

Kamau Karogi

What was presented in the paper by Ismail Serageldin substantially comes from the Middle East which has a fairly stable and developed culture, so that it is possible for the architect or whoever is concerned with housing to decide the culture. One of the general points which we must address ourselves to is how to decode the deeply set cultural codes? — and then to reuse them for housing incorporating marginal evolution that must happen over time.

This tends to propose to those of us who are in educational institutions — that we must begin not to rely on an individual architect's vision. We must develop very broadly based, theoretical models of understanding our society and their priorities so far as housing needs in spacial terms, housing needs in cultural terms, housing needs as a symbol in society are concerned. Here in Africa, a few studies have been done, in Lamu for example. We have done quite extensive studies to appreciate things like privacy gradients in Lamu town. We have also done extensive surveys and the group which is working on revitalisation and rehabilitation of the town has been consulting us. Still we cannot say, that even for such a small place, we have a very comprehensive theoretical framework as to how to use what is in Lamu to build anew.

The next problem is how to develop a theoretical model of decoding the deep structure of a society which is in transition, like the African society. Whereas there is no question that there is a need for doing that, there is also a need for incorporating a component within our thinking that takes care of very rapid change, economic change, cultural change etc. The problem is to distill the important elements. We have to make a distinction between the needs of a stable culture and the needs of a culture in transition.

The next important problem we are facing in my country is the role of architect. In a traditional society, the architect or whoever wanted to build was part and parcel of society. The deep cultural structures were part of him; he was a receptacle. But the modern (western) training suggests there is a distance between the architect and the rest of society.

He is overseeing the contractor and trying to fulfill the needs of the client, but he is alienated from the word go, from society. Some way has to be found to reintegrate the architect within society. A very serious rethinking in architectural education has to be undertaken. It is very important for us to address ourselves to the organisation of the profession. An architect in Kenya is sometimes referred to in a derogatory manner as one who simply draws plans, because society does not quite see what the architect does. They understand what a contractor does but it is a little difficult for the layman to understand what the architect does. So there is a serious problem of how to integrate the architect within society. We are talking about solving the problems of housing, by looking at some positive projects by architects. But it cannot be a question of hit or miss. It has to be integrated in education.

We all know, in the history of mankind, there has been a danger of the all-embracing theoretical model. Some time ago, we had Karl Marx who gave a blue print of how societies should develop from an economic point of view. We had the Modern Movement which gave us a theoretical all-embracing statement of how we should continue with our architecture. We must address ourselves to the dangers of the all-embracing theoretical model. It should have a built-in component of evolution, although it is a model. We also have the danger of having no model at all. It is quite clear that there is something lacking, and I do not think we can rely on a hit or miss solution by the brilliant architect. We must do something in the way of education and my contribution has been a suggestion of an issue that we need to address.

Murat Karayalcin

Firstly, I am afraid, I am going to defend apartment blocks. The Jeddah example was bad but what is to be criticised is not the apartments but the architect or the developer. If there is no demand for apartment blocks from the people of Jeddah and you make apartments there, then you have not done your market research properly but the Singapore example is really quite good. What is privacy, and why are apartments unable to

secure that privacy? If conditions were appropriate people would probably prefer to live in houses near the ground but there are so many cases where they are not able to. If you choose to live in an apartment you may still retain your privacy. There are various means developed; for instance in Ankara, people use balconies for that purpose.

Many plants, small ornamental trees and flowers are cultivated and they take these plants and insert them into their balconies and thus develop a living pattern that satisfies them.

Secondly and related to that, is the issue of privatisation and socialisation. In Middle East countries, privatisation has come to an important level. Ismail Serageldin has shown an example from Egypt where the people are painting their walls. I can give similar examples from Turkey. It seems that we pay special attention to our living units but that we do not attach much attention or importance to their physical context and the social environment. Now, here is a role for the architect.

Architects, in addition to their vitally important role of shaping the form of buildings, should give special attention to the development of places that will assist us in our socialisation process.

Babar Mumtaz

I was glad that Kamau Karogi brought the discussion around to the role of the architect and training of the architect.

I was slightly worried that he was projecting a new villain of the piece which was going to be the West. I hope that is not going to be the case and we can restrict ourselves to keeping the architect as the villain or if you like, the hero of the piece and look again at what we mean by the architect and his role.

Ismail Serageldin introduced a number of very interesting concepts, when for example, in praising the Cakirhan House, he said that the definition of an architect was not someone that had a particular qualification but was simply somebody instructing somebody else to produce a preconceived or preferred end results. If you accept that as a definition of the architect, then there are far more architects than we give credit to. Many of the buildings that we see are built in this way, and

I am now referring to the lowest cost, the squatter houses that are indeed built in that fashion. Very often, people, although they use self-help also instruct other people. People go through a process of modifying and developing a house until it becomes something closer and closer to their preferred reality. It is the experience of everybody who is living in a shanty town. It is the experience of everybody who is developing their own architecture, piece by piece towards a preferred reality. If you take that as a notion then they are all architects.

Ismail Serageldin talked about the spontaneous settlement and if spontaneity is a desirable criteria, simultaneously is an undesirable criteria. When we try to produce ten thousand houses at once, in the form of a big project, that we begin to get the massive slab blocks.

The other notion that Ismail Serageldin introduced, relates to the same dilemma, or dichotomy that Charles Correa has pointed out. How do you move from houses to housing? All the examples that we have seen of good architecture have been good houses. How do you get an architect to do housing not just houses? As Charles Correa has said, even if you have got one good individual house, multiplying it by 10,000 does not necessarily produce good housing.

The thing that we are looking for is not just architecture. Maybe, within the area of housing, the individual should remain an architect, in the Cakirhan sense and the architect ie the *professional* should create conditions where things can happen spontaneously and not simultaneously as in a big project?

Charles Correa

The villain of the piece is not the architect, but the process. It is the mind set as Babar Mumtaz pointed out. A friend of mine once said that we have the ability in life to say no and yes. We say no, our school system does not work, yes, we want more schools. We say no our housing does not work, yes, we want more houses. We mix up the verb and the noun. We have to go back and re-examine that mind set, the thinking and the process. If we go in this way, we are going to produce more and more of this kind of pollution of our cities, the worst

pollution in the form of the buildings we build. It is not because the architects are untalented, or because they are villains, it is because of the process.

The other point mentioned was about architects not being able to generalise. You have to distinguish here between a typology and an actual design. All the houses in Mikanos, for instance follow the same typology, yet all of them are individual. That is true of villages in Egypt and India too.

What architects try to do at their best in a large housing complex is understand the basic underlying typology and then allow a great deal of variation. A very good example is in the United Kingdom — Byker Wall by Ralph Erskine — where he allowed a great deal of variation and individuality, which he decides to some extent and is partly through participation.

There are other ways of bringing it about through site planning, and through people participating. It does not have to be self-help, it can be any kind of architecture. There are many ways but what we really want is the pluralism of Mikanos, with the simplicity of the typology, with the uniformity of the typology, with the consistency of the typology because that comes from culture and from human things. It comes down to the architect's contribution to help find new typologies. It comes about, not just by looking backward but by looking forward as well.

People's aspirations, even if it is neon signs and plastic buckets and things, like TV antenna, and the film industry in India — these are the new — I will not call them myths — but the new compulsive images which create our lives. A great architect like Frank Lloyd Wright invented the way middle-income America lives because he understood aspirations. He built very few houses, but he totally changed what American suburbia looks like. Now, that is what we are looking for. He did not have to design the whole of American suburbia. He just did a handful of houses.

I do not care how these houses enter the system, they can come in from the top-down or from the bottom-up. In this kind of society it is usually better when they come from the top-down because if my Prime Minister lives in a mud-house, I

am much more likely to live in a mud-house myself. If he drives a Mercedes, I am much more likely to have those aspirations. This is why it is very important that the people at the top play their role. I would like us to address the possibility that architecture has to do with aspirations and not merely the symbols from the past.

A P Mushi

In our discussions, I have realised the diversity between the analysis of the issues and the responses. I have one major observation. The architect serves only a very small portion of the community because of the fee structure, the set-up of the bye-laws and so forth. Ismail Serageldin has gone slightly deeper and explored certain patterns and practices that are related to housing to see what values can be incorporated into modern thinking.

I would appreciate it if this seminar could re-direct our thinking towards the larger community that we offer our services to, so that we can come up with a model that eventually will be able to assist the poor man right in the centre of the Serengeti who will not see an architect for the next 50 years. It should also be able to assist the poor here in Zanzibar, who will not be able to afford the services of an architect. We should try and suggest solutions at a seminar like this. Most of us, went to schools of architecture or universities and we learned about Mies van de Rohe and other great modern architects. We have adopted some of this architecture; some has had good results. Some of it has not been good because people prefer something more related to their way of life. For example, the modern house one sees in Paris or in London if built in the centre of Zanzibar would have to have several modifications for it to be suitable. Here in Zanzibar, women are not supposed to come into the sitting room. That is the culture. I therefore support the idea of Ismail Serageldin for us to visit the past and use it as a driving force for the future.

Oleg Grabar

I have been struck by a whole series of things that have been

said and I would like to start with the funniest one. I love the idea of re-integrating the architect with his society. I relish the thought that the architect has somehow escaped from society. Maybe he has. I think the art journals, the art schools and the whole internal self-praise of the profession had removed him from society, but that is a very minor point. I would like to get to two more significant ones.

The first one is the use of the past which Ismail Serageldin noted in particular. I do not think the past is significant for housing. The contemporary world has become so different from what it had been, that with all due respect to his wonderful slides, the history of the mosque does not bear a significant relationship to contemporary housing. It may bear a relationship to building mosques today, but housing is a really different issue. I detect a circular argument going on among many of us which looks at a building and if it is (a) we say it dehumanises and it is (b) we say it humanises but we never ask the people involved to say if it dehumanises or if it humanises them. For all I know people in apartments can be very happy and a lot of them are very happy and people in nice neighbourhoods hate each other because one has a swimming pool and the other does not have a swimming pool.

It is a question really for Saad Eddin Ibrahim — can the social sciences provide a methodology for architects to find out what people's values are?

Soap manufacturers know what soap will sell by making market surveys; in the same way can we find out what are the values of the users. I feel that what we are doing is imposing our own set of values, however developed and however creative. We are imposing them on the users and saying that these are the values they have got to have. I do not know whether there are existing survey methods that can detect taste; not among the wealthy for we know what they want and how to deal with it. But what about the larger percentage of the population? It would be interesting to develop this. This is one point that occurred to me — to find out more about the users, rather than impose our vision upon them.

Let me make a small point before I get onto the second broad issue. It was alleged that bureaucrats make all the decisions and that they are responsible for these walk-up blocks that exist everywhere. There is some truth in the fact that bureaucracies are always based on budgets and anything that is beautiful is suspect. Our culture has developed in such a way that only the ugly seems cheap and therefore budgettarily acceptable. Anything that is beautiful seems somehow to be wrong if not somewhat evil. That is a minor point but then I have a thing about cost accounting and nearly all accounts.

Now let me go back to the more important issue that concerns all of us. That is the question of education and the process of training architects. A lot of progress has been made here but let me talk about another kind of education — the education of taste. How is it that one acquires certain tastes? Why is it that, for instance in this seminar, I suspect no one would be willing to defend very strongly, the high-rise apartment blocks and yet they are built. I am talking not about education in schools but through the media. In other words the ways in which most people acquire their information, their knowledge and their tastes. It is no longer through newspapers, or magazines or radio but through television and related features. What is the taste, not simply of the people who are the makers of and the users of architecture, but the taste of a 20-year-old? In the world we are talking about, 60 per cent of the population is under 25. Therefore the taste is not the taste of a 45-year-old professor, architect or bureaucrat but the taste of the 20-year-old. What is the 20-year-old's taste today in the Third, First, or Second World? This is a problem.

What is the environment that young people would like to have? Educating them and ourselves is essential.

Abdelbaki Ibrahim

We have to learn from the past. In the field of housing, in Islamic architecture, the house was not built by an architect but the owner and the master builder developed the building together. This was the process which created houses. In the past, there were social values connecting all the people

together; defining how to build together. There were rules and regulations which controlled growth. How do we reflect this in the present?

If I may relate an experience of mine: I was asked to plan and design a satellite town east of Cairo. I tried not to design or to plan but to create a planning process and a building process whereby a newcomer to this settlement would come together with the architects stationed in the settlement and work together in an organic way, to build their environment. In this way they might create a sense of community and build their own houses with their shared contribution. There would be community participation, not only in the building process, but also in the management of the settlement. I tried also to get some Islamic values into the spatial definition of the neighbourhood unit. Upon exposing these ideas to the minister and his advisors he said it was a very good idea but he wanted to immediately build 10,000 units using a prototype. So in reality the decision-maker demolished all our ideas.

Ismail Serageldin

We have already succeeded in starting a healthy debate which will be enriching.

First, in response to queries that have permeated some of the discussion, I emphasise that we are not about to create a new theoretical model that will be all encompassing. Nothing could be further from the truth. If the Award has distinguished itself by one particular feature, it has been the creation of *a space of freedom* whereby multiple ideas can grow and generate new areas of search. That does not mean that we should let go of analytical rigour or that we should collectively not try to understand more from each other. This requires developing a better conceptual understanding of the philosophical constructs that underlay the “mind-sets” of people.

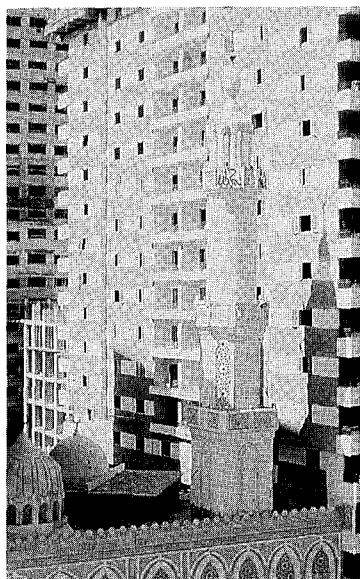
Coming specifically to the comments that have been made. I would like to comment first on two misconceptions. I am surprised that people say that I am nostalgic and that I am promoting the past. On the contrary I am a great believer that we should address our time and think of the future.

I firmly advocate that we should develop a modern contemporary architecture. But it does not have to be one that is equated with what I refer to as the “blah”. It is not true and highly dangerous to make a dichotomy, as my friend Saad Eddin Ibrahim did that assumes that you can have a shack with a spirit of community and/or better housing without it, and that we must make that choice. It is not a choice! This is the same error which occurs when you say to people that you can have modern slab blocks with electricity and water and sewerage or you can have those nice “quirky” things without electricity and water. It does not follow that you have to take a package that is indivisible. In fact, this is part of the task of decision-makers, intellectuals and architects, to redesign the package, and to multiply the options.

Secondly, I would like to address the notion of the role of the architect and how it relates to the spirit of the age. I am not making the architect the scapegoat nor do I believe that he is a villain. I believe along with Charles Correa that it is very much the prevalent mind-set that is reflected here. The mind-set of those trying to solve a particular problem, using architectural means. Here, architects have a major role to play. They are the ones who end up designing buildings, those particular buildings in any city that become landmarks, that can be identified, that create a sense of place.

When we talk about a city like Paris, the images that come to mind, the particular boulevards and the particular buildings, are the deliberate creations of individuals. This is very different from the artistry in solving 10,000 houses. It is not the same thing. The role of the architect is in developing those particular elements that organise space, that gives us a sense of identity. The elements that indeed become the witness of our time, much as we look at a particular structure and say “This was one of the great buildings of the nineteenth century”.

The fact that great architects do not get great commissions does not necessarily mean a thing. Frank Lloyd Wright built over 500 buildings and I believe he had only one public commission in the USA which was in Marin County in California. All the rest were private clients.



A phoney dome (front) added merely for appearance, because real dome (back) could not be seen from the street.

The reason is partially due to the bureaucratic process, which has budgets and committees and unless you have a specific intervention or a very high official who can override these processes, like M. Mitterand, you end up most of the time by taking the lowest common denominator. This is not however, what constitutes good architecture. There is nothing devious or unusual about it. It is common practice. But it is the same as saying, for example, that there are a few outstanding novels that define the literature of the twentieth century in England. I am sure that there are hundreds of thousands of popular novels and essays and journalistic articles and so on, but they are not the ones which define the spirit of the time. I am not against apartment buildings incidentally; there is nothing wrong with apartment buildings. I am not only for individual houses. But if we are going to respond to the challenge of our time, to provide the alternatives then we need to go beyond what the masters have given us.

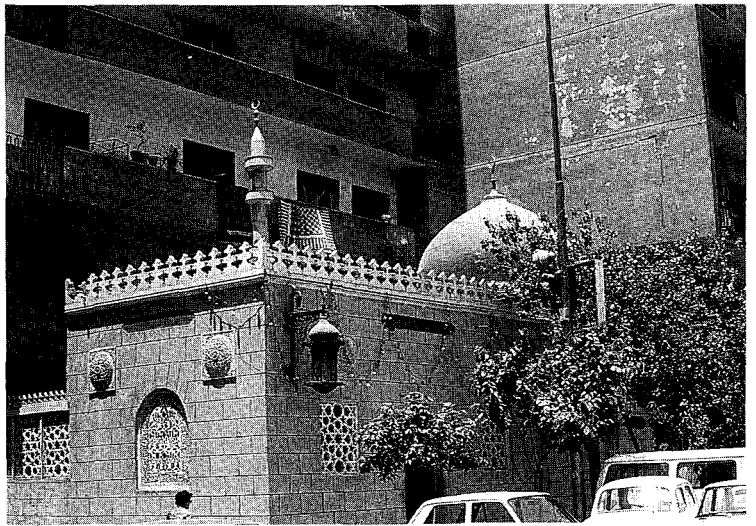
I do believe that the Unité d'Habitation in Marseille is a great building. There is no question that if you read the history of architecture in the twentieth century, that block is one of the buildings that is going to be mentioned. But that does not mean that the cloning of that good building on a very large scale by less competent people is going to be the solution.

Architects today are being called upon, especially in the Third World, to create a more meaningful set of symbols that are relevant to this time. There is nothing wrong with the neon sign but what is wrong is the implication that this is the only way you can do it.

Architects have a responsibility in society to try to create and to try to interpret those elements that we all need today. Precisely because society is moving and changing rapidly we need to resymbolise our present environment; enrich it, not degrade it. Here I disagree with Oleg Grabar. The reason I used the examples of the mosque is because it is accessible to everybody without necessarily referring to a context of a particular country that people may know. I could show similar examples of housing of a particular country using the vocabulary of the housing of that country and you see the same

degradation taking place. It is however most vividly represented by the mosque examples which I used.

Architects have a major role to play and cannot abdicate their responsibility by simply saying "What is the alternative?" The challenge is to search for the alternative. The first step towards creation of that alternative, comes from the correct definition of the problem. Defining the problem, is half-way towards the solution. If we avoid defining the problem we are bound to remain locked into circular arguments and we would not proceed further.



Tiny minaret shows how a key architectural element has been transformed to a mere signal.

Johan Silas

I want to try to uncover the essentials of housing, and its relation with architecture.

I want to touch upon four issues and allow me to explain the first issue. I want to elaborate further what Mona Serageldin has explained about the role of Informal Housing and the solving of the housing problems. Indonesia is in a very unique position. Compared to other developing countries, Indonesia was probably the last to start a public housing programme.

Indonesia only started effectively implementing a public housing programme in 1976. Before 1976 there was no effective housing programme whatsoever. What has happened in ten years, since the implementation of a serious form of housing programme? What does it contribute to the increase of housing stocks? I have tried to make some calculations based on census figures from 1971, 1976, 1980 and 1985. Effectively the formal housing programme contributes no more than 7 per cent of the annual housing needs. In other words, the majority of the housing stock that is needed is fulfilled through individually constructed houses and 90 per cent of the individually constructed houses are in what we call the informal housing sector.

Informal Housing Let me explain what is meant by informal housing. There are many definitions but I want to stress two important things. In informal housing, the owner, the user, the builder and the designer is most likely to be one person. He can hire artisans to do part of the work but the decision making is controlled by one person.

Another aspect of informal housing is that the owner is the producer of housing and the consumer. This too differentiates between the informal and formal. The number of rooms that exists in the informal housing is increasing. The number of houses with only one or two rooms has decreased. Over the years 1971 to 1985, houses that have only one or two rooms, decreased in percentage whilst houses with three, four, five, six, seven rooms increased. Over the same period, household sizes decreased.

Floor area per household, or *per capita*, is also increasing in the informal sector. Interestingly, the government uses the standard of 6 or 7 square metres per person and builds formal public housing with a floor area of 35 to 45 square metres. This is paradoxically the size of dwelling that is decreasing in the informal housing sector where the number of houses larger than 50 square metres is proportionately increasing. Toilets, building materials used, drinking water and ownership of housing have all increased in the informal sector over these years. So in the context of Indonesia, the informal sector *is* the producer of housing. Indonesia does not depend on the formal housing factor to fulfil the housing needs every year. Therefore I do not agree that we should consider informal housing as only a temporary solution. Indonesia has therefore put more emphasis on the improvement of existing settlements and the Kampung Improvement Programme.

The discussion we have had up to now is what housing is rather than what it does. We have been showing slides on what it is but very little has been said about what it does. I asked Jorge Anzorena to describe the Japanese word for a house. The word “house” consists of two parts in the Japanese script.

It is a roof and a pig. If you have a roof and you have a pig, you have a house. A pig symbolises an important offering that man gives to the Gods, in the Japanese and Chinese context. Food also symbolises that you are wealthy otherwise you cannot have the pig as your offering.

So, the Japanese, the Chinese, or the Korean has a certain perception of a house. Now this is entirely different to Indonesia. In Indonesia, the word “house” — *Rumah* — relates to women and to family. So if you have a house, you should have a family and a wife. You cannot have a house if you do not have a wife and a family. In the Indonesian context, the meaning of the word “house” is entirely different, even, contradictory to the Japanese usage.

Now what happens to the word “house” in another language. There is a book recently published in English by a Polish writer. He describes very interestingly, what he misses in the house is “comfort”. So in the context of house and home,

he emphasises this “comfort”. This is what many architects have been trained to design into a house.

My point is this. The Japanese, the Chinese, the Indonesian world; in effect perhaps one half billion people, have a superimposed meaning from a few hundred million people in the world. What has been superimposed is the meaning of a house onto the word in Chinese or Japanese or in Indonesian or maybe also in Hindi. This is my second point about the misconception of imposing the meaning of a house into an entirely different social, cultural and economic context. This is the reason why over and over again architects build the wrong houses for the people. These houses continue to be built.

This is a rather bizarre yet true story that relates to the meaning and the perception of a house. When public housing was built in Bali, I did a study on its impact. I warned the people in the Office of the Public Housing Corporation that they should pay more attention to the local context when building houses in Bali. But ultimately, the design and the planning are centralised. You cannot see any difference in the formal public housing built in the east, in the central region or in the west of Indonesia. All are exactly the same. A year after the housing complex was finished and occupied a tragedy occurred. A 14-year old girl killed three of her younger playmates; 12 and 13 year olds, who were her friends. They used to play together. She was brought to court and the judge asked her “Why did you kill your friends?”. She replied that at the time she represented a God that had influence in that area of Bali. The public housing in that area of Bali was not built according to the ritual where you should first have a religious ceremony by giving an offering before you start the ground breaking for building. Only after that is done would the Balinese dare to live in the housing complex. So the offer had been done by killing three innocent little girls. This is a true story from Indonesia.

I have another anecdote, not so sad, about walk-up flats which were built in Palembang, the fifth largest city in Indonesia. A central low-income settlement burned down.

About 2,000 families lost their houses and the government decided to rebuild the area for the people using "new concepts of housing". They built 3,600 walk-up flats. After 4 years, no more than 600 are occupied. The remaining 3,000 flats are empty. I made some small calculations. If the money used to build those flats had been put in the bank, with the interest alone one could improve all the *Kampungs* in Palembang within one year to three times the present standards.

That is not the whole story for if an architectural student in Indonesia designed such walk-up flats, and proposed that kind of solution, I am sure that the student would graduate with flying colours.

