlage für die Entwicklung der
Produktionskräfte und die Verbesserung der
Lebensbedingungen der Menschen.

Die Philosophie ist die Reflexion über die Welt und
den Menschen. Sie sucht nach den Ursachen und
Zwecken der Dinge. Sie ist die Grundlage für die
ethische und politische Bildung der Menschen.

Die Kunst ist die schöpferische Tätigkeit des Menschen,
die die Welt in einer vereinfachten, aber
anschaulichen Form darstellt. Sie ist ein
wichtiges Mittel zur Erziehung und
Kultur der Menschen.

Die Religion ist die Vorstellung von übernatürlichen
Kräften und Wesen. Sie ist die Grundlage für
die ethischen und politischen Normen der
Menschen.

Die Literatur ist die künstlerische Darstellung der
Leben der Menschen. Sie ist ein wichtiges
Mittel zur Erziehung und Kultur der
Menschen.

Die Musik ist die künstlerische Darstellung der
Leben der Menschen. Sie ist ein wichtiges
Mittel zur Erziehung und Kultur der
Menschen.

Die Sportarten sind körperliche Übungen, die die
Kräfte der Menschen stärken und die Gesundheit
verbessern. Sie sind ein wichtiges Mittel zur
Erziehung und Kultur der Menschen.

Die Wissenschaften sind die systematische Erforschung
der Gesetze der Natur und der menschlichen
Gesellschaft. Sie sind die Grundlage für die
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Verbesserung der Lebensbedingungen der
Menschen.

NOT RESENTED SHORT PAPERS (1950-1951)
REVISED COMMUNICATIONS BY MEMBERS (1950-1951)
NIGHT FORSTENAGNE KUNSTSTADT (1950-1951)

PRIVATE RATHER THAN PUBLIC OUTDOOR LIVING SPACE

Roxy Binno (ALG)

Most nations, whatever their potentialities and socio-political goals, recognize the right of man to have his own dwelling. But what does that mean "a dwelling"? Through history, private outdoor and indoor spaces were both essential to modern man's activities. The environmental aspects of such living spaces varied according to the natural conditions of the site and met the specific social habits and behaviours in different cultures and periods. The private outdoor living space of a dwelling was directly integrated to the indoor space and had appropriate dimensions for living activities. Most important from the environmental point of view: such space was opened to the sky or partially covered, in order that it could get the best sun and air whatever the geographic orientation of the dwelling. Such outdoor realms were fenced, curtained or walled, in societies seeking privacy, segregation of women, or security.

Since modern man changed little in body and physiology, the built-up environment of the past may still be valid. But most postwar high-rise housing concepts show great neglect and mishandling of the private outdoor living spaces of the dwelling. Here one should point out that narrow and long balconies are functioning more as shading elements for windows, as storages, or for cloth drying rather than for real living activities. People accepted such types of dwelling in times of housing shortage, but with an economic welfare of a nation and prosperity of the household, people begun to search again for the missing realms (private outdoor living) which they once enjoyed. Such move was clearly represented, for example, by the increased number of the weekend houses flourishing in colonies around many urban centers (urban centers where multi-storey housing is prevailing).

So, outdoor private living realms proved to be essential. Introduction of such realms to the existing high-rise housing can hardly be achieved (with exception to the lowest two floors of the buildings where parts of the vast public open spaces could be transferred into private outdoor living spaces directly integrated to the dwellings). Thinking of the future habitat, care should be taken to more emphasize the importance of outdoor living spaces open to the sky rather than of vast public open space which hardly can be maintained, particularly in the developing countries. Where precipitation is not agreeable, such an approach could reflect low-rise and compact housing concepts where rational land use, reducing energy consumption and meeting man's biological and social needs, could be achieved.

CASE STUDY: HEERLEN - VOSSEKUIL

J.C. de Cloe (NL)

The "Vossekuil" is a post-war housing estate, built in 1965, at the skirt of the city of Heerlen. It consists of 4 high-rise apartment-blocks, 100 houses each.

The blocks are characterised by a lot of interconnecting problems, such as:

- 30% of the apartments is uninhabited, this causes a loss of house rent of approximately f 750,000.-- a year (the owner is an almost bankrupt corporation);
- the majority of the remaining tenants belong to the category of social and economical weak households;
- there is a very serious drugs problem (dealing and usage of drugs takes place in the halls and in the empty apartments);
- technical and social deterioration increases rapidly, especially vandalism, rent arrears, lagging repairs and so on;
- 75% of the remaining tenants are willing to leave due to the above mentioned problems and the bad image of the estate in the local community.

It concerns one of the most serious problems of this kind in the Netherlands and the main question for the local authorities is: *has the process of deterioration already gone too far or is there a real chance for improvement?*

To answer that question a short survey has been made of other cases in the Netherlands (and abroad). Solutions for such problems almost invariably consist of measures in the range of technical improvement of flats and buildings, lowering of rent, rigid selection of tenants and splitting up the apartments, hoping to adjust them properly for smaller households.

It is known that high-rise buildings are the least wanted category and are less suitable for households with children. In the Heerlen-case first of all the analyses concentrate on the *housing-market* in the area. This learns that locally there is a certain saturation, due to great building efforts in the last few years, especially in low-rise housing.

In such a situation vacant houses first occur in the least wanted category: high-rise buildings. This is the underlying cause, although other facts - such as tenant selection - contribute also. Likewise, in such a situation landlords of other estates tend to keep their apartments occupied by keeping out 'bad tenants' (who drive out 'good' tenants).

This and other considerations as well, lead to the conclusion that improvement at very high costs (about f 50,000.-- per apartment while the present booking value is about f 70,000.-- per apartment), is unwanted because of

the very doubtful prospects of further useful exploitation.

The remaining solution is demolition of this estate, while at the same time measures are to be taken to prevent such deterioration processes in other estates in the town.

IMPROVEMENTS IN THE "VIRGEN DE LOS DESAMPARADOS" HOUSING
ESTATE IN VALENCIA (SPAIN)

Fernando Gaja Diaz (E)

With 2180 apartments the "Virgen de los Desamparados" Housing Estate is the biggest one within the limits of the City of Valencia. It was began in 1944 and ended in 1962. This rather long period and the problems that had taken place, make it a good example of what has been the public policy on housing.

Initially it was designed for middle/upper middle class, but low quality building materials and its situation close to a fast and crowded highway to the airport changed that intention. Thus the first apartments built up between 1944 and 1955 were of about 90 square meters, but later it went down to even 56.

In 1957, and as a consequence of a huge flow, a lot of people who had lost their houses were lodged in this housing estate.

This new population presented a larger degree of social conflicts (unemployed, gypsies,...) and the area begins to deteriorate.

Between 1959 and 1962 the housing estate is finished. Despite an important improvement in the building materials and technics, the area was definitively a workers' and low class' estate. The fact that 95% of the budget had been paid by the State it contributes; and also that the rents paid were extremely low.

The deterioration is not serious, yet (Stage II). By the end of the seventies the Housing Department began a program of improvements with the goal of being able to grant the apartments to the tenants, with as less problems as possible. (1)

The improvements already made refer to roofs, linkages, chimneys, TV antennas, cornices, painting of façades, street lighting etc; as a whole just construction improvements, with a rather great budget.