So where does the architect come into low income housing? The architect has first to go through a deschooling process and a re-education by the people and by the community. If I reflect on my own experience, I would say I have had to do that. Of course at the time I was trained at the School of Architecture, we had Dutch professors, so I have someone to blame. My question is "Will my students say the same thing about me?"

E Jorge Anzorena

In the last 12 years, I have spent most of my time in slum areas in Asia and Latin America, trying to find out how the poorest 30 per cent or 40 per cent of the population, people who have incomes of 30, 40 or 50 US dollars could improve their habitat. I say habitat because they do not have water, toilets, electricity or security and are continuously evicted. One definition of habitat is "a place of survival". People need to work, they need to be near to their work, they need to be able to live with security and not to be evicted. They need to be able to live with some dignity. It is extremely important that housing should allow people to grow, and give them more dignity than previously. There are common elements in all communities or in people who are organising themselves to improve the situation.

First of all, someone must expend many hours with this problem; with the slum dwellers and with the squatters, many hours living in the place, listening to the problems, finding the

solutions. These people must respect the poor, see the values that exist in the culture, respect the judgement of the poor, even if they are illiterate. They must be people who believe that change is possible and who see that change will come from the poor. There are many reasons why poor people do not have a secure place to live with dignity. Partly it is because the poor are competing for things which have a commercial value. In the countryside where the land is commercially valuable, it is taken away. Similarly in the cities. They are deprived of their culture and the possibilities of jobs. But even street dwellers in Bombay, for example, have devised practised solutions by starting home industries. They have some answers to their problem, the problem of the neglect of society.

One problem is, how to get cheap housing? There are many models. One group in Chile has produced about 100,000 houses in the last few years. Each house costs about US\$10 per square metre. Half of the population of Santiago live in this type of house which is produced from wood panels. A minimal house of 10 square metres made of such panels, can be assembled in two hours. The group can produce 300 houses per month and in times of emergency, this could increase to 1,000.

In Bombay, one group began with women-pavement dwellers. The question was how to pave their dwellings. Six hundred women have already been trained and they are able to transfer their knowledge to other poor people.

In Indonesia a minimal house can be constructed of bamboo for US\$120 for people who otherwise would be living in the streets. They have the potential to be considered as citizens. In the background of all these projects is a community organisation. If the people are not organised, nobody will recognise their rights.

Through organisations, people can acquire better toilets, collection of garbage and water. Very few architects work in this field except on very large projects but there are examples in Korea where a group of about 200 young architects are questioning government policy and trying to find a role for architects in this strata of society. One is not only an architect for your client, but an architect has responsibilities to society.

Another model comes from Thailand. Here one finds a process of landsharing in Bangkok. About 5,000 families in the biggest slum of Bangkok are landsharing.

I am drawing examples from the informal sector, the formal sector and mass housing. I have a tremendous interest in how the 30 to 40 per cent of people with the lowest income can have a decent house in which they can live with security. In Kerala, the government has experienced failures in massive projects. Now they have asked the voluntary agencies to work through them and in the first year, one project has produced about 25,000 houses, using a decentralised process. There is a satisfaction because the people are controlling their own house construction and it is a completely decentralised project.

There is another project in Lima, Peru in which architects were involved in an incremental way. This project is for 12,000 families. Most of the people come from the mountains. They are very poor and earn US\$30 as casual workers. Here the architects have devised ways in which the project can begin with a very low profile. This is a bankrupt country and cannot provide services to each plot which will normally cost US\$1,500.

The architects also provide practical planning assistance on how to develop the project over 10 to 15 years. The community is divided into groups of 60 and each group together with an architect design the allotted space. Each community will receive about one hectare of land. The government provides services at one point of the project. This is how they begin.

How then can the architect be integrated into this society? An architect should grow continuously. He is a person who should know the history of his country, the culture, the social problem, the economics, the corruption and try to make an assessment of what is going on. He should have an ideal, an ideal that everybody should have a decent shelter. With his training in architecture, he could produce something new, something completely revolutionary. In many of these projects, there are no architects. But the moment an architect appears, something changes and I wish more and more architects would get involved.

Oleg Grabar

I would like to give my impression of the subject and to identify ten levels of thinking that occurred in my mind and emphasise the ones that seem to deserve particular attention and discussion.

The first level I would call “the level of statistical “description”; that is, the number of houses and the number of people. We can get all this factual information from tables. We all know it is an important problem but it need not dominate our discussion here.

The second level, I call “the level of technology”. I would like to skip this too, in the sense that how people build or don’t build; what materials are available or not available; when should electricity and transportation come in are technical problems. They are important but they are not for the immediate discussion.

The third level is what I call “the level of local specificity”. Issues in Indonesia for example are different from Morocco. We know this is true and this has to be taken into consideration.

These three levels are important but perhaps not pertinent to our discussion at this point.

The next three seem to be more important for us. We have talked about them, skirted around them and sometimes said some fascinating things about them, but mostly avoided them.

I call the fourth level, “the level of government” in a political sense. What is the nature of political decisions that have to be made in order to produce housing for large numbers of people? Those decisions will vary from country to country and from area to area but perhaps there are certain political decisions that belong to government. For instance what degree of control should a central government have? What degree of autonomy should exist? What degree of mixing of groups should a government decree in countries that have different ethnic stocks? What level of practical logistics should the centralised government provide? What political decisions belong to a government?

My fifth level is to do with government also; Government in this case as a “form of rule”. Essentially this varies from

situations where people avoid governments until the very last moment to other situation where people always go to the government. Can we determine the way in which government should operate in a practical manner?

The sixth level, I would like to identify is “the level of socio-psychology”. What is the nature of the socio-psychological mix that is created when large numbers of people construct their housing together and live together. Mona Serageldin gave us an example of a 3-storey apartment building, with three families of different social and financial status living together. How did they react together? What are the oppressions and the strengths? The story that was recounted about somebody killing another person because the right sacrifice was not made at the outset is a version of the hatred that can exist when people live next to each other. What is the criminality of these areas? Nobody talked about criminality, but the risk of criminality can be high or it can be low. These are extreme examples of social-psychological relationships that exist.

The seventh level would be the level of what I call “the manufacture of space”. What fascinated me in the examples that were given by Mona Serageldin, and a number of other people as well, is where the constraints of contemporary life are such that any space given is immediately occupied. Once you put in beds, tables, the television, the bathroom, the kitchen and so forth, there is no room to turn around. You have no place for children to play for instance. In other words, do spaces that architects and planners conceive of as the minimum necessary take into consideration the new constraints of contemporary life? A television set appeared at the second floor window of one of Mona Serelgeldin’s examples. The occupants may not have much money but they have a television.

The third floor occupant may not have television yet but will have it next year. This immediately creates a whole set of spacial arrangements which have not been taken into consideration. This is one aspect of the manufacture of space. The other one is what Mona Serageldin calls decoration and which I would prefer to call “the freedom of expression of taste”.

The decoration that appears on all these buildings is important and fascinating for one very important reason; it is addressed to others and not to oneself. There is a visual image projected of one's own space to others. The decoration of the facade is something you never see once you are inside your own house. It is something you project for others to see. Why? What is it that you are telling others? I would like to know what that message is. Perhaps more will be said about that.

The ninth level is "the level of replication of successful solutions". There is a slight divergence between those who argue that each place is its own solution and if it becomes replicable, it becomes a useless bore or unnecessary, and those who say on the contrary that any good scheme has a way of being transformed into something replicable, I want to mention in this context the communication or lack thereof in making the activities of each housing sector available to others within the culture or outside the culture. Somebody talked about the necessity of getting a lobbyist; somebody who will know where to go in order to get something done. This is on a practical level. For our purposes, what is interesting is, can one transfer the inventiveness and the imagination that exist in these activities into professional journals, the press, to television programmes? Is there a way of communicating this activity to the world? Should there be another definition of a professional between the architect, that semi-divine figure in his office, and the practical person on the spot who helps somebody build. Is another professional needed here?

Finally, I come to "the level of solutions and expectations". That is, how fast can one accomplish things and beyond defining the issues, what can one do to speed up solutions?

Saad Eddin Ibrahim

I will address my remarks to some of the points Oleg Grabar raised and I would like to subsume all my remarks under something his last comment inspired, namely the barefoot architect. Mona Serageldin's paper with its richness, its completeness, and its propositions, suggests that if the title of this conference, *Architecture of Housing*, is to be taken

seriously, and if the bulk of the housing problem is in the lower-income Third World, then the architecture of housing must be directed towards the group of people which make up probably three quarters of mankind. That definitely would require a barefoot architect if we can work towards this end.

My first remark under this title, is the relationship between the state and society. One very suggestive paragraph, in Mona Serageldin's paper, says the inability of public authorities to capitalise on the dynamics of the informal market is due in large part to legislative paralysis because of the divergence in view points of decision makers, responsive to particular constituencies. It is also due to ambivalent attitudes among professionals profoundly disturbed by one or another of its negative manifestations. That summarises a good deal of the problematic relationship between the state apparatus and the civil society.

I was very impressed by the presentation by Tasneem Siddiqui because he is telling us how the civil society is trying to deal with the problem despite the state. The problem in the Third World basically is a state problem. The state is in debt, the state is a victim of all kinds of mismanagement. The state is full of corruption and therefore the state cannot solve its own problem. Therefore it will be too utopian to expect the state to solve the housing problem on the massive scale that we have heard about. Therefore, in our search for the barefoot architect, we must understand the nature of this relationship between the state and the civil society.

We, especially the architects among us, must re-define our own conception of such things as what makes a slum. We have borrowed these words from the First World — slum, squatters and so on. What makes a slum in the Third World? By all definitions, if I had seen the buildings shown by Tasneem Siddiqui without his explanation, I may have called these slums. But I consider that, given the process of people searching for solutions to deal with their own problems, I would not call them slums. A slum has a meaning of powerlessness, and impotence plus physical misery. There may be some physical misery in what he has shown us, but

definitely there is no feeling of powerlessness. That is the cutting edge between a slum and just a poor neighbourhood. I therefore call for Mona Serageldin to respond to two questions.

One is whether we are able to develop the concept, or a profession or an ideology that will produce in the Third World a barefoot architect. Second, whether we can make that barefoot architect a lobbyist for the powerless and a designer for the poor.

The people who are building their own houses definitely can use some architectural advice. But is the training of architects in the Third World able to provide that kind of advice. Oleg Grabar asked what do the people want? Can we find out what the people want? Yes, we can indeed find out what people want. Ismail Serageldin and myself did a study several years ago on the Bedouin in Saudi Arabia who the government wanted to settle. We asked them what they wanted. Some of them wanted to settle. Some of them did not want to settle. Those who wanted to settle, specified the kind of housing that they wanted and specified the kind of communities they need. Therefore it is quite possible to find out what people want. Now, what people want may not always be affordable and may not always be implemented, but definitely again, the barefoot architects that we were talking about would be able to give the best advice under the prevailing circumstances for the masses of urban poor.

The last point is that people throughout history have built for themselves. They will continue to build for themselves. Therefore maybe the job of architects and the job of all enlightened people in the Third World is to keep the government out of the way of the people. Many of the problems are solvable if you just let the people deal with them. Bureaucracies controlled by the government, often hinder the search for solutions that the ingenuity of people in every society can realise.

Babar Mumtaz

I wish to start with this notion of the role of the architect and what it should be.

Almost by definition, an architect has always been a society architect. By that we generally meant a *high* society architect. Our image of what constitutes society therefore determines the image of the architect. The architect was the one who wore the tie and the builder was the one who did not. That image of society is changing and therefore this sort of image of the architect will begin to change too. We now understand society as the mass of people that make up that society. Those people are largely “barefoot” and it is quite right that our image of a barefoot architect should follow that. What we should be talking about however is not so much barefoot, but “society” architects, who accept that they must respond to, and build for, the society in which they are living.

That takes me to my second point. In the presentation by Mona Serageldin followed up by the three discussants, it struck me that here we had in a very clear and articulate manner the two perceptions of informal housing. On the one hand we had the notion of informal housing as something that is done by people coming together as communities. We have the notion of the individual householder working in harmony with his surroundings and his neighbours and building a sharing, caring house as part of a sharing, caring community. This was the kind of image that was presented by Jorge Anzorena and by Arif Hasan. The notion was that individuals want to build their individual space and that they should be helped and that the way the architect can intercede in this kind of informal housing was by being a “society architect”. That is to say by living and being part of the family or household that is building the society. How can an architect zoom in to another city, place or another culture and design? You must be part of the society and this notion stresses that if you want to prevent the kind of situations that have arisen of badly designed houses, then housing units must be built by architects who understand and live in a society. That is one view of informal housing that is perfectly understandable and acceptable.

What it misses out, is the vibrancy and the dynamism that came out of Mona Serageldin’s presentation. We are not talking about just small groups of people. Those small groups

of people are part of a very, very large phenomena. The magnitude of urban development that we are talking about cannot be solved by this image of the single house or a group of 20 or 30. I admire people like Arif Hasan who work in those situations but we must now give our attention to what happens in large urban areas. Ismail Serageldin talked about the ubiquitous slab blocks and we reject that as a solution. However, that is an urban phenomena. If you get the kind of growth that we have in urban areas, then the notion of informal housing changes, to the kind of informal housing that Mona Serageldin was talking about. She made some very telling remarks. She said that the problem was not one of shortage of money, but a shortage of land. It was not even a shortage of land in the sense that the land intrinsically was not there but whether it was being made available or was suitable for the kinds of development required in urban areas.

Most public housing, whether informal houses or illegal subdivisions, in fact would not be allowed by the building planning and zoning regulations. These require you to have land left over on the sides of your house and so on. We have to think about different types of building and construction. We ought not to skip over the perceptions of informal housing that were presented here because our perceptions and our understanding of what that process is will determine how we proceed. I suggest that we focus this debate on those perceptions and definitions of informal housing.

Ismail Serageldin

I have two observations and a question.

The first observation is that we are in danger of over-romanticising the image of the barefoot architect in the same way we romanticise the barefoot doctor in China. They were at a low level below paramedics and the system represented the political will of a government. At the same time, it also had its limitations. It is very important since Saad Eddin Ibrahim raised the image of the mass orientation of a government service as a potential model to know that it has serious limits. The same government of China reached those limits

quickly and found the need to re-orientate and in fact to re-emphasise the value of the top professionals again. The absence of the top professionals in society rapidly became a constraint. We should not lose sight of architectural excellence and architects as professionals in the search for a romanticised vision of an architect as a community worker, as a partial social worker, partial lobbyist and partial social psychologist. In all probability he would do most of those jobs poorly. This is not to say that there is not a function to be performed there. There is certainly a function to be performed, as there is a function to be performed by hundreds of thousands of people who are draughtsmen and site supervisors and so on. But the notion that architects should be turned into this image on a large enough scale required to cope with the massive numbers involved, would disorient the profession significantly.

One can say that every architect should have an exposure to history of art and history of culture but not necessarily to become an art historian. Therefore we do need this function but it is not necessarily the architect who has to perform the function. There is another function which I was trying to raise in my paper which is the notion that what people want is determined by what people see. With the exception of a few individuals who can imagine out of nowhere new realities and dreams, most people define what they want by combinations of elements that they have seen elsewhere. It is in this area that architects in the Third World have been failing to provide exemplars and models that will help upgrade the vision and the desires and aspirations of different masses, usually workers.

This is the thing that the profession as a whole used to provide and recently has not provided sufficiently.

The second basic point is to endorse a theme that is emerging from Mona Serageldin's presentation and which Saad Eddin Ibrahim put very forcefully which is the notion of getting governments out of businesses that they are not capable of doing. The modern state has become both too large and too small. It is too small to cope with broad, international currents such as the drop of commodity prices and therefore governments are unable to service individual needs. Recognising that

reality, we are all leaning more and more towards the notion that what is needed is an *enabling environment*; words that His Highness The Aga Khan coined, in Nairobi, a few years ago. This would allow the informal sector and this vibrancy that exists within it to be legitimated. The solution is as simple as that. It is not so much trying to invent new ways to capture this vibrancy within the straight jacket of the existing bureaucracy but it is indeed to allow it to be legitimated.

Increasingly we are finding that this is happening in many other domains. Structural adjustments are sweeping the African economies today and the supply side in productive sectors has responded dramatically. There is no reason to assume that this will not happen in housing too. I would like to address a question to Mona Serageldin. She raised a very interesting observation when she showed us the Paris settlements of a century ago. We know what happened to them but they were on a different scale, as she rightly said. Now, given what I was saying about the legitimation of the informal settlements, she might wish to comment about what the future of this very large and dynamic informal settlement pattern and informal market is and where it is going to go.

Abdelbaki Ibrahim

I have two cases to present.

The first which I was involved in was in Aswan city in the south of Egypt. The government encircled the city with land subdivisions of equal size and these were given freely to the people in order to control the development of informal housing. This helped to prevent a very informal pattern.

The other case in which I was involved, was very much similar to that described by Tasneen Siddiqui. I would like to add to what he said. I am afraid that with the system he outlined, it will end with the settlement becoming a slum area. What we added when we established a programme for new settlements to the east of Cairo was a cooperative store where people could buy building material, windows, bricks and so on. Also we provided a workshop which could produce pre-cast columns and roofs which could be implemented

whenever required. This was to control the quality of the building. The people go everywhere to look for boxes, aluminium anything to build their houses, but if you have a corporative shop or store, they can buy building materials on a subsidised basis and this will control the building quality. Also on that project, we did not isolate people living in the informal housing from the other sectors of society. In the overall plan, there was a mixture of that economic level and the level which was immediately above it or higher. This created a social coherence which did not isolate people of different groups.

Rueben Mutiso

Since you are in Africa it is relevant that I mention the African situation. Mostly it is about rural housing. The provision of a house in the rural areas, even for the financially disabled and the physically disabled rests squarely with society. What happens when people move to the urban areas is that they get into a straight-jacketed situation, where there are controls. Lamentably these controls have been imposed by the governments in Africa. Governments use absolutely alien building codes; building codes inherited from foreign masters. These building codes are tough and difficult.

Land is the other issue. Land is not delivered to the people as they move to the urban areas quickly enough to keep pace with their urban migration. They come to the towns for various reasons, and they get into a situation where there are problems of lack of shelter.

For these problems to be arrested in Africa, the architect and the planner must move from the drawing board and get out to work with the urban poor and assist as much as possible. This has been done elsewhere.

The architect in Africa must also be trained in politics because that is where things happen.

This is an area where we must seriously consider getting involved. It is surprising that very few architects are in either civic leadership.

It is important that architects move into this political arena and with due respect, get politicians to understand the right

priorities. The future of the people of this continent does not rest on the purchase of armaments for war. It is important to establish the correct priorities.

Murat Karayalcin

It appears that in the housing sector, we can differentiate between three subsectors — slum housing, informal housing and formal housing. There are similarities and differences among the factors affecting the development of these three subsectors. Babar Mumtaz has mentioned that land is one of the main issues affecting these three subsectors, but for informal settlement to be unique, there are presumably other factors. I would ask Mona Serageldin what are these other factors. Is it a lack of an appropriate market or is it the lack of a legal framework or are there other reasons such as those mentioned by Arif Hasan, such as ethnic considerations?

My second question is: How are they financed? Are they financed in an informal way. What are the ways of financing the development of informal sector housing in those countries that have been mentioned?

Al-Noor Kassum

I am a member of a government in one of the world's least developed countries. We therefore have problems which are quite significant and which have to be taken cognisance of, in trying to devise a policy which is going to be meaningful.

During the days of the petro dollars, which went in their billions into banks all over the world, money was freely available to us. There were a lot of countries which wanted to be kind to us for political reasons and we built monstrosities. That cash is no longer available.

Today the problems of the Third World are debt, recovery programmes, how to rehabilitate the economies, and how to make sure they are self-sufficient in their needs for food.

Housing will not be and cannot be a government responsibility for some time to come and that is a fact which we have to recognise. Therefore what is the solution? Non-governmental organisations, professional organisations like

architects and civil engineers have to devise ways of helping us to innovate an approach to housing problem which involves the community directly with advice from government, rather than direct governmental involvement.

In trying to find housing solutions, you have got to go back to basics. We must not build houses for the sake of houses but houses which mean something to the people who live in them.

Kamau Karogi

There is a need for a very thorough review of existing policies. In the 1970's when the self-help movement gained currency, it was taken up by official bodies like the World Bank, as a way of solving shelter needs. But we have experienced certain problems and one of the problems, at least in Kenya, in Nairobi in particular, is changing people's attitude to accept that they are urbanites and probably for the rest of their good days, they are going to live in towns. This has been difficult in the sense that when they were allocated plots, they often sell them because they anticipate one day when they grow older, returning to the rural areas. Here the government has a problem in trying to limit rural-urban migration and to stabilise the situation so that you are dealing with a constant or near constant.

The emphasis seems to be self-help, but it is beginning to become very clear, especially in Nairobi that rental housing has a role especially subsidised rental housing. One notices quite a stable occupancy. People tend not to move out as often. It is now becoming very clear that there is a role to be played by houses-for-rent.

My government has introduced a bill in Parliament whereby you can own a unit, a room and not "houses". We now have to begin redefining what a house is. This becomes very important because the traditional African has no concept of a flat for instance or a condominium. It has therefore been very difficult to convince him that you have a house, when you have a flat, particularly when it is not sitting on the ground. There has been a gradual recognition of this and now people are beginning to own flats and condominiums.

Another problem is what we are looking at housing as a problem in isolation from ordinary life. What we need to do is to consider housing as a component of everyday socio-economic life, like food or clothing, so that it sets its own dynamics.

In Nariobi we have a certain set of dynamics in terms of delivery of food, from the rural areas to the towns and there are dynamics of distribution. Somehow we do not find the means of integrating housing. We need to look at housing not necessarily as a building conceived out of self-help. We need to look at it as an economic unit of use — like clothing. Nobody complains that the urban area of Nairobi has problems with clothing because somehow we have found a way of producing clothes, selling them and everybody can buy at whatever level they can afford.

We have to change attitudes. Architects have got to stop thinking that what people need is a charitable attitude; that you are helping those poor people out there. We have got to change this philanthropic attitude towards housing. People need housing and people have got to get housing to support urban life. It is not a charitable thing that you give them but it is a thing that they have got to have, if life in urban centres is to perpetuate itself. We must change our attitude from a feeling that we are doing them a favour. It is our necessity that they are housed, not their necessity, because if they are not housed, we have a lot of problems.

There is another component. I am glad that there is a recognition of the role of the informal sector in housing. In my country, the President had felt it necessary to put emphasis on the growth of the informal sector by introducing a Ministry which will ensure informal housing is an on-going activity.

A P Mushi

Mona Serageldin introduced some very interesting aspects which many architects will realise are often overlooked.

The final design and the completed house is not the house that will be there for all time. Many balconies are turned into rooms. Flats are modified to a great extent showing that when you draw the “last line”, it is perhaps not really the end. There

is really a need to involve more sociologists and other disciplines in the course of our designs and developments in order to achieve the most ideal or the most appropriate solution. This could eventually solve a number of problems that seem to be occurring.

Most of us here will find that more than 90 per cent of our people live in rural areas and they have been building all the time. In fact, their biggest problem sometimes, is *us*. When we go there with new ideas, they quickly assume that here comes the education, here comes the technology, here comes the modern way of life and they forget all their traditional skills only to find at the end of the day, that they are wasting a lot of food because they no longer use the traditional means of storing their food. They also lose their livestock because they construct large insecure openings.

We should as an international community try and look for simple affordable means of providing shelter and to upgrade this in conjunction with sociologist and the local culture. What is equally important, is to look for ways of solving the problem of costs. Whatever concepts that we offer, there is an element of cost and these costs continue to rise.

Prices are rocketing to the extent that we are building fewer houses, not because governments are not supportive or because the rural man does not like to build a house that has got a permanent roof, but because the corrugated iron sheets that he was buying a year ago for say 100 shillings (US\$1) now cost US\$15. This makes it impossible for him to buy. We have to look for means of reducing the costs of materials that we propose in our own designs. Once a person realises that he can get a permanent roof over his head and he doesn't have to re-roof his house every year when it rains, then he will certainly appreciate the solutions.

The second thing that we could do would be to improve whatever local technologies exist. I am still addressing the rural sector where the majority of people live.