Those measures will not be enough. This Housing Estate still has problems to be solved rapidly, otherwise it will go into the "deterioration spiral". Briefly:

- Improvements of surroundings and the urban image (Playgrounds, "urban furniture", and so on)
- Isolating from noise, pollution and traffic from the nearby highway
- More amenities and social basic equipment, today clearly lacking
- Improvement of urbanization.

If those measures (which are developed in the case) are not taken immediately the area could go into Stage III. Moreover, they must be taken before

the apartments are granted to the tenants, as after there will be no legal relation between the State and the private owners, making any improvements very difficult.

- (1) According to the Spanish law the apartments should be granted to the tenants beginning in 1985.

LUIS LLORENS TORRES HOUSING PROJECT

Luis Flores (PR)

Luis Llorens Torres is a large scale (2,500 unit) urban public housing project located in the San Juan Metropolitan area. The site is limited to the south by an expressway, towards the north and east by low density, upper-middle class residential neighbourhoods and to the west by a public school and a regional shopping center.

Llorens Torres is separated from its surroundings by more than socio-economic factors. Physically and psychologically a strong boundary is created between Llorens and its context. For instance, instead of following the small block organization prevailing in the area, Llorens is organized in super-blocks. The buildings have been placed in the site following the garden city concept in a sterile manner, thus, producing repetitive, institutionalized, impersonal spaces to present a negative overall image.

The original planning concept divorces the building-street relationship and eliminates the basic element of the traditional urban fabric: the street. Therefore, the buildings exist on their own, oriented on a diagonal pattern only inherent to itself.

Spaces exist only as a remanants in a repetitive sequence without spatial hierarchy. They are not related to entrance parking, recreation, commercial or social spaces. The physical chaos has eliminated the differentiation between the private and the public domain and as such, it has created the loss of a sense of belonging, which has promoted a general lack of responsibility. The breakage of this relationship has had a negative effect: on the one hand a loss of the sense of scale and urban spaces, on the other hand, a decadent social milieu which has not been able to develop in a healthy relationship between the individual, the community and the society.

The proposed rehabilitation at Llorens Torres is being approached both from the outside and the inside. It is our intention to incorporate morphologically Llorens Torres into the urban context, redefining the urban fabric from its basic elements: the street, the block, the plaza. Relating itself to its context "opens" the possibilities of communication for Llorens as it takes into consideration typologies for the definition of defensible spaces. It is our intention to bring about a balance between the private and the public domain; securing the sense of privacy and belonging. Providing smaller scale commercial areas as infill to increase the street activity as well as the employment opportunities, creating varied urban spaces which can provide an adequate setting for a social life, and increasing the opportunities for Llorens to develop into neighbourhoods which serve well its residents are all design criteria incorporated into the design program.

The present intervention does not aspire to provide solutions to all the socio-economic problems; rather it intends to be a responsible alternate to a generalized technical preconceived approach towards public housing developments that are not treated as unique design problems. In this spirit, we believe Llorens Torres has not yet written its own history.

STADTTEIL OSTERHOLZ - TENEVER

Eva Renate Heise-Ernst (D)

1. STANDORTBESCHREIBUNG

Die Grosswohnanlage Osterholz-Tenever liegt im Osten Bremens, 12 km entfernt von der City. Sie wurde als Studien- und Modellvorhaben in den Jahren 1973-78 erstellt und mit öffentlichen Mitteln von Bund und Land gefördert.

Auf einem Gelände von 59 ha wurden 16 Gebäudeblöcke mit insgesamt 2.653 Wohneinheiten (GFZ 0 1,96) im sozialen Wohnungsbau von mehreren Bauträgern errichtet (siehe Lageplan).

2. PROBLEME

- Soziale Entmischung des Wohngebietes
- hohe Fluktuation, grosse Leerstände
- zunehmender Vandalismus und Verschmutzung
- schwer vermietbar, da "schlechte Adresse"

3. URSACHEN

- Fördersystem nach dem "Dritten Bremischen Wohnungsbaugesetz (einkommensabhängige Aufwendungszuschüsse, damit verbunden erhebliche Mietsprünge bei Einkommenserhöhungen)
- starke Verdichtung durch architektonische Grossformen
- lieblose Planung im Detail an Gebäuden und Freiflächen
- Trennung von Fussgänger- und Fahrverkehr in verschiedenen Ebenen
- kein bedarfsgerechtes Gemenge (zu viele grosse Wohnungen)
- zeitweise schlechte Verkehrsanbindung

4. MASSNAHMEN

- Umgestaltung der Eingangsbereiche durch: Hervorziehen der Hauseingänge, Teilverfliesungen, Umglasung der Eingangshallen mit durchsichtigem Sicherheitsglas, bessere Ausleuchtung (24 Stunden in den Eingangshallen), abgehängte Decken mit Schallschutzmatten, Auskleidung der Fahrstühle mit Edelstahl - hellere Beleuchtung sowie einen Spiegel, grossformatiges Bild mit Motiven aus Bremen.
- Hervorheben der Hofdurchgänge und Hauseingänge durch Pergolen. Optische Gliederung der Fassadenfront und der langen Laubengänge durch Stahl-Rankgerüste.

Bessere Ausleuchtung der Fusswege sowie Kennzeichnungen zur besseren Orientierung

- Errichtung von Mieterterrassen (-gärten) für die Bewohner im Hofbereich (Flächen ergeben sich durch Aufnahme von halböffentlichen Pflasterflächen)
- Bepflanzung der Innenhöfe mit Bäumen, Sträuchern und Hecken zur Luftberuhigung, Gestaltung, Raumbildung und Aufhebung des Backofeneffektes im Sommer. Begrünung von Betonstützen mit Schlinggewächsen. Aufhebung von öffentlichen Parkflächen und Umwandlung in Grünflächen. Pflanzbeete unter Betondurchbrüchen (natürliche Belichtung)
- Hellere Gestaltung der Feuerwehrdurchfahrten durch: Farbanstriche, Teilverfließungen, bessere Beleuchtung (teilweise 24 Stunden), Umpflasterung vor Eingangsbereichen, Abmauerung von "Schmutzecken".
- Beteiligung der Bewohner bei der Gestaltung der Hof- und Eingangsbereiche sowie Mieterterrassen in Mieterversammlungen.
- Angestrebt wird die Verkehrsberuhigung der z. Z. 4spurigen Otto-Brenner-Allee durch zwei Spuren mit Parkstreifen.

Wichtigstes Ziel: Die Bewohner sollen sich mit ihrem Wohngebiet identifizieren.

Jerzy Karyś (PL)

L'emploi des adjuvants dans le béton n'est pas nouveau. Pendant longtemps on a utilisé des composés minéraux à de faibles dosages pour améliorer certaines propriétés du béton. Après avoir constaté que des composés organiques pouvaient avec succès et parfois avec un plus grand effet remplacer les composés minéraux, on a commencé à les utiliser de plus en plus.

D'autre part, on peut se poser la question suivante: "Doit-on utiliser un béton de résine ou un béton aux résines?"

Les coûts, pour les bétons de résine, sont en moyenne multipliés par 30 ou 40, tandis que pour les bétons aux résines ils sont multipliés par 2 à 6, par rapport au béton normal.

Au cours de l'étude bibliographique, environ 490 publications sur ce sujet ont été parcourues. Pour des raisons pratiques, l'analyse a porté essentiellement sur les ajouts sous forme d'émulsions, de poudre ou de liquide utilisés dans les pays suivants: Etats-Unis, Canada, France, RFA, RDA, Italie, Suède, Japon, Australie, Espagne, Belgique, Pays-Bas, URSS, Pologne, Tchécoslovaquie, Hongrie, Roumanie.

On a prévu les modifications par: les époxydes, les vinyles, les formaldéhydes, les mélamines, les acryliques, les polyesters, les polyuréthanes, les phénols, les furanes, l'alcool furfurylique, le latex styrène-butadiène, les styrènes-acryliques et le styrène, les silicones, le polyéthylène, le chloroprène, le fluor, les paraffines et les polysaccharides, le caoutchouc naturel.

Il est difficile de faire une comparaison entre tous les bétons modifiés par les polymères parce que la littérature qui concerne ce sujet ne traite pas de manière égale ces bétons.

C'est pourquoi, on a fait également les recherches de laboratoire complémentaires. Après cela, on pouvait réaliser la comparaison parmi les bétons modifiés et d'abord entre les bétons modifiés et le béton normal du point de vue de l'intérêt économique et aussi de l'intérêt technique selon la grandeur C_p , qui est comptée d'après une formule.

Si la grandeur C_p augmente, la modification est plus avantageuse. Les meilleures modifications sont les suivantes: par la mélamine-formaldéhyde (par exemple $C_p = 2,49$, l'augmentation du coût d'après les prix français de 13,9%), par le polyéthylène glycol, par la mélamine, par le styrène-butadiène, par la dispersion acrylique, par les époxydes solubles dans l'eau, par les silicones, par l'émulsion époxyde, par l'acétone-formaldéhyde.

On a constaté que la durabilité des bétons aux mélamine-formaldéhyde, styrène-butadiène, acryliques, époxydes, était meilleure que celle du béton normal.

REHABILITATION VON WOHNGEBIETEN

- Fallbeschreibung

Annette Kirchner & Heinz Schwarzbach (DDR)

DRESDEN, WOHNGEbiet STRIESEN

Ausgangspunkt für die Planung waren eine soziale-, funktionelle- und Stadtbildanalyse des zu bearbeitenden Wohngebietes und seiner Teilbereiche. Aus folgenden Analyseergebnissen wurden jeweils die Planungsziele abgeleitet:

- Es besteht eine hohe Wohnzufriedenheit (80% Erstbezug), welche zurückzuführen ist auf die Lage des Wohngebietes zum Zentrum und zum Erholungs-park "Grosser Garten", die günstige Erschliessung durch den öffentlichen Personennahverkehr sowie den relativ hohen Wohnungsstandard, die geringe Wohndichte und die Durchgrünung des Gebietes.
- Der grösste Teil der Bewohner verlässt am Wochenende das Wohngebiet, es sind kaum Aktivitäten ausser hauswirtschaftlichen Tätigkeiten zu beobachten, was zurückzuführen ist auf die Anonymität der Wohnbebauung und deren Umgebung, das Fehlen von gesellschaftlichen Einrichtungen, die fehlende Trennung von individuellen, gemeinschaftlichen und öffentlichen Bereichen und die Überalterung der Bewohner.
- Lärm- und Windbelästigung, uneffektive Nutzung des innerstädtischen Bau-landes und unkontrollierte Blickbeziehungen sind Resultate des städte-baulichen Prinzips: Licht - Luft - Sonne.

Die Planung soll darauf ausgerichtet sein, Kommunikation und Aktivitäten zu fördern und Initiativen der Bewohner zu lenken. Die Planung sieht vor, folgende Massnahmen etappenweise durchzuführen:

- die Umgestaltung des engeren Wohnbereiches durch das Anlegen multifunk-tionaler Wohnstrassen und Wohnhöfe
- die Stabilisierung der Alters- und Sozialstruktur durch den Bau von grossen Wohnungen für junge Familien mit Kindern, Kleinwohnungen für äl-tere Bürger und Atelierwohnungen für Handwerker und Künstler
- die Schaffung von attraktiven, vielseitigen gesellschaftlichen Einrich-tungen

Mit diesen Massnahmen soll ausserdem verfolgt werden:

- die Bereicherung der Hauptkommunikationszonen
- eine fussgängerfreundliche Umgestaltung mit vielseitigem Nutzungsangebot
- die Trennung von Individuellem, Gemeinschaftlichem und Öffentlichem
- die Verbesserung der städtebauhygienischen Bedingungen
- die Schaffung eines abwechslungsreichen städtebaulichen Raumgefüges

Der Entwurf setzt sich mit der Umgestaltung des Schulkomplexes, des Wohn-gebietszentrums und des engeren Wohnbereiches auseinander. Der Schulkom-plex soll zu einem multifunktionalen Schulpark und Freizeit-, Sport- und Bildungszentrum umgestaltet werden, dessen aufgelöste Grenzen eine ganz-

tägige Nutzung ermöglichen.

Im Wohngebietszentrum ist vorgesehen, mit unterlagertem Wohnungsbau unter Einbeziehung des wertvollen alten Baumbestandes einen städtischen Platz mit anschließender Einkaufsstrasse zu schaffen. Im engeren Wohnbereich sieht die Planung verschiedene Möglichkeiten zur Identifikation und Kommunikation vor, wie zum Beispiel bepflanzte Pergolen und Rankgerüste und Sitzbereiche an den Hauseingängen, aber auch Möglichkeiten zur individuellen Betätigung und Abschirmung wie Mietergärten und -terrassen. Eine nach verschiedenen Altersgruppen differenzierte Gestaltung der Wohnhöfe soll die Grundlage für die Entfaltung eines regen gemeinschaftlichen Lebens der Hofgemeinschaft sein.

FORMULATING A STRATEGY FOR SOCIAL HOUSING

N.B.C. Korsman (S.Africa)

During the last decade there has been a gradual deterioration of the housing situation in many parts of the world. The major causes of this deterioration are:

- a) shortage of funds
- b) shortage of skills and manpower
- c) lack of a clearly defined housing policy.

Research has shown that those private sector companies who place the emphasis on developing and formulating a clear cut and logical strategy, have not only shown better long term growth than companies without such a strategy, but they have also been able to withstand the ravages of recessions.

The following question therefore arises: Would the use of techniques to formulate a clear cut housing strategy have prevented the development of problem housing estates, - where the emphasis is usually found to have been placed on design rather than on an appropriate strategy?

The aim of this paper is to show the strategy formulation process, which is being so successfully used in the business world, can be applied to the development of a social housing strategy. The main elements of the strategy formulating process discussed are:

1. Definition of Strategy
2. Marketing - determining people needs
3. An Internal Analysis, which consists of
 - an historical overview
 - determining available finances and manpower skills
 - determining strong and weak points
4. An External Analysis, which consists of
 - Political, Economic, Social and Technological framework within which housing must be provided
 - the competitive situation
 - a brainstorming session to create innovative solutions
 - Determination of opportunities and threats.

The paper is based on research of changing housing strategies in Southern Africa, and the effect of these changes.