There are artisans with a knowledge of technology and this technology offers some degree of permanency. People were able to use these facilities but these technologies are very quickly

being replaced by new technologies and the introduction of new materials. There is a need to rethink these developments to see whether there can be a solution.

Turning next to the 10 per cent that live in urban areas. Here, architects have got two major roles to play. One is to work much more closely with urban planners in order to generate appropriate solutions to existing land problems.

Often, the town planner finishes his work and the architect begins from there. Sometimes, you get an appropriate town planner and sometimes you get a town planner who only knows town planning in terms of one aspect, such as housing. If that is the case, then the other features that go with urban planning, like development areas, the location of industry and the location of social facilities are neglected.

There is a need too for architects in the developing world to come much closer to the whole system. Architects in the housing sector should plan houses that can continue to grow.

Charles Correa

I cannot help reacting to what the Honourable Minister Al-Noor Kassum said. It seems to me that in most cases and certainly throughout India, it is not that our government does not do anything; it does the wrong thing most of the time. Let me get back to the key issues which Mona Serageldin called the shortage of land.

That is the key thing. We are in this mess because we don't have sufficient urban land with access to jobs. People are coming to cities not for housing but for employment. We have let demand outstrip supply. The distress migration which we are going through right now all over the Third World is of historic proportions and cannot be stopped. I believe, although we should have much better policies in the rural areas in order to make people happier there, that even with those policies we would continue to have a certain amount of urban growth before we stabilise. Therefore what is government's role in this? I see the positive side of urbanisation; it gives people hope; the landless labour coming in from the village to the cities, at least in the case of India is moving towards a better life.

The role of government is in two crucial areas. One is to identify new growth points. If we just sit passively by, the people will come to the bigger urban centres which already have the major investments. Of all the cities in India which are growing, only two big ones are growing faster than the national average. One of these is Delhi because of the investment made by the government there.

There are however many, many small growth centres which are growing faster. If we start putting our money there and start generating jobs, people will start moving there. That is a governmental responsibility. There is no way it would be done at Tasneem Siddiqui's level.

The second thing, is of course in any given centre, once you have identified it, is to generate more land. That comes through the deployment of jobs and transport. These are tremendously important. Look at the way, for example, that people live along the railway track in a place like Bombay. I am sure it is the same in Cairo too. It is in order that they have access to jobs. Now it is completely within government's power and responsibilities to open up more urban land in any given centre. Many things follow as soon as you have enough urban land with access to jobs. You give a whole package of land to a particular number of people, say 300 — 500 families per hectare. At that moment, the architect's role will become very clear. It is to take that space and make it usable for 500 families. That means not only laying it out in terms of site planning, but also creating a system of open spaces which makes life livable in our part of the world and which takes advantage of the climate.

The second role of the architect would be in an enabling role for the people, as Tasneem Siddiqui said. Just the presence of the architect seems to lift their spirits!

The third role, is to suggest new typologies. Not by designing all 500 houses but by designing new prototypical models which take into account the old and which also take into account people's aspirations. These are purely suggestive and may be used by three or four families and others would build on that. In my opinion if 300 families all want to live like

East Germans in the kind of super blocks we have here in Zanzibar, I would let them. I do not think we need stop anyone doing what they want to do. Once we have specified this is the place for 500 of you, then you do what you want, including big apartment blocks.

I was very impressed by the techniques developed by Tasneen Siddiqui. They are incredible. He has broken right through, as a government agency, in order to reach the people. I wish however they were not so tough on the people with regard to money. You should give them matching funds in some proportions that would encourage them to save and certainly you will have to spend on roads anyway. Making them responsible, is of course a great advantage.

Lastly, if we do all these things, the people themselves with their use of the space, identifying with it, being highly motivated, will colonise that space in the best sense culturally. They will put up the kind of gestures we find in all our cities.

You see there is a public realm, there is a private realm, there is a sacred realm. I do not just mean religious, I mean sacred, in the sense that it is what society is about. Those are the gestures you see for example in Cairo. I do not want to single out Singapore, but that is what is missing in Singapore. Just like birds' nest, people build their habitat and if you give them freedom, and all of us, including architects, get out of the way, they make the kind of habitat which they need.

Al-Noor Kassum

I was not trying to shirk government responsibility in planning and trying to make land available. We are a country of about one million square kilometres with a population of about 22 million people. The amount of land we have got is endless in terms of availability except there are parts which are not fertile. But what I was trying to say is that the Government *per se* does not have the funds to build the houses which are required for the people.

The rest of it, I accept entirely. If government doesn't plan, who will?

Tasneem Siddiqui

Three or four important points have been raised. Earlier I was not able to give all the details of the Hyderabad scheme. There are many more aspects, for example the housing loans which we arrange. But the basic point I want to take up is the role of the government. There is confusion about that.

What I was trying to emphasise is that within the government framework, the regulations and rules are very rigid and policies are centralised. Urban development policies could reach the urban poor but houses are often provided for people who do not need them.

What we have shown in Hyderabad is that without government resources, without any loans, without any experts from the World Bank or the Asian Development Bank, the people themselves with slight help from an urban development policy like ours can succeed. We manage this scheme with only 4 or 5 people. It is entirely self-financed; not a single penny comes from government and surprisingly, there has been hostility from government. As Charles Correa said government policies are wrong. They are stereotyped. They are unimaginative. They are fixed, they are rigid and they are not ready to change because the government is dominated by elites. When you have everything for yourselves and poor people have no constituency, there is no pressure. There is no accountability. Between Karachi and Hyderabad, one hundred thousand plots are lying vacant. They were meant for the poor. Money has been sunk in those plots but nobody is going to ask any questions from the government.

One remark was made that governments are inefficient. They cannot tackle problems of this scale but my point is that the problem is so gigantic and the backlog in housing is so massive, unless government comes forward, this problem will never be solved. If you leave it to the non-government organisations (NGO's) or to the informal sector, the problems will multiply. The rate of growth in Karachi for example is 6 per cent and the government is failing in all respects. So there is need to put pressure on the government. Surprisingly this pressure can come from international agencies. Govern-

ments go to borrow money from international agencies and international agencies and banks can put pressure on governments that require them to change their policies. There is a need for urban land reform. There has been no land reform in the rural sector because the feudal lords are very powerful, but those feudal lords are throwing people out of villages. They have no jobs. This process is almost irreversible. It is good in some respect that people are coming to the cities. The money is there and in some cases, the land is also there but the policies are unimaginative. There is no accountability. Nobody asks any questions. Those are my views on the role of government. I am very emphatic about that because we are doing a lot of good work, but it is not going to solve the problem. The problem is of enormous proportions.

A point was made about cooperatives. We are trying to form cooperatives for specific purposes. For example the carpet weavers. We are looking at how to eliminate the role of the middleman. Regarding building material, we have tried that, but it has not worked. What we are trying to do now is to provide technical assistance to the people according to their needs. We have a sort of "building clinic" consisting of an architect and a junior engineer. They go to the people and ask what they want. Our engineers and architects go and help them on the spot. They do not have to come to us and we will not force our models on them. This answers the query about the cooperative and building material.

In some places there is shortage of land and land is very expensive. In such cases money from the government can come in for subsidising the cost of land but I emphasise that this money should be recovered in the later years. For example, we are recovering money in 8 years but the land is not very expensive. Land is very expensive in some other places and there the period could be increased to 15 years. People are ready to pay but they want to pay at their convenience.

Lastly I would say that housing for the poor is not "a house", it is a process of economic stabilisation. It is the basic unit of economic activity. If you want to postpone it for today, you are depriving poor people of all things that go with it. For rich

people and for upper-middle class, it may mean only a house but for the poor it is not a house — it is *everything*. So you can't postpone it and if you postpone it, you ultimately postpone economic development.

Johan Silas

We criticise the government for doing the wrong things and we are always blaming the government but who is the government? To me, the government consists of people. They are not ghosts. They are people and generally we can define the people in the government into two categories. Firstly the politicians — we cannot do anything with politicians but they are one category. The second category in government are the technicians and some of the technicians are architects. They are the providers of ideas for the politicians to make the decisions.

How far have we prepared these architects in order that they can include informal housing in the housing provision for the people? Indonesia has a population of 172 million people. In only two out of maybe 50 Schools of Architecture in Indonesia are students exposed to the process of how people build their own houses. So you can imagine what happens with the majority of graduates who do not know about what we call informal housing.

It is very important that we should pay attention to how architects are being trained if we say that informal housing is important. I am doing small experiments in the city where I work, the second largest city in Indonesia. In Surabaya I have the help of the planning board. They are mostly people who have worked in the slum upgrading projects. They are graduates and we actually influence the whole decision making process of the city toward the informal housing sector. My point is that we should pay attention to the kind of architect that we are training because they have the opportunity to make something of the informal housing sector.

Arif Hasan

Our societies have changed so much and so quickly that the old institutions that provided housing for our communities have

completely vanished. In my country the cash economy has completely finished off the old artisan system. New institutions are in the process of being created; they are informal institutions and since the demand is much stronger than the supply, these institutions create an unequal relationship between the people involved in them.

These institutions are not recognised or supported by the government. Thus land, credit, advice and skills are all available in the informal settlements, at least in Pakistan. Services are not available. They have to be lobbied for and they are far too expensive and hard to reach. If they are available, the cost of maintenance and operation comes in for governments can neither maintain them or operate them.

Then there is a question of environmental control which cannot be done through the legislature and laws but can only be done through an awareness among the people as they live together. This is a process that has to be helped. These institutions have to be helped. The relationships in them have to be made more equal. More than anything else State policies have to recognise them and incorporate them in their plans and in their thinking or there will always be a friction between them and the State.

In this whole struggle the question is what role can the architect play and does his traditional training enable him to play a role? The question that Johan Silas has raised is a very, very valid one.

His Highness The Aga Khan

The whole discussion has been very interesting in the sense that there appears to be a consensus that we are talking about process more than we are about form.

We are talking about how the processes can be organised and enhanced and encouraged by governments so that they release the capability of populations to build for themselves. Mona Serageldin's paper showed the risk of disorganised processes and another paper showed the result of organised processes. If you make a comparison with health care, the curriculum of the specialist in primary health care is a different

curriculum from the specialist in tertiary care. I wonder whether this is the area where the intervention of the architect and the role of architect should be reviewed because in the debate, it seems to me that the role of the architect is to impact the process and not the product.

The impact on the product will be the result of impacting the process. Whereas in the individual house or the tertiary health care problem, it is the professional dealing with one individual it would be worthwhile, asking the question — what can governments do to enhance the creation of the process? That appears to be a whole area for discussion. Governments and bureaucracies are generally bad social organisers. That is not their role and to say to government — get out, is fine, but it is not going to solve the problem. There have got to be energies released which allow organisations to come into existence in whatever form these may be, so that the process can accelerate.

Mona Serageldin

I am very happy that this interesting discussion has been generated. I am going to return to just two issues.

Firstly, the dynamism of informal settlements. Why are informal settlements spreading so widely? Why are they so dynamic? What is it in this process that differs from other processes, whether it is Non-Government Organisation(NGO)-run or government-run? Why are we experiencing these dynamics? Secondly, where do we go from here?

The reason informal settlements are so dynamic is because the geographic range in which they can occur is very wide. They occur in the outlying areas of a city or at the edge of the urbanised area. A different type of settlement develops in terms of speed of development and of building materials, but the end product in 25 years would be very similar. This very wide range means that it can occur anywhere and everywhere, outside the existing urban agglomeration and as we have seen, it can occur inside through squatter development.

The second reason it is so dynamic is because of the variety of buying arrangements that allow you to enter into the process

wherever you can afford to buy the land. We are not talking here of the lower 20th percentile of the population. They are not in the market for the informal settlement at all. But for those who can afford home ownership, the lower their income the more towards the outlying area they will locate.

The third reason is the flexibility of tenure arrangements which allow you to be accommodated as a renter even if you cannot enter the market as an owner. We have seen some examples. This allows you to reach a wider array of socio-economic groups in an informal settlement, after the first buyer has bought the land and started building.

The fourth reason is the credit system. The credit system is very disaggregated. The land owner asks for a down payment but finances part of the purchase. That is you make a down payment and keep paying in instalments until he has got back all of his money. At the same time, once you start building, the contractor asks for a down payment but finances the second part of the construction. Normally that down payment covers the price of the building materials of the stage that is being built. Tenants can also finance part of the premises and the improvement to the premises they occupy as tenants. So when you take into account this flexibility, it has its tremendous dynamics.

Where do we go from here? What can governments do? We have a problem because of these dynamics. It is creating its own problems. Informal housing is expanding in every single direction where there is land, that can be accessed, or where water can be accessed. Governments find it exceedingly difficult to deal with informal settlements because we have already run out of serviced urban land. Municipalities cannot afford under the current circumstances to expand infrastructures in all of these directions simultaneously. So some of these resources will go to waste in that they will deteriorate before being serviced by retrofitting them with infrastructure.

Governments can look at informal settlements in terms of the immediate action and the long term action. In the immediate action period, we are in a situation of crisis management. What governments try to do is to prevent

encroachment on key sites. They need to preserve in the old cities the visual settings of monuments; to prevent encroachment on sensitive areas or on natural resources that they want to preserve. It is a question of containment of key areas where much will be lost by allowing informal housing to develop.

In the long term, one can look to a fully integrated informal settlement in a rationalised housing delivery system. It is the intermediate range that is going to be the key. There will be sporadic clearing and redevelopments of prime areas in cities that are growing rapidly. Some settlements will be cleared and redeveloped because the location has a better use.

We need a new land development strategy that bridges the growing gap between income and seed capital required to enter the housing market. This is very important because if you can make the market accessible to an increasing proportion of the population, this proportion can be removed from the list of those who need a government subsidy to access housing. The important thing is that we remove them as a burden on the government. This release of unserviced land (other than water points) planned in a manner conducive to incremental upgrading of services will not only minimise the cost of retrofitting but it will allow the government to keep control of where development is to occur.

Interestingly, Morocco has experienced this and had to stop the experiment. The reason they have stopped it is because politicians with different constituencies started to interfere to get their constituency serviced first. The municipality had a scheme whereby if you bought in one area, you were going to be serviced in 15 years, in another zone in 10 years, in yet another in 5 years; all at different prices. Then city councillors started interfering to get those in the first area serviced in 5 years and thus played havoc with the plan. The experiment subsequently broke down.

However, it pointed in the right direction. This is the kind of land policy we should be looking for.

Oleg Grabar

I am left with two feelings. The first one is an extraordinary

sense of awe, admiration and humility towards the fantastic effort that goes on right now around thousands of cities of all kinds of men, women and children building things, putting things together. We have seen perhaps .001 per cent of what goes on and the sheer admiration we share for the masses of people at work at this very moment, is something which is one of my strongest impressions.

But I do not want to end on a purely romantic note, even though it is a valid one. Many years ago, Clemmanceau said that war is too important to be left to generals and I wonder if housing is too important to be left to governments and architects and too complex to be left to the people. So who is in charge of housing?

Mohammed Arkoun

Each project illustrated by Suha Ozkan needs to be considered not only from the architectural point of view but from many other aspects, sociological, political, psychological and historical. I presented a study on the socialist villages in Algeria four years ago in the AKA seminar in China and I tried to show how these villages were initially conceived in the context of the agrarian revolution.

It is very important to see the impact of an ideology on architectural and urban processes. This is one aspect. Another is how the Algerian peasants, uprooted culturally and socially from their traditional culture and environment, have been transferred to these villages. It is extremely interesting almost ten years later to ponder upon what has happened through the architecture which has been conceived in this concept. This is what I mean by a search to understand the deep mechanisms which are at work in society, through architecture and urbanism. This is our ambition. It is a great ambition because there is no other possible way to approach Muslim societies as a whole. When we do it through architecture, we really approach the deep mechanisms which work in each society, especially in the last 30 years of the historical revolution in the Muslim world.

Through all the seminars organised by the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, we are attempting to elaborate a new vocabulary and to understand *through* architecture what is happening in Muslim societies. This is much more important and a wider responsibility than the subject of architecture *per se*.

To understand what is happening in Muslim societies which are so diversified in their historical, sociological and cultural situations we need to work as social scientists, architects, philosophers, and historians are working, to understand these societies as a global reality. It is a large task, an important one because there are many demands raised by these societies.

Ismail Serageldin started to elaborate some concepts and he had the didactic concern to do it with slides. Therein lies a problem. How can we use slides if we want to go beyond the study of architectural forms. Is it right for example to illustrate

with slides the three concepts which are keys to understanding, not only what is happening to architecture, but what is happening in Muslim culture, in Muslim society and in Muslim history today? Symbols, signs and signals; these are the three keys. Ismail Serageldin inflated the concept of signal only because it is very easy to illustrate it. But the concept of symbol cannot be illustrated with slides because symbol does not have any reference to an object, to a concrete thing. It is an approach to a reality which frees our spirit, as well as our reason, to understand the realities and to produce our culture. It cannot be put in a slide.

As an historian and as a philosopher, I hear my architect friends using the words “symbol” and “myth” without any clear definition of what these words are signifying when they are used to analyse societies. We do not speak the same language.

Sirin Ali Karanfiloglu

I would like to express my own experiences as an architect on mass housing issues and problems of Istanbul which is similar to cities in the Third World facing fast urbanisation.

I would like to concentrate on the product — architecture, and how it comes about rather than the process of housing. Suha Ozkan has shown examples of successful mass housing developments and unsuccessful mass housing developments. Most of those illustrated from Istanbul were in my opinion unsuccessful because of the way they were developed and the way they were designed.

Whether public housing, private sector development or corporate housing all of the examples lack cooperation between architect and planner, and lack good design.

Everybody is rushing to build. The results of this are huge mass housing blocks built with multiple lift slabs, tunnel form work or with conventional construction methods; all lack individuality, cultural identity and cultural expression. They do not even reflect or express what function or spaces lie behind their fortress-like facades or even what kind of people live behind their walls. Looking at these buildings, they could equally well be office buildings and be in any city in the world.

They tell us nothing about the culture. Varying in height from eight to fifteen storeys, the housing blocks are like fortresses with small punched opening and with no life outside the building. Ismail Seralgeldin showed us the expression of individuality and the additions by people to their housing in different circumstances. Those structures however, do not allow extensions outwards.

Sometimes small balconies are found on the facades but they are not sufficient for Turkish families. Turkish families are very hospitable and like living and entertaining in open spaces. The weather allows this type of activity.

When one takes a close look at the mass housing apartment buildings, they are placed on the site in the manner that one throws dice on a table. Traditional courtyard concepts are not considered nor are they used as a space organiser. The random placement of buildings creates unusable spaces, pulling the residents of the town apart from each other rather than encouraging interaction among children and families. There is great need for architects and planners to come together to create good architecture and urban spaces and to work with the municipalities who set guidelines for development.

The architect's role and the planner's role is to help people understand the floor ratios and the densities and how just as many units could be accommodated in low rise and traditional ways rather than in these huge slab block forms. We must educate the contractor who hires the architect in most of the cases in the private sector in Turkey. The contractor hires the architect and their main interest is: What is selling? How fast can we build? How much profit can we make? How little can we spend on design and engineering? I will mention one large project which is being built upon urban land outside Istanbul. It is a satellite town of 26,000 units. A masterplan has been prepared and we are working on the design of the units.

Construction material prices are escalating at a tremendous rate in the underdeveloped countries and the faster the contractor builds, the more profit he will get. In such cases, there is no time allocated for design. No time is given for the development of architectural ideas. The contractors use the

fastest possible construction system, not the cheapest. Widely used multiple slab and tunnel form systems are expensive, and the tunnel system is very restrictive in terms of openings and different architectural expressions. Not only are the units being repeated but the room sizes are being repeated which creates very monotonous results. The architect is not given the opportunity to explore and develop ideas.

Units are selling because of the shortage of housing despite the fact that the kind of spaces people require to carry on traditional living or even modern living are not provided. User's opinions are not sought and demand for certain types from previous sales sets the programme for the future. Thus an apartment unit widely used without reappraisal is one with 3 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, a completely closed kitchen and connected dining/living spaces.

In order to accomplish our goals and achieve good housing projects in terms of architecture and urban design, we architects must work with all supporting professions — planners, landscape architects and interior designers especially in those Third World countries where this has not been the common practice.

Usually, planners prepare the masterplan, then the architect comes in to work on the approved plan. Architects cannot contribute to the plan because any changes will need to go back to the municipality and will take too long to be approved which will reduce profits for the contractor. It is our job to educate administrators and the contractor, developer or client about the architectural process and strive for good architecture in our cities.

Murat Karayalcin

We are here to evaluate the role of three sectors in mass housing and the role of architects in those three sectors. There are various definitions of success in mass housing.

In mass housing, of course, the architectural works are important but we should also take into consideration the number of houses completed as one definition of success.

If you are in a country where you have a gap between the demand and the actual construction, then the completion of houses and putting the people into those houses becomes an important definition of success.

Turkey has a population of 55 million and each year, it is increasing by one million. The rate of increase of population is 2.6 per cent annually. The rate of increase of requirement for housing is 3.2 per cent annually. The annual requirement is 300,000 houses and the response that can be counted by the construction permits issued is around 200,000. There is an important gap.

Turkey had been meeting its urban requirement until 1980 by building in the existing urban spaces, but after 1980 Turkey started to meet its requirement by planning new cities. The cooperative sector became the leading sector in this process. I believe that there should be many scenarios and there should be as many markets as possible. I do not believe in only one solution. One cannot say that the state will solve it or the private sector will solve the housing problem, if either of those sectors have demand in the market, they will continue to produce houses. In recent years the public sector has almost left the housing market in Turkey. It has taken the role of just creating funds and collaborating with the private sector.

The housing market is left almost entirely to the private sector and cooperative sector but it is the cooperative sector that is leading the way. Co-operatives, as everywhere in the world, organise groups who have a capacity to save.

The co-operatives should have a very important role in meeting housing requirement in Turkey. However, the formula that Suha Ozkan mentioned in his paper: that architects design and contractors build, has two weaknesses.

In the private sector, the architects work within construction firms or the construction firms ask architects to prepare projects which they then construct.

This is disadvantageous for the potential dwellers because the contractor chooses all the materials, they choose the construction, techniques and other things in such a way that they unnecessarily maximise profits. That is one danger

The second point is that for us, in the cooperative sector our cooperation starts when the physical construction has ended. The participation of the individuals is more important after the construction, when the settlement has started than at the very outset. Of course, the participation at the project preparation level is important but it is much more important after the settlement is completed.

I confess that architects have several problems when they are working with us in the cooperative sector in Turkey. The volume of housing we want and the time we give to our architects has caused very many problems. In our case, we plan to start the construction of 5,000 dwelling units every year and we plan to complete at least 2,000 dwelling units every year. When we gave this target to our architects, they said this is not confectionary; we are not working in the textile industry, we cannot do it. But we have to do it. We have to reach that target. It is very urgent. People have been waiting for a long time and the inflation rate is very high so we have to start immediately, you have to start many houses and you have to finish them as soon as possible.

After six years, we have completed 12,000 dwelling units and approximately 50,000 people are living there. On reflection perhaps we should not start 5,000 dwellings every year in a one project area. It is a very heavy load. But in spite of that, I believe that the cooperative sector in the final analysis, is the best sector for architects to work with.

Mohammed Arkoun

The situation in Turkey can be generalised for all Muslim countries, especially the increase of population. The rate of demographic increase has already changed the scale of the problems. This is a most important point and allows me to introduce problems which we have not tackled sufficiently.

We are here in Zanzibar, in East Africa, but we are not speaking enough about this place. Also when we speak about demographic increase, we should discuss the distinction between popular culture and populist culture. All architects have to face this dilemma when they work with generations of

people born in the 1960's and 1970's. 60 per cent and in some countries like Algeria and Morocco, 70 per cent of the population are less than 25 years old.

Which kind of culture do these people have and what kind of demands do these people make? It is important to make a distinction between popular culture and populist culture which is growing according to this demographic increase.

The other point I would like to reintroduce was raised by Saad Eddin Ibrahim when he spoke about the state and the many problems raised by the state in Muslim countries since the 1960's and the 1970's. It is a totally different thing to the state in Europe and in western societies. This has to be elaborated upon.