PROCRUST HOUSING IN BEJAIA'S IHADDADEN SCHEME (ALGERIA)

Tijana Maksimović-Binno (ALG)

Some values are essential in moslem Kabylia region: extended family as a social cornerstone, restricted women's public appearance, low % of women having a job, early separation of sexes, child rearing by women, good neighbours' relations, family's privacy.

The algerian massive "collective" housing being moulded on european schemes, it is highly inappropriate to Kabylian society and climate.

Often overcrowded, flats have windows and loggias all open to public spaces, and are systematically being closed (by wood, cardboard, opaque curtains, walls) so that women cannot be seen from the outside and/or that one more room is made out of a loggia. The concrete flats thus closed get even more humid and cold in winter, and very hot in summer. Women, young girls and babies cannot escape, having no substitute for traditional court or roof terrace, protected from the outside views.

Men being at work or in the city, children and boys are the only ones to use intensively the outdoor spaces. As most mothers should not even look on them from the window, they are left without any control, developing vandalism, using staircases as a toilet, playing with garbage and rats. In general, the neighbours' relations become therefore hostile, which contributes to rapid physical decay of the environment. Few Ihaddaden's inhabitants enclose common land as private gardens, while city organizes "better environment day", resulting in as many broken or dry roses as one plants.

Bad reputation of such housing enhances massive near-by squatting in well built semi-traditional semi-collective (extended family) housing, using i.e. overcrowding Ihaddaden's public facilities.

In Master Plan (MP) for Bejaia, we proposed to change part of the ever closed ground-floor flats into shops, services and offices, to redesign with inhabitants all the open spaces into private courts and semi-private play-grounds, and to add to the housing blocks some parts as necessary outdoor private spaces protected from views. The MP makes no room for Ihaddaden type schemes, but semi-collective, modernized traditional evolutive housing should be developed in Bejaia town. If it harmonizes with local authorities' and national political options, the local Ministry of housing and town planning representatives are opposed to this concept of the not yet adopted MP; they refer to local authorities as to "too popular" and insist on need for new unfit "collective" housing schemes.

The real problem is a power structure and abusive concept of development as a necessary blow up of the existing social structure by "modern" housing and neglect of climate. The resulting social pathology in Ihaddaden and spacio-political pathology in squatters are curable only by change of both so as to found them on local eco-social features and potential.

PER ALBIN HANSSON - SIEDLUNG IN WIEN

Egon Müllner (A)

Diese Grosswohnsiedlung liegt am südöstlichen Stadtrand von Wien in einer grosszügigen städtebaulichen Ordnung, hell und freundlich, inmitten grüner Gärten.

Sie wurde von der Gemeinde Wien in den Jahren 1947-1951 errichtet und nach dem schwedischen Ministerpräsidenten Per Albin Hansson benannt.

Diese Namensgebung ist begründet, weil schwedische Baumaschinen, die in einer Nachkriegshilfsaktion bereitgestellt wurden, zum Einsatz kamen und damit vor allem aus dem Ziegelsplit der zerbombten Wiener Häuser neue brauchbare Ziegelsteine (Vibrosteine) hergestellt werden konnten.

Die Planung dieser aus rund 1000 Ein- oder Mehrfamilienhäuser bestehenden, in sich abgeschlossenen Gartenstadt wurde von namhaften Architekten wie Friedrich Pangratz, Franz Schuster, Stephan Simony und Eugen Wörle durchgeführt.

Die Wohnungstypen entsprechen im Ausmass, Art und Zahl der Räume den Richtlinien des sozialen Wohnbauprogrammes der Gemeinde Wien.

Sie sind verschieden gross und tragen in der Anordnung der Wirtschaftsräume den unterschiedlichen Wohn- und Lebensanforderungen Rechnung, sodass sie - auch heute noch - die Bedürfnisse aller Schichten der Bevölkerung erfüllen.

In diesem "Dorf für sich" wird der Hauptplatz von den zwei- und mehrgeschossigen Mehrfamilienhäusern umsäumt, worin die Läden, ein Gemeinschaftshaus und ein Gasthaus enthalten sind. Darum gruppieren sich sodann an schmalen Wohnstrassen die Siedlungshäuser. Die Wohnsiedlung wird durch Kindergärten, Schule, Arztpraxis, Handwerker und jene öffentliche Einrichtungen, die eine Wohngemeinschaft braucht, sinnvoll ergänzt.

In der Grosswohnsiedlung "Per Albin Hansson" wurden bisher ausser den Gebrechensbehebungen und den eher turnusmässigen Instandsetzungen an den äusseren Fenster und Türen keine wesentlichen Instandsetzungsarbeiten durchgeführt.

Die Mieter dieser Anlage sind infolge der vorzüglichen Wohnqualitäten selbst bereit, zeitgemässe Verbesserungen auf eigene Kosten durchführen zu lassen. Dazu gehören die Einrichtung bzw. Modernisierung der Bäder, der Einbau von Etagenheizungen und der Einbau von modernen Wohnungsfenstern.

Im Sinne der vorgegebenen Auseinandersetzung kann daher festgestellt werden, dass die Wohnsiedlung Per Albin Hansson derzeit weder in baulicher noch in sozialer Hinsicht Probleme bringt, sie kann daher in Stufe I eingereicht werden.

THE PARTICIPATORY PROCESS FOR PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTING ENVIRONMENTAL IMPROVEMENTS IN A SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSING ESTATE IN CALGARY (CDN)

William T. Perks (CDN)

The study focusses on a 200-unit row housing site situated on 7.5 hectares in the Forest Lawn community, City of Calgary (Can.). Constructed as a low dividend housing project by a private corporation in the late 1950s, this project was not subject to site improvement requirements.

Lay-out of the housing assumes barrack-like character. Buildings (of varying length) are arranged exclusively in north-south or east-west orientations; variously large and small unimproved spaces lie between them. There are no landscaped or organized play spaces or equipment. Parking is massed in a few extensively paved areas. Private yard spaces are neither provided for or encouraged by designed pathways, landscaping or other artifacts; identity of "place" and of individual dwelling units is not afforded by either architectural or landscape treatments. There are no internal streets, while all open spaces are barren and exposed to climatic severities.

Residents are low to medium income renter families. Rents are modest and constitute a relatively favourable sub-market. Tenants are not at present associated in any formal sense, while expressed concerns about environmental conditions or opportunities are rare.

The case study will report on a *participatory process of planning and design*, the design for physical environmental improvements, and an implementation model based on tenant owner public authority partnership. Specifically: i) the process of determining user values, perceptions of satisfaction and preferences; ii) the development of designs consistent with i); and iii) the formulation of an implementation and maintenance stewardship program based upon innovative partnership.

The *central objectives* consist in creating private and community gathering and leisure time spaces; child care spaces and play facilities; "streetsways"; convenient vehicular storage; climate protective and visual environment enhancement measures. Implementation involves distributing capital and maintenance charges based on the designed partition of spaces among private, community and public interest; recovery of improvement costs through optimal use of land (or re-developed portions of the site) for added housing and resident population resources; a formulation of stewardship responsibilities for all partners.

DETERIORATION OF RESIDENTIAL AREAS: THE ROLE OF MIGRANTS
- Abstract

Carlo van Praag (NL)

Dwellings of the same age show a considerable variety in quality. Still, the appreciation of housing and of residential areas nowadays roughly follows their building-periods: the more recently they have been constructed, the more they are solicited for.

Migrant workers from Mediterranean countries who came to the Netherlands in the sixties, and were joined by their families in the following decade generally found living quarters in the city-centres and the adjoining 19th-century residential areas. At the time these neighbourhoods ranked lowest in the hierarchy.

Recent developments have to a certain extent upset this hierarchy. In so far that the city-centres have not been swallowed up by commercial establishments they have been subject to gentrification. More recently social rehabilitation has been observable in 19th- and early 20th-century neighbourhoods as a result of urban renewal activities. On the other hand, many early post-war neighbourhoods are now in the process of deterioration. Comparing unfavourably to the more spacious and less austere housing of a later period and not yet reached by the urban renewal wave they are sinking in the appreciation-hierarchy. High-rise building of the 1960-1975-period is also becoming increasingly more unpopular.

These changes in the order of appreciation appear to be connected with changes in the settlement-pattern of migrants. Though still concentrated in the 19th-century quarters their centre of gravity is shifting towards later built-up areas. At the moment the neighbourhoods of the fifties and the high-rise buildings of a more recent period are prominent as influx areas. Here we have a current naturally directed towards the areas of "lowest resistance". It seems probable, however, that the process is mediated by public housing societies.

The appearance of migrants in certain neighbourhoods is probably more than a mere indicator of deterioration. Migrants might function both as an effect and as a cause of the process. Their role as a cause of (further) deterioration has not yet been very well documented, at least not in the Dutch context.

POST-WAR HOUSING IN TROUBLE

Anne Saeterdal (N)

As a sparsely populated country, with a relatively highly developed welfare system, Norway has, by international standards, comparatively few problems with housing built in large scale repetitive series and with high density. But we have elements of a negative process characterized by growing malicious damage and neglect and with an outmigration of households with good economic and social resources and a gradual undermining of the local identity. These problems are to be dealt with in a program for which the Norwegian Institute of Urban and Regional Research is responsible.

In Norway the concentrated form of housing is, as a rule, organized in housing cooperatives. The housing cooperative organizes the construction and later the households living in the flats are organized in independent cooperative building societies. In a cooperative the household is the owner of the flat.

There are approximately 100,000 cooperative dwellings built in the period of 1945-1969 which are situated in a house with more than four flats. In addition, 40,000 cooperative dwellings are built in smaller houses in the same period.

In contrast to other countries, including our Scandinavian neighbours, Norway has no significant rental sector. The municipal housing authorities have a dominant position, working through the cooperative housing organizations. There were built only 40,000 rental flats in the period concerned.

There is a potential need for repair of windows/doors, kitchen fittings, indoor walls and ceilings, and isolation of outdoor walls, roofs and floors. In areas built in the 50's there is a need for replanning. The traffic and planning systems have to be redesigned as to accessibility, i.e. stairways, lifts, entrances etc. This is especially urgent because the inhabitants are mostly elderly people.

In areas built in the 60's and 70's the focus is on development of the social environment through combined social, cultural and design improvements.

The solution to these problems is deemed to be good, in an international context, due to the fact that the dwellings are mostly owned in a cooperative manner by the occupants. In a Norwegian context every household in a cooperative owns property valued at a range of NOK 150,000 - 400,000, convertible at a market price, limited by certain regulations. For many households most of their assets are bound to their dwellings, and they will be motivated to keep the dwellings in reasonably good shape. The own-

ership is, however, cooperative; meaning that there are certain limits as to the profitability of the individual investments. The general assembly of the cooperative must have a consensus of 2/3 majority to take up loans. And though there is a great potential in the owner-collectives and their boards, they are in many respects amateurs as far as housing management is concerned. But anyhow they are representatives of the households with whom the professionals have to deal in developing the post-war houses.

STADTVERBESSERUNG IN ZWEI JAHRZEHNTE

Gerhard B. Sidler (CH)

Zürich als städtisches Zentrum von europäischer Bedeutung durchlief seit 1945 alle Stufen entwicklungspolitischer Art. Die sich daraus ergebenden Probleme wie Stadtfucht, Verkehrsüberlastung und Unwirtlichkeit standen in einem sozialen und staatspolitischen Klima zur Diskussion, das aktives Handeln und unmittelbares Reagieren erlaubte. Hieraus entstand vor zwei Jahrzehnten die Initiative, Stadtplanung als Stabsfunktion der Stadtregierung zu institutionalisieren. Rückblickend kann heute die Stadtentwicklung von Zürich als Beispiel einer langfristigen, zielgerichteten und koordinierten Politik interpretiert werden.

Zusammenfassend kann auf sechs Schwerpunkte hingewiesen werden:

- Entwicklungskoordination zwischen der öffentlichen Hand und der Privatwirtschaft durch eine offene Informationspolitik mit fallweiser gegenseitiger Unterstützung,
- Übereinstimmung von Städtebau und Nahverkehrspolitik, wodurch extreme Stadtzerstörungen und schleichende Quartiersverflumung vermieden wurden,
- politisch abgestützte Masterplanung auf wissenschaftlich umfassenden Grundlagen (zum Beispiel im Gutachten von Prof. Harald Jürgensen aus Hamburg),
- Bürgerbeteiligung mit der traditionsreichen Erfahrung der schweizerischen Referendumsdemokratie,
- das ausgewogene Abstimmen von Grossinvestitionen mit Förderungsmaßnahmen für die Wohnlichkeit in allen Stadtquartieren,
- Schaffung der verwaltungsorganisatorischen Voraussetzungen für gross- und kleinräumige Entwicklungen mit dem Ziel, die schöpferischen Innovationen (trotz arbeitsteiliger Hierarchiestrukturen) pragmatisch zu fördern).

Heute sind im Raume Zürich in drei Sektoren grosse Anstrengungen im Gange:

- Ausbau und Einrichtung eines neuen S-Bahn-Systems zur Erhöhung der Attraktivität des öffentlichen Verkehrsangebotes,
- Umorganisation des Privatverkehrs auf die neugebauten Hauptstrassen mit dem Ziel einer Kanalisierung und Plafonierung,
- Rückgewinnung der Wohnlichkeit in den innerstädtischen Quartieren als Voraussetzung zur baulichen und aussenräumlichen Erneuerung, sowie ihrer sozialen Stabilisierung und Konsolidierung.

Es ist unsere Überzeugung und Erfahrung, dass Verbesserungen von Grosswohnsiedlungen der Nachkriegszeit und damit von aktuellen Stadtstrukturen nur in langfristigen, umfassenden, beharrlichen und koordinierten Anstrengungen Resultate erwarten lassen. Die Planungssituation in Zürich erlaubt heute auf zahlreiche Beispiele jeder Grösßenordnung und auch auf die gesamthaft positive Ausgangslage für die weitere Zukunft dieser Stadt hinzuweisen.

ANALYSIS OF BACKGROUND PROBLEMS IN THE BIJLMERMEER HOUSING DISTRICT (AMSTERDAM - NL)

Evert Verhagen (NL)

The Bijlmermeer development presents a rather stark and monotonous appearance, particularly evident on a wet autumn day. The flats, however, are of high quality and are very spacious. In my opinion it is absolutely impossible and incorrect to compare the Bijlmermeer with American high-rise public housing estates, like the famous Pruitt Igoe developments in St. Louis, where the buildings were little more than steel and concrete rabbit warrens, poorly designed, badly equipped, inadequate in size, badly located.