He mentioned the civil society opposing the state. I raised the question with him — do we have a civil society today in Muslim societies? It is a great problem, precisely because architects are working within this situation. It is a problem of intellectual elaboration. I introduce it again in order that we can keep it in mind to enrich our horizons in our endeavours to find answers.

Kamran Diba

I hate the title of today's discussion "Mass Housing". I think it is a totalitarian expression and it is inhuman. We have a problem of communication when we talk about mass housing. Housing represents only one component of the environment.

Housing does not constitute environment. Environment is made up of neighbourhoods and the community where people live, work and collaborate. When we talk about housing we automatically quantify, that is exactly what we are fighting now because we fear the quantification of housing but housing in a sense is always quantified.

We should stop thinking housing and start thinking and designing neighbourhoods, and perhaps towns. I will give you an example, in the old days countries had a Ministry of War because their intention was to go to war but later they decided this not up to contemporary standards of community and international relations, so they changed it to a Ministry of

Defence. Similarly, when we have a Ministry of Housing, the intention appears to be to build only houses.

The second issue, is that of imaginability. The so called 5 or 6-storey walk-up or slab block has a very strong, simple image which is embedded in the minds of every bureaucrat who dreams of solving the problems of housing. We have to decode and we have to destroy this image if we want to attack the problem of slab blocks. Why is it so attractive this image of the high rise block. It is because it is understood by everybody. Every technocrat can dream of his apartment and then figure out the costs and the units of one block and then quantify it.

It is much more difficult to work with an architect or with a group of intellectuals or with an interdisciplinary team to arrive at a solution which is creative and embodies a sense of community. That vision cannot be easily transformed or communicated to the client.

Also when a politician thinks of a high rise block he knows that he can cut a ribbon within his political lifetime. In other words, he is not starting a project which others will get the credit for. So that is even more attractive.

Recalling one of my personal experiences. When I started doing housing projects for a developer in the USA, we decided to build two units to get the consumers' reaction. Of course, I had designed the whole project but as we went along we received feedback from the users and I started re-adjusting and redesigning. Eventually the project was successfully completed but we were unhappy about the whole experience.

Later, however, I thought about it and it dawned on me that I was doing a product design. I was not trained for it and I had never done a product design. The product design is something for the shelf to be consumed and in a market like that in the USA you have a competitive situation where people may not just pick up your box from the shelf. But in a developing country where the state has a total monopoly and a captive-user whatever is produced as a product, the user has no choice but to take it — because of lack of choice.

The architect is always trained to deal with a private client where he can communicate, make trade-offs and compromise

and provide something which the user needs and desires. In a project commissioned by the state for low-income housing, you have a particular target group. If you have an architect who is sensible to the situation he will identify very clearly and work with the target group to create an environment which is conducive to their lifestyle and way of life.

When we talk about quality in architecture, quality is very abstract. I recall a friend of mine, an architect, once told me that a client came to him who wanted a house. As he had built a number of houses, he wanted to show his client these houses, so he took him by car to one of his housing projects. As they were driving along, the client said "Isn't this a beautiful house?" and they went a little further and the client said "Isn't that a beautiful house?". By the end of the street my friend realised that he didn't want to go to his project because he knew by the standard of taste and judgment his client was applying he was going to hate the project. So, one man's quality project is another man's poison.

To address the civic issue further; the aesthetic of the high rise and the vertical distribution of units becomes a problem, because we stack up poverty and we put it on view. In the case of low income housing, it is much more visually tolerable to horizontally distribute houses. Many of the pretty housing projects that were shown by Suha Ozkan, I am afraid were at the pre-occupation stage. When people move in they leave their mark and the architectural environment is transformed to a new environment that is not recognisable.

Mohammed Arkoun

Whether we like it or not the expression "mass housing", is a fact. It is there. Can architects come up with some architectural solutions. That is the nature of our search and it is questionable. Are architects able to face this demand which will increase in the next ten years, and which is a mass demand? Can they face it with architectural tools and means? It is a problem and we have to discuss it.

Kamau Karogi

When we are talking about Eastern Africa, we are talking about, in a broad sense Uganda, Kenya, Somalia, Ethiopia and Tanzania. We are also talking about countries which we generally consider as Eastern Africa such as Zambia and Zimbabwe. That geographically is a very large area. I want to highlight the fact that there is a very clear distinction between the coastal area of Eastern Africa and the interior. Zanzibar is one representation of a coastal town. It is a cultural meeting point. Mombasa is another good representation of the East African coastal settlement and Lamu is yet another but there are clear distinctions between Zanzibar, Mombasa and Lamu.

The problem of Lamu is conservation of the existing housing stock. Throughout history it has responded to certain cultural aspects and it has very stable building and planning ideas. The problem is now to preserve Lamu. It is a problem made slightly difficult because one is trying to superimpose, to a certain extent, a different culture on the houses to that which was there originally. It originated from a different culture. Lamu can be called a Swahili town. It is quite an old town and it has influences from the Middle East, from India and also an interesting Islamic tradition. Now you find the people from the interior coming into Lamu. It begins now to become a problem of re-interpretation of the use of spaces.

Mombasa is also an old town which was built with influences from the Middle East and India and also local traditions. We also have the same situation in Lamu although Lamu is different from Mombasa in the sense that Mombasa is more cosmopolitan. Other people have already come in from the mainland, and they also beginning to influence what is going on there. When I walk around Zanzibar, I see the difference between Lamu and Zanzibar although Lamu and Zanzibar are close in the sense that they are dense monolithic settlements which seem to have one basic consideration in terms of their growth.

I want to raise the problem that must be encountered by anyone who wants to do some conservation work or some development work. The issues here are firstly the improvement

of the building fabric and secondly making sure that the houses are able to fit a multiplicity of cultures or conversely that a multiplicity of cultures are able to utilise both the restored residences and the new developments.

Going inland, the biggest problem is one of numbers and quality. From my experience in Nairobi, there is no single mass housing scheme which seems to work in terms of retaining those people who were meant to occupy it. In these mass housing estates the concept of "home" was not addressed. One such project is the large World Bank project in Dandora. Our experience is that the majority of plots there were purchased by rich people and tenants are in most of those units.

We have a big dilemma in terms of housing, especially in the creation of communities. One problem is how to inculcate in the people, the concept of permanent urban living, to convince them that for the rest of their good days they are going to live in the town. The rural routes, for a lot of people, are still open. People look back to where they came from, they have their relatives there, and there is close cultural interaction between towns and the rural areas.

A classical example, not long ago, was of a prominent lawyer who died and a major issue developed as to whether he should be buried in Nairobi or back home in Western Kenya. It was a debate that highlighted the complex problem of cultural definition, and of instilling into people the idea that urban homes are permanent places and they should live there.

There are differences from place to place. During the colonial days, there were some places where due to reasons of control, the colonial power found it necessary to consolidate and adjudicate land, in which case traditional clans were split. In those situations (it happened in the rural areas of Central Kenya) you find that people tend to accept urban life more readily. In places where adjudication or consolidation was not done, there is still a common thing that binds a clan. That is the common land. Their links to the rural area are stronger.

The problems we have to address or try to address so far as mass housing is concerned in Eastern Africa is how does the person coming from the rural area fit into the town? What

cultural components does he retain and how much of this cultural content does the house truncate in forcing him to conform? This is the biggest problem and the biggest dilemma. There are indications that if you make sure that the people are involved in the process of construction and the process of choice their tendencies are to create communities.

One big problem we have in Nairobi is that we have dormitories — we do not have communities. This is because people do not feel that they belong to whatever neighbourhood they live in. They don't care about it, the turnover is very high, people move from one place to another, and that is a problem. But we have also found in the old housing schemes especially where there is subsidised rental, a very high level of stability in those communities. How do you explain that? I do not know, but I think the component of affordability has something to do with it. We are really on the one hand talking about providing houses rapidly in large numbers and on the other hand trying to somehow devise approaches which can ensure that people feel that they belong to those houses and they take care of them and they form urban communities. That is the problem.

M Mturi

I am not an architect. I am an archeologist and an architectural conservator. I deal with conserving and maintaining the existing housing stock rather than new buildings.

There are a number of problems in this part of the world. Firstly, there is contradiction between modernity and what exists. The tendency has been to demolish and build anew whether the old buildings were of historical significance or not.

This is a problem of how we came to understand what modernity means. In most urban areas, when we talk about development the policy adopted has been to demolish and build anew. Of course building anew means high rise blocks. There is a need for conserving historical buildings but also conserving existing housing stock for continued use.

There is no need to demolish an existing unit which provides a service. We should retain it, properly maintain it for continued use and use the resources which go into demolition

to build extra housing stock. This is something we should understand in this part of the world. I am not only talking about historical buildings which to a lot of people means monumental buildings. Urban conservation is much wider than that. We talk about conserving the totality of the built environment, as a living environment. We must examine what is still usable and continue using it. This is the thing we have been lacking and we must change our perceptions.

We talk about creating new, rather than saying: What do we have here? How best can we play this resource called the housing stock? What additional requirements do we need? This philosophy is gradually permeating among our planners and among our architects, and reaching our policy makers but it is still not rooted in our planning system. This is still operating on the concept of major development; demolish and build a new vision. Who's vision I do not know. Is it the planner's vision, the architect's vision or the user's vision?

One approach is represented by the Stone Town in Zanzibar. The Stone Town is more than a few monumental building. It represents a major investment in resources. The building stock of more than 2,000 buildings is a major investment. What do we do with that investment? Should we retain the Stone Town or eradicate it and build anew? We have all agreed now that it must be protected. Firstly, as an historical resource but also as a housing resource which should be properly managed to continue to meet the various housing needs of Zanzibar. But this is a new concept in East Africa. The same applies to Lamu. (Details of the Stone Town in Zanzibar are contained in the Appendices — Editor).

A similar approach is being taken in Mombasa. We are still debating what to do in Dar es Salaam. If left to our planners, all the inherited housing stock which is labelled "colonial", would have gone by now.

But we still use them. A lot of our senior officers stay in the former colonial government buildings. Most of the government ministries are still housed in colonial buildings. They are using them because they do not have enough money to build new buildings. If the resources were available today, most of

those buildings would be pulled down and we would build, what might be called, modern functional buildings. Functional to whom, I do not know. It is historically speaking, painful — you do not throw out a colonial master and then start praising what he did. That is the root of the problem here. Looked at another way however, it is a resource, a building, a house, an investment. So, inherit it and use it properly.

When we talk about conservation, we should not only look at monumental buildings, like the ones in Zanzibar. Our people have their own buildings. We were talking in Session II about informal squatters. What are slums? What are squatters? Most structures built by the people utilise the knowledge and skills which they used in the rural areas before they came to the urban areas. So they use the type of materials they used previously; they use their skills and build their own shelter on the outskirts of cities.

We used to say, that the squatters should be removed. But we do not talk any longer about slum clearance or squatter removal. The term now is “upgrading and improvement”. We improve what the people already have. We upgrade it to meet certain standards, though there is a problem in that the building standards and codes were framed by the colonial power and they did not take into consideration what we are now talking about.

Accepted that problem, the policy now is not to demolish, but to up-grade and improve. This policy was tried immediately after independence — in Dar es Salaam. Historically, Dar es Salaam is divided into three main sectors — the European quarter, where the European civil servants lived. The Asian quarter, which was residential and commercial. And the quarter which with the exception of a government quarter, was mostly made up of “Wattle and daub” building with a roof of Macuta. Macuta is woven palm leaves. These are what we call a Swaheli building with six rooms opening onto a common corridor and a courtyard providing common facilities.

Now within this dwelling unit would be several families renting rooms. The first major housing improvement exercise was up-grading of this type of building. They were not

demolished. They were remodelled with “modern materials” which meant cement blocks and corrugated iron sheets. Provision of water, and electricity was done on a tenant participation basis.

The buildings were then given back to their owners who repay the cost out of the rent they collect. That method however does not increase the number of housing units, it just improved what was existing. It was concluded that this does not get us over the problem because there is no increase of housing stock. That idea was gradually abandoned. In another project, funded by the World Bank, infrastructure was provided. People were permitted to build their own houses. That was a good approach but the end result was problematic because the sites did not go to the people who were supposed to be the beneficiaries. Once the infrastructure was put in, the status of the area and the value of the plot appreciated and instead of the plots going to the needy, they went to those who could afford them. That did not help the people who were living in the slums. It benefitted the people basically in the business community and those already in employment with higher incomes. But the idea is good; the government should provide the services and the infrastructure and then let the people gradually improve their own houses.

Here I would like to say that the architect is not the only player. Much as the topic here is architecture and housing, housing is only one development activity within the overall system, whereby we have to use our resources to meet people's needs. Architects in any given situation, will have to work with other people. We are talking about community and providing housing to the community. We are talking about more than just providing a building. We are talking about managing an environment. If we are going to solve the problem, what is basically required is an organiser to assist the community in meeting its own housing needs. We are talking about a barefoot architect or what I would call a community architect who organises the people to provide their own housing needs.

The government cannot abdicate its responsibility. The government has a role to play but it is not the only institution to provide housing. The private sector, the employers, as well as the government should play a role in providing housing.

Rueben Mutiso

Mass housing is a reality in this part of the world and we can learn some lessons from the recent past. In Nairobi, Kenya, the World Bank housing project at Dandora, is an example of mass housing. In this particular case, the people themselves were involved, services were provided, plans were prepared and the plans were given out to the allottees. A time limit was given within which the units were to be erected. There were technical officers supervising the construction, because the plans were prepared by an architect. The result of this, is an estate that is extremely exciting with much variety and beautiful stone work. People “collected” materials from many different sources despite the fact that material loans were provided. Paint came from different suppliers and in the end there was great diversity which makes the estate relatively more interesting.

Contrast that with a nearby Commonwealth Development Corporation project in Nairobi. Five thousand dwelling units were produced. But this time, there was a total participation of the professional architects and the notion that if you paint five thousand units the same colour the units will be cheaper — that is false economy. All the buildings were painted white which is quite unnecessary in Nairobi. The roofs are similar and what we have is a totally boring environment, apart from the courtyards.

The owners have now decided to create interest, and they have just done this by erecting dividing walls. So that they can at least identify their building from their neighbour's.

Another site and service project — the Miritini Housing Project, in Mombasa, has produced an interesting environment which has been created by the people themselves.

I am involved in a project in Naikuru. We did the physical planning and the delivery of services and to a limited extent

supervised the construction. Once again, what is being created in that project is an interesting environment.

Then there are the “Turnkey operators”. The turnkey concept is absolutely alien in this part of the world. They are being imported from the North. Their main purpose is to make a quick profit and in the process deliver units for an unknown client. In the other examples, the allottees are known. You know who you are building for. In the case of the turnkey operators, they come, land is made available, and they put up boxes one on top of another.

What is created is an environment that is unacceptable in this country and yet you find the units being occupied simply because people must live somewhere and there is lack of housing. In conclusion, everywhere where the people themselves have been involved in mass housing, an interesting environment has been delivered. Where the client is not known and the issue is purely economics, we witness disasters.

Ismail Serageldin

It is important that we recognise that this is a large problem but we have to cut it down into smaller parts in order to make headway and we should not be going backwards and forwards reminding each other that it is a very large problem and that it is interlinked. We have several subsets of this problem and what we are trying to address in this particular session is what one would define as the architect designed, contractor built, institutional client, subset of the problem.

We discussed in an earlier session the informal sector which may or may not also use contractors. I would propose that we clarify for purposes of focussing the discussion whether we are talking about process or product. We all recognise for the larger scale of mass housing we have to deal with the process. Ultimately we have to change the process, change the mindset, empower the people so the role of the architect becomes supportive. Mona Serageldin gave us all the reasons why the informal sector is vibrant and indicated the government policies that will deal with the bulk of the problem.

Putting aside this particular question, we have a problem with the provision of specific products and Murat Karalaycin gave us a real example of the constraints involved with delivering a product on a large scale. These are real — is there room for improvement or is there not? Suha Ozkan showed us some examples of cases where there is room for improvement, some of them are too expensive to be replicated, others are not necessarily so. The Hafsia project that he showed us is of the same cost as built by the Public Housing Agency in the same town. So this much we do know.

One last point that we should keep in mind is that sometimes above and beyond the issue of cost, there is also room for the provision of the occasional product that serves the function of enlarging the expectations and images that people use to define what is desirable. These are legitimate parts of the problem and it would be helpful if we pursue the discussions of these, and we do not go back to how vast the problem is.

Anthony Mtui

My concern is the cost of housing. This is critical and we have to find out ways in which architects can produce cheaper housing or the shelter required by the population.

Architects should place more emphasis on ways of reducing the cost of housing. How much time is devoted during the process of planning and designing a project to studying ways of using local resources, building materials and technologies?

Architects should look at ways of using the existing regulation or even recommending to government the repeal of regulations which are prohibiting cheaper housing.

In the training of architects, an orientation towards the problems of people with different social circumstances and social problems should be emphasised in our universities. Architects should realise exactly what local resources are available and what to use to reduce the cost of building construction. I understand that architects charge fees for their work as a percentage of the cost of the work. This is a dangerous approach and discourages the objectives which we want to achieve of getting houses that are affordable.

Finally on the question of research. Architects are doing independent research and there is a fragmented approach to things. Perhaps those who are working in the same region on the same problems could develop a research methodology and could disseminate ideas to tackle problems and reduce costs. Perhaps we could identify a university where we could gather all this knowledge and benefit from it as a group.

Charles Correa

I realise we all come from different backgrounds but I did not realise that I was so different from Colin Amery. He said that the first session left him with despair. I was left with great hope. We were talking about 60 to 70 per cent of the people — the real mass of people. The hope emanated from Tasneem Siddiqui's paper and the images, of people "on the move". It made one realise what actually is going on, on this planet.

Let me put it this way. The images I saw in Suha Ozkan's presentation are of middle class housing. The people in that earlier presentation would be servants in the building which Suha Ozkan showed. They would not be occupying it as owners in any country I know of in the Third World. So it seems that it is not an either/or situation. We need both, if anyone is dealing with housing as a massive issue. I, like Kamran Diba object to the words mass housing. I object on grounds of the accuracy of the words.

Mona Serageldin's paper was on the informal sector and we looked at projects such as that mentioned by Father Jorge Anzorena in Peru, where the land is disaggregated into smaller plots. That is the key to the solution and then an architect can step in and design the spaces, which should include open-to-sky spaces and come down to the individual typologies. I would not call such a man a "barefoot" architect because he needs all the skills of a fully fledged architect.

Looking at Suha Ozkan's examples I would divide them differently. The criteria we were all using, and Suha Ozkan was using it implicitly, was the aesthetic and the cultural criteria because we were not told densities or cost or anything like that. On the cultural issue there were three simple categories. First

are those designs which were sublimely oblivious to culture that come at you as the final solution. The second ones were the architect designed ones which were sensitive to culture but were too didactic. They were impervious to being colonised by people. That is very important for you can do a brilliant building but it may be impervious to change and even to people. The third kind were the ones which were malleable. The people can take over. There is no way you can build in many countries and certainly in Pakistan and India and I think Sri Lanka without the bicycles, the cows and the political slogans taking over. These are the sacred gestures, which I see all over. We have to learn to move towards them. That is where the culture comes in.

There is a real role for the architect laying out these houses and there is also the freedom of choice. If for example, 300 people decide to live in an apartment block, let them do so. We don't have to stop them. But I think from this would come a new vernacular because it would take into account people's aspirations. If we want this territorialising, with cultural expression, and a sense of belonging, we need to disaggregate the problem. That is really important. We aggregate the problem only to get the adrenalin working in our systems and for politicians to understand the scale of the issues. But if we could disaggregate our response — now there lies the difference between calling the session mass housing and a massive housing issue.

Mass housing is not a problem it is a form of a solution. The problem is the massive amount of housing needed. But the term mass housing implies a centralised response. Let me put it this way. There is a massive amount of food to be cooked tonight in this very city, mass feeding is a response but it doesn't mean you have to have one or two big kitchens. By disaggregating the thousands of kitchens across this city or any other, we have edible food. What we are talking about is a change and it seems we have to repeat it again and again and again, to break this mind-set. Mass housing is actually a technique. It is a state of mind and it has delivered certain solutions which we find inedible.

John de Monchaux

I would like to continue the discussion on the architect's role. It is central to our discussions. If the images that accompanied Suha Ozkan's paper were an answer to a question — what could that question have been? What was the question to which those buildings were the answer? A very important part of the role of an architect is the period of dialogue between a sponsor and an architect and to improve that dialogue, to improve the questions and the answers during a design process. We heard from Murat Karayalcin about the constraints of time on that dialogue. There are other constraints on the quality of that dialogue. The hallmark of quality dialogue is that it has both intensity — as well as range — range in depth and range in topic covered.

The ingredients to achieve intensity and to achieve range certainly include time and I would assert that part of that dialogue can take place in seminars such as this one and even before the architect is commissioned but part of it must take place during that period when the architect is engaging with the community, or with the sponsor of the housing. There is another ingredient for the quality of that dialogue and that is the skill and the judgement of the architect. And for that educators have to take a special responsibility.

The third ingredient is patience. There must be a capacity to listen to ideas that are silly and be tolerant of them and to recognise that you may have to come back again to the table. The final ingredient to improve that question and answer process is to be ready to accept as an answer the unexpected. I have a hunch that some of the best examples that Suha Ozkan showed us were not expected by the client or the sponsor when the dialogue began. They were indeed the product of the most patient, the most painstaking, perhaps the most time consuming debate that could be imagined. So I would make a plea for a quality of dialogue that gives us better answers as well as better questions.

Saad Eddin Ibrahim

I would like to make three remarks but before I do, let me

clarify a concept that seems to have been misunderstood — the concept of the barefoot architect. I did not mean literally a barefoot man going around with some papers trying to help people. What I meant was the spirit of going barefoot, meaning somebody who is with the people, who does not frighten them, does not alienate them, who can communicate with them. Tasneem Siddiqui as he was elaborating his scheme, looked to me like a barefoot architect, even though he is not trained in architecture, because he is the functional equivalent of the village mason. In the village everybody knows who can help him build and the mason, like the mason who won an AKAA award in Mali — is a barefoot architect in a way. We need an equivalent to him in the city where things are anonymous. Where the dwellers or the seekers of the service may not know a mason or an architect, you need to provide a functional equivalent. I used the words as an image, as a metaphor and not to be taken literally. This is to clarify a concept that apparently gets misunderstood.

The difficulty in our dialogue, is that we are talking about three different kinds of consciousness. One consciousness is very basic — the first level of consciousness, which was dealt with in part of the paper by Mona Serageldin and the commentaries by the three discussants. That is where people are really looking for as speedy as possible a solution for the most basic shelter in our rapidly growing urban centres. For those people the question of taste, of aesthetics and so on is secondary. Not that they would not welcome a nice design that humanises their environment but that is not really a major concern. That is one level of consciousness — looking for fulfillment of basic needs. Here the barefoot architect or a nice architect with a good consciousness may go to a settlement or an area and do two or three prototypes that could be emulated in an inexpensive way.

The second level of consciousness is the so called mass housing but which is not directly supported. It is directed to the lower-middle class and the middle-class in most Third World countries and I dare say that much of that housing ends up in the possession of the bureaucrats. The characteristic of

that level of consciousness and practice is that somebody can deal in formal signals or signs, can deal with the bureaucracy, can fill up an application; somebody who has connections, who knows how to go to a politician and get his name on the roster or on the line or whatever. That is a class that is growing in our Third World countries. It is a class that is concerned with acquisition. Of course there is a need for housing but it is a need for slightly better housing than what they have or housing for their children who are about to get married.

In the 1986 census in Egypt, despite all the talk about the shortage of housing, it turned out there were one million vacant housing units in Cairo alone. This is a city of 40 million people with a severe housing shortage and yet there are one million vacant housing units. It turned out on further investigation that many of these are owned by absentee landlords or people who already have one housing available to them for their living requirements but they are saving for the future and investing. Many of these one million units were public housing subsidised by the state in one form or another.

The third level of consciousness which is of great concern to us is that given that we have to live with mass housing, collective housing, large-scale housing, call it whatever you wish; is there a possibility of upgrading its cultural authenticity to make it humane. I think that is a concern of a very small minority, even among architects. The majority of architects live like bureaucrats. They are concerned about getting work and getting commissions. The concern for the aesthetics of the individual, of cultural authenticity are the concern of a very small number of architects and other people in society. The challenge is how to influence this third level of consciousness. Here we may have to really work hard on smuggling some of the ideas in gradually.

My other point is about the political/economical milieu. Colin Amery noted that there are societies that have gone through similar problems to those under discussion especially Europe in the nineteenth century. This sparked off movements like the Garden City approach, the Fabian society approach, the anarchist approach, the cooperative approach. All this

really grew in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century in reaction to a similar problem. The scale was different. The stage of development and the nature of economy was different but there was a demand and there was a problem of a similar nature if not of similar scale. There were all these reactions some of which found a way to be implemented, some of which remained utopian and purely visionary.

Tasneem Siddiqui

In most developing countries, the government policies are not working successfully in providing shelter to the urban poor.

What we have seen in the illustrations of mass housing does not give us much hope and we should not keep pursuing that line of action. What is happening in most developing countries, for example in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka is that the housing backlog is so huge that government at first cannot tackle this problem.

In Pakistan in the late 1950's money was arranged through the World Bank and low-cost small housing units were provided to the poor but the cost recovery was so poor that even after 25 years, 75 per cent of the money has not been recovered. This approach has not worked, the solutions have not been appropriate, so they should not be discussed again and again in the context of countries like Pakistan.

Perhaps this form of public housing can work well in Singapore, Hong Kong, Kuwait and other small countries. But in countries like India and Pakistan there must be innovative and imaginative approaches to solve the problems with community participation. Little finance will be required, only land has to be made accessible to the urban poor. The tendencies in these countries is that the rich are holding enough land for everybody's needs. The richer people hold land for their future needs because land can be sold on the open market at a premium. They hold the land for the dowry of their daughters and to hedge against galloping inflation. The policies of developing countries have to be changed because there are a lot of wastages. When poor people go to the spontaneous growth areas and the subdividers, this activity is

treated as a crime. They are not treated as dignified citizens of the state. Land is not being provided for them by the state and when they find affordable options, they are treated as criminals. These things have to be kept in mind whilst we talk about solving the housing shortages in countries like India Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Mona Serageldin

When architects design houses, for better or for worse they provide the images that shape the visions of what is desirable, for those who cannot afford or do not have access to the architect-built buildings. When a person in an informal settlement buys a plot or when a beneficiary of a site and service project gets his site and demolishes the core wall that is on it and starts building, no matter how long it takes him to achieve his dwelling, it is very clear from my work that he already has very clear vision of what he wants. He may want a balcony, he may want a tiled roof. There is a very clear image of what is desirable and that comes from the architect-built housing and that is why it is important.

The second point that I want to make is that there is a high degree of overlap between the formal and the informal sectors and they should not be dichotomised. The people in the informal settlements who are building albeit chaotically are very much socio-economically of the same groups that are in cooperatives. They can be formalised through the cooperative system and there is a high potential for interaction. That is an avenue that we should pursue more.

Babar Mumtaz

I will concentrate on this particular segment of the problem which is looking at mass housing. In the presentation by Suha Ozkan, the question was asked why is the slab block persistent as a response to mass housing? What is the answer to this?

One of the reasons why the slab block as a response to mass housing persists, has to do with the power of images and the persistence of a myth long after the reality has passed. Most people's images of a house is a basic pitched roof with a door

and two windows and that persists even though nobody actually lives in such a house. In the same way we have an image of a city and the city's image is of the tower block and when a politician or a government goes in for slab blocks, it is responding to that image. It is not just a matter of being able to cut a tape, that you can do in a low-rise housing development as well. But when you are told that there is a housing crisis and that the housing crisis is caused by the shortage of land, then a high-rise building they feel must represent high density, and consequently that must be the right image. It is that image that comes to you, and it is one of the reasons why such solutions persist.

The reason needs to be questioned, because the whole notion of urbanisation and urban development in the future is changing. When we talk about an increasing rate of urbanisation, it will go on until a balance is reached. The balance is not 50-50. The balance is 97 per cent in urban areas, 3 per cent in rural areas. That is going to come and that is the balance that will be reached around the world. We are not talking about the growth of other cities. It is not that the whole rural population will come to the cities as much as the rural settlements of today will become the urban settlements of tomorrow. Simultaneously there will be new images. When we talk about 97 per cent of the population of America living in cities, they will not all be living in New York. A very large proportion will be living in middle America and though the middle American towns do have the odd slab block a lot of it is low density housing. When we look at mass housing we must not and should not confuse it with the tower block imagery. We must look to alternative images for the future city.

Mass housing must not equal mass construction. Mass housing must begin to be the creation of conditions where it simply means housing by the masses and in that the role of the cooperatives is crucial. Murat Karayalcin mentioned the notion that as a cooperative you are able to open up land. As Suha Ozkan said for a private developer the opening up of land outside the existing settlement is a complicated process but as a cooperative you can open up land. But then I understand the

problem that you can face by having to get the commitment of 5,000 or 10,000 families to move to a new piece of land which a private developer does not have.

Why then presume you have to go to one architect and have one construction site, why not create the sort of conditions that Tasneem Siddiqui has been creating for housing by the masses.

Robert Powell

Singapore may not be relevant to Pakistan and India but I wonder if it has some lessons in terms of institutional frameworks because it is in some ways a success story. I am not a Singaporean but I have been resident in Singapore for some five years. It is a small island, 640 square kilometres with 2.65 million people with a diverse racial mix, 75 per cent Chinese, 15 per cent Malay and 8 per cent Indian. The island achieved independence in 1965 and the Housing and Development Board (HDB) was set up.

The housing situation at the time of independence was not dissimilar to the problems faced in many parts of the Third World. There was a substantial housing problem. Many people lived in substandard accommodations without adequate sanitation, without fresh water and so on.

Now, 25 years after the formation of the Housing and Development Board, 80 per cent of Singaporeans are rehoused in 2, 3, 4 and 5 room apartments. That is about 2 million people rehoused in 25 years. The average monthly income is around US\$300. Nearly all the public housing is high-rise slab blocks of about 15 storeys. The elevators all work. They are maintained regularly, the refuse chutes are all emptied regularly, the maintenance is very good. The units are sold to the occupants upon completion who finance the deposits drawing on their CPF savings. The CPF is the Central Provident Fund.

Everybody in the population contributes part of their monthly incomes to this Central Provident Fund. I contribute 25 per cent, my employer also contributes. To take an example, my house servant and her husband have just bought an apartment for S\$54,000 (approximately US\$27,000).

Everything is provided by the Housing and Development Board who acquire the land with land acquisition powers and eliminates all land speculations keeping housing prices at a subsidised level. They provide all other amenities as well, sports fields, area offices, markets and so on. The system is fair, methodical and totally pragmatic.

I have three short questions that arise out of this — Is this model unique to Singapore or is it replicable? The second big question is, what will happen when 80 per cent of the housing stock of the nation built in a short period of 25 years becomes old and in need of major maintenance? What happens in 50 years' time? I see that as a problem. The third question is more fundamental, what are the long term effects of removing individual self-expression or what could be termed, cultural expression from mass housing?

His Highness The Aga Khan

I want to take up some points that were made by John de Monchaux and many delegates from Kenya and from Tanzania. It is the necessity for the community to be an integral partner in the development process of the housing, and the need for there to be a dialogue between the community and the people responsible for developing the product. A question which is delicate and difficult to answer is how does the architect determine who is his partner in this dialogue? Is that dialogue partner qualified to talk about the issues of concern to the community, is the dialogue partner dealing with a quantum of people that is manageable or a quantum of people that is unmanageable. When you talk about 5,000 or 10,000 housing units, what is the process of information that needs to pass from the constituency that you wish to house to the people who are responsible for the project? This gets back to the question how you organise communities to articulate their needs in an organic and structured manner and in language which people can respond to? That is perhaps one of the most delicate issues in developing housing in the Third World because communities are not necessarily organised and they are not necessarily articulate. In an industrialised world, one simply does not live

with that sort of problem. I want to underline that issue as being one that is small but nonetheless fundamental to the whole process.

Razia Grover

I have tried to understand what it is that makes it possible to have individual houses in the first place and secondly what it is that gives a house its individuality and how it is that individual houses combine to create the rich and varied texture of the city.

I will base my comments on my own personal perceptions because I am not an architect, nor a designer, nor a sociologist, nor a bureaucrat. I am only an inhabitant and part owner of a house. There are certain common motivations which make people desire a house of their own apart from the need to merely have a roof over one's head. For the rural migrant or the poor who come to the city, the situation is most often that he either shares a one room tenement or he builds a shack wherever he can find people in similar circumstances which is often miles away from his work. The pressures of urban life are so tremendous on such a person that he can barely keep body and soul together; trying to work, travelling for hours everyday and trying to retain his job.

Can the poor who come to cities and live under these stress conditions really afford the time, energy and luxury of building or creating homes of their own which have traditional memories as Hasan-Uddin Khan suggested? Or are they not much better off in ready-made houses or rooms. Leaving aside the poor, how many of us, would not prefer to get the basic ready-made structure of a house, within which we will then be free to create a habitat, the way we wish it to be.

This brings me to the second point; that of identity. Why do people make habitats for themselves so different from each other and yet so identifiable within a specific culture, class, profession or locale. To my mind this is precisely the desire to conform on the one hand and yet the need to keep expressing individual personalities, or character traits, or individual aspirations which become more selective with wider exposure and experiences. My own home, I can honestly say, could be classified as a type notwithstanding the physical form, the style of living, the furniture and decor and the location, and perhaps even the people who visit us. At the same time it has a very different flavour to the houses of my friends and relatives,

precisely because of the inputs of its inhabitants. This leads me to the conclusion that it is just as much the interior organisation of spaces, which architects often cannot control, which creates a feeling of well-being and harmony with one's immediate environment.

Secondly for those of us who can afford architects, it is possible to combine traditional and modern symbols. Most of us do not live traditional lifestyles. We enjoy our modern conveniences so why not plan for them in our contemporary structures? We also need to look at new materials that are being experimented with. These new materials need not necessarily be equated with insensitive or *nouveau riche* values if sensitively used.

Thirdly, I think there is a place for the single unit house and the duplex apartment as well as the high-rise building, though I would limit this to not more than four or five floors, in a city fabric. The constraints of security, maintenance and cost in our modern life often compel people to live in community housing or apartment buildings rather than in individual houses. The problem of designing these habitats or architecturally expressing them in a manner which creates a beautiful soul uplifting environment is that of professionals and the bureaucrats who frame the rules and I leave that issue for such people to comment on.

Selma al-Radi

There is truth in what you say. If you talk to any of the people who live in the blocks of flats that we pass every day in Zanzibar, or in the housing units that Ismail Serageldin showed in the Yemen, they like living in these places. One may say that they have no choice but they actually prefer and they like it. So maybe one should not just say, "no", to the slab blocks. There is a certain feeling of security that people get from living together in a community.

Esin Atil

I would like to comment on three of the issues. Firstly, the individual house represents three social and economic levels.

- The architect-built house for the upper classes which allows a freedom of expression and creativity since no expenses are spared by the client
- Middle-class housing which can be single units or town houses or attached units in high-rise or low-rise structures. Although frequently clones of a single type, there can be variations in plans, configuration and decoration attempting to individualise the units. This too seems to be related to the economic status of the owners. Upper-middle class housing invariably displays more individuality than the housing of the lower-middle class.
- Housing for the poor built by the owner himself to suit his needs is representative of his particular taste.

The second issue appears to be the concept of authenticity versus reproduction or originality versus a copy or revival. This issue is of great interest to me since I am an art historian and I deal with works of art. A work of art whether an object or a structure has to be an original expression of an individual or of a tradition that can be understood and appreciated by different people at different times. In addition it has to achieve a certain level of aesthetic and technical competence that supercedes contemporary examples.

Although originality is important, there are certain works of art that fall into another category that can be just as creative. They may display an elaboration or perfection of existing themes and forms revealing a new interpretation and excellence of production.

Let me illustrate these points with examples. I have chosen examples from religious architecture since we will all be much more familiar with them, but secular architecture does employ similar issues. Take the Hagia Sophia (Ayasofya) in Istanbul built in the sixth century which is a work of art with its monumental dome and interior space that became an ideal model for the Ottoman architects.

Then there is Sinan's Selimiye Mosque in Edirne built in the 1570's. It utilises the existing forms but creates greater monumentality. It is a splendid work of art representative of its age and the individuality of its creator.

Finally there is the Demirtepe (Maltepe) Mosque in Ankara. It repeats the same structural features. It is definitely a reproduction, a copy of the sixteenth century type having no relation to the artistic traditions of its age.

This leaves me to the third issue namely the evaluation of the product, to use Hasan-Uddin Khan's terms. When does a structure become a unique work of art that expresses the creativity of its maker as well as the ambitions and achievements of society?

Geoffrey Bawa

The deepest impression I have got from this seminar is the enormous capacity architects have to either enhance or diminish the quality of life for a large number of people. It is a huge responsibility which has to be taken very seriously.

Any involvement architects may have has to be total from the very beginning to the end result. It is very difficult for me to think of mass housing as different to individual houses because ultimately it is the end product that matters. We have seen a lot of images of mass housing but very little information has been given to us on the user reaction to various solutions people have proposed. It is very important for an architect to consider mass housing with the same intensity as a private house. In mass housing it is just as important in giving shelter to a person — to give shelter to the mind of that person, to give him the opportunity of pleasure, and the opportunity of committing himself to the place he lives in.

Even if one uses the simplest of all materials, a wood structure for example, with a corrugated roof, if these are arranged satisfactorily, and if a certain amount of thought is given to landscape as well, it can give a sense of belonging and pleasure. Pleasure cannot be omitted in these solutions. It is just as important as shelter from the rain. You must be given the opportunity to enjoy life, otherwise what is one doing this for, making houses which no one enjoys.

I agree with Charles Correa that architects should not take on more than they can do. I have not taken on any mass housing because I could not cope with the huge responsibility

Ultimately whatever one builds has a physical form but what gives it life is what is done in and around it. Its treatment, maintenance and ultimate life depends on its acceptance by people.

Saad Eddin Ibrahim

I like Charles Correa very much; every time he speaks on a subject, I listen to him avidly, with all my senses and as an individual I cannot disagree with him. But as a social scientist, who is living in the Third World, in the last part of the twentieth century, despite my personal liking and the appeal of everything the architect says, I find that they are actually marginal to the realities of our time.

It is tough, I personally have tried to build a house to reflect my individuality and my culture, and I can say with some feeling that it was a torturous experience.

May I ask Hasan-Uddin Khan, Charles Correa and everyone who is placing importance on the authenticity and the individuality of the individual houses to reflect on their own life. May I ask these middle-aged accomplished professionals, at least those who were not born aristocrats, to reflect on their own biography. How did they start? What kind of an apartment did they live in, in the beginning? The people who are living in the flats that we look at every morning here in Zanzibar like to live in those flats, they are happy to get one of those flats. I know that. I know that my relatives ask me to intercede on their behalf when they come from villages and from houses that you would probably regard as exemplary.

They come from the villages which are very nice and very amenable. Yet when they come to the city they will strive, struggle, they almost kill to get one of those inhuman, alienating flats. This is the reality. What I am saying is that there is an element within all of us that requires such needs and there is an element that simultaneously strives for maintaining cultural simplicity.

The challenge for today's architect, before they become totally irrelevant is to provide the alternative that satisfies the need and the desire. There is a need and there is a desire.

Hasan-Uddin Khan mentioned that there are houses of necessity and there are houses of desire. In the last part of the twentieth century on the eve of the twenty-first century, how do we accommodate several billion people who are residing in urban conglomerates. They are going to double or treble in the next 20 or 30 years. This is really the quest. It is not that we are disagreeing on the value of the individual house. An individual house is what we all desire. But those who need a shelter or a house have a different kind of problem.

Charles Correa

People do not move from villages to towns because of the attraction of the accommodation but because they need jobs and they need access to education. It could be that despite the hazards of living in an apartment, they are willing to make a sacrifice because of access to the city. I do not have to point out that is relevant at any income level. Here in Zanzibar the example given is interesting. Why would people want to live in these apartments? I understand that they get electricity and water and other privileges.

I was suggesting that we must have a habitat which is malleable so people can then choose — they can live in an apartment if they prefer, and whatever they get they should be able to change it and rearrange and put their own stamp upon it. I am not talking about flexible walls. I am talking about the kind of gestures people make; public gestures, sacred gestures.

Mohammed Arkoun

Some of us in a seminar like this must try to preach different positions and I am happy to speak up for my friend Saad Eddin Ibrahim to try to reach his position which I understand and the position taken by Hasan-Uddin Khan whose paper I liked very much. It was a very rich paper because he tried to do something which is very rarely done in our seminars. He tried to describe the creative process in architecture, not on the superficial level, as we say in our semiotic language but on the deep level of signs. He quoted Umberto Eco saying “absolute unreality becomes the unique reality”. This statement is not a

philosophical statement as many would consider. It is definitely a semiotic statement which means a “concrete” statement. What does this mean for us, for our work? What is between absolute unreality and what he calls true unique reality. What is there between these two things?

There is the whole unlimited space of signs. Any artistic masterpiece produced in architecture, in painting, in sculpture, in music, in literature, in philosophy; anything produced by human spirits is produced in this space of signs. It is a stock of signs at the disposal of each individual.

We come from the absolute unreality to what we present as the reality through the personal individual combination of signs which each of us has at our disposal. And this work is done by which psychological faculty? It is not done by reason, it is not done by rationality. It is done by imagination in this unlimited space where all the stock of signs are at our disposal. This is manipulated in a very positive way (I am using a very semiotic language); manipulated by imagination, by the creative imagination of the artist. Bawa is an artist. I admire the silence of Bawa. He is reluctant to speak. I admire this silence because he has a personal relation to the stock of signs which he manipulates with his sensitivity and poetical imagination and creates what he creates. That is why his silence is wonderful. It is expressive.

I must explain what I mean by rupture, it is not just a rupture on a superficial level. It is a rupture on the level of the relationship between our imagination and the stock of signs. What has happened with what we call rationality; with what we call secularisation? What has happened precisely in the history of thought in Western societies, in Western culture and civility? We must analyse what has happened and make a bridge between individual houses in which you can invest your personal decisions through your personal system of signs and mass housing. When we come to mass housing all these totally disappear. What we do is just work on the superficial level to give a shelter for people. There is no more space for imagination to work. There is the rupture.

Furthermore what is the function of religions? I am not speaking only on Islam, but any religion? Religion had the wonderful function to open the space, between the absolute unreality and the unique reality. When Umberto Eco says unreality, he speaks from the epistemological position, the physiological position using modern reason looking at believers who will never speak of unreality about God. They will say God is the absolute reality. The believer will start from that whilst the secularised reason starts from unreality to the reality. This total reverse is made in our mind, in our reason, looking, at the problem of knowledge. How do we come to know anything? If we want to bridge the gap, between the individual houses and mass housing, we have to seriously consider firstly how we come to know anything as human beings and secondly how we come to create anything as artists.

Oleg Grabar

Having lived the first 18 years of my life in apartments, I do not feel dehumanised. My relatives have always lived in apartments and it is not so bad. One should perhaps modulate the anti-apartment note in our discussions.

What Hasan-Uddin Khan showed us in his presentation was a series of buildings which eventually will enter into our history books. They will form what will eventually be called, the art of building houses at a certain period of time. That is fine and that is one of their roles.

What is more important for our purposes is to define what their role is within the cultures in which we live. Hasan-Uddin Khan talked very beautifully about the notion of a “fortress of solitude”. Who in our societies does not need loneliness occasionally? Who does not need meditation or communion with something?

My second point is related to authenticity. How does one determine what is authentic? At what point is authenticity something which is genuine and eventually replicable? This is a problem. What are the means by which one transmits the knowledge one has acquired? Mohammed Arkoun called this the level of signs between reality and unreality. How does one

transmit the character of these so-called authentic buildings? Not necessarily to replicate them in other buildings but to make society, culture and nations, aware of their meaning and significance. Who makes that transmission? At the moment the transmission is made primarily by schools of architecture. Architects transmit to other architects their analysis of such buildings. It is done to some extent through professional magazines which publish photographs with very little text and no critical vocabulary most of the time.

Who is going to develop the critical vocabulary by which these houses, which are works of art, admittedly sponsored by the rich, can be judged. Who is going to transmit the important meaning. It is not a luxury, it is a search for spaces that are meaningful to the population. This is where I would put a question to the media who are amongst us. What do they need to know in order to transfer to the mass media the ideas, thoughts, and interpretations that are developing among critics, historians and architects dealing with buildings. How do we transfer what Hasan-Uddin Khan presented to a whole country, to a whole culture. To say simply that a rich man has built himself a beautiful house and has a golden bathroom will not do. This is not what is important about these buildings. What is important is the way in which they establish quality and authenticity within certain cultures. The process of transferring this to the "mass" and not limiting it to professional groups is one of the key issues.

Babar Mumtaz

I want to go back to some of the comments that were made by Razia Grover and Saad Eddin Ibrahim who said that people when they come into cities may perhaps want an instant solution. They may not want to be involved in the process of building their own houses.

I want to react to that. What Hasan-Uddin Khan was showing us was that where people have the means to build an individual house they do exercise that choice. They do involve themselves with an architect who develops an option that is, to his way of thinking right for his client and a particular place.

In the case of a lower-income house whether the person wants a ready-made house or wants to gradually build his own house, the essential thing that should remain, as a constant between the different income groups is the right of choice. Not every rich person necessarily gets his house designed. There are rich people who will by choice buy an apartment block or a ready-made house. But there is essentially this right to choose and to be able to decide how one wants to live. Architects and bureaucrats as soon as they think of housing for the poor, assume that the choice is not for the individual to make but for the authority or organisation providing the house to make.

This notion has become engrained. For example we have been working in Sri Lanka for the last six years on what is called the "Million Houses Programme". The programme tries to leave the choice on the design of a house, the shape of a house and the form of a house to the individual that is going to occupy it. We started off by saying that there should be no type plans. We found that even though there were to be no type plans, the architects or the building technicians that were responsible for translating the reality of the individual household, were nevertheless designing houses which were very similar in each case. The architect was still asking the builder or the occupier to build more or less to a type plan. We then resorted to stipulating that there should be no drawings done at all for the house. We found that the drawing itself forced the technicians because of their limited notions of what could be done within a space to produce a house that is similar in each case. We are now telling the architects on site that they should not do a drawing before the house is built.

The house is planned using pegs and strings on the site and using furniture. In this way people can fashion their own house. We are finding that nevertheless there is emerging a similarity of house design produced by the master mason. The limitations of the master mason as to what one can do on a certain size of plot is also affecting us. We have a strange dilemma where the programme is designed not to have repetitious housing but because of the limited imagination of people that translate the realities, there is this repetition. This

comes back to the models, the exemplars and the notions that are being demonstrated in the individual houses. These need to be translated and we need to widen the training and the imagination of the people. This applies right down to the lower income levels. Charles Correa said that architects are in a sense negating or destroying the master masons work or the craftsman's work. He said that we are asking them to do things in a certain way and not allowing them the freedom of expression. The implication was that if we allowed such freedom then we would get a lot of articulation in different forms. My worry is that we have already done that in many places and particularly in urban areas, where we have introduced new materials, new technologies, and new lifestyles. We now do not have the masons or the craftsmen with the required skills. When we talk about what ought to be done in the training of architects, we need to take this further down the line and look at the training of the craftsmen as well as the education of the user.

Selma al-Radi

Babar Mumtaz brought up a very interesting point, that the craftsmen, by the very fact that they are traditional craftsmen, are very limited in their knowledge. Within their own culture they have very strict limitations on the kind of houses that they can build. There is no free-for-all among traditional craftsmen. They do have a limited repertoire.

Abdelbaki Ibrahim

We are still talking in a very general sense about architecture of individual houses and mass housing. This sort of discussion could be done anywhere and is not directly related to Islamic architecture.