A comparison is only possible with other West-European high-rise developments, like the Märkisches Viertel in West-Berlin or Kirchhoff in Hamburg, Germany.

The large, carefully landscaped green areas between the blocks are very much appreciated. In my opinion these areas could be improved because at present they are dull and monotonous. More variation between these areas could make identification easier.

Living in high-rise public housing estates makes common facilities like elevators, central heating, indoor "streets", and an internal telephone system very important. It is a claim of the tenants that it is irrational to economize on these facilities.

In designing a suburb as the Bijlmermeer on the basis of the CIAM principles, the availability of provisions outside the housing blocks, like shopping centres, cultural centres, schools etc., is an important condition. The main shopping centre is being constructed at this moment, seventeen years after the first housing blocks were built. There is no cultural centre of any significance.

External influences such as:

- the demand for low rent housing in new towns in the polders, like Almere and Lelystad;
 - the feeling of public unsafety in the indoor "streets", public stairways and the large green areas between the blocks;
 - the increasing unsafety by drug-addicted tourists from the centre of Amsterdam and from other places in Holland and Germany;
 - the hardly existing political interest;
- form a contribution to the increasing rate of unlet apartments, now 20%.

More important is the relationship between the owner of the estate (the housing association) and the tenants. Until two years ago there were fourteen different housing associations which owned property in the Bijlmermeer.

IMPROVEMENT OF POST-WAR HOUSING ESTATES IN GLASGOW, SCOTLAND

Tom Woolley (GB)

Glasgow has some 180,000 houses in public ownership, many of which have caused serious management problems. Because of reductions in Government spending, the opportunities to improve the housing stock of the 1950s and 60s are limited. Glasgow District Council has experimented with a number of 'solutions' to the problems. Some housing has been demolished, others sold into the private sector. There have also been innovative 'homstead-ing', self help and tenant management projects.

The Paper examines the latest of these, the Community Ownership Programme. In this programme, housing estates of approximately 300-500 houses will be sold to tenant co-operatives. The tenants will participate in an extensive programme of improvement and then manage the property themselves. The tenants are low income people, many unemployed. There are serious problems with rent arrears and social breakdown. The Paper will report on a study-in-progress in which one of the schemes is being monitored by the Housing and Rehabilitation Research Unit at Strathclyde University. The study, financed by Glasgow District Council is looking, in particular, at the relationship between the tenants and their professional consultants and the problems of design participation.

A REVOLUTIONARY AND UNIVERSAL STRUCTURE TO RATIONALIZE ARCHITECTURE

Jacques Wybauw (B)

Hereunder is presented the invention of a revolutionary, original and universal world patented structure for most buildings.

It allows to save a good deal of time and money. Moreover, it provides buildings with better technical and architectural performance than traditional construction. It transcends other known systems, none of them being universal. Those that look similar at first sight cannot withstand even a slight comparison.

Being universal, the complete Wybunit system could well take 1 to 2% of the world construction market within fifteen years from now. This percentage means an annual turnover of construction of about 4 to 8 billion US\$.

A company that would promote and commercialize the whole Wybunit system (Wybunit structure + complementary components + specific know-how) would make its profits on national and international markets, mainly out of selling turnkey buildings, know-how, services and also some building components.

It could take advantage of exclusive licence rights, since patents have been granted in most countries.

The world patented Wybunit B.U. (Building Unit) is the basic material for any Wybunit structure.

Its three dimensions are rather unlimited around a global size of 1000 to 2000 cubic feet (25 to 75 cubic meters).

Beyond its extreme simplicity, the major characteristics of the Wybunit invention are:

- to provide horizontal technical spaces (HTS) between floors
- to provide vertical technical spaces (VTS) whenever and wherever required
- the ability to install a vertical corner duct, in each corner if required (CD).

All these technical spaces and ducts provide, among many other advantages described in detail in the Wybunit brochure, an easy integration of all technical equipment, simple and efficient heating and ventilation systems and easy protections against fire. They also contribute to excellent sound insulation.

The structure, in its widest sense, is the basic and fundamental component of most buildings, just like the skeleton that bears all parts of the body or like the human body itself that wears various clothes.

Thanks to its universal character, the Wybunit structure is able to become the common denominator, or the catalyst, for all complementary building components.

It gives more sense to the rationalization and prefabrication of all these components and thus reduces their cost.

Furthermore, thanks to the many original features of the Wybunit structure, it will become a very easy, clean and fast process to fix all components to this structure as well as to remove or replace them.

Wybunit structures allow considerable architectural diversity, without the inner and outer features of the Wybunit buildings looking any strange or unusual.

Many experts all over the world already declared they would support the Wybunit system once it is developed and commercialized, and even before in some circumstances.

The main advantage of the Wybunit system is that it allows the construction of buildings with a high degree of flexibility and adaptability to the needs of the user. This is achieved through the use of a modular system of components that can be easily assembled and disassembled. This system is based on a grid of steel beams and concrete slabs, which can be adapted to any size and shape of building. The components are prefabricated in a factory, which ensures a high level of quality and consistency. The construction process is fast and efficient, as the components are simply bolted together on site. This makes the Wybunit system ideal for temporary buildings, such as those used in construction sites, exhibitions, and temporary housing. It is also suitable for permanent buildings, where the flexibility and adaptability of the system can be a major advantage.

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1. Dr. H. H. H. H.
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25. Dr. H. H. H. H.
26. Dr. H. H. H. H.

27. Dr. H. H. H. H.
28. Dr. H. H. H. H.

LIST OF CHAIRMEN, SPEAKERS, COMMENTATORS AND PRESENTERS
OF CASE DESCRIPTIONS

LISTE DES PRESIDENTS, DES ORATEURS, DES ANIMATEURS ET DES
AUTEURS DES COMMUNICATIONS

VERZEICHNIS DER VORSITZENDEN, REFERENTEN, KOMMENTATOREN
UND AUTOREN DER KURZEN FALLBESCHREIBUNGEN

29. Dr. H. H. H. H.
30. Dr. H. H. H. H.
31. Dr. H. H. H. H.
32. Dr. H. H. H. H.

33. Dr. H. H. H. H.
34. Dr. H. H. H. H.
35. Dr. H. H. H. H.
36. Dr. H. H. H. H.

37. Dr. H. H. H. H.
38. Dr. H. H. H. H.
39. Dr. H. H. H. H.
40. Dr. H. H. H. H.

41. Dr. H. H. H. H.
42. Dr. H. H. H. H.
43. Dr. H. H. H. H.
44. Dr. H. H. H. H.

45. Dr. H. H. H. H.
46. Dr. H. H. H. H.
47. Dr. H. H. H. H.
48. Dr. H. H. H. H.

49. Dr. H. H. H. H.
50. Dr. H. H. H. H.
51. Dr. H. H. H. H.
52. Dr. H. H. H. H.

53. Dr. H. H. H. H.
54. Dr. H. H. H. H.
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57. Dr. H. H. H. H.
58. Dr. H. H. H. H.
59. Dr. H. H. H. H.
60. Dr. H. H. H. H.

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LIST OF CHAIRMEN, SECRETARIES, COMMENTATORS AND PRESIDENTS
OF CASE STUDIES
LIST OF PRESIDENTS, SECRETARIES, COMMENTATORS AND PRESIDENTS
OF CASE STUDIES
PRESIDENTS, SECRETARIES, COMMENTATORS AND PRESIDENTS
OF CASE STUDIES

G.G.M. Alink
Dir. Verkeersveiligheid
Kanaalweg 3
2584 CC DEN HAAG
the Netherlands

Mrs S. Arditti-Harburger
Commission Nationale pour le
Développement Social des Quartiers
71, rue Saint-Dominique
75007 PARIS
France

Mrs. K. Arge
OBOS
Hammersborg torg 1
0179 OSLO 1
Norway

Mrs J. Ash
Wildcroft Coombe Park
KINGSTON ON THEMES
United Kingdom KT2 7JB

B. Bach
Technische Hogeschool Delft
Afd. Bouwkunde
Postbus 5043
2600 GA DELFT
the Netherlands

G. Barna
Magyar Urbanisztikai Társaság
Rákóczi Ut. 7.11
1088 BUDAPEST
Hungary

R. Baron
President
McCormack, Baron Associates
1101 Lucas Avenue
ST. LOUIS, Missouri 63101
USA

H. Beierlorzer
Lang Fuhr 86
4600 DORTMUND 1
Germany, Fed. Rep. of

H. Bentham
Homestead Management Services Ltd
43 Blackpool Road
ANSDELL LYTHAM
United Kingdom

J. Blomme
MONSANTO EUROPE S.A.
Letter Box No 1
1150 BRUSSELS
Belgium

J.D. Byrne
South Australian
Housing Trust
17 Angan Street
ADELAIDE
South Australia 5000

T. Chmielewski
TUP
Wallenroda 2/107
20-607, LUBLIN
Poland

J. Csuti
8900 ZALAEGERSZEG
Kossuth u. 17-19
BUDAPEST
Hungary

S. Devigny
Société C.R.I.P.
33, Avenue du Maine
75755 PARIS CEDEX 15
France

C. Diaz Gomez
c/ Valencia, 5-B, 59 1a
BARCELONA-08015
Spain

G. Edery
14, Place de Seine
92400 COURBEVOIE
France

H. Emonds
RW H Aachen
Am Schönauer Hang 6
5100 AACHEN
Germany, Fed. Rep. of

Y. Endoh
Dept. of Architecture
Kumamoto University
2-39-1 Kurokami
KUMAMOTO
Japan

P.C. Floor
Tuinstad Zuidwijk
Schere 31, Postbus 5306
3008 AH ROTTERDAM
the Netherlands

Y.P. Fyodorov
Tsniep of Dwellings
Gosgrazhdanstroy
9, Dmitrovskoye Shosse
MOSCOW, 127434
USSR

T. Gáspár
Budapest Főváros Tanácsa
Városház utca 9-11
BUDAPEST
Hungary

H. Gérard
34, rue de la Ravinelle
54000 NANCY
France

O. Gibbins
Neuer Kamp 23-25
2000 HAMBURG 6
Germany, Fed. Rep. of

Mrs B. Gilkey
1121 North 8th Street 406
ST. LOUIS, Missouri 63101
USA

Mrs M. Gueorguieva
Scientific Research Dept.
GLAVPROJEKT
6, Str. Al. Zhendov
1113 SOFIA
Bulgaria

B-O Holmberg
Generalplanechef
City of Gothenburg
Box 2258
403 14 GOTHENBURG
Sweden

Mrs M. Jaksic
Zavod za Planiranje Razvoja
Grada Beograda
Palmoticeva 30
11000 BELGRADE
Yugoslavia

P. Kallstenius
Stockholms Stadsbyggnadskontor
Box 8314
10420 STOCKHOLM
Sweden

G.R.W. de Kam
Mauritsstraat 28A
9724 BL GRONINGEN
the Netherlands

J. Karys
Ecole Polytechnique
Ul. Wybrzeze Wyspianskiego 27
50.370 WROCLAW
Poland

R. Katz
University of Illinois at Urbana
1204 West Nevada Street
URBANA, Illinois 61801
USA

Mrs E. van Kempen
Universiteit van Amsterdam
Subfac. der Social Geografie
Jodenbreestraat 23
1011 NH AMSTERDAM
the Netherlands

Mrs M. Korbonits
VATI
99, Krisztina krt.
1016 BUDAPEST
Hungary

M. Kramer
Egelantiersgracht 466
1015 RR AMSTERDAM
the Netherlands

J. Krause
c/o Senator für Bau- und
Wohnungswesen
Württembergische Strasse 6-10
1000 BERLIN 2
Germany, Fed. Rep. of

H. Kristensen
Statens Byggeforskningsinstitut
Dr Neergaards Vej 15
Postboks 119
2970 HØRSBOLM
Denmark

- I. Lénárt
Honvéd u. 1
8000 SZÉKESFEHÉRVAR
Hungary
- F. Lill
Vincent-van-Gogh Str 13
5000 KÖLN
Germany, Red. Rep. of
- S. Lowe
University of York
Dept. of Social Policy and
Social Work
HESLINGTON, YORK, YO1 5DD
United Kingdom
- R. Lijbers
RIW-Instituut voor
Volkshuisvestingsonderzoek
Postbus 5018
2600 GA DELFT
the Netherlands
- R. Lion
Caisse des Depots et Consignations
56 rue de Lille
95007 PARIS
France
- T.N. Magee
The Housing Authority of the City of
Augusta
P.O. Box 3246 - Hill Station
AUGUSTA, Georgia 30904
USA
- P. Marchart
Magistratsabteilung 19
Niederhofstrasse 23
1121 WIEN
Austria
- W. McGivern
Housing Centre 2,
Adelaide Street
BELFAST BT2 8PB
Ireland
- R. Middleton
Greater London Council
103 A Leighton Road
LONDON NW5 2RB
United Kingdom
- T. Mikolás
Debrecen Planning Institute
DEBRECEN
Hungary
- O. Nissen
Association of County Councils
in Denmark
10, Landemaerket
119 COPENHAGEN K
Denmark
- N. Nilsson
Hyresgästerna
Box 7514
10392 STOCKHOLM
Sweden
- A. Noworol
Faculté d'Architecture
Politechnika Krakowska
Warszawska 24
31-155 KRAKOW
Poland
- J. Nygård
Femkanten G 8
2630
TÅSTRUP
Sweden
- E. Olsson
Sveriges Allmännyttiga
Bostadsföretag SABO
Box 474
10126 STOCKHOLM
Sweden
- S. Omang
Norsk Institutt for By og
Regionforskning
Nylovn 1
OSLO 4
Norway
- A.W. Oskam
Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening
Amsterdam
Wibautstraat 3
1091 GH AMSTERDAM
the Netherlands
- F. Parfait
Président COFHUAT
33, avenue du Maine
B.P. 116
75755 PARIS Cédex 15
France
- M. Perović
Head, Metropolitan Planning Unit
Palmoticeva 30
11000 BELGRADE
Yugoslavia

Mrs C. Pickering
The Housing Corporation
149 Tottenham Court Road
LONDON W1P 0BM
United Kingdom