Throughout the discussions we see that the individual house is looked upon as having a certain identity and satisfying certain desires and needs. It is a piece of art and if we put a number of these good examples together in one place, it would look like a museum of fine art. Every one of them has its own identity and represents its own culture. There are two sides of

that expression of identity. The person is not an individual isolated from the society. He is part of society and his identity is expressed on the inside but not on the outside. Architecture on the outside is the architecture of the society and not the architecture of the architect as an individual, or even the owner as an individual. On the inside everybody expresses their individual desires and needs and culture.

In Islamic towns, the outside expression is an architecture of the society. Its homogeneity controls the urban design. It is a process controlled by the social relationships between people. So the homogeneity is there which also is an Islamic value. We have two parts; we have the architecture of society which is controlled by the society and its aspirations and we have the interior architecture which expresses the individual.

Turning now to mass housing, we could have a social architecture of the "outside" leaving everybody within this mass housing in his own domain. The architect should confine himself to the architecture of the society and give freedom to the owner on the inside. There should be a combination of the mass housing and the individual house. Everybody wants to see the sky but with the shortage of land, this can only be achieved by having a type of housing which expresses the individual from the inside and satisfies his needs but is in the form of a mass housing structure.

Habib Yusuf Thariani

I am from Bombay and we have five million people living in the slums in Bombay. I do not know how we could provide accommodation for five million people with individual houses. Perhaps the only answer lies in the multi-storey slab block. But we have to incorporate in these structures individuality and cultural continuity so that it can become more meaningful for the people living there. If we can do that we will have provided the answer which we are all groping for.

John de Monchaux

I would like to return to the question that Oleg Grabar raised. I would like to rephrase it. How do we learn what to expect of

architects and how do we, as the designer learn, a richer palate of solutions to meet those expectations? I challenge Charles Correa over his example of Mikanos because the individual who builds an increment of housing in Mikanos has available to him a very rich learning experience as well as a constrained one. He has a relatively small range of solutions, but he would have evidence of infinite variety in exercising and deploying forms to achieve a solution.

The world that Hasan-Uddin Khan and Charles Moore have described for us is a different world. It is a world in which the range of expectations is wider, and in which the influences, the pressures and the constraints are more numerous. We need to turn in part at least to the media to help us with the task of learning. Learning in a classic pedagogy and certainly the Socratic method has shown itself to be of lasting value in that regard. My challenge to us could be to become better at asking the questions and indeed to become richer and more defined in the responses. There is in architectural journalism a tendency just to describe buildings; just to describe the form and not to question what that form is an answer to.

I would welcome hearing more from some of our journalist friends on this. Is there a way of introducing a more Socratic approach to the means by which we learn about architecture?

Colin Amery

There is no point in describing anything if you cannot apply a critical approach and the essence of good journalism must be that it asks the right questions. From time to time it also provides some answers.

Journalists are no different from architects or any other professional person except they have one advantage. They are, courtesy of all sorts of people and mainly newspapers, allowed to see a great deal and make coherent comparisons, when it comes to a discussion like this. We have a privileged bird's eye view. To take up John de Monchaux's point on the Socratic dialogue, it is something that anyone can do not just the media. It is simply a matter of learning to ask questions rather than accept everything that is put in front of you. That is the

challenge for all of us, to ask questions on behalf of people who are less able to, and to put those questions to the right people. That is a role not just for newspapers but for television, local radio and local village meetings, from the primary level to the national level. To do that you do need to have political freedom and you do need to have a tradition of debate and question and answer from the government downwards. That is a very big question and we perhaps need to address our remarks as well to politicians especially in certain parts of the world.

Selma al-Radi

The only people who “describe” buildings are art historians and archaeologists. It is our business to describe them because sometimes we do not have a whole lot remaining. But we are the only ones who actually describe buildings, stone by stone.

Architects have been responsible for creating a dream. The dream has been sold via the media, particularly via television to masses of people. It has filtered down through the top levels into the bureaucracy and to the poorer people. The poorer people now, if they think in terms of modernity, or coming-up in the world only think in terms that are represented on television and in the cinema. Everybody in Egypt sees Egyptian films set in apartment houses. It becomes the thing to own an apartment block. Similarly with Indian films. The image that comes down to the people, is that to be modern is to live in one of these apartment buildings. Therefore it is probably up to the architects to change that image and give an alternative to the slab block.

Ismail Serageldin

This is a very rich point in our discussion and I think it will lead us to the role of the architect.

Abdelbaki Ibrahim made a very compelling point, about the difference between the external and the internal message. People live inside their houses and therefore the organisation of space is private. Their “fortress of solitude” is a space they experience on a day-to-day basis. The external facades are the images projected to society.

But from what Selma al-Radi was saying, we have another notion which is that the interior of that space has been “invaded”. It has been invaded by the media, by films, by pictures which convey an image of what the interior of the space should be like, and this image is very, very powerful.

The presentation that Mona Serageldin gave showed an apartment building in Cairo in the informal sector. The spaces were perfectly suitable for much more malleable and small-scale furniture but, with the introduction of furniture that is really copied from the lifestyle of the upper-middle class, congestion has been created within the living space that was not foreseen before when you sat on pillows. So even the interior space which is the private realm has now become influenced by the images that confront people and define their desires for a living space.

This brings us back then to the impact of the exemplars. What can we do? What is the impact of the exemplars on this space? This is fundamentally what Mohammed Arkoun was talking about when he discussed the quotation from Eco. There is the unique physical reality and there is the unreality and there is this space of signs. Unfortunately, what we have today is a largely degraded set of signs and as a result of that, it is imperfect and the ability of both users and artists to draw on that domain to fashion a new consciousness is missing. What can we do about that specific aspect. It is important not to ignore the power of the physical symbols or signs around us.

Take two examples we all know well — Le Corbusier and Hassan Fathy. In many ways their architectural contributions have been in setting up exemplars, liberating the architectural imagination in Corbusier’s case with the *Villa Savoy* or the *Unite d’Habitation* block in Marseille. Today Le Corbusier’s city planning contributions are totally discredited. Nobody believes that you raze entire cities and build *La Ville Radiuse* anymore, yet the typology and forms that he gave us survive. They survive in a very powerful fashion.

In the same way Hassan Fathy’s contributions have remained and become thoroughly internalised in terms of self-help. The enabling function of it has survived but much of the specifics of

the proposals that he made are no longer applicable. The vocabulary that he gave us — the re-legitimation of the vernacular as a source of inspiration, the re-validation of the authentic cultural expression of the people as something noble and worthwhile has remained with us. What we now need is for architects to take up this challenge and look at our cities today and give us the exemplars, and forms that will enrich that domain of signs and will effectively enable people to know that there are other options.

Kazi K Ashraf

I would like to raise the notion of the house as a unit of a deeply-integrated system. The house cannot be perceived in isolation — not even when it is a free-standing bungalow type house. Any type of house has a particular relationship with the larger context. This in turn has collective implications which we cannot overlook.

The issue of the house in the rural areas cannot be equated with the house in the city. In terms of the ideological implications the house in the city raises fundamental questions about the mechanism of our societies and the dynamics of economic forces which are just nice words for class domination — who will live where and how?

Hasan-Uddin Khan lightly mentioned this when he said something about vested interest. We should discuss that too. Architectonics must be reviewed against its many not so visible implications. If we look at the morphology of most of our cities, especially those in the Indian subcontinent we seem to have retained not a heritage of an ancient past but the baggage of the immediate past which is the colonial experience. The nature and the maintenance of it is an almost unaberrated continuation of the colonial system.

How are the prime, strategic chunks of livable lands inside the city used? It seems mostly that so-called housing societies take up this land, divide it into individual plots and distribute them to high officials and bureaucrats at subsidised rates. These are the people who do not really need a subsidy. Moreover all the institutional structures support this. Besides

this we have the cantonments taking another huge chunk of land. Once the Englishman lived there to control the local people and now it seems that there are local people out there trying to control the still restless natives.

We think of the rural migrant as invading urban land illegally. It seems the privileged class invades land too — legally but certainly not morally. What kind of houses get built on this kind of land? Usually it is the image of the free-standing bungalow on a large site with high walls, somewhat detached from its surroundings. This is the ideal image, the ultimate paradigm of an urban dwelling. I am not demeaning the nature of the building type, the free-standing house. The question is where do we want these houses — in the heart of the city? Within what urban system?

The houses that do get built mostly are intrusions on the cultural landscape also. The iconography; the process contributes nothing in overcoming the historical discontinuity which has occurred and which we are living through — the rupture that Mohammed Arkoun talked about.

This leads me to believe that we are basically suffering from a lack of vision — of how we are going to live collectively. This is generated on the one hand by ideological anaemia and on the other by cultural amnesia. Ideological anaemia because most of our nations have been independent from colonial rule for many years and some of us even boast democratic structure but in reality we have not yet been able to project for ourselves a whole vision of how we are going to live and behave. A vision which will sustain a less exploitative urban or rural life. Or an urban paradigm which will be reflective of the human egalitarian condition that reconciles the deep consciousness and the contemporary realities. At the same time we are suffering from cultural amnesia. By 'we', I mean the elites, the decision-makers and "we", the architects, whose alienating products become overwhelming models for mass adoption.

We blame external forces for our cultural discontinuity but we have to blame ourselves for continuing if not aggravating the discontinuity. I have seen Geoffrey Bawa's work and Hassan Fathy's attempts at erasing that amnesia and restoring

that traditional memory and understood typology. Charles Correa showed us the most compelling example. It showed a vital, humane, urban system within which there is still the possibility of the fortress of solitude.

Oleg Grabar

We are escaping from Hasan-Uddin Khan's initial point and in order to make it dramatic, I wonder if his initial point may have been irrelevant. He argued, in talking about the rather extra-ordinary unique houses built in a number of locations, that they can express the essence of certain cultural interpretations of today. He argued they are cultural interpretations and are appropriate exemplars for others to transform into something else. As an example I would mention Hassan Fathy, the "children" of Fathy and now the "grandchildren" of Fathy and the endless series of houses they have created all over the Arabian Gulf

There was a counter-point in Hasan-Uddin Khan's talk which is that those places are the places of individuals who are alone and separate from the worlds in which they live. From the discussions that followed, I gathered the latter may be more important in our general view than the former. In other words the houses are wonderful and we would all like to marry the daughter of the owner but they are irrelevant to the real issue.

I am exaggerating the point but what I am trying to say is that perhaps there are no lessons from these beautiful houses, they are not pertinent to the culture in the housing crises at this particular moment.

Ismail Serageldin

I disagree with Oleg Grabar on this. They are not irrelevant. They are supremely relevant even though they are not specifically replicated. There is a big difference. It is not a model that will be cloned and replicated but they are supremely relevant to the extent that the Villa Savoye and Falling Water are relevant in a different context. Nobody replicated those but they are an inherent part of the consciousness of all architectural students because through the

schools of architecture they have become part of the domain of signs on which all architects draw today. The presence of such exemplars even if they are not replicated is what defines both the aspirations of people and the consciousness of architects. Ultimately it is what helps fashion a reality out of that unreality and the irrelevance of it.

The problem of the Muslim world specifically and the Third World generally is the tremendous pace of modernisation. This has created a situation where the internal space has been impoverished. It is the function of architects, as well as intellectuals generally to resymbolise that particular environment, to give it a new dimension. I think we would be doing the houses, a disservice if we do not recognise their value not as examples that would be replicated but as key elements that fashion the consciousness in society of what is desirable. It also fashions and broadens the horizons of architects to go beyond the mediocrity that exists around them.

Ronald Lewcock

To respond to my colleague from Harvard and to amplify what Ismail Serageldin has just said, I remember a fascinating essay by Albert Camus about the Moorish house.

This is a fascinating early essay in which he describes the depths of his reaction to the traditional Moorish house and how it helped to spark his revolutionary career. Camus saw the courtyard house as imbued with the culture of countless generations — the dark shadowy entrance filled with promise, the wide gloomy corridor, winding apparently aimlessly and timelessly. Then the sudden emergence into the bright sunlight of the courtyard. The peace of the cool reception rooms, the splash of water in the bright fountain on a hot day. The rain dripping from the leaves onto the pavements of the garden. The garden terrace overlooking the town, the houses jostling each other down to the sea, the contrast of the quietness of the house and the bustling noisy colour of the narrow streets of the *suq*. He contrasted this with the dead, empty faces of the modern houses. I think the words he used were, “Grey houses, I hate you!”

The point of the essay was the struggle he experienced to find the meaning of the deep reaction produced in him by the Moorish house. Finally he tried to distill meaning in the following ways — the contrast between action and inaction; between life and death; between culture and nihilism. Ultimately Camus found in the Moorish house a strong incentive to mentally revolt against the stultifying, uncreative and unimaginative bourgeois world. There are many parables in his essay — intentional and unintentional. He is showing how culture works as a signifying system through which values of one generation and one society and one individual are communicated to another to be experienced and explored. The immense poverty that results when culture is lost and ceases to use its artifacts in a significant way. That seems to me to be as true of mass housing as of the individual house.

Raymond Williams in his study of the operation of culture draws attention to the different ways in which houses operate as signifiers in society. They denote relative social position, lifestyle, conformity or non-conformity, the taste and preferences of the occupants. He says “Within and beyond this, domestic architecture becomes a conscious art and in addition to specific aesthetic considerations house dwellers participate in deliberate kinds of enhancements, from decoration (of the building) to gardening”. It comes from his book on “Culture” written in 1981. I believe the architect has to operate in society by assuming his full responsibilities as a creator, a conveyor and an enabler of significant experience.

I remember something that Saad Eddin Ibrahim said — the architect may *not* be able to afford to particularise *needs* but he can afford to particularise *tastes*. In this sense the architect plays one of the key roles in establishing and maintaining the culture of society — not merely its cultural expression. It is a very important distinction. It is a responsibility that grows in importance as the pressures against it increase.

The architect has a further role to build into his work life enhancing qualities, emotive feeling, understanding, enthusiasm, delight and love. In this sense the topics of this seminar seem to focus on a common theme. There is no

difference in ultimate value whether the architect is working as the designer of individual buildings or playing a role in a community to create a new environment.

Baljit S Malik

The best thing for me to do would be to just give an example of something which I saw recently. I travelled out to some of the drought and famine stricken areas in Rajasthan in India, south-west of Delhi. I arrived in a tribal village where for the last ten years, a very sophisticated Tamil lady from the deep south of India has been living and working with the tribal people. She has been interacting with them and trying to intercede for them with the administration to tackle some of their problems. It was fascinating to see the kind of house she has decided to live in. She had a choice in building a house for herself. There was plenty of land, available in that area although it had been degraded by soil erosion where the trees had been cut down by forest contractors. There is no clustered village in that society, everybody lives on a hillock separated from each other. She got hold of a hillock which the people gave her and the house that she built with the village people with whom she was working was a typical tribal home but an upgraded one. That is the solution that she came to. She did not transplant into that area something which she brought along with her experience from the city. I was struck by this and it is difficult to understand why we are not able to do this on a mass scale, in the villages where most of our people live. What she did in her house was to provide a basic sanitation system and to keep the courtyard and the land around it clean and paved with the local material available there. She managed to get electricity into that village from the main road which was about 15 miles away.

So there was a housing pattern, a housing culture which her experience in those ten years had told her really requires very little intervention from the outside. The housing pattern there gives scope to the village people to practise their own skills. It is a house and as Tasneem Siddiqui has been telling us, that house is also a workplace. Many of the people who are coming

from the villages into the urban areas are artisans who are self-employed people or the husband is doing a salaried job or a factory worker's job. The women remain in the home — the wife is herself a self-employed person pursuing some kind of occupation for additional income. Our architects and our planners are somehow not able to respond to this kind of need — to see the house as a workplace as well as a living place and I would just like to emphasise that. This is the kind of imagination we need. It is a very simple form of imagination which we need to bring to this work. Why is it that electricity cannot be taken into the villages? Why is it the sanitation system cannot be brought to the villages?

I was in another village in the same area where there was a group of 20 to 25 potters. Each house had a beautiful arrangement of space where they had their kilns in a very small amount of space and they do their cooking, socialising, sleeping and eating. It was also beautifully clean in the house but the moment you came out of that house, it was disaster. There was slush, there was garbage, there was no proper road, there was no electricity, no sanitation system. That is perhaps where we need to bring our creative energies into play.

Arif Hasan

We should remember that probably only 5 per cent of housing is designed by architects. Probably 90 per cent of all housing in our cities are individual houses whether this housing is on legal land or illegally acquired land. The main issue is the availability of land as Charles Correa has reminded us. These houses are built with materials that are easily available and the materials that are easily available today are very different from the materials from which traditional architecture is built.

This brings me to the question of upgrading skills and/or finding alternative materials that can be popularised, not materials that cannot be popularised. Building a mud house with traditional technology in the area in which I work in Karachi would probably be far more expensive than building a house, made of concrete block and asbestos roofing which is the common way of building houses.

As far as culture is concerned, a new vernacular culture is developing. We have seen it in the slides that Ismail Serageldin and Mona Serageldin showed us. It is there and it is a culture that is alive and it is growing and expanding. It may be a hybrid, but it needs support, sympathetic support and sympathetic understanding which we are not willing to offer. We see this culture not only in housing but in the way trucks are painted, in the manner in which festivities are conducted today, whether they are religious festivities or social festivities.

All these things must be seen on a bigger canvas of the social, political and economic life of the modern city and our modern society.

This comes back to the question of what role the architect can have in building or in assisting the creation of this new environment. This is a very difficult question because as architects, we look at things in a narrow context — that of building alone. Even when we look at the other aspects, we always look at them through the context of building

Mohammed Arkoun

Camus who was quoted by Ronald Lewcock, is an Algerian writer and he played a great role in the literary expression of Muslim civilisation in Algeria. His wonderful literary expression of the qualities of architecture has been neglected and was rejected by Algerians themselves during the war and after the war. Camus has been hardly discussed by Algerians. This point is very relevant to our discussion, relevant to the reaction of Oleg Grabar, relevant to the reaction of Saad Eddin Ibrahim. It shows how an artistic process for creating a masterpiece or for creating an environment can be totally shifted to ideological thinking.

The question is now — how to think about the masses without forgetting that we have to think about promoting man, of promoting culture, of promoting the spirit for man. This is the problem and we cannot do it because we are always oppressed by masses and we are oppressed by masses led by states. Here emerges again the problem of the state in our society today because the state is manipulating these masses in

an ideological way and not in the way of promoting the culture, something to which of course the architect is contributing on the level shown by Hasan-Uddin Khan.

Mona Serageldin

How can we provide for the masses? Charles Correa has said that we need to have buildings that are not impervious to being colonised and that good housing solutions, are only possible up to certain densities. My question is what densities? Are these densities compatible with the realities in urban areas today where the dynamics of growth are pushing land values to the point of rendering obsolete any static solution and forcing a constant transformation of whatever has been built? The whole landscape on any street is changing almost continuously.

This is a question that architects should address. What densities and up to what densities? If architects can come up with these solutions, then planners can try to deflate urban land values by directing urban growth to the point where these densities can be maintained.

The second one is regarding the building envelopes. We need buildings that are not impervious to colonisation. But we also need building envelopes that are amenable to successive interior transformations. Now this is where we look again to the architects. Can architects come up with solutions that are amenable to these successive transformations and if so can planners take up these envelopes and try to look for methods to make them affordable?

M Mturi

I accept the needs for architects to use traditional buildings or memories to come up with new forms, and the examples shown were intellectually and culturally pleasing. They are masterpieces of exemplary forms. But their aim is not to remain as monuments to the architects or monuments to architecture as a profession. They are supposed to be usable as livable places. They must contribute to solving the problem of housing.

My problem is — how do we handle such a process so that at the end of the day the exemplars help solve the larger problem

of providing the housing needs of the majority. If we don't do it, all we are saying is that the poor have only two alternatives — to go into mass housing or to live in slum areas.

Charles Correa

Both these things are related and Mona Serageldin's question is a very relevant one. Taking an individual site of say 50 square metres (the project I illustrated in an earlier session had sites of 45 to 70 square metres) you get a density of 500 persons per hectare, using only half the site area. The other half is allocated for social and other amenities. I am just talking about densities and this is regardless of how you design the houses. These are very high densities. If you have an additional tenant on the same site as Mona Serageldin suggested, then the densities can go as high as a thousand per hectare. Those are very high densities indeed. One of the first things our Commission did in India was to see what are the densities in cities and which part of which city is most dense. Very few cities in India, which are very crowded, cross a line drawn at one thousand persons per hectare. Furthermore in Bombay hardly 5 per cent of residential land used, crosses that line. So we are really talking about very few people who create the images, images so blinding that some people have suggested it is the only way to house everybody.

We know that we do not have the money for 5 million people to be housed in that fashion. There is no way; even the World Bank cannot do that for us. We have got to find another way to do it. What do we have to do to change this? Now is the time to scan the options because we really do have a choice right now. We are not going to go slowly and incrementally like New York, we can almost see a quantum jump of four fold in the growth of cities.

We must decide what patterns we want, the preferred lifestyle and the things we can afford. I am not trying to ban apartments. On the contrary, I am saying "Do not close the door to low-rise high-density development." Hassan-Uddin Khan's paper demonstrated that the individual house could be applicable to the poor. I do not entirely agree but I do see that

the architect is much more inventive when he deals with the individual house, much more sensitive. I was reminded that if you understand the problems at that scale, it is much easier to design a building for mass housing.

Each of us should look at our own societies, we should establish what are the densities and we should examine whether we are not closing the door on an option, which has tremendous advantages, which is this low-rise high-density solution. Let me just list these advantages very swiftly. Apart from the economy, which many people mentioned, including Tasneem Siddiqui, it is incremental. To me that is a political imperative. If all we can give the poor in India today is one room and it can never grow, what are we talking about? Political revolution due to rising expectations? As soon as you have a situation where the house can grow you immediately have a safety valve.

Pluralism is very important. We are not talking about monolith cultures. We are talking about many religions, many societies and many aspirations. Obviously low-rise high-density is much more amenable to this. I have already mentioned open-to-sky space and the whole system of spaces that make a town which Kamran Diba mentioned when he said we should design the neighbourhood.

We are also talking about why people come to cities. They come to cities for jobs. One of our friends from Bangladesh was asking about the political implications. When we talk about large building blocks, we are talking about the very few architects who can design them and the very few construction companies which can build them. That money goes straight to these companies. In another situation it would go to the masons, and the carpenters who work in the vernacular — what one might call the bazaar economy. This is really crucial. It is of tremendous political importance. All the money we are getting for housing could go directly to the semi-skilled labourers, the very people who are coming to the cities.

I am not saying that this is the panacea but I happen to believe in this. I am saying, do not close the door on this option. On the contrary, if people have the money or they have

the desire to live in apartments, I would never stop them. But do not let us think that the alternative solution is not viable. It is eminently viable and it is a tremendously crucial decision we have to make because of the four-fold growth in the next two or three decades. Thirty years from now no one will blame us for the number of children which have grown in the country because it is beyond our immediate control. But they will hold us responsible for not having exercised this option, and not having made it come true, if indeed it is a truly viable option.

Saad Eddin Ibrahim

I would like to consider the dialogue that has taken place. I say dialogue and not debate. It is a dialogue that should build up and come to a reasonable conclusion of this very important seminar. When we talk about the responsibility of the architects to play a crucial and decision-making role in meeting the need for larger scale housing, it is to avoid the continuing vulgarisation of the urban house.

Charles Correa

John de Monchaux was talking about the architect and the classic virtues of firmness, commodity and delight that are the central role of the architect or let us say his central responsibility. As he moves away from that to understanding finance, and understanding other things, he actually weakens his position. But what Hasan Poerbo seems to be saying is that in the Third World the imperatives of the human condition forces the architect to start moving in that direction. In fact the phrase John de Monchaux used, was that when the architect moved in that direction, he gave "a total performance" which seems to give a higher value to that than a specialised performance. In other words, the architect is an evangelist who creates conditions for his own performance. If you look at the history of architecture, even in the west, and at the people who were concerned with these virtues of firmness, commodity and delight, a man like Louis Sullivan, actually was an evangelist who created the conditions for his own performance.

Kazi Khaled Ashraf

What I have is a list of parallel and disjointed observations which have been repeated over and over again and some of them I will repeat.

The first scenario, is the dimension of the rural to urban exodus. It is a demographic shift of historical proportions. In the next 20 or 30 years, every major city of the so called Third World is going to face such a phenomenal pressure on its land, its resource and infrastructure that it will paralyse our existing urban system.

The new urban frontier is in the Third World. If the first scenario is alarming, the second one is chilling. There was a recent conference of environment scientists, that was held in the United States, on the global warming trends, with increasing greenhouse effects and wide scale global deforestation. Scientists believe that the earth is entering a period of soaring global temperature, rising sea levels and disruptive climate changes. Scientists also predict that within the next hundred years or so the rising sea level and flooding will lead to

countries like the Maldives totally disappearing. Much of the Nile Delta and the Bengal Delta will be permanently under water. Do we ignore these warnings, or do we think about the effects of these catastrophes on our settlements.

The third scenario is of an ideological and cultural tension that is going on in our societies between traditional and contemporary parts, between the regional world view and the borrowed world view. This has been articulated many times before by Mohammed Arkoun. Parallel to the great urban metamorphosis we are also witnessing a period of immense transformation of perceptions and values. The result is that on one hand we have been yet unable to sketch out a collective vision of how we want our habitats to be and on the other hand we have found our existing typologies inadequate in containing this transformation.

This leads to the next scenario which is at a more micro-level and within a more understood domain of architecture. The architectural effect of the cultural tension is the loss of empathy with typologies which gave definition and spirit to a place. Moreover new typologies have not been contemplated in response to this transforming human conditions.

There are other scenarios of the nature of our political state in the Third World and of limited resources, but I have mentioned enough scenarios to incite the adrenalin.

Against the scenarios, I see the role of architect in three major ways. They are not mutually exclusive and there are many areas of overlapping. Number one is the role of the architect as visionary. This is the domain of images and of prophecy. Number two is the role of the architect as activist, as mediator, as catalyst and this is the domain of process or dialogue. And thirdly, there is the role of the architect as maker — maker and conveyor of cultural and collective consciousness. This was what Ronald Lewcock observed. This is the domain of architect's iconography — the visual world.

The major task of the leading, thinking architects, should be the articulation of a vision, the crystallisation of a new ideology of habitation and as Charles Correa said the creation of an urban context.

We know that the Award does not entertain, what we can call pure ideas and rightfully so but it is also true that the domain of envisioning, the formation of some guiding philosophy, the collective ideology has hardly been approached in shaping our environment. Whilst we must demythologise the ivory tower of architects, we cannot undermine the visionary role. It is in the capacity of the architect to internalise the dimension of the present crisis with an awareness of the future and to sketch the outline of an environment.

We look upon vision as some kind of strange disease but we have already been paralysed by the immensity of the urban phenomenon and the cultural crisis. In times of crisis we need imagination — imagination for the totality and not only piecemeal solutions. It is unfortunate in our societies, we do not see that visionary. The only example I can remember is Charles Correa's plan for Bombay.

Europe did produce Le Corbusier but as Colin Amery mentioned, it produced Ebenezer Howard too. The urban vision of Le Corbusier, disastrous as it may have been captured the imagination of two generations because Europe since the beginning of the urban upheaval in the eighteenth century was hungry for a driving idea. The problem was not a vision but that vision. Also we cannot deny the compelling power of this vision which Ismail Serageldin mentioned. Before we talk about mass housing, we surely must talk about mass vision of how we are going to live, an ideology that will ensure a human and enabling environment.

Of course there are real problems here, which need immediate healing. The stopping of human degradation and a ray of hope for millions of people who need work and shelter now. This is the domain where architects can play the leading role in catalysing a positive change. Architects in our societies can no longer operate passively from a quarantine environment. They must participate actively in the transformation process. As Colin Amery said, we must enter the problem. This is the domain of the architect as activist, as catalyst, as agent.

How and where can the architect act in this context? I think this was well spelled out by Tasneem Siddiqui earlier and by

Hasan Poerbo. It will depend on each particular context and condition. But the crux is in the Third World, there is evolving a new frontier which is diffusing the boundary as we knew it of the architectural domain. In general it engages issues like how can architectural activity contribute to the national economy? Can one intervene through architectural means in the rural urban migration process? How can new growth centres be conceived? Jobs be generated? Shelter be provided? How can the subsistence level of living of so many millions of people be improved? How can paralysed communities be organised and motivated towards self-sufficiency?

There is a third domain. It is operating at what we will call a micro level. It is in the production of artifacts that architecture enters into the highest intellectual realm of art. In line with Mohammed Arkoun's earlier comments, I would like to reiterate that this is not a question of pictorial sensation. It involves the basic spirit of man, the transfer of consciousness from one generation to another. This is how one feels an affiliation to a place, a sense of identity.

Here I would like to build upon two notions which John de Monchaux mentioned, and which need a little elaboration. This is the making of form and the idea of well-being. I would like to think that this is the fundamental aspect of architecture which has either eluded us or has been understated in our discussions. A well-meaning house or housing is not merely a collection of stone and brick or mud and thatch and neither is it purely economic activity. It is ultimately the space-order which the dweller relates to physically and achieves a sense of well-being, a kind of mental security. I believe that Johan Silas equated the house with comfort and peace.

This is very close to the idea that Charles Correa always talks about — colonising a space. This is also what one calls an existential space in the limitless world. This is the psychological and fundamental dimension of architecture which resists exteriorisation and verbalisation.

When a dwelling is felt unselfconsciously by people, its' existential desire is already inherent there. But now with the institutionalisation of architecture — with the need for

verbalising and quantifying, this fundamental aspect has been ignored. I wonder if this is not the reason why the nature of architecture has continued to elude us. This is why architecture has become so alienating to people.

For me it is a personal struggle how to engage this intangible mythic dimension in our formal process. I do not have a solution as to how this can be converted into a methodology. But it seems a modest approach would be the typological approach. This has two sides, retrieval of types which still have deep resonance in our consciousness and which lie submerged under the debris of cultural tension. The gouache drawings of Hassan Fathy are a close approximation of this approach. Those exercises are not only personal pleasure, it is a kind of struggle to rediscover. By the notion of the architect as an inventor, what I understand is the exploration of a new typology or an expression based on an old typology in response to new unprecedented conditions. In terms of examples, I can think of Kamran Diba's work in Shustar and some of Balkrishna Doshi's housing projects.

In conclusion, I would like to recount a point that Professor John Habrakan once mentioned. He wondered why we always see the architect as sociologist, as economist, as historian and where is the architect as an architect? In our societies which are themselves undergoing massive upheaval, the role of the architect is yet to be formed. Yet it is this present ambiguity of our role which allows, if we want to, to add the possibilities and responsibilities which have not been borne before.

Charles Correa

Your roles for the architect as visionary, as catalyst, and as maker are very interesting. Let me make one comment — visionary is a word that can be understood in two ways. The first is someone who foresees the future but the word 'visionary' or the word 'vision' can also mean, another way of arranging the same pieces. The reason why Mahatma Gandhi is called the Architect of the Nation and not its engineer or historian is because an architect is supposed to have the skill, not in inventing new pieces but rearranging them. He goes from

overview to detail. That is what I understand by the word 'visionary' — it is not someone who looks into a crystal ball and says — We are going to be using some new form of energy. There is a wonderful story of Hindermuth who was asked "How do you compose your music?" which is a stupid question but he answers it. He says "It is like standing at a window in a thunderstorm and it is all black and you see nothing and suddenly there is a flash of light and you see everything and yet you see nothing". What we call composition is the slow recreation of that landscape, stone by stone, tree by tree. The visionary aspects of an architect is not to foresee the future but to propose what might have been.

Rueben Mutiso

My comments will be from one who is a practising architect who acknowledges we have to operate at a political level. The architect has a social responsibility to bring about architectural values aimed at social order. The adequately trained architect should be able to resolve problems in housing with utmost efficiency. Architectural solutions should show the architect's concern for society's cultural expectations and further be congruent with the environment.

The architect should take the responsibility of a custodian of material culture and therefore assist in:

- the preservation and revitalisation of the historic environment ensuring a harmonious co-existence with contemporary realisations.
- the creation of urban environment capable of sustaining the diversity of local ethnic culture. Technology should only assist to support life and not to destroy identity. An architect should be able to exercise a balance in the application of technology.
- the maintenance of the interdependence of rural and urban environments and appreciation of the ecological problems of our times.

The architect in exercising these roles should be able to find a truly culturally meaningful language of mass housing with regard to its construction and should act as a designer but also

as an educator. But how can we have mass housing when we do not have a mass culture or where mass culture is non-existent. In such a case, the architect should be able to understand the group dynamics particularly in urban settings.

The architect has a role to play in acting as a coordinator of inter-disciplinary teams in the decision making, and in the development and the control of an organisation. In this process the architect should operate with economists, politicians, planners, public servants, the users, financiers and owners. He should understand them all to be able to relate intelligibly.

Above all the architect must be an artist. He must employ therefore artistic expertise to produce architectural visions for the future, bearing in mind, the people's relevant abilities and their future expectations.

The world badly needs bright, original and practical architects capable of realising the hopes of society. After all this, can an architect really be called an architect? It was noted earlier that an architect who is negotiating with the local authority is not practising only architecture. He is practising something else as well. Similarly the architect who is negotiating for funds with a financier, or with women's groups, or with a corporative society, is practising something else which is part and parcel of the practice of architecture in the Third World, at least where I come from.

The architect who stays on site and who assists in the construction is a builder. This is a role architects must take seriously. What special qualities then should an architect have? Apart from the obvious knowledge that an architect should possess, it is necessary that an architect should acquire a knowledge of the anatomy of houses and housing. After all, how can the architect arrive at artistic ideas when he does not understand the anatomy of houses and housing. How would he be able to advise on how to build.

An architect who, out of necessity, has to cover all those roles, should be able to listen to others and receive criticism.

An architect above all should be absolutely informed on all societal changes. It appears then that an architect should be a continuous student. He should continue learning new techni-

ques, and understanding society because an informed architect can deliver relevant solutions.

Ambwene Mwakyusa

The paper on The Role of the Architect dealt mainly with his or her role when handling conventional projects in totality. Developing societies would simply like to know the role of the architect specifically in solving housing shortages.

What role can the architect play in eradicating or reducing the growth of squatter slums? This has been touched on when dealing with mass housing.

How can the architect play a role other than producing new designs and supervision of building construction? When we talk about housing problems in Africa, we mean *lack of shelter* rather than typology, function, form and the arrangement of a house which we have been discussing.

In Africa today, it is not the shortage of competent architects which prevents the continent from solving its housing problem. Lack of finance indisputably remains the main reason but there are other factors which multiply the problems, which could probably be solved.

To a certain extent, the paper presented delineated the architect's role but more light is needed on this. The paper needed to be extended to get closer to such programmes, although I agree at the same time, that the architecture of housing is more than this. Are we realising the purpose of this seminar? Solutions to housing programmes in the context of the shortage should have been at the centre of our discussion.

Looking at housing problems in this context, I see form giving as possibly the least of the roles of the architect. The architect must work within a given society and his role will differ in some aspects from one society to another.

One question has been raised several times during the course of the seminar and that is, who is in charge of housing? The way I interpret this question is, who is to initiate housing in terms of financing? Who has the power to say a housing project should be carried out or started on a given plot? Probably that is where the architect should intervene and take on an

additional role. I admit it is not easy for architects to join the decision-making club for these are government or political decisions made either through national budgeting or through government bodies. But it is necessary to promote it as a path which may lead to solving housing problems.

I will give an example. In Dar es Salaam, it takes ages for the city council to give approval for any proposed construction. Consequently the construction commences without approval being given. Similarly acquiring a vacant plot in Dar es Salaam is almost impossible but because there is plenty of empty land, squatters waste no time putting up a shelter on any unplanned or unsurveyed area. We have seen the mushrooming of squatter settlements. To control such a situation one of the roles of the architect is to look for ways of working closely with the government departments involved in housing development in order to provide the necessary advice directly to the government. The application of social sciences and cultural consideration are essential in designing housing and other professional disciplines in the building industry should be involved.

Babar Mumtaz

We have heard of the architect-designer, as the problem-solving generalist. The assumption is that if something needs building then *any* architect, should build it or could be involved in building it. Charles Correa pointed out that he found it very strange that an architect can travel from place to place, parachute down as it were and produce a solution. What I find equally strange is that if you go to any architect and give him any problem, few would say this is not their specialisation. In fact we train them in that way — right from the beginning we teach everybody that — no other profession that I know of has this kind of arrogance.

We no longer have general geographers, we no longer have general economists — we have specialists within each discipline — we have within the geography discipline, economic geographers and regional geographers. Can we have architects who similarly specialise? Can we have architects who are specialists in dealing with housing problems? We have

heard about the “total” architect and that is really expecting god-like qualities.

In an earlier session there was this notion that not every architect can do all of these things and it is time to stop talking about the architect as an all encompassing person. We should start talking about the architect in terms of the specialisations we have heard about and understand the roles and the functions ascribed to the architect. We have talked about the necessity for the architect to be the producer of the exemplar or if you like the architect as the decision *maker*. I distinguish here between, the politician or the bureaucrat, or the client as the decision *taker*. It is for the architect to create the range of choices from which the person who is paying for his services can actually take the decision.

What we also need is what I earlier called the society architect, the architect that designs within and for a society. You need the architect that specialises in designing the voids. We have heard a lot about the architect that designs the solids, what about the architect that designs, not the buildings — leave the buildings to people’s individual endeavours — but architects who design the conditions that allow for such individual infilling. We need specialist architects who provide the *supports* for housing — not just physical housing supports but supports in the sense of creating, developing and extending or understanding the range of materials that could be used. Or put it another way, designing the elements and the components. We often leave those things to other people but that is a role that architects should take much more seriously. Another role is designing and extending the legislation and the forms of finance that will allow individuals to express themselves within an overall matrix.

All of these things also mean changes in the training of architects. We cannot expect to see a change or an architect specialising or responding to these changing roles without a change in their training. As a teacher myself and having been involved in looking at the way that teaching is done in schools of architecture, the paucity of ideas and the dearth of imagination is amazing.

I have seen in one particular university, a sort of corporate architecture, where the curriculum is designed by aggregating the teaching experiences that all the members of staff have. Somebody who had been to Poland said that in my first year I had four hours of design, two hours of mathematics and one of physics. Somebody who had been to America, said I had three hours of design, so the average was three and a half hours.

It is amazing how outmoded our training of architects is. On top of that unfortunately, architects' education has locked itself into the worst of education bureaucracies. Why we ever went into universities I do not understand. But we are locked into it and even if teachers want to make changes, the education bureaucracies make it impossible to achieve.

We have talked about taking architecture out of schools and that certainly is something that has to be done. Some 15 years ago at the DPU (Development Planning Unit), we launched what we called the extension service which tried to do this and it succeeded to some extent. We have heard from Johan Silas who is taking his architectural students into the field as part and parcel of their work. Hasan Poerbo said the same thing. The University in Karachi which Arif Hasan is involved in is also doing that. We should try to make the real world part of the classroom experience. But that is not enough. It is being done at a piecemeal level. To revert back to Karachi — I understand that at one point it was suggested that students should work in the slums of Ferrangi in the upgrading work instead of doing the design thesis whereupon the members of the design jury said that this was not architecture and how can you possibly give somebody the qualification as an architect when working in the slums.

We have heard some of these problems expressed by Arif Hasan. Johan Silas said they had solved it by setting up an independent association of architectural graduates regardless of what they actually do. It is time that we change and if seminars like this and the AKAA are going to have an impact on the changing role of the architect, then we must reinforce architectural education. I do not mean by this that we extend the spider's web from MIT or from London and we say

everybody come to us, that we have got the expertise. We should perhaps establish regional courses for architects within a region. One of the problems we have is that teachers of architecture cannot afford to do it. It is a profession but architects can make more money in practice.

We have a situation where the schools themselves are too poor to afford the kind of specialisations that we are striving for as a necessity for architects to carry out their roles. I am suggesting that if there was a regional course for architects, then you could develop a situation where the specialisation could be shared between a group of schools of architecture. We could have for example somebody who specialises in, community involvement who could spend time in three or four different schools of architecture and travel between them. This kind of travel will not only reinforce the teaching staff but would improve the quality of teaching within the schools, and would do something for the teachers themselves. It would give them confidence and it would develop the necessary network to operate on a more efficient level within the schools.

Charles Correa

The suggestion about architectural education was a very practical one. The specialisation that you are talking about is really not in building types but it is really about activities and it falls quite neatly into Kazi Khaled Ashraf's three categories of visionary, activist and maker. There were, in the past, architects who could combine all three just as there were great musicians. What John de Monchaux's paper stressed was the architect as maker, as the form giver, using the bank of signs which Mohammed Arkoun mentioned. As Babar Mumtaz was speaking, I was thinking that a great scientist, a great physicist like Einstein did not create the conditions for his work. That is made by someone else. It may be necessary also in architecture to separate these things so that the great makers of form are not necessarily also going to be the evangelists. It may be worthwhile that we recognise this and realise that we distort these people by making them fight for the conditions which allow them to work.

Saad Eddin Ibrahim

I was going to make some substantive comments but then one third through the session, I decided instead to take the list of adjectives of what everybody expects the architect to be and I listed about 40 adjectives.

These ranged from the visionary, the artist, the professional, the maker, the custodian, and under the custodian there are several things all the way to the manipulator of form, the mediator, the activist, the futurist, the negotiator, the builder, the continuous student, the problem solver and so on. I can go on — the list of about 40 qualities would in the end actually make the architect a SUPERMAN!

We have various typologies of what the architect's role is and the typologies start with a minimalist typology which John de Monchaux has stuck to — the irreducible minimum of what the architect is. Thereafter the list expanded. In this expansion everybody is reflecting his agonies, his sufferings, his conscience, his society's needs. Therefore we have to reduce that to an imaginable typology. If the architect is going to help the society preserve an identity or promote an identity, he should probably start with himself. The typology is not dissimilar from the typology that Mohammed Arkoun and Ismail Serageldin sometimes propose. The analogy is from the world of politics. We have the politician, we have the statesmen and we also have the saint. Charles Correa mentioned Gandhi. Gandhi was a saint in many ways but he was a saint who worked with the possible. There is also a statesman, who tries to preach the truth with the possible but with willingness to make some compromises. Then there is the politician who tries to deal with the possible but with a lot of compromises. Finally there is the demagogue who is willing to forget integrity altogether and appeal to the lowest common denominator. Within this range or this typology we can probably place an architect. We have two extremes, we have sainthood and we have demagogue. We have to navigate between these two and navigate hopefully closer to sainthood.

Kamau Karogi

In the key presentations by John de Monchaux and Hasan Poerbo, two clear and distinct definitions of the role of the architect have emerged. John de Monchaux says that the architect should be the form giver and Hasan Poerbo says that the architect should be the total performer. These two clear, distinct definitions represent the realities of the two worlds from which these two gentlemen come.

For those of us who come from the Third World, we cannot say that the architect of vision is any less than the architect as a total performer. In fact, our task is much more onerous in the sense that we have no choice but to bestride the two.

The architect is fashioned by the school he comes from. We must not decrease intellectual input into architecture courses such as philosophy, literature and the other arts. For a person to be a visionary, his intellectual base should be generally elevated for architecture is but one facet of life.

An example of this, is this very discussion here. There is no question that this is one of the most stimulating discussions I have ever been in and one of the most important and there is a reason for this. We have inputs from various professions — sociologists such as Saad Eddin Ibrahim, theoreticians such as Ismail Serageldin, philosophers like Mohammed Arkoun and various architectural journalists. To be able to produce a visionary we should not only give him the architectural tools but also an enlightened intellectual base.

In that context, we have a curriculum in our School of Architecture which gives no options. I am aware that schools of architecture in the USA offer this concept of options. We do not have options because we feel that the first degree should provide a basis for what the graduate later specialises in. He has to have certain basic knowledge. To try and get the architect to be a total performer, we aim in our curriculum to help develop mass culture. Rueben Mutiso touched on that concept and why a lot of what we call mass housing is failing is because neither the architect, nor the owner or the tenant is clear where he is coming from or where he is going. That is not to say that that knowledge of our culture does not exist.

It merely needs to be articulated in one way or the other. We feel that through our very elaborate process of distilling cultural constants through research it is not improbable that we can achieve a certain measure of definition of what our proposed goals are and what directions the urban culture is likely to take.

It has also become clear that the place of the architect is a bit ambiguous because in the Third World he has tried to assume the traditional role taken in Western European countries. We believe that it is now necessary to try and redefine the role of the architect and to review his relationship with the builder and the craftsmen.

In public housing projects we achieve a very low level of craftsmanship. This is not because there are no craftsmen. People are willing but the whole process of building has changed and so has the relationship between the architect and the craftsman. We have to develop an ethic of building where the mason takes pride in his masonry, the carpenter takes pride in his work and somehow we have to reduce this rush to erect buildings because we finish up with anonymous houses if the craftsmanship and the finishes are not taken care of.

We also have to develop an architectural idiom. This is an idiom for both an individual house and for mass housing. We have to go through a sensitive process of analysing the general and built environment in our situation, or if you like a process of decomposing the environment so that you can understand it. There is a process of decomposition or if you like synthesis. To those of you who come from cultures that are stable you must appreciate the problems of somebody who does not know whether to use an arch or a dome. These societies left their traditional hut types — the traditional typologies a long time ago but now they are not quite sure whether they want to go back to that. We believe that through a careful process of internalising our architectural heritage, the student can be equipped with the idiom. We feel strongly that our curriculum in Nairobi — we are in the process of revising it — should provide our students with a way of seeing which is different from what they had previously. An “eye” which goes to the tradition and tries to discover, to decipher, to distill of what

importance that tradition is to us. In this connection, we are trying to introduce cultural anthropology in our undergraduate programme in the hope that over time that we will not only produce architects but anthropologists so that they can discover sources of value to the people and use them. We are trying to get a post-graduate programme established. You can only have a few visionaries in architecture. All architects cannot be visionaries. Through our post-graduate programme, when a person has been through the first degree of architecture, he then can become a specialist — he is still an architect but he can take a specialised course. He takes hospital design — hospitals in our part of the world are a special problem. He takes housing, housing too is a special problem or he takes school design, schools are a special problem. All institutions are beginning to demand very careful attention and careful interpretation and in certain places what you need is not a building, it is something else.

Here, I strongly underline Hasan Poerbo's concept of the total architect but on the other hand there is need for focussing.

Charles Correa

We should agree on our terminology. Kazi Khalid Ashraf defined the terminology well. He said there are three roles of an architect, one is as a visionary, the second activist and the third as maker. A good example of a visionary architect is a man who has a vision of how the pieces can be rearranged. Ebenezer Howard would be a very good example. He did not predict the future. He just said "why not rearrange the scenery in a specific way?" The second role is an activist, or a catalyst. The third is the maker of form and the mastery of form. I suppose what we are calling a total performer is somebody who can give all three. If we can agree to use these terms, then we would understand what we are talking about because what Professor Karogi was really talking about was the architect as catalyst and maybe even as a visionary and that the form maker is only one third of this role. This really would depend on the society. In the west at the moment they have no time for visionaries and they don't need activists and catalysts, but they do feel that

they need makers of form — people who have access to that stock of signs which Mohammed Arkoun spoke about. Whereas perhaps in Indonesia, or in India or Tanzania you have other priorities.

Ismail Serageldin

I would like to try to rise to the challenge that we should relate this discussion on the architect's role specifically to the previous seminar sessions. See diagram (Figure 1).

On the left hand side is the process. Very clearly when we talk about housing, whether we are dealing with spontaneous housing or dealing with mass housing or even at the micro scale of an individual project, there is a process that you go through. Generally speaking you start with large undefined images and aspirations, which are then concreted to something called goals. At that level there is a function which an outsider brings in, which is the function of a catalyst.

It catalyses the aspirations into goals including for example the involvement of the government who may set a goal to improve the living conditions of the lower 40 per cent in the country. The next step is to have objectives which are to translate this, mapping out the numbers, the magnitude, the resources required into something that is achievable; something that gives a sense of what is possible. For this you need technical skills. That is a bit of compromise from sainthood down to a statesman. The next step is to choose policies — how these objectives are going to be achieved.