P. Prazeres de Sá
Architect
Câmara Municipal de Lisboa
Rua de Malange 281, 1º Dtº
2775 PAREDE
Portugal

N. Pressman
Livable Winter City Association
521 Briar Hill Avenue
TORONTO, Ontario
Canada M5N 1N1

H. Priemus
Technische Hogeschool Delft
Postbus 5
2600 AA DELFT
the Netherlands

R. Radović
Golsvortijeva 21 I/V stan 16
11000 BELGRADE
Yugoslavia

Mrs L. Reppen
Stockholms Stadsbyggnadskontor
Box 8314
10420 STOCKHOLM
Sweden

H.W.M. van Rooyen
SOAB
Janskerkhof 1
3512 BK UTRECHT
the Netherlands

N. Salicath
Vangedevej 91
2810 GENTOFTE
Denmark

H. Schwartz
Woonstichting Amsterdam
Oude Turfmarkt 139
1012 GC AMSTERDAM
the Netherlands

H. Siegel
Breite Strasse 36
1020 BERLIN
German Democratic Republic

L. Somogyi
Minister of Building and
Urban Development
Beloiannis u. 2-4
1370 BUDAPEST
Hungary

E. Steuer
Woningbouwvereniging "Ons Belang"
Meeuwenlaan 41
1021 MS AMSTERDAM
the Netherlands

P. Stouten
St. Annastraat 21A
4811 XK BREDA
the Netherlands

I. Szekely
Ministry of Finance
Jozsef Nadortér 2
BUDAPEST
Hungary

K. Szerdahelyi
Kossuth u. 17-19
8900 ZALAEGERSZEG
Hungary

Mrs B. Tarhouni
District de Tunis
10, rue d'Auriche
1002 TUNIS-BELVEDERE
Tunisia

I. Tosics
Néphadsereg
41055 BUDAPEST
Hungary

B. Turner
National Swedish Institute for
Building Research
Box 785
801 29 GÄVLE
Sweden

J. Uhlmann
GEWOS
Simrockstrasse 20
5300 BONN 1
Germany, Fed. Rep. of

M. Varming
Danish Building Research Institute
Postboks 119
2970 HØRSKJOLM
Denmark

F. Vidor
Bimbó u. 76
BUDAPEST
Hungary-1022
Mrs X. Zepic

Mrs X. Zepic
c/o Metro Planning Department
Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto
Toronto City hall
East Tower, 11th floor
TORONTO, Ontario
Canada M5H 2N1

F. van Voorden
Homeruslaan 27
3707 GN ZEIST
the Netherlands

Mrs S. Vrancheva
Scientific Research Dept.
GLAVPROJEKT
6, Str. Al. Zhendov
1113 SOFIA
Bulgaria

K. Walker
Ken Walker & Partners
The London Production Centre
Broomhill Road
Wandsworth, LONDON SW18 4JQ
United Kingdom

W. Wolff
Frankfurter Aufbau AG
Gutleutstrasse 40
6000 FRANKFURT am Main
Germany, Fed. Rep. of

H. White
City of Newcastle upon Tyne
Housing Department, Civic Centre
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE, NE1 8PR
United Kingdom

H. Wiggerts
Technische Hogeschool Delft
afd. civiele techniek
Stevinweg 1
2628 CN DELFT
the Netherlands

F. IJmker
RIW-Instituut voor
Volkshuisvestingsonderzoek
Postbus 5018
2600 GA DELFT
the Netherlands

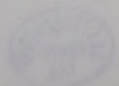
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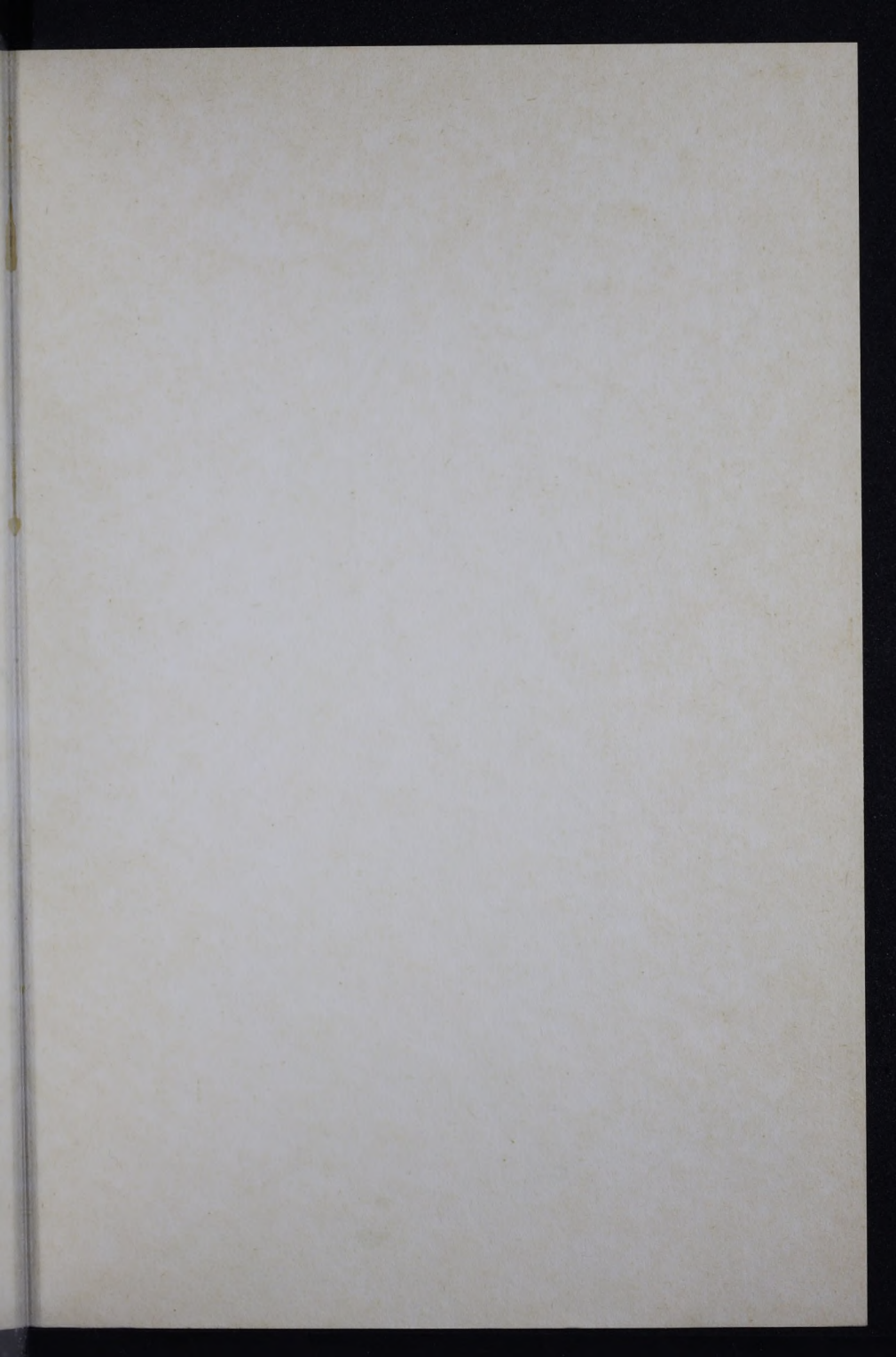


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