Here is the crucial choice that we have talked about so much including for example whether the government is going to take on the function of building slab blocks. Is it going to approach the problem with sites and services? Or, is there to be disaggregation of the problem which Charles Correa is advocating? There are policy options at this level in the process and here, John de Monchaux was quite right in saying there is a professional function of an adviser — to open choices that exist for people and what the meanings of these choices are. Once the choices are made then you need to define programmes and projects to actually carry them out. Here the function of

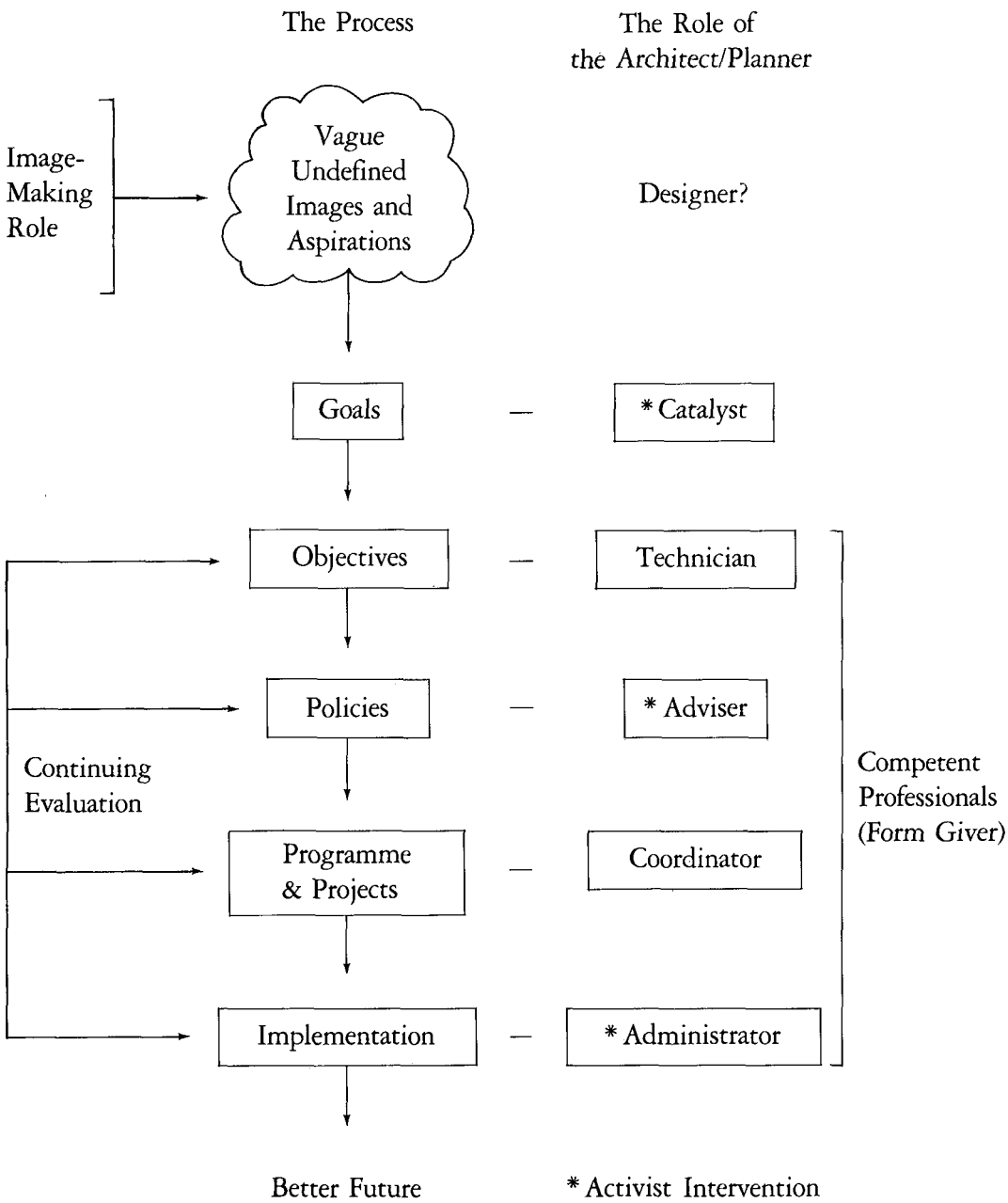


Figure 1 — The role of the architect

coordinator comes in. You can take one sub-part of that — if there are credit lines to be set up for people to build their housing, if there are road works to be laid out, if there are land tenure arrangements to be made, then you need to sub-coordinator to make sure that these actions take place.

Finally you have the implementation — making things happen on the ground. Here you have an administrator. The administrator can be a participatory type of administrator — Tasneem Siddiqui gave us an excellent example of that. Or they can be an authoritarian individual like an accountant who administers, based on the cost considerations and without involving the users. Hopefully with all these, you end up moving towards a better future. With this process, the skills that are required from the architect-planners are different at different stages. I would submit that if we look at the right hand side of Figure 1 we are talking about architect-planners in the physical sense so that they are all related to form. The four lower ones are really what one would call the competent professional or what John de Monchaux referred to as being a responsibility of a form giver or the maker to use Kazi Khalid Asraf's terminology. At a minimum level, architects should be able to master all the matters pertaining to form and building. They have to know about building, they have to know about costs of building and schedules and the like.

There is another function which is that of catalyst. This is not something that can be taught but it is something that is more innate involving interpersonal skills. Some people are very good at it and are not very good at other things.

A prime example from the United States is somebody like Jesse Jackson who is an marvellous catalyst in talking to a community and making them expect their aspirations and their goals but he is not a very good administrator as the PUSH programme showed in Chicago. It is not necessary that the same individual brings all those skills to bear.

Looking next at the activist intervention. Those of us who have argued for the engaged professional, the involved activist usually emphasise three points which are marked with an asterisk in the diagram. These are the nerve points of

intervention both in the formulation of goals, initially as a catalyst, the adviser on choice of policies, the advocater of particular policies and the manner in which the implementation is carried out, participatory or not. These are the three key intervention points of the activist architect, the activist planner, the activist social individual or social intellectual.

Above and beyond this there are the dreamers or the visionaries (note the arrow on the top left hand side of the diagram) — the image making role. I agree with John de Monchaux that the image making role permeates the whole process since we are talking about the physical form, not about economic policies. It permeates the whole thing but it is most powerful in helping give concrete form to the undefined images and the aspirations of people. That is how it gets defined, by the work of the architect who gives physical form to a vision of reality.

I do not think it is a matter of excluding one type of activity or another. There are those who will be capable and competent as activists and by all means they should do it, there is a function that is crying out for this. They are competent professionals who usually are going to be graduates of architectural schools. There are also those who are good at inspiring those images and the visions and I do not think any one of these is necessarily less than the other.

One last word on the image making function. During the Spanish Civil War, for example, André Malraux felt that he had to volunteer on the side of the Republicans and to fly airplanes for them as an engaged intellectual. He felt that for his own integrity he had to do this and participate in it. On the other hand, one could argue that Pablo Picasso by painting “Guernica” did more for the cause of the Spanish Civil War than he could ever have done by joining the ranks.

So there are different ways of contributing to this task. They are complimentary and we should recognise that not one individual will do them all but there are different ways of serving the overall purpose that we have been discussing.

Abdelbaki Ibrahim

Most of us in the developing countries are adopting the curricula of western countries and we endeavour to teach the student everything — mathematics, construction, sociology and economics. As Saad Eddin Ibrahim says, “we want him to be a Superman”. But he emerges perhaps as a Miniman rather than a Superman!

In the process of training the architect, he is not exposed adequately to housing problems. Most of the projects the student designs are theatres, social centres, museums and so on and have very little to do with housing. At the same time we know that the majority of the built up urban areas are composed of housing. There should be a separation in the training of the architect between those who design public buildings and offices and those on the other hand who design housing. It is not just specialisation in the sense that there is specialisation in schools, specialisation in theatre design and in hospital design but this requires a very special sort of course. Housing is not a final product. It is a continuous process.

The architect in the field of housing should not necessarily expect to be the master of the job. He is part of a team, I imagine the architect with the sociologist and the economist working together specialising in housing projects in developing countries, especially for the masses.

Tasneem A Siddiqui

The first problem which we face is that the sort of thing we are doing in Hyderabad is not accepted by the architects, nor by the engineers. It is not accepted by the town planners and the government is hostile to us so we are in a very vulnerable position. The best thing that architects can do is to accept such a programme and such an approach and we have been trying to get that acceptance at a national level. We have been to the Institute of Architects in Karachi and other places, explaining the process to them but we have not yet met with any success. So if forums like this can support us, this would be good.

Architects and others do not support our efforts because it is not in their textbooks! For example if I call an architect and ask

him to advise us how to reduce cost, he says that this is not possible because this is sub-standard. There is a prescribed standard for laying sewer lines and if I suggest that the design of the manhole and the manhole cover are changed, the architects say no, it is not possible.

So we obtain support from our sister organisation in Karachi. We send our engineers and our architects there and we are fortunate in having them in Karachi which is about 90 miles from Hyderabad. I sometimes have a hard time with our own engineers who are working for us. I am the Director-General of the Hyderabad Development Authority. I am their boss but they see me as a general administrator and that what I am saying is incorrect. So you see the best possible support which we can expect from forums like these, or receive from international agencies, is to advise the Government of Pakistan and to advise the Institute of Architects in Pakistan and to make some basic changes in the university syllabus. I do not blame the students, I do not blame the architects or the engineers. They have never been taught differently. When the teachers do not recognise the need for new initiatives, how will the students?

We want to have research schemes and training of extension students. We have started nearly all the functions that are in Ismail Serageldin's list. Apart from giving technical advice we are already performing all the functions. We are capitalists, we are advisers, coordinators, and administrators. Now we need technical support because we do not want poor people to waste their money. If a family has 10,000 Rs, we want to be sure that they are advised, according to their needs, of the best methods of providing a roof. If they do not have this technical advice, they might waste their money. We have seen people waste money on boundary walls, on bigger gates and pine walls. We are not technical people ourselves and we do not want to just give them models. We want to assist them and we want to give an idea of what sort of construction they could have. Some people are needed, expert engineers and architects who can advise them what they can achieve within a broad range of possibilities.

John Silas

I want to use the diagram provided by Ismail Serageldin to illustrate the Kampung Improvement Programme in Indonesia. What is happening in the field is exactly the reverse of the process described. People start by implementing the housing programme. People start building houses, so they in effect start with the implementation and then later on there is programme of slum upgrading or kampung improvement. Later we have a policy and much later we have the goals. We include these in the guidelines for national development in Indonesia. So what is really happening in the field is the reverse of the process.

In the schools of planning we were taught to first make a plan and then service the plan and then build the plan after which units will be occupied but what happens in the field is that people start to occupy land. They build their houses and then later on it is serviced. The plan is then regularised. So the difficulty is that what is taught in the schools, is again exactly the reverse of what happens in the field.

The role of an architect should be entirely different. Students should learn from the people — first see what the people do.

The second thing we have experienced is the role of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture. The recognition by the Award has helped to speed up the programme and speed up the policies. So we need more of the kind of support we presently get from the Aga Khan Award for Architecture. The process of enabling is important, not only enabling the people but also enabling the decision makers, and enabling the academicians and the experts.

Now what would Vitruvius do if he attended this seminar? What would he promote? I do not think he would promote firmness or would he promote delight or accommodation but he might talk about housing as a process. Whose process and where are the people in the process? We have heard too little talk about the people as the end-user — the one who has the need in the housing process and we talk too much about the architects, the schools and so on.

Ismail Serageldin

Just a clarification point. You will note on the left hand side of Figure 1 that there is an arrow from implementation towards programmes, policies and objectives based on the evaluation. This is what usually happens because whenever a plan is put in place and it is not functioning, then things happen on the ground which force people to rethink their policies and programmes. Johan Silas is absolutely right that this has happened in Indonesia. This is what the left hand side of the diagram really implies.

Arif Hasan

I would like to sympathise with Tasneem Siddiqui that the architects in Pakistan have not responded to him but I would also like to say that he has had full cooperation, from the Orangi Pilot Project which is mainly controlled and operated by architects so there is an understanding on our part of what his project means and we have, assisted in some ways.

The three roles that have been mentioned, namely visionary, activist and maker must be seen against the background of the relationships between the individual and society. The three roles have to be understood in this context. The activist's role has to be extended to politics and economics as well. We have had quite a debate at the Department of Architecture in Karachi on what architectural education should aim at. The reason the debate was initiated was because teaching students the architect's traditional role has absolutely no effect on the environment of the city as such because it plays almost no role in creating that environment.

After considerable debate we came to the conclusion that much greater emphasis has to be placed upon the factors that create the environment. It is only with a full understanding of all the factors that create the environment especially the economic constraints, the administrative problems and the political issues that you should get into design. This is very difficult but in the first year we have promoted a course on the environment with visits to the city studying different areas and their infrastructures before students get into design.

There is a problem that arises because teachers generally like to teach what they have been taught and it is difficult to change this system. We have not really been successful, except that we have given our recent graduates some understanding of what is going on in the city. They understand a little better what the political and economic factors are that control the physical environment. So this process should begin and a very strong emphasis should be made on the factors that create the built environment.

Sirin Ali Karonfiloghu

I would like to comment on the categories that the architect is put in, one being the visionary, the second a catalyst and the third, a form maker. My comment is on the latter.

Babar Mumtaz mentioned that our school systems need some reform in order to prepare the students better for the real world. There are some very good schools preparing young architects, giving them the technological background and the design abilities to join this real world and be the image maker, and the form maker of a single house or mass housing.

The architect actually has two roles as the form maker. One is as the artist, after all architecture is an art form as we have seen in the beautiful examples shown by Hasan-Uddin Khan or even if he is involved in mass housing. The second role of the architect as form maker is to be a professional and to survive in this world. We have to make a living and we cannot always be choosy about a project. We have to be paid for what we do. That is a very strong reality we all face. Can one afford to be a poor artist creating beautiful architecture? Isn't the reality that we are forced economically to earn money?

Charles Correa

That is not very encouraging! I understand Arif Hasan's point to mean that you cannot be the form maker if you have not understood the environment and the real issues of housing. He implied that you have to do a certain amount of work in the middle category of catalyst, or activist to really understand the overall problem.

Arif Hasan

I was really saying that when we design something, there are a number of factors in the physical environment that shape and form it. They form not only the house itself but also influence the way houses relate to each other. They differ from place to place, even within a city they differ, as income groups differ. An understanding of the factors that have shaped the environment are thus essential.

There are social factors, there are economic factors, there are factors related to materials and the manner in which they are used — these are the factors that shape and form the environment. An understanding of this is necessary. We take a group of students into a particular area and study how it functions, how the people live, how they build their houses, what the institutions are that have created the environment, what is their relationship with the administration and the constraints of creating this environment.

The whole process is extremely important if you are going to produce something that is appropriate, something that is relevant. You should be able to know that in this environment there are constraints that affect how we should behave or act in this particular area. We should have an understanding of these facts at the very outset. You can define your role according to the environment you are in. This is what is missing in the training of architects. This can easily be done in the first year — this understanding develops and grows, one can consolidate it, build upon it perhaps, or ignore it but this understanding, this realism should be there.

Ronald Lewcock

Tasneem Siddiqui and Arif Hasan are in many ways talking about the same issue, namely research. I want to take the focus away from the training of the architect, towards what is really needed in the profession. I want to talk about research.

What is characteristic of our society and the architectural profession are certain kinds of mind-sets. These mind-sets are introduced in the training of the architect and they stay with the professional throughout his life. They are fixed mind-sets

mostly in the Cartesian logical system dealing with facts and procedures which are acquired from experts and which they accept. I would like to think that architects would join the ranks of people in many other fields and become observers, inquirers, thinkers, innovators, much more than they are at present. It seems to me that this is one dimension of the profession that we really have not talked about and it is a very important one.

Looking at old buildings, has taught me that we are grossly ignorant and superficial in our understanding about architecture. We are superficial about techniques. We are also superficial about many of the possibilities. We just are not learning from what is around us, in front of our eyes.

We are not systematically mining the rich fields of experience that exist in the world of built form. We are failing to learn from it in the way that other professionals for example in medicine and in astronomy continuously make major discoveries by observations of the environment.

Talking to material scientists and behavioural psychologists it is the same story. There are all sorts of new understanding that they have, which people in the architectural field never get hold of, which are capable of absolutely transforming the understanding and thinking within our profession.

There is the whole question of cheap and indigenous materials which are thrown out because they are not fire resistant, they are not water proof, they have short lives or they are difficult to maintain and so they are not accepted by the governments, by the building municipalities or by the building regulations. There are a profusion of new possibilities which are simply not being exploited.

Let me go on to another analogy which is obviously worth making though it might be thought to be whimsical. It is an analogy with the bicycle. The bicycle has been around for over 200 years. It was invented in 1770 but it transformed the world in the 1880's. It took a hundred years for people to realise that this could be a major way of benefitting ordinary people; providing a whole new range of possibilities for them in their lives. That is a very simple example but I believe that

there are a whole lot of possibilities waiting for us to discover. We could make a major breakthrough, not only in techniques, but also in the way in which environments are formed.

Kamau Karogi

I am sorry that I have to keep on hammering this issue of the Third World but, for us who come from the Third World, it is important for us to understand the role of the architect from that point of view. It is with this in mind that I would like to look at the role of the architect.

Before looking at it from that Third World point of view, I think that the role of the architect will vary from time to time and from place to place and it is difficult to pinpoint any one specific role other than the traditional accepted role as the creator of space.

The problems that we have, have been caused by the questioning of the traditional role the architect has always performed within his environment. The tradition has always been there to back him up and make his work relevant. With the societal developments in the Third World today, the role of the architect has changed. There are more demands placed upon him and we can no longer look at the architect as an individual, who can single-handedly produce solutions.

He is part of a society and part of a process. As a skilled professional whether in a historical or contemporary context, he must of course possess all the necessary skills in order to manipulate and create form. This question of context is very apparent and we should ask, is the socio-political context in which we operate as manipulators and creators of form ideal? Is it the right context for the architect to plant his visions of the future or to rearrange the pieces? If the context is not right then does the architect have a responsibility to change this socio-political context and make it better? This is a selfish point of view but it is an important one.

Should the architect then participate in a process that will enable him to get the right kind of context, the right kind of climate for him to practise his profession. If this is so, then he must be a politician and this is very relevant in Third World

societies because without the ideal socio-political climate, however skilled the architect may be as a designer or as a manipulator of space and as a manipulator of form, he still finds it difficult to realise his dreams and his visions. Even as a maker of form, there is a problem for the architect because architecture as a product, can be viewed as a product of high culture and as an inappropriate response, for example, to mass housing. Architecture must of necessity fulfill some of the basic needs. Architecture must also be able to communicate at several levels — at the level of signs and symbols, at the level of form for us to appreciate the platonic qualities of forms. It must also be able to provide food for intellectual stimulation and thought. This same architecture must at the same time be able to relate to the common man on the street.

When we build a building, we who are privileged, because of our education and knowledge, to rationalise the architectural product must also relate it to the common man who experiences this building. At his level too he has to relate to the product of architecture. This is the basic problem all of us have who are concerned in shaping a better environment for society. It is the most important thing, at least for us in the Third World that we must be part of the process. Only in that context can we define the role of the architect.

Charles Correa

If we want to rearrange the pieces, if we want to have a vision of what might be, it implies immediately a moral position which is inherent in the role of the architect in the Third World. We are not living in a situation where one can be complacent about what is happening and that is an advantage to us because it allows us to grow.

The position that John de Monchaux defined in America if I may say so, is one of *diminuendo*. America was a more heroic place in the 1920's. It was a more heroic place in 1870 when Sullivan was around. It is not a great sacrifice we make in the Third World. We have a chance to grow as architects by trying to create the conditions which allow us to do our work, as part and parcel of being an architect. No one will do it for you. And

in architecture it is not that difficult to create your own conditions. I wonder whether we are not really witnessing a great opportunity in these Third World countries we are talking about to grow as individuals and as a profession.

Saad Eddin Ibrahim

I wish to comment on the statement that architects probably need to do more research and to do more observing and to do more mixing with people. Isn't this in fact asking architects to descend from their Superman status and become ordinary human beings like other professionals who find research essential for the promotion of discipline in practice. This is a soul-searching question that has to be directed to the architect. I sometimes hear architects say "We are willing to integrate with society. We would like the politicians to be educated, we would like the decision makers to be educated, or we would like the clients to be educated". But they rarely see it as necessary for themselves to be educated except by their fellow architects in schools of architecture.

So the integration process it appears is accepted in principle, so long as the rest of society, from the top policy makers down to the client are willing to integrate on the architect's terms. I am really pushing this point to the absurd in order to let architect reflect on it themselves and to see if this may not be what is at the back of their minds — integration with society, so long as it takes place on the architect's terms?

John de Monchaux

There has been a wonderful exposition of the terms and the meanings of the terms underlying the role of the architect. I would like to scan the different meanings that are attached to the concept of the "role" of the architect. In each of the definitions, we find some comfort, we find some hope, we find some challenge. I would just enumerate a few of these dimensions.

The role has been described, in terms of a place in the sequence of events attached to the housing situation. We had a call for an intervention by the architect very early in the

process; to provide some of the visions. Ismail Serageldin has outlined very deftly appropriate input to each stage in the process whilst Johan Silas argued that the intervention occurred but in the reverse sequence. So it is appropriate to mention the situation and timing of any intervention by the architect.

Secondly there are skills in the role of the architect, the skills of coordinator, of technician, of capitalist. There is, thirdly, yet another dimension to this role and that is the stance or the posture of the architect in the sense that the architect has to advocate a certain moral order.

There is a fourth way of seeing this role, in terms of the categorisations or subdivision of the role in relation to speciality. Barbar Mumtaz reminded us that the task is a complex one and expertise in the consequences of particular forms of intervention has to be gained patiently, and thoroughly and deeply.

Each of these attributes, the time, the skill, the stance and the specialisation are all slices across the concept of the role of an architect. It will not surprise you to hear that I do feel as Saad Eddin Ibrahim detected that there is an irreducible core of knowledge about form which must inform each one of these slices and I have already given you a four dimensional space, not just a three dimensional space in which to define this role.

Hasan Poerbo in his comments used one particularly fine phrase about the concept of education as a cradle for us all including architects. It leads me to two ideas that bear on how effectively we can play this role described in its many dimensions. The first is to not underestimate the abilities of the child to learn from its environment in that cradle. There are a great many things that are going on in that cradle to which we need to attend very deliberately and it is not only what we say to the child. It is also what the child learns from its immediate environment.

Let me go to the other end of the scale of education. Education is a profession and I would echo the call that Ronald Lewcock made for research and for a knowledge base in the practice of architecture. If I may mix the metaphors, if education is the cradle, research is the trampoline. It is the way

in which we can leap forward with the insights and understanding; taking much bigger steps, much longer leaps in terms of the contribution that we can make as architects.

Let me turn to the very important distinction which a number of commentators made between the role that should be exercised, and I am still using the word “should”, by architects, in the developing world and the role which should be exercised by architects in our impoverished developed world and I mean that in a serious sense.

There are apparently about 500 architects in Tanzania. By my arithmetic that is one architect for every 40,000 people. In the USA we have one architect for every two and a half thousand people. There is a massive difference in this and it is a difference which in many ways I do envy because the chances of getting the 500 architects in Tanzania together and to have them sharing in this discussion and sharing in this debate, seems to me to be an enviable and marvellous opportunity. Even if you do not all agree it would be a wonderfully empowering opportunity.

I was struck also by Hasan Poerbo's description of what is a characteristically deft Indonesian solution to a problem of the architectural graduates who could not be members of the architect's institute. They created an equal and just as powerful Association of Architectural Graduates. This type of lateral thinking does represent the type of leap and the type of advance which can be made in a place like Tanzania or in a region like East Africa where you do not have to be encumbered by the institutions and shackles which we have given ourselves in the course of our development in the West. I applaud the enrichment of the definition of the role of architects